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to that of Lewis the Fifteenth.

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THE
MODERN PART
OF
Universal History.

C H A P. LXVIII. *Continued.*

*The History of France, from the Reign of Clovis
to that of Lewis the Fifteenth.*

S E C T. VII.

*The Reigns of Philip Augustus, Lewis VIII. Lewis
IX. Philip the Hardy, Philip the Fair, Lewis
Hutin, Philip the Long or the Tall, and Charles the
Fair.*

PHILIP, surnamed the Gift of God, from the time of his birth; the Magnanimous, and the Conqueror, during his life-time, and, as if these had fallen short of his merit, styled Augustus after his decease, was, in truth, one of the most extraordinary princes that ever sat upon this or any other throne^a. He assumed the government from the time the crown was placed upon his head, though but in his fifteenth year: and though the count of Flanders is, by some writers, styled regent of the kingdom, yet that title was but courtesy; for notwithstanding the king

Philip Augustus ascends the throne, and governs from the beginning with great prudence.

^a Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti. Pol. Virg.

took his advice, and probably did nothing without it, yet all was executed, not only by his authority, but by himself. He was jealous that his youth, and want of experience, might expose him to contempt; and, therefore, the first instance he gave of his authority was, in ordering jesters, jugglers and buffoons to quit his court, and he took care to be obeyed ^b. The people complained loudly of the Jews, who had got into possession of one third part of the lands in his dominions; and as, on the one hand, he found they had exercised the most oppressive usury, and, on the other, by choosing proper patrons, were powerfully supported by the nobility, he obliged them to quit his territories, allowing them to carry away their personal estates. This expulsion chagrined the great lords, but it pleased the people, and the king was obeyed ^c. The mercenary soldiers who had served his father, and the king of England; being disbanded, and without means of maintaining themselves, assembled together in great bodies, and committed enormous outrages. They were distinguished by the several names of Cottereaux, Brabançons, Routiers, and Taverdins, nesting themselves in different parts of the kingdom, and laying the country under contribution wherever they were. The king directed the great towns to make head against them, assisted them with his own troops, and in one action cut off nine thousand; so that by degrees he either extirpated or expelled them all. He then directed the inhabitants of every great town, that held immediately of him, to surround it with walls, and to pave the streets; which work, as it was expensive and troublesome, was not at all relished; but, however, the king making a circuit in person for that purpose, it was performed. Some of the nobility, taking the advantage of his father's infirmities, had committed excesses, more especially against the clergy, which the king redressed in person, and by force of arms; holding his grandfather's maxim, that the royal authority was to be extended by a zeal for justice, and by supporting the weak against the strong. As these great things required time to accomplish, so, as he began them early, he, until they were complete, made them the constant objects of his attention.

The queen-mother, the cardinal of Champagne, and the rest of the princes of her house and faction, laboured all they could, before and after the death of king Lewis,

^b P. Emil. *Annales Francorum*,

^c *Le Gend.*

to ruin the credit of Philip, count of Flanders, with the young king, more especially to prevent his completing his marriage with his niece Isabel; but their efforts were ineffectual. That count was the king's godfather, from whom he received his name, and in those times this connexion was considered as a kind of kindred; besides, he had adopted the young lady as his daughter, and bestowed upon her in dowry the county of Artois, and all the country along the river Lys^d. When the queen, and those of her party, found themselves disappointed, they quitted the court, and having the young king of England with them, prevailed upon him to go over to his father, to demand his protection. In the mean time, the king caused himself and his queen to be crowned at the abbey of St. Denis, by the archbishop of Sens, a circumstance which piqued the cardinal archbishop of Rheims extremely^e. Henry of England came over with his son into Normandy, extremely well pleased with this opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the king's family; but Philip and the count of Flanders, marching directly towards him with a numerous army, Henry, who was unwilling to come to extremities, demanded a conference, which did great honour to the abilities of the young king; for as, on the one hand, he remained firm in the measures he had taken, notwithstanding all the address of this wise and great prince, so, on the other, he would not listen to the arguments used by the earl of Flanders, to reject absolutely all propositions of peace. He professed great duty and respect for his mother, offered to pass by all that had happened, with respect to the lords of her faction, and to receive them again into his favour; an offer which they thought fit to accept^f. It was not long before the count of Flanders began to be disgusted at this agreement, and to form intrigues in his turn, into which, amongst the first that entered, were the cardinal of Champagne and one of the queen dowager's brothers; the duke of Burgundy also, though a prince of the blood, embraced the same party, and the avowed motives to their confederacy was the young monarch's popularity^g. Philip, not caring to trust the nobility that still remained about him, raised an army with his own money; took one of the principal fortresses of the duke of Burgundy; and in it his

Factions, cabals, and insurrections, in the beginning of his reign, suppressed and subdued.

^d Rigord. Anonymus Acquiciniensis.

^e Du Tiller.

^f Nicol. Triveti Annales.

^g Wilhel. Britonis Philippidos.

Mezeray.

*Annexes
the county
of Vermandois to the
crown domain in
spite of the
count of
Flanders.*

son, on which success, the duke demanded pardon, and the rest, following his example, submitted^b.

The death of the countess of Flanders caused new disturbances. She was a princess of the royal blood, and the heiress of the count of Vermandois. The king, as she died without issue, was for annexing her estates to the crown, but the count pretended that the late king had made him a grant of this succession, which Philip had confirmed: the king owned the truth of this assertion; but affirmed the grant to be only for the countess's life. However both parties took the field; the emperor threatened to take part with the earl of Flanders, who appeared to be highly irritated, and laboured to engage the nobility to make it a common cause, pretending the king had nothing else in view but to unite one fief with anotherⁱ. Philip pressed him so vigorously, and his friends assisted him so faintly, that the count first demanded a truce, and at length was glad to make peace, the king leaving him the towns of Perron and St. Quintin for his life, and annexing the rest of the county of Vermandois to the crown. The

A.D. 1182.

young king Henry of England dying in France, expressed, in his last moments, great regret for the continual disturbance he had given his father, which affected Henry so much, that he appeared inconsolable for his death^k. The same year he had a conference with king Philip, who insisted upon the restitution of the town of Gisors and the Vexin, which had been given in dowry to his sister Margaret, on her marriage with the young king. In order to gain the affection of Philip, and prevent this restitution, the king of England did homage to him for all the lands he held in France, and, at the same time, promised, that in case the like dowry was given to the princess Alice, his son Richard, who was now become his heir apparent, should espouse her without any farther delay; to which proposal Philip assented, and the two kings parted, in all appearance well satisfied^l. But this calm was of no long continuance.

A.D. 1183.

*The kings
of France
and Eng-
land being
reconciled
by the pope,
take the
crois.*

Henry had it not at all in his intention that his son Richard should marry Alice, for whom he was thought to have a strong passion himself; to this, the French writers ascribe the jealousy of queen Eleanor, and the king's keeping her, as he did, a prisoner for twelve years before his death. Geoffrey, duke of Bretagne, Henry's second son, and by much the best of them all, quarrelled with his fa-

^b P. Virg.
^l P. Dan.

ⁱ Annales Francorum.

^k R. Hoveden.

ther, because he would not add the country of Maine to his dominions, and went in great discontent, to Paris, where, being thrown from his horse at a tournament, he died of the bruises he received; king Philip retaining under his protection his widow, his daughter Eleanor, and his posthumous son Arthur.^m The count of Flanders and the emperor gave the king some disturbance, but his firmness and his good fortune soon extricated him out of these difficulties; but on the side of the king of England he was able to procure no satisfaction. At length he declared war; and having taken some places of less consequence, besieged Chateauroux, in which were the two princes of England, Richard and John; but they made so good a defence, that Henry had time to come to their relief; upon which Philip raised the siege, and marched to give him battleⁿ. At this juncture arrived a legate from the pope, to engage them to lay aside their private quarrels, and take the cross in favour of the Christians, from whom the famous Saladine had taken Jerusalem. Henry having solemnly promised, that, at their return from this expedition, all things should be adjusted to the satisfaction of Philip, the two kings, and most of the great lords in both armies took the cross, which, of his own free will, prince Richard had taken before^o.

A D. 1187.

King Philip, in order to defray the expences of such a war, laid heavy taxes upon the clergy, at which they murmured exceedingly; The king, nevertheless, caused them to be raised, and they were distinguished by the name of the tax of Saladine. But while the king was thus employed, prince Richard, when it was least expected, made a furious irruption into the territories of Raymond, count of Thoulouse, in pursuance of the old quarrel, which Henry kept open, on purpose to afford colour for such incursions. The monarch of France was no sooner informed of this invasion than he made a diversion in favour of count Raymond, by invading the territories which Henry possessed in France^p. That monarch, with an alacrity little suitable to his years, advanced with an army to their relief; but his success was not equal to his spirit. He therefore demanded a conference, at which he desired, that, instead of Richard, the princess Alice might espouse his son John, which proposal was rejected, there being a secret understanding between Philip and the prince of England^q. The pope's legate interposed upon

A new quarrel between the kings, in which Richard, count of Poitou, sides with Philip against his father.

^m Rigord. R. Hoveden, Dupleix.
 appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti.
 Wilhel. Brit. Philip.

ⁿ P. Daniel. ^o Appendix
 Rigord. Du Tillet.

A.D. 1188.

this occasion, and went so far as to threaten Philip with excommunication; but the king told him, that he held his crown from God, and not from the pope, who had no right to prescribe how he should behave to his vassal; insinuating at the same time, that the legate's zeal was prompted by king Henry's gold. As for Richard, he was so much incensed, that he was very near killing the legate upon the spot, and, being hindered, shewed his resentment by doing homage to king Philip, and retiring to the French camp; so that these broils, which had been so lately appeased, were now more inflamed than ever^r.

Peace once more restored, which is immediately followed by king Henry's death.

The king, with prince Richard, as soon as they were able to assemble troops sufficient, attacked the city of Mons, which, though it was the strongest place in all Henry's French territories, was taken in the space of three days, by an accident; for the governor having given directions for burning the suburbs, this operation was performed in such a hurry, that the flame caught the town. King Henry, who was there in person, escaped with difficulty, being warmly pursued by Philip and Richard. He retired to Chinon, where he determined to defend himself to the last extremity; but, before things were brought to this pass, the count of Flanders, and other great lords, represented to king Philip, that they could not, with a safe conscience, serve him against a monarch who had taken the cross, and thereby impede the recovery of Jerusalem; a declaration which constrained him once more to admit of a conference^s. The two kings discoursing together on horseback, were parted by a dreadful clap of thunder, which broke between them. However, they came together again, and, after three hours conversation, the terms of the peace were settled; the places taken from the king of England were to be restored, king Philip was to have a large sum in ready money, Richard was to be crowned as his brother Henry had been, and then to espouse the princess Alice; but this solemnity was to be deferred till their return from the Holy Land, and, in the mean time, the princess was to be put into such hands as Philip should approve. When all was adjusted, Henry observed to Philip, that princes had a common interest against traitors, and insisted so passionately to see the association, by which he had been invited to invade his dominions, that at length his request was granted^t. But as

^r Appendix ad Chronicon Sigebert.
^s Le Gendre.
^t Nicol. Trivet. Mez.

soon as Henry saw his favourite son John's name at the head of it, he flew into a transport of passion, which affected him in such a manner, that he was carried back to Chinon and died there speedily, rather of discontent than disease". By this event Philip lost a dangerous and implacable enemy, and his friend Richard, whom he had always supported against his father, acquired that crown he had so eagerly pursued, though, in some measure, at the expence of his reputation, the world in general condemning his conduct.

A.D. 1189.

The two kings seemed to be equally satisfied and at ease. Philip had considerable claims on Richard, on account of the succours furnished to him in his father's time; but, upon his declaring frankly that it would be very inconvenient for him to answer them at that juncture, Philip very generously passed it by. They then concluded an alliance as kings, and swore perpetual fidelity as friends, without considering that their manners were too much alike for any oaths to restrain, or leagues to bind them. They were in their persons tall, well-made, and robust men; active, brave, magnificent, free in their discourse, and full of a sprightly kind of wit, that however bordered upon levity: their vices also were much the same, for they were ambitious in a supreme degree, hasty in their tempers, addicted to women, avaricious, or rather greedy of money, that they might squander; and, in fine, immoderately fond of praise, and ready to run any hazard to acquire it. The expedition to the Holy Land appeared to these princes an enterprize that was to cover them with immortal glory; and having once entertained this notion, they could neither of them be brought to consider it in another light*. Some of the wisest men in his council laboured to undeceive Philip, and to dissuade him from going in person; but his mother, and the cardinal de Rheims, out of an ambitious desire of governing in his absence, frustrated their intention. He took, however, the precaution of limiting their authority by an instrument, to which he gave the name and form of a Testament, and appointed overseers to look to its execution. Before his departure he received the homage of the queen-dowager of England for the duchy of Guienne, which she held in her own right. To defray the expences of this prodigious armament, he exposed to sale

Philip and the young king of England. prepare to go to the Holy Land against the infidels.

* Math. Paris. P. Virg. Virg.

w Wil. Brit. Philip. Polydor.

the great charge of his household, the domain of the crown, and whatever else would fetch money. All things being adjusted, the two kings marched with their armies as far as Lyons. There Philip took the route of the Alps, in order to embark at Genoa, and Richard proceeded to the coast in order to meet his fleet, which was appointed to rendezvous at Marseilles, under a solemn engagement to meet again in Sicily, and to proceed from thence, in conjunction, to the coast of Syria*.

Transactions in Sicily during the residence of the two kings, Philip and Richard, in that island.

Tancred was at this time in possession of that island, with the regal title; but he was held to be an intruder in prejudice to Constance, the wife of the emperor Henry, with whom Philip was in close alliance: on the other hand, he held the queen-dowager Joan close prisoner, who was king Richard's sister, and consequently had no great reason to be fond of such guests. Philip arrived first, and was tolerably well treated, and behaved civilly on his side. When Richard arrived, he demanded that his sister should be presently sent him, and full satisfaction made for the large legacies left to his father by the deceased king of Sicily; a demand which Tancred laboured to decline. Upon this refusal Richard attacked the city of Messina, and was very near coming to a rupture with king Philip, who, with part of his forces, was in the city when it was attacked. He consented, however, to admit of his mediation; by the decree of the French king, Tancred was to be left in peaceable possession, and to pay king Richard forty thousand ounces of gold in full satisfaction for his claims¹. Tancred, who had flattered himself with the French king's protection, was so much vexed with the disappointment, that he made his court to king Richard, and produced to him a letter, whether forged or genuine is not very clear, in which Philip encouraged him to attack the English, and particularly their king, with a promise to assist him with all his forces. This discovery produced, as he expected, a very high quarrel between these princes; Richard charged Philip with having attempted his life, and Philip accused Richard of insisting upon a forged letter, and publishing many falsehoods². But, after all, their interests obliged them to be friends; and they therefore thought it best to discuss the real dispute between them, which was the marriage of the princefs

* Annales Francorum. Boulanvil.
 † Le Gendre, P. Dan.

‡ Gulielm Neubrig.

Alice, a point which Richard without ceremony rejected, because his mother was treating of another marriage for him in Navarre; but he very honourably offered to restore the places that had been so long detained for her dowry. The treaty being, without much difficulty, adjusted, a new misunderstanding happened. Philip insisted that Richard, with his forces, should depart with him, a step which the king of England declared to be impossible, because he had a mind to wait for his young wife, whom his mother had promised to bring thither. Philip, afraid that he should return into France, and attack his dominions in his absence, laboured all he could to induce the French lords that followed Richard to proceed with him; and, having engaged the greatest part of them, failed for the coast of Syria, leaving the king of England in Sicily^a.

A.D. 1190,

At the time of his arrival, Philip found the affairs of the Christians in a very untoward situation. They were engaged in the siege of Acon, or Ptolemais, having lain before it more than a year, which in reality was no great wonder, considering that, for the best part of the time, the army without was scarce equal to the garrison within. As if these difficulties had not been enough, the Christians were upon bad terms with each other, on account of a divided title to the kingdom of Jerusalem, which city was in the hands of the infidels. Guy de Lusignan had been acknowledged king in right of his wife, who was the eldest sister of the last monarch: but this princess being dead, without leaving any issue, the marquis of Montferrat claimed the crown in right of the youngest sister, who was his consort; whereas Guy insisted that, having once been invested with the regal dignity, he was king for life^b. When king Richard landed, after having conquered the island of Cyprus by the way, he augmented the confusion, for he took part with Guy de Lusignan, who was his subject; and, perhaps, it was chiefly for this reason that Philip took part with the marquis of Montferrat. With much difficulty things were so far compromised, as that all proceedings were suspended till the place was taken, which being vigorously attacked, was quickly yielded by capitulation. As soon as Acon was in the hands of the Christians, Philip took a resolution of returning into his own dominions, because the climate was prejudicial to his

The continual quarrels between Philip and Richard, end at last in the former's coming home.

^a Wil. Brit. Philip. lib. iv. Annal. Francorum. Henault.
^b Rigord. R. Hoveden.

health; and that he might not remain in the same country with Richard, who, if the French historians are to be believed, was continually raising new quarrels, and always in the wrong. If we listen to other authors, these practices ought not to be ascribed to Richard but to Philip^c. It is very probable they might be both in the wrong, but it is very certain they could never agree, and therefore Philip's resolution of leaving the army might not be so injurious to the common cause as it is generally represented. At parting he left a considerable body of French troops under Eudes of Burgundy, with orders to obey Richard, to whom also he promised, with a solemn oath, not to attack his dominions, or to dispossess any of his vassals. But how sincerely he acted in this matter may appear from hence; that, landing in the kingdom of Naples, he took Rome in his way home, and earnestly solicited pope Celestin III. to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to Richard, but without effect^d. He landed in France about Christmas, and was received with great joy by his subjects, though the manner in which he had left the Holy Land did not raise his reputation with other princes.

A.D. 1191.

Philip espouses Ingerberge, a Danish princess, in hopes of allying them against England.

It appeared soon after his return, that he had an implacable aversion, and, at the same time, a deep dread of the English monarch. The marquis of Montferrat had been slain in the midst of the city of Tyre, by some of the Assassins; a bold and barbarous nation, from whose practices this word has been adopted into most languages. Philip no sooner heard of this incident than remembering that Richard was the enemy of the marquis, he conjectured that he had applied to the Old Man of the Mountain, so the prince of those wicked men was styled, and had procured from him these instruments of his vengeance; from whence he deduced this consequence, that, being no less hated by Richard, he might be in as much danger. Upon this reflection, by the advice of his council, he formed a particular corps of guards, armed with iron maces, whom he had about his person night and day, and who suffered no stranger to approach him^e. He likewise dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, to pacify the prince of the Assassins; but, when they came to his court,

^c Wil. Brit. Philip. lib. iv. N. Trivet Annal. Chalons.

^d Monach. Acconens. Mez.

^e Appendix ad Chronicon

Sigeberti.

the Old Man of the Mountain told them plainly, that he had no resentment against their master; that he had never been solicited by the king of England to his prejudice, and that he had caused the marquis of Montferrat to be killed, because he looked upon him as his enemy, and without having any correspondence with Richard ^f. Philip in the mean time having his head full of intrigues, entered into a close alliance with John, the brother, but the mortal enemy of king Richard. His own queen Isabella being dead in his absence, he resolved to marry Ingerberge, the daughter of Waldemar, and the sister of Canute king of Denmark, without any other portion than the transferring to him the whole claim of the Danes upon England, and affording him the assistance of a fleet; but the court of Denmark declining this proposition, he was content to take this princess with the small fortune that they offered. Before her arrival, the marriage was not very acceptable to the French ^g; though her merit procured her afterwards the esteem of the whole nation.

A. D. 1196.

It seems that Richard had intelligence of these proceedings in Syria; and on account of them, as well as because of a grievous fit of sickness, he determined to return: but in his passage home he was shipwrecked on the coast of Dalmatia, and endeavouring to pass in disguise through the country of Leopold, duke of Austria, whom he had highly offended at the siege of Acon, he was discovered and taken prisoner. After much ill usage, the duke sold him to the emperor Henry VI. who was of a harsh disposition, necessitous, and avaricious. He gave notice of this event, as an acceptable piece of news to king Philip, who offered him a large sum of money for his prisoner, which he refused ^h. The king and prince John now entered into a new contract, by which the latter was to deliver up several places, and to leave the king at liberty to despoil Richard of what he thought proper in Normandy, while he himself used his utmost endeavours to get possession of the crown of England. In order to give these dishonourable measures some kind of colour, Philip sent to denounce war against Richard in his prison, and then assembled an army to invade his territories. The nobility of France obeyed him very unwillingly; they put him in mind of his oath, of the scandal of attacking a prince who

Philip enters into an alliance with John against his brother king Richard.

^f Roger de Hoveden. ^g Rigord. Du Tillet. Mez.
^h Annales Francorum. Le Gendre.

was still under the cross, and the inhumanity of making war upon one who was in no condition to resist him. Philip pretended that he had no intention to spoil Richard of his dominions, or to take any thing but what of right belonged to himself, insisting chiefly on the treaty that had been made between them in Sicily, in which Richard had stipulated to deliver up the town of Gisors and the Vexin: he added, that he was bound to deliver up his sister, who was kept prisoner in the citadel of Rouen¹. He quickly regained the places which he claimed, and afterwards made himself master of Evreux, which he gave to prince John, the castle excepted, into which he put a strong garrison. He also besieged Rouen without effect. There is no doubt that this usage must have irritated Richard, who, notwithstanding, found himself obliged to dissemble; for having discovered that the emperor was inclined to sell him to Philip, or at least to take money to keep him in prison, he directed William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, to pass over into France, and solicit king Philip to desist from these intrigues, allowing him to make the best terms for him he could obtain. Out of mere shame, and in order to avoid the reproaches of his nobility, the king consented, and the old queen-dowager, with infinite difficulty, procured him the best part of his ransom: "but we may judge of the true disposition of Philip by the message he sent to prince John, when he heard that king Richard was at length released, "Take care of yourself, for the devil is unchained²."

A. D. 1193.

Richard passes with an army into France, and gains some advantages over Philip.

Richard had prevailed upon the emperor, and the most considerable princes in Germany, to threaten Philip with an invasion, if he did not surrender all the places he had taken. The king, considering these menaces as a declaration of war, invaded Normandy, and besieged Verneuil; and Richard passed with an army, and a fleet of upwards of a hundred sail, from England, and debarked at Barfleur, from whence he marched with great rapidity to give Philip battle. His brother John, who saw himself now at his mercy, resolved, if he could, to recover his favour, and, if possible, his confidence. The method he took was singular, as well as perfidious. He invited the French officers at Evreux to an entertainment, and, when they had drunk plentifully, caused them to be cut to pieces, to the

¹ Polydor. Virgil. P. Dan.

² Appendix ad Chronicon Sigeberti.

number of three hundred, and placed their heads upon stakes along the wall; a massacre which so far had its effect, as it convinced the king his brother that a reconciliation with the French king would never be in his power. Philip no sooner received these tidings than, leaving his camp in the night with a choice body of troops, he marched with such expedition, that he easily surpris'd Evreux, put all the English he found to the sword, with most of the inhabitants, and burnt the place to the ground^l. His revenge cost him very dear: his army, not being in the secret of the expedition, finding the king gone, and having intelligence that Richard was very near, abandoned their camp and their baggage, and dispersed to their respective homes. There followed upon this a negotiation, which came to nothing, because Philip insisted upon an indemnity for those who had taken arms against Richard, to which this last would not consent^m. Philip being again in the field, the English monarch laboured all that was in his power to bring him to a battle; and, at length, finding him in the neighbourhood of Vendosme, encamped so near that it could not well be avoided; Philip made use of an artifice, which failed him: he sent a message to Richard, that, if he remained on the same ground, he would give him battle. The king of England returned for answer, that he would find him ready, and that if he failed he would come the next day and attack him. The design of the king of France was to retire, which Richard penetrated. He therefore, began to advance as soon as the messenger returned, attacked and routed the army on their march, and took the French chancery which then attended the king; so that, by this unlucky accident, all the titles of the crown fell into the possession of Richard, to the irreparable loss of the French nationⁿ. Philip, notwithstanding, made an irruption, not long after, into Normandy, with success; and though the pope's legate made great efforts to bring about a treaty, yet they produced only a truce, which lasted but a little time. The emperor, with the assistance of king Richard, proposed to render the realm of France a fief of the empire^o. Richard recommenced hostilities, which were now carried on with unusual fury on both sides. In a little time, how-

A. D. 1195.

^l G. Neubrig. Polyd. Virg. ^m Annales Francorum. P. Æmil.
ⁿ Rigord. Roger Hoveden. ^o R. de Monte. Mez.

destroying their people, must necessarily turn to their mutual loss, without rendering either of them great: therefore, in the month of November, they concluded a truce, and the next year a decisive peace, upon equal terms; by which the princess Alice recovered her liberty, and soon after espoused the count of Ponthieu, after having been the source of so much discord and bloodshed between the two nations ^p.

A new war between the monarchs of France and England, which is terminated by a peace under the mediation of the count of Flanders.

The peace of Louviers, as it was called, from the place where it was made, seemed to promise a lasting tranquility to the dominions of the two kings; notwithstanding which it was broke in six months. Philip pretended to take offence at king Richard's having dispossessed one of his vassals, and razed his fortrefs; and, without making any application for redress, renewed the war by besieging Aumale. Richard was very soon in the field, and hostilities were carried on for some time with a variety of success. The English monarch, whom experience had taught caution, managed his affairs at this time with extraordinary address. He detached the count of Thoulouse from the party of king Philip, by giving him his sister Joan in marriage, the widow of William king of Sicily; he brought over the Bretons to his interest, by insinuating to the young duke Arthur, or rather to his ministers, that he might render him his successor; and he engaged Baldwin earl of Flanders in his alliance, by suggesting that it was the only way to recover the rich country of Artois, which, in virtue of his first marriage, Philip had reannexed to the crown. By these treaties, and by receiving all who were aggrieved, or thought themselves aggrieved, by Philip, he caused him to be attacked on every side, and brought him into very great difficulties ^q. Philip, however, brought himself into greater; for giving a loose to his resentment, and relying upon that good fortune which hitherto had attended him in his exploits, he exposed himself like a young man, without any consideration of the numbers he attacked, or was attacked by; which rashness, though not fatal to himself, proved exceedingly so to the best of his troops, and to the nobility most attached to his person. Hearing that Arras was besieged by the count of Flanders, he turned his whole forces on that side, and marched against him with a very numerous army. The count, know-

^p Wil. Brit. Rog. Hoved. Annal.

^q Rigord, Nicol. Triveti

ing his inferiority, raised the siege, and retired: the king, hurried by his passions, followed him till he found himself so entangled in a country full of marshes, dykes, and inclosures, that he was unable to advance, or to procure provisions for his army. In these circumstances he was constrained to treat with the count, and, by fair promises, procured his leave to retire †. Upon this occasion, Baldwin became a mediator between the two kings, and laboured assiduously to make peace. His good intention was not followed by the success that he expected, and all that it produced was a truce for a year, when the war broke out again with greater fury than ever; till at length, pope Innocent the Third interposing, the two kings consented to a truce for five years. It was on the point of being broken almost as soon as it was made, if the insurrection had not been prevented by the activity and address of the cardinal legate, who managed several conferences between the two kings, and at last brought them to relish a plan for a solid peace; but, before it could be concluded, Richard was unfortunately slain before an inconsiderable castle, which he besieged, in hopes of taking from one of his vassals a great mass of gold, which he had found hid in the earth †.

A.D. 1199.

The death of Richard was one of the most fortunate events that could have fallen out for king Philip; but before we enter into any detail of the events that followed it, it may be requisite to give a succinct account of the troubles that happened in France from the king's second marriage. Though Ingerberge was a princess of great beauty and merit, yet the king was so disgusted the first night of their marriage, that he separated from her immediately, and would have sent her home again, but as she appeared very averse to returning, he contented himself with placing her in a monastery, where she had a handsome allowance, and where her modesty, piety, and patience, gained her universal esteem †. This, however, did not hinder some of the bishops of France from gratifying the king with a divorce, on the old pretence of alliance in blood, made out from a pedigree not over well founded. In virtue of which sentence, he thought himself at liberty to espouse, three years after the marriage of this princess, Agnes de Merania, daughter to the duke of Dalmatia; but upon the complaint of the king of Den-

King Philip compelled to return to queen Ingerberge, and the death of his mistress.

† Robt. de Mont. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti. † Wil. Brit. Gulielm. Neubrig. † Rigord, Monach. Acquicinctinus.

mark to pope Celestin, he caused an enquiry to be made into this matter, and declared the second marriage null. Philip solicited pope Innocent for a reversion of his sentence, which was granted; yet it served only to create delay; and at length the cardinal legate intimated the pope's decree, that he was to put away Agnes, and take back his queen ^d. The king not complying, the pope proceeded to an interdict, which subsisted about seven months; at which Philip was so provoked, that he seized the temporalities of the bishops, imprisoned the canons of cathedral churches, laid impositions on the inferior clergy, and at length taxed his lay subjects in a most oppressive manner; all which steps it was in his power to take, because, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, he kept up a standing army of mercenary troops. He grew tired, however, of living in such a state of violence, and, applying to the pope, promised entire submission, in case he would suffer the divorce and the second marriage to be once more reviewed ^e. This concession was accepted, the interdict removed, and a council appointed at Soissons to examine every thing afresh. Thither Philip repaired, and finding, in spite of all his authority and address, that a decree would be pronounced against him, he sent the legate word, that he had settled the affair himself: then leaving Soissons, having first taken Ingerberge out of her convent, he carried her behind him on horseback to Paris, where he owned her publicly for his queen; for grief of which Agnes soon after died: but the son and daughter he had by her were legitimated by the pope; a circumstance which was but ill received in France, where the people were by no means edified with the pontiff's intermeddling in their affairs in such a manner, and more especially by pretending to regulate the succession ^f.

Enters into a war with John king of England, which is ended by a marriage.

On the death of Richard, John mounted the throne of England, and took possession likewise of his French dominions, in prejudice to his nephew Arthur, who, at the beginning, however, claimed only Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. The old queen-dowager Eleanor was still living, and, by doing homage for Guienne, prevented that country from becoming the seat of war. She sided with her son against her grandson, out of pique to his mother Constance, who was, like herself, a princess of very high spi-

^d Rob. de Mont. Appendix ad Chron. Sigebert. Gesta Innocent III. ^e Rog. Hoved. Du Tillet. ^f Cartulaire M.S. de Phil. August.

rit. Philip, under colour of protecting Arthur, invaded Normandy, which John came in person to defend; however, from the fickleness of his nature, he grew desirous of making peace at any rate; and Philip no sooner perceived this disposition than he set accommodation at too high a price even for John to purchase, notwithstanding the count of Flanders, who charged him with breaking his word, had deserted him, and taken part with the king of England. At length the old queen-dowager devised an expedient, which proved satisfactory to Philip^s. She proposed, that his son and heir apparent Lewis should espouse Blanch, the daughter of Alonso king of Castile, and niece of king John; who, in case he died without heirs, was to entail the succession to his estates in France on the issue of that marriage, and in the mean time was to make a cession to king Philip of the county of Evreux in Normandy, with the Vexin and other territories, the rights of which had been long contested. These terms being accepted, the old queen went into Spain to fetch the princess, who was to be the seal of this treaty; and the marriage being celebrated in Normandy, Arthur, whose cause was in some measure abandoned, did homage to his uncle for the duchy of Bretagne: thus for the present, not without a great mixture of injustice, tranquility was restoredⁿ.

A.D. 1200.

King John, who was a very voluptuous prince, had repudiated Havise, the daughter of the earl of Gloucester; and having seen Isabel d'Angoulême, who was contracted, if not married, to Hugues le Brun, count of March, caused her to be carried away from his house, and, by the consent of her father, married her. As this lady was nearly related to king Philip, he carried her to Paris, where they were treated with the utmost magnificence, and dismissed with all possible demonstrations of the most cordial affection. This situation of things very suddenly changed; the count of March, resenting the injury done him, and drawing many of the nobility to whom he was allied in blood to his party, began some troubles; which John, with great severity suppressed. Complaints of his tyranny were made to king Philip, who wrote in strong terms to the king of England; and this last promised more than he intended to perform. From these small sparks a great flame ensued. Philip, who had mighty things in view, encouraged the young prince Arthur to se himself

That prince, by the murder of his nephews, affords Philip an opportunity of seizing Normandy.

^s Wil. Brit. Nicol. Trivet, & al. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti.

ⁿ Roberti Mont.

at the head of the malecontents, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and furnished him with a large sum of money to raise forces. The first exploit this young prince attempted with his half-formed army, was the siege of Mirebeau, where his grandmother the old queen-dowager resided. King John, already landed in Normandy, marched with great forces to her relief, routed those of his nephew, and took him prisoner ⁱ. This success, which might have been highly advantageous to his affairs, proved his ruin; for having first transferred the poor young prince to Falaise, and from thence to the castle of Rouen, when he found it utterly impossible to detach him from the French interest, he either murdered him with his own hand, or caused him to be murdered, as almost all writers agree. This cruel act rendered him justly odious to all his subjects in France; and his mother applied for justice to Philip, who summoned him to appear and answer to this charge before the court of peers at Paris. Upon his refusal or delay, he declared him, according to the ordinary course of justice, convicted of felony, and all the lands he held as fiefs from the crown of France, confiscated ^k. King John was at this time in a most deplorable situation; the old queen his mother lately dead, most of his nobility in arms against him, some of his ancient allies employed in the fourth crusade in Syria, some dead, and the rest detached from him; so that Philip had the fairest opportunity, as well as the most plausible pretence, for depriving him of Normandy, and the rest of his dominions in France, under colour of executing the sentence of the court of peers; and he was not a prince capable of letting slip even a less promising occasion ^l. But he did nothing precipitately; he took care to have all the forms of law on his side, and, while, he was taking these precautions, he assembled a numerous army, with which he undertook the conquest of Normandy.

A.D. 1202.

Methods used by Philip to extend the power of the crown at the expense of the great vassals.

In less than six months, he either obtained, by intelligence of the principal inhabitants, or reduced by force, all the great towns in the Higher Normandy, while John remained at Caen in such a state of inaction, as not only amazed that but all succeeding ages. The strong fortrels of Chasteau Gaillard made a gallant defence; and John, as if he had waked out of a sleep, assembled a strong fleet and army for its relief; but a concurrence of unfortunate

ⁱ Rob. de Mont. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti. Nicol. Trivet.

^k Mat. Paris.

^l Mezeray, Le Gendre.

accidents rendering his efforts ineffectual, he, in a fit of distraction, returned to England, and seemed to abandon all care of his dominions on the continent. Philip, taking advantage of this desertion, reduced all Lower Normandy with the same facility; insomuch that John had nothing left but the city of Rouen, the inhabitants of which, from a true spirit of loyalty and independency, defended themselves bravely; neither did they surrender, till, acquainting John with their distress, he returned them for answer, that, being able to afford them no relief, they must make the best terms for themselves they could: thus, after a separation of three hundred years, Normandy was again united to the crown of France ^m. This success, far from satisfying, served only to raise and inflame the ambition of Philip, who carried the war into the countries of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, the best part of which he subdued. He saw clearly the superiority he had, and resolved to press it to the utmost. The count of Flanders was in Syria, the count of Champagne a child under his tutelage, the count of Thoulouse embarrassed with the court of Rome, who treated him as a heretic; in short he was free from all the restraints by which his predecessors were in a manner tied down, and he thought the best way he could make of it, was to transmit that liberty which himself enjoyed to his posterity and successors ⁿ. The only error he committed was shewing his sentiments too plainly, and behaving towards some of the nobility as if that was already done, which was only in a fair way of being done; a thing inexcusable in a politician; but, after all, even wise men are but men. Guy de Tours, who was become duke of Bretagne by the marriage of Constance the mother of prince Arthur, and the heiress of that duchy, had, during her life, acted as warmly as any against the English; but that princess being dead, and Guy perceiving plainly what was the intention of Philip, he laboured as much as in him lay to make king John sensible of the weak part he had acted, and to persuade him not to desert such of his subjects as yet remained faithful, and were willing to risk all to preserve what was still remaining of his dominions in France ^o. Moved by these remonstrances, and encouraged by his promises, that monarch came with a fleet and

A.D. 1203.

A.D. 1204.

^m Rob. de Mont. ad Chron. Sigeberti.
P. Æmilius, Annal. Francorum.

ⁿ Mat. Paris,
^o Rigord, Nicol. Tri-

vet. Polyd. Virg.

army to Rochelle; but the fortune of Philip prevailed. John received at the beginning various checks, which made him glad to accept a truce for two years, and the duke of Bretagne, being left to the king's mercy, was forced to make peace upon the best terms he could obtain; which was an event highly acceptable to Philip, who desired nothing so much as an opportunity of punishing or humbling his vassals ^p.

From the same motive connives at the pope's publishing a croisade against the count of Thoulouse.

In the midst of these transactions, a new and very extraordinary scene opened in France. The popes having found a way to raise armies, when, where, and against whom they pleased, by the preaching of a few fanatical furious monks, resolved to make trial of it in Europe against those they stiled heretics, as they had done in Asia against the infidels. Raymond count of Thoulouse, who was a man of free principles, permitted persons of all opinions to reside in his territories, provided their morals were sound, and they did nothing against the public peace. These heretics, as they were stiled, did not agree entirely in sentiments, and it was no wonder, since, in reality, they had been driven out of the church of Rome by a clear sense of her corruptions, or were the remains of the ancient Gothic churches, who had never been infected with them ^q. To these people, because they lived about Albi, they gave the name of Albigeois; against whom, at the instance of Dominic and his disciples, pope Innocent the Third published a croisade, in order to exterminate with the sword such as would not be converted by preaching ^r. This pious commission was offered to king Philip, who refused it, but connived at the execution of it, or perhaps durst not oppose it. Eudes duke of Burgundy, and afterwards Simon de Montfort, were at the head of these miscreants, who stiled themselves the army of the church, and blasphemously ascribed to God all the sacrileges, robberies, and murders, which they committed; desolating all the fine provinces in the south of France, destroying not only those they stiled heretics, but also the Catholics that lived amongst them. Upon all these enormities Philip looked with silence, believing that the miseries the people suffered, and the destruction of nobility in those parts, would pave the way for extending his authority, the only object of which he never lost sight ^s.

^p Wil. Brit. Phil. Mat. Paris.
^r Rog. de Hoved. Hist. Albig.
 dicit ad Chron. Sigeberti.

^q Mezeray, Chalons.
^s Rob. de Mont. Appen-
 dix ad Chron. Sigeberti.

The pope, having once got this new weapon in his hand, imagined himself invincible, and was consequently for employing it wherever he found the least resistance. John king of England had refused to admit cardinal Stephen Langton in quality of legate from the holy see, because he looked upon him as a man wholly devoted to France; and this refusal provoked the pope to such a degree, that he put the kingdom of England under an interdict^t. This brought a furious persecution on the bishops who obeyed it, insomuch that they were obliged to take refuge in France. Pope Innocent, resolving to keep no farther measures, excommunicated the king, and gave his dominions to the first occupier, assigning the same indulgencies to such as fought against this prince, as if they had taken the cross against the infidels. The legates from Rome having proposed this expedition to Philip, he readily undertook it on the supposition that some time or other an attempt would be made to wring Normandy from him; believing it rather his interest to carry the war into England than to expect it at home. Besides, he was desirous to employ his son prince Lewis, who, without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention, had taken the cross against the Albigeois; which enterprize, he supposed, might be dispensed with by his service against the English^u. Many great lords, either out of vain-glory, the desire of obtaining estates in that island, or from pure caprice, applauded his design, and promised to follow him. Philip spent much time in forming an army suitable to so great an undertaking, and in preparing a vast fleet, which, if the French authors are to be credited, consisted of no less than seventeen hundred sail. The king of England, on the other hand, made also great preparations, assembled an army of sixty thousand men, and had also a formidable fleet at Portsmouth, upon which he might have relied; but either from his own suspicions of the fidelity of his subjects, or from the natural fickleness of his temper, he changed his scheme on a sudden, made the meanest submissions to the pope in the person of his legate, cardinal Pandolph, by which he procured absolution, and when Philip expected all the assistance that the authority of the see of Rome could give him, he was threatened with an excommunication if he proceeded in his attempt; but this was not the consideration that induced him to desist^v.

*Is deceived
in his hopes
of gaining
England in
quality of a
papal
champion.*

^t Wil. Brit. Phil.
Annales Francorum.

^u Mat. Paris,

^v P. Æmil.

Finds himself, on the contrary, attacked by king John, and a most powerful confederacy.

The great peril he was in had awakened so much sense in king John, that, with great secrecy and much address, he had negotiated a league upon the continent for the destruction of France, and, as it was perfectly well concerted, the confederates had proceeded to divide the bear's skin; Ferdinand, count of Flanders, was to have the city of Paris and the Isle of France; the count of Bologne was to share the Vermandois; John himself to enjoy the provinces beyond the Loire; and his nephew the emperor Otho was to possess Burgundy and Champagne*. Raymond count of Thoulouse, and the rest of the princes who had been so ill treated by the croisade, had likewise promised to make a diversion on their side. Philip was no sooner acquainted with this confederacy than he turned all his forces against the count of Flanders, ravaged all the flat country, and laid siege to Ghent; to facilitate the reduction of which, he ordered his fleet to repair to the port of Dam. He was quickly obliged to raise the siege, by the news that the squadrons of king John had taken three hundred of his ships, laden with all sorts of ammunition and military stores, sunk a hundred more, and blocked up all the rest in the haven and canal†. They had likewise the boldness to land a small body of troops, which, marching directly towards the French camp, Philip surprised and cut the best part of them to pieces; which trivial success could not console him for the loss he had already sustained, and much less for that which followed; since, having no other way to keep them out of the hands of the English, he was constrained to order all the rest of his fleet to be burnt. King John, animated by this little gleam of prosperity, transported a considerable army to Rochelle, where he no sooner landed, than the Poitevins revolted in his favour: he afterwards made himself master of Angiers, the fortifications of which had been demolished, and were by him repaired: in fine, he ravaged all the country as far as the frontiers of Bretagne‡. Philip, foreseeing the ill consequences that might attend this unexpected diversion, sent his son Lewis with a considerable force to oppose him. Some of the French historians say, that, upon his approach, king John decamped so precipitately, that he left his heavy baggage and engines of war behind him; but others assure us there were faults on both sides; that the Poitevins, afraid of being treated as re-

A. D. 1213.

* Wil. Brit. Phil. lib. x. Francorum, Chron. Belgii.

† Mat. Paris, P. Æmil. Annales
‡ Dupleix.

bels, abandoned the field, and that a great part of the French army, being seized with the like panic, behaved as ill; but, however this matter passed, it seems to be certain, that king John retired to his castle at Partenai, resolved to wait there for the event of the campaign in Flanders, where the best of his own troops were, and indeed the combined forces of the whole confederacy, under the command of the emperor in person^a.

King Philip believing it more honourable, and not at all more dangerous, to meet than to expect his enemies, advanced as far as Tournay, with an army of fifty thousand men, the flower of his forces, commanded by the principal nobility of France, such as Eudes duke of Burgundy, Robert count of Dreux, Philip his brother, Peter Courtenai count of Nevers, all princes of the blood; Stephen count of Sancerre, John count of Ponthieu, Gaucher count of St. Paul; twenty-two other lords carrying banners, twelve hundred knights, and between six and seven thousand gens d'arms. The emperor Otho, on the other side, had with him the earl of Salisbury, bastard brother to king John, Ferdinand count of Flanders, Rainald count of Bologne, Otho duke of Limburgh, William duke of Brabant, Henry duke of Lorraine, Philip count of Namur, seven or eight German princes, thirty bannerets, and an army superior in number to that of Philip. The two armies met near the village of Bouvines, on the 27th of July. The emperor laboured to outstretch the French line, giving the command of the right wing to the earl of Flanders, the left to the count of Bologne, and remained himself in the center, encircled by his great lords. The army of France was disposed in order of battle by brother Guerin, of the order of the knights Hospitallers, and bishop elect of Senlis; and to the excellent disposition he made contemporary writers ascribe the fortune of the day. The king was in the center, the duke of Burgundy commanded the right, and the count de St. Paul the left. The right was broke in the beginning of the action, but rallied and recovered their ground; the left sustained the attack of the allies, without giving way; but the heat of the battle was in the center, where the emperor was once taken, but rescued; Philip was wounded in the throat, dragged from his horse, and in the same instant of time exposed to the most imminent danger of being cut to pieces, taken, or trampled to death,^a if the brave men who

*The important
victory at
Bouvines.*

A. D. 1214.

^a Nich. Trivet.

were about him had not delivered him. This engagement lasted from noon till about five o'clock, when the allies were totally routed, chiefly through the misfortune of having the sun all the time in their eyes, whereas the French had it on their backs. The counts of Flanders and Bologne, three other great counts, four German princes, and twenty-five bannerets, were taken prisoners. Philip returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph; the two counts of Flanders and Bologne following in chains^a. He afterwards advanced towards Poitou, with an intent to crush John and his adherents; but upon the interposition of the pope's legate, the submission of John by Randal earl of Chester, and a present of sixty thousand pounds sterling, he was prevailed upon to admit of a truce for five years; for which he is exceedingly blamed by the modern French writers, who are amazed that he should lose so fair an opportunity of completing the re-union of all that John held in France. The character of this prince considered, who was one of the best statesmen, and one of the most ambitious princes the French ever had, is sufficient to persuade us, that he had his reasons for acting as he did, and a sufficient attention to certain facts that lie scattered in the old writers, will enable us to distinguish what these motives were^b. He was sensible before the battle of Bouvines, that it was his own power rather than any regard for the king of England, that had raised so powerful a confederacy; he knew they had intelligence throughout his dominions, and even in his very camp; nay, he was so suspicious of some about him, that, when he heard divine service before the action began, he caused a crown of gold to be placed upon the altar, and sold all the lords present, that, as they fought not for him, but for the honour and independency of France, if they knew any one amongst themselves more worthy to wear it, he was ready to place the crown upon his head, and to fight under his command; which generous proceeding extinguished all disaffection on that important day: but, after his return to Paris, he came to know so distinctly how dissatisfied the bulk of the nobility were at the increase of his power^c, that he thought it an improper juncture to augment it, and chose rather to amass money that might enable him to pay an army of his own, than to risque his person any longer in one, where the troops of the crown

^a Rob. de Mont. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti.

iielm. Brit. P. Emil.

^c Rigord, Annales de Danstaple.

^b Gu-

bore but a small proportion to those of his vassals, whose army it was in effect more than his own.

The war being thus ended, the king suffered his son Lewis to perform his vow, in marching with a body of troops against the Albigeois, who by this time were almost entirely reduced; so that he rather inspired with jealousy Simon de Montfort, who commanded the crosses, than did them any real service^d. While he was thus employed, a new occasion offered for gratifying his own and his father's ambition; the barons in England had taken up arms against king John, and had declared him as a tyrant fallen from his regal dignity; but as he had a good army and fleet at his devotion, they found it not so easy to reduce him to the state of a private man as they expected, and therefore they judged it expedient to set up another king; with which view they invited prince Lewis, on the report, as they said, of his virtues, to come and accept of the crown^e. The French historians insist, or rather dream, of a legal right, derived from his wife, who was the grand-daughter of Henry II. forgetting that, besides king John and his family, the princess Eleanor, sister to Arthur, and daughter to Geoffrey, duke of Brctagne, was living: but election was a sufficient right for this purpose; and therefore Lewis, in the flower of his age, and full of heat, readily accepted the offer. How to furnish him with forces for this purpose, was a point not easy to be solved, even by king Philip^f. It was likely to revive the jealousy of his nobility; it was a direct breach of the truce, and it was a step that could not fail of provoking the pope. Philip, therefore, had recourse to a very strange expedient; he disclaimed having any thing to do with his son; he forbid him to meddle with the affairs of England; but furnished him, at the same time, with a good army and a numerous fleet. This finesse was altogether ineffectual; for his nobility were not deceived; the truce was plainly violated; and the pope threatened an interdict. However, Lewis went to England, landed in Kent, took Rochester, and other places, proceeded to London, and was received there as king; but he committed a great error in leaving behind him Dover Castle, which was very ill provided, and which king John immediately reinvited, and reinforced^g. His father Philip having admo-

Lewis, his apparent to Philip, is invited by the barons to receive the crown of England.

A.D. 1215.

A.D. 1216.

^d Histor. Albigenf. ^e Mat. Paris. Nich. Trivet. Polyd. Virg.

^f Rig. Gaguin. P. Æmil. Annales Francorum.

^g Gulielm. Brit.

nished him of his error, Lewis besieged the place, but without effect, as he did Windsor also with the same want of success. While his forces were thus employed, John marched through the kingdom with his army, and took a severe revenge of his enemies, ravaging their lands, and demolishing their castles, till surpris'd by a sudden death ^b. In the mean time the pope had excommunicated both Lewis and Philip, and had commanded the bishops of France to put the kingdom under an interdict; which, though they refused to do, upon the king's declaring he took no part in this war, yet he was so much afraid of assisting his son, that Lewis was constrained to make a truce with the young king Henry III. that he might have time to pass over into France, in order to obtain succours, without which he saw it was impossible to support his daily declining party ⁱ. It may be remarked, that at this time a minority proved of singular advantage to England.

Ent, in the close is oblig'd to capitulate, and to quit the kingdom upon terms.

The terror of the papal power was at this time so great, that king Philip refused to see his son, at least publicly, while he remained in France, and so many precautions were us'd in furnishing him with supplies, that he received no great benefit from this voyage; while in England the defection became greater and greater, occasioned chiefly by a report, that the viscount of Melun had declared upon his death-bed, that Lewis look'd upon the barons as traitors, and resolv'd, as soon as it was in his power, to rid himself of them at any rate ^k. At his return Lewis attack'd Dover again, with the same ill fortune; and though his army afterwards reduced the city of Lincoln, yet, while they were engag'd in the siege of the castle, they were surpris'd and defeated by the earl of Pembroke, who, in this action, took no less than fifty-two persons of distinction prisoners. This disaster so much enfeebled the party of Lewis, that, in order to preserve the city of London, he was forced to shut himself up there with all his forces ^l. In this distress he redoubled his applications to his father for relief. Philip, not daring to assist him in any other way, recommended him to the care of his consort Blanch, who very speedily rais'd a body of troops, under the command of Robert de Courtenai, and embark'd them on board a strong squadron, commanded by Eustace le Moine: but the English fleet attack'd them

^b Du Tiller, & al.

ⁱ Rigord. Nich. Trivet. Polyd. Virg.

^k Rob. de Mont. Appendix ad Chron. Sigebert. Annales de Duallap. Polyd. Virg.

^l Mat. Paris.

at the mouth of the river Thames, and, having taken the admiral, caused his head to be struck off, because he had been formerly in the English service; an execution which so intimidated the rest, that, crowding all their sail, they returned into the French harbour. This retreat left Lewis no other means of saving himself than by a treaty, which he made in person with the young king Henry, the legate, and the earl of Pembroke: the terms were, that Lewis and the lords with him should take an oath to stand to the judgment of the church; to return quietly into France; to use their endeavours to procure the restitution of Normandy, and the rest of the countries possessed by king Philip; and, in case they should not succeed, to restore them whenever Lewis became king^m. On the other hand, the barons were restored to all their liberties and privileges, and the prisoners taken in the battle of Lincoln, and at the rout of the French fleet, were to be set free. The legate, upon the execution of this treaty, absolved prince Lewis; who returned to France, where he was again absolved by the pope's legate with much ceremonyⁿ.

At the expiration of the five years truce, which had been concluded with king John, Philip sent his son Lewis to besiege Rochelle, which he reduced; but, upon the coming over of the earls of Kent and Salisbury, the truce was again renewed for four years more, and the city of Rochelle restored^o. By this time, the cruelty of the crosses, under the command of Simon de Montfort, had so wore out the patience of the people in the south of France, that they had restored the old count of Thoulouse, and Simon, besieging him in that city, was killed before it; upon which pope Honorius III. earnestly solicited king Philip to send Lewis once more against the Albigeois, and the monks were ordered to preach again the croisade^p. The king, after much intreaty, consented; Lewis took the command of the army, but made no great progress, either through want of zeal in himself, or in virtue of secret instructions from his father; who at length, in tenderness to his reputation, thought fit to recall him^q.

The principal motive to the recalling prince Lewis was to have him present at a great council of the nobility

A. D. 1219.

*Is sent against the Albigeois.**The death of Philip Augustus.*

^m Mat. Paris, Nic. Triwet. Polyd. Virg. Dunitaple. ^o P. Æmil. Annal. Francorum. Mont. Appendix ad Chron. Sigeberti.

ⁿ Annales de Rob. de Nang. Chron.

A.D. 1223.

and prelates, which was to be held at Paris, to consider of the offer made by Amauri de Montfort, the eldest son of Simon; who, surmising that Lewis had carried on the war against the Albigeois so coldly because the crown had no immediate interest in it, proposed, out of his zeal against the heretics, to resign to the crown his rights to the duchy of Narbonne, the county of Thoulouse, and all the lands that had been so liberally bestowed upon his father by pope Innocent the Third in the council of Lateran. The king also returning out of his new conquest for the same purpose, fell ill of a fever at Mante, where he died, on the 14th of July, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty-ninth of his age^r. Philip is allowed to have been the greatest monarch that reigned in France from the time of Charlemagne, and that very deservedly, in whatever light he is considered. As a politician, he did more towards restoring the authority of the crown than all his predecessors, and indeed as much as could be expected; for at the time of his demise the balance between the crown and its vassals was destroyed, and the great check of the English power removed. As a captain, he was the first who introduced regular troops in his own pay; who reduced war to a system; encouraged the invention of military engines; and introduced a regular method of defending and besieging towns. As the patron of letters he revived and augmented the privileges of the university of Paris^s; laid the foundations of the castle of the Louvre; caused most of the great towns in his dominions to be walled and paved; and, in the latter end of his life, expended the immense treasure he had amassed in making great roads, building bridges, and in constructing other edifices for public use; works which shew that his laying up money did not arise from a spirit of avarice, but from a view to public utility, otherwise he would never have parted with it, more especially in his old age. But that for which he is most celebrated by the French historians, is, the reuniting to the crown Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, Auvergne, Vermandois, Artois, Montargis, and Guienne; so that he left the kingdom of France twice as large as he received it,

^r Wil. Brit. Phil. lib. xii. Gesta Ph. Augusti. in Prolog. Gulieim. Brit. Gesta Phil. August.

^s Rigord

and by these means made reunions twice as easy to his successors (G).

Lewis the Eighth, surnamed the Lion, was crowned with his consort queen Blanch, on the 8th of August, at Rheims, by the archbishop of that city, in the presence of the titular king of Jerusalein, and the principal nobility of the kingdom. Henry of England, instead of coming in person, or sending any to represent him at this solemnity, demanded by an embassy soon after, that the king, in pursuance of his treaty and oath, should restore to him the dominions which his father had possessed in France^u. But the times were changed, and Lewis an-

Lewis VIII. absolutely refuses to execute the treaty of London.

^t Du Tillet, Dupleix. Annales Francorum.

^u Gesta Ludovici VIII. P. Æmil.

(G) This famous monarch was of a middle stature, well proportioned, had regular features; but the misfortune to have two specks on one of his eyes. He was affable and easy in his manners, and had the general good of his subjects at heart. His first queen was Isabel, daughter of Baldwin the Brave, count of Hainault, whom he espoused the 28th of April, 1180. Three years after, he banished her to Senlis, for having spoke to him a little too warmly in behalf of the cardinal of Rheims. She died at Paris, March 15th, 1190, in the 21st year of her age, in child-bed of twins, leaving behind her only one son Lewis, who succeeded his father. He espoused at Amiens, Aug. 12th, 1193, Isenburge, or Ingelburge, sister to Canute the Sixth, king of Denmark, whom he repudiated, and procured a divorce, as we have shewn in the text, under pretence of consanguinity. In June, 1196, he married Agnes, the daughter of Bertold the Fourth, duke of Merania, whom many histori-

ans call Mary. She died at Poissi, in 1201, of grief, at his being obliged by the pope to take back his former queen. By her he had Philip Hurspel, that is, *the Rude*, created by his father count of Clermont in Beauvoisis, but who, in right of his wife Matilda, or Maud, became count of Dammartin and Bologne, and gave great disturbance to the queen-regent in the minority of St. Lewis. He had also by the same princess a daughter Mary, in 1206 she espoused Philip, count of Namur, and, after his decease, Henry, duke of Brabant. Notwithstanding the king, to prevent an interdict, took back queen Ingelburge, and was seemingly reconciled, yet he very soon after sent her to Estampes, where she remained twelve years, and then, when it was least expected, he sent for her to Paris, lived with her the remaining ten years of his life in great tranquillity, and, besides her jointure, left her, by will, ten thousand livres, as a mark of his affection.

swered roundly, that he espemed his title to the forfeited dominions, which his father united to the crown, as uncontrollable; and that, with respect to his own treaty, he looked upon it to be void, because he was informed the English barons were not restored to all their privileges, and that the French prisoners had been obliged to pay ransom ^w. As it was pretty evident a war would ensue as soon as the truce expired, the king renewed his treaty with the emperor Frederick, and soon after made another with Hughes count de March, who had married the queen-dowager of England. These precautions being taken, Lewis resolved to prosecute his father's design, which was the total expulsion of the English: he raised for this purpose a numerous army, with which he besieged Niort: the place was defended by Savari de Mauleon, who had hitherto been the chief support of the English interest in Poitou. He made a gallant defence, but was at length obliged to capitulate, and retire with his garrison to Rochelle. Lewis next made himself master of St. John d'Angeli, and afterwards marched his victorious army to besiege Rochelle. Savari, who had the reputation of being one of the greatest captains of that age, behaved in a manner suitable to that character, and solicited continually relief from England, more especially in money; but, being deluded with fallacious promises, and a quarrel arising between the garrison and the inhabitants, he was obliged to capitulate, and was permitted to embark with his garrison for England; where, looking upon himself as very ill treated, he returned into France, and entered into the service of king Lewis ^x. All that the English now possessed was the city of Bourdeaux, and the country beyond the Garonne. To preserve this, Henry sent a stout squadron, with a considerable corps of troops on board, commanded by his brother Richard, whom he made a knight, and created earl of Cornwall and count of Poitou ^y. This measure had an extraordinary effect, the nobility, clergy, and people, naturally inclined to the English, were so pleased to have a prince of the royal blood amongst them, that they enabled him to make such efforts as induced king Lewis to make a truce for three years; for which he is, by some writers, very much blamed ^z.

The apparent motive of the king's conduct was his be-

^w Nang. Chron. Gesta Ludovici VIII.
Annales Francorum.

^x P. Æmil.
^y Mat. Paris, Annales de Dunstaple.

^z Du Tillet, J. de Serres.

ing warmly pressed by a legate from the pope to take the cross, and to march against the Albigeois; he at length complied. He accepted, upon this occasion, what his father had refused, that is, the cession of the rights of Amauri de Montfort, to whom he promised the high post of constable of France, when it should become vacant. While he was preparing for this expedition a very extraordinary affair happened. There appeared in Flanders a man who styled himself Baldwin emperor of Constantinople, consequently the natural sovereign of that country, and as such he was joyfully received by the people^a. The countess, who had governed from the time of her husband Ferdinand's imprisonment, finding it impossible to resist, had recourse to the protection of king Lewis; who summoned this emperor Baldwin to attend him at Peronne. The man went thither with great intrepidity; related the manner in which he had fallen into the hands of the Bulgarians; the great hardships he had endured in his captivity; and the way by which he made his escape: but when they questioned him as to things that had passed before he left Flanders, he answered sullenly, that he would say nothing before such a multitude. Upon this refusal, the king dismissed him, but with a safe conduct, till he was out of his dominions. The people now abandoned him, and he was seized by some adherents of the countess, who caused him to be tortured to death as an impostor, an assertion which did not hinder her subjects from reproaching her with her ambition and avarice, that had instigated her to treat in this manner a person she knew to be her father^b. After this transaction, the king having assembled his army, and the cardinal legate having paved the way, by thundering out an excommunication against the young count of Thoulouse, marched directly to Lyons, and from thence, along the banks of the Rhone, to Avignon; where the people would have submitted, but that they were afraid of being plundered. The king refusing to give them any assurance to the contrary, they shut their gates, and he immediately invested the place with an army of fifty thousand men. As the people were driven to despair, they made a very long and obstinate defence, till at length the king, who had with him the principal nobility of France, forced them to yield to a capitulation; but found his army so much diminished, and in so miserable a condition, that he was constrained to defer the siege of Thoulouse, which he had

Enters into the croisade against the Albigeois, and dies at the siege of Avignon.

A.D. 1226.

^a Chron. Belgic. P. Æmil. Annal. Franç. Annales de Dun-
Raple.

^b Gesta Ludovici VIII.

likewise

likewise meditated, to the next year. Retiring into Auvergne, in his passage from thence to Paris he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died in a week at Montpensier, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and fourth of his reign. Some writers say, that his physicians thought he might have recovered, if he would have taken a woman to his bed; but that he chose rather to die than to commit a mortal sin^c. He is thought to have foreseen the troubles that happened upon his death, by his requiring the oaths of the prelates and nobility that were about him, that they would place the crown upon his son's head; and though it is said, that he took this promise under their hands and seals, yet they were not very forward to observe it^d, having long expected such an opportunity of setting up what they esteemed their own rights against those of the crown.

Lewis IX. afterwards styled St. Lewis, succeeds his father, under the tutelage of queen Blanch.

Lewis the Ninth, commonly called St. Lewis, was about twelve years of age when his father died. Some of the prelates, who were near the person of that monarch, having deposed, that he declared his consort tutorefs and regent, the queen-dowager immediately took upon her the title and power, assembled forces, and resolved to carry her son to Rheims, though the see was then vacant, in order to be crowned. Authors speak very differently of this princess; for some make her a miracle of beauty and piety; others assert, that she was rather agreeable than handsome, and that, if she had her virtues, she had her weaknesses also^e. That she was beloved by Thibaut count of Champagne was the common rumour of that age, grounded upon the songs and poems written by him in her praise. In answer to the objection, that her lover was one of the first who declared himself a malecontent, it is said, that he did this from jealousy, the queen being wholly directed by the advice of the cardinal legate, who was suspected to love the queen, and who it was also suspected was not hated by her^f. But it is very probable these are but calumnies, since Blanch was at this time towards forty, and the count of Champagne little more than half as old; so that his passion was to be regarded rather as vanity, with which the queen ought to have been offended, and so at first it seems she was, since she gave express directions for arresting him, in case he had come

^c Chron. Nang. Gulielm. de Podio. ^d P. Æmil. ^e Phil. Mouskes MS. de la Bibliotheque du Roi. ^f Mat. Paris; Annales de Dunstaple, Nichol. Trivet.

to Rhems; but afterwards her affairs taught her to make another use of his folly, which, as we shall see, her son knew how to chastise. In the mean time, perceiving the disaffection of the nobility, she caused her son to be crowned by the bishop of Soissons, though there were only three counts, the great officers of the crown, and a few prelates, present at that ceremony; which was one of the wisest steps she could take^g.

The great lords, perceiving how much their power had been lessened, and their authority restrained, by the two last kings, thought this minority, which was the third from the death of Hugh Capet, a favourable opportunity to recover both; and therefore they made certain demands, which they insisted should be granted before they rendered homage to the new king. The chiefs of this confederacy were, Philip, count of Bologne, the son of Philip Augustus, who was suspected to have a design upon the crown; Joanna, countess of Flanders, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to the queen-regent; Peter de Dreux, second son to Robert count of Dreux, and grandson of Robert, fourth son to Lewis the Gros, who, by the marriage of Constance, the daughter of the heiress of Bretagne by Guy de Thours, held that country with the title of count, and who was very desirous of rendering himself independent of the crown; Thibaut, count of Champagne, out of vanity and pique; Raymond, count of Thoulouse, in hopes of recovering and securing his dominions; Berenger, count of Provence; from the strict alliance he had long held with Raymond. The points upon which they insisted, were, that as the queen was a stranger, she ought to give them some security that she would not violate the laws; that she should restore the estates of such as had been confiscated during the last reigns; and that she should release such as were prisoners, particularly Ferdinand, count of Flanders; all which demands she peremptorily refused^h. In order to secure herself, and to make them sensible of her resentment, she marched immediately with an army against the count of Champagne, having with her the count de Bologne, who had not as yet declared for the malecontents. Some writers say, that she compelled Thibaut to pay homage to

The confederacy against the queen-regent, and the true motives of those who composed it.

^g Gesta Sancti Ludovici IX. Francorum Regis, Descripta per Gulielm. Nangiaco.

^h Histoire et Chronique de Saint Louis Roy de France, par J. Sire de Joinville, Seneschal de Champagne. Annales Francorum.

the king, and to acknowledge his indiscretion; but others allege, that she only signified to him that she had a mind to see him at court, and that thereupon he quitted his party, and went to throw himself at her feet. There is certainly the greater probability of this from her conduct towards the rest; for having twice summoned them to answer before the parliament, she at length condescended to treat with them all, and by a proper distribution of favours to them, and of money to their favourites, drew them gradually to submission. In one instance she shewed great dexterity: the countess of Flanders, whom the populace reproached with the murder of her father, and who, by pretending she could not raise his ransom, had left her husband Ferdinand so many years in prison, was now inclined to get that marriage dissolved, with a view of marrying the count of Bretagne. To prevent this match, the queen set count Ferdinand at liberty, upon such easy terms, that he remained ever after attached to her service. It is also said that she prevented Henry III. of England from coming to the assistance of the malecontents, by attacking the weak side of his minister, the great earl of Kent, who, with many heroic qualities, loved money too much, and for a large sum suffered the expedition to fail for want of a fleetⁱ. Yet, when she thought all quiet, she found herself in the greatest danger.

*Is revived
when it
appeared
to be dissi-
pated.*

The old count of Bologne, who was taken at the battle of Bouvines, had been all this time in prison; and finding he was to remain there, when the count of Flanders was discharged, freed himself, in a fit of despair, from life and chains together. The king's uncle, Philip, who had been restrained by the fear of the queen's setting his father-in-law at liberty, now joined the malecontents. Their first scheme was to seize the person of the king in his passage from Orleans to Paris; but the queen, being informed of this by the count of Champagne, carried the king to a strong fortress upon the road, and having given notice of his danger to the people of Paris, they came with a force sufficient to conduct him in safety to his capital^k. This disappointment, though it disconcerted, did not dissolve the confederacy, except in appearance; for having taken their measures with the count of Bretagne, they separated, as if they had given all for lost. The count of Bretagne broke out into open rebellion; and the king

ⁱ Nangius in Vita Ludovici IX.
Joinville Histoire de St. Louis.

^k Chronicon Alberic.

having

having named the place of rendezvous on the frontiers, all the malecontents, with high professions of loyalty, promised to repair thither. They did so, but with so slender a force, that the count might easily have made the king prisoner, which was what they designed: but the count of Champagne, whom they had trusted in this as in the former plot, arrived, when they least expected it, with so great a force, that the count de Bretagne, instead of triumphing, was forced to submit, and make the best terms with the king and queen-regent that he could obtain¹. The queen having, by the assistance of the cardinal legate, drawn an immense subsidy from the clergy in France, assisted the army of the church so powerfully, that the count of Thoulouse, being reduced to extremity, made a peace on the hardest terms. He consented to give his daughter to the king's brother Alonso, and declare her sole heiress of his estates, by which means they were afterwards annexed to the crown^m.

In the mean time the malecontents had drawn the count of Champagne back to their party, by offering to him the daughter of the count of Bretagne; yet the king, being informed of this intended match, broke it by a letter sent to the count, when all things were prepared for its celebration; a circumstance which so incensed the malecontents, that they sent for the queen of Cyprus, who had a claim to this country, and on her behalf entered Champagne with an army. This invasion occasioned the revolt of a great part of the count's vassals; but the king came to his relief with a powerful army, and obliged his enemies to retire. At length the claim of the queen of Cyprus was compromised for a sum of money, which the king advanced by the sale of a considerable part of the count's territories; so that, upon the whole, the crown was the greatest gainer in this transactionⁿ.

In the course of her regency the queen gave repeated proofs of her firmness and address. She made use of the earl of Flanders to curb the count of Bologne when in arms; and, at length, she totally detached him from the party of the malecontents, by convincing him he was deceived by them; and that, while they affected to flatter him with hopes of the crown, they in reality designed it for Enguerrand de Coucy, a nobleman of great merit and parts, but weak enough to believe that they were sincere in

They attack the count of Champagne.

A D. 1222.

Queen Blanch's regency no prejudice to the king or kingdom.

¹ Nicol. Triveti Annales.

^m Du Chesne, tom. v.

ⁿ Nangius in Vita Ludovici IX.

these propositions °. But Philip, count of Bologne, wisely accepted a good pension, and reconciled himself to his nephew and his mother. In short, she applied the money she received from the clergy so prudently, that very often those who appeared to be the most zealous amongst the malecontents were but her spies; and if there were any who refused her money, she gave it out positively that they had accepted it; so that they were in continual disputes and jealousies of each other †. As for the count of Bretagne, he could do nothing without the king of England's assistance. The queen's liberalities were so acceptable to his ministers, that sometimes she hindered him from succouring the count, and rendered his expeditions fruitless when he did; so that, after taking one of the count's principal fortresses, in a manner under the king's eye, she forced the former to submit, and the latter to consent to a truce for three years: thus the troubles of her regency were ended, without the least prejudice to the king's authority or domain ‡.

Yet exposes that princess to great censure.

After all, she was far from escaping censure, and the great pains she took about the king's education was made the subject. Those to whom she entrusted it were chiefly clergy, who took more pains to impress on his mind sentiments of religion than politics. The courtiers, who were by no means pleased, published very different stories, some deplored the fate of the kingdom, the monarch of which was like to have no other abilities than those of a monk; while others whispered, that the young king could dissemble as well as his mother, and that, notwithstanding his modest appearance, he had privately his mistresses, with which circumstance the regent was not unacquainted, but that she was willing he should indulge other passions while she indulged her ambition †. The queen, to prevent their rendering that a truth, which was at present a calumny, resolved to marry the young king, in his nineteenth year, to Margaret, the eldest daughter of the count of Provence. That project being executed without difficulty or delay, she kept the young king, and his younger wife, so much under her eye ‡, and in such awe, as furnished materials for fresh stories, which, though not altogether groundless, she treated with contempt, and continued to take her measures according to her own sense

° Nangius in Vita Ludovici IX.

† Math. Paris.

‡ Du

Tillet.

† Joinville Histoire de St. Louis.

° Math Paris.

Du Tillet.

of things, without giving herself much pain about what was thought of them by others.

The count de Bretagne remained still in the same mutinous disposition, and was, at every turn, labouring to bring an army of English auxiliaries over to his assistance. Lewis, by his mother's advice, resolved, once for all, to put an end to this danger, by attacking him with a puissant force; the queen, in the mean time, having drawn several of the lords in Bretagne from their attachment to the count, and having such an intelligence in England as left her free from any apprehensions of a descent from thence. When, therefore, the king approached the frontiers with an army, the count, who had done homage to the king of England for his territories, desired leave to demand succour from that monarch, which, if he did not receive, he promised to submit. This was indulged him, and Henry refusing to come with a fleet and army to relieve him, he returned, and presented himself before Lewis with a rope about his neck. The king, however, after some hard words, and the imposition of very rigorous terms, dismissed him, sufficiently humbled, and yet glad to escape even at that rate^t. Lewis having attained the age of twenty-one years, might, as the constitution of France then stood, have taken the reins of government into his own hands; but queen Blanch was not weary of ruling; and the king had so much deference for his mother, that though she laid aside the title of regent, she exercised the same authority as before. Thibaut, count of Champagne, being become, in right of his mother, king of Navarre, and having found an immense sum in the treasury of that crown, began to surmise, that it was not a sale, but a mortgage he had made of the estates which some years before he had surrendered to the crown. But the king, notwithstanding the interposition of the pope, made him so sensible of the superior weight of his arms, that he was constrained to submit^v. The manner in which these potent vassals of the crown had been from time to time mortified, and the sense they had of the impossibility of giving the crown any remarkable disquiet at this juncture, induced them to follow the example of the king of Navarre, who had taken the cross, that they might go and display their courage and their power, at the same time that they indulged their spirit of independency in distant

The count de Bretagne continues his practices till he is humbled.

A.D. 1234.

^t Polydore Virgil. Daniel.

^v Joinville Histoire de St. Louis. P.

climates. Accordingly the count de Bretagne, having resigned his dominions to his son Henry count of Bar, the duke of Burgundy, with Amauri de Montfort, constable of France, and several other great lords attended him ^v. About this time it is said, that the prince of the Assassins detached two of his desperate attendants into France, with orders to kill the king; but being afterwards informed how mild and good a prince he was, sent a countermand, and those who brought it arrived before the Assassins. The king, apprised by them of his danger, instituted, as his grandfather had done, a new guard, with maces, for the security of his person. In a little time the two Assassins were discovered and seized; but the king was so far from doing them any hurt, that he caused them to be kindly treated, and sent them back with a rich present for their master. Perhaps it was not the good character of the king solely that brought about this event: the Tartars began like an inundation to sweep all Asia; and the prince of the Assassins, and other Mohammedan powers, most earnestly implored the assistance of the Christians to prevent their common destruction by these barbarous invaders ^x.

New intrigues, in hopes of support from Henry III. of England.

So long as the great lords remained abroad, the kingdom enjoyed tranquility. Lewis, as soon as he became of age, had settled his brothers in the manner prescribed by his father's testament, and omitted nothing that could contribute to place them in a state of grandeur and security suitable to their birth. This conduct chagrined some and frightened others, and therefore, upon the return of the count of Bretagne, and other lords, from Syria, they began to cabal afresh, and to take all the measures they could devise for exciting a new civil war ^y. At the head of this contrivance was the count de la March, who had married the queen-dowager of England, a princess who could not bear the thoughts of doing homage to the children of queen Blanch, and who was bent, at all events, to recover for her son Henry the territories his father had lost in France. The count of Thoulouse was also of this faction, and with much more reason than any, since he had been very hardly treated. Henry III. of England was the power chiefly depended upon, and, indeed, but for that dependence, there could have been none of these disturbances in France ^z.

^v Nangii Chronicon, Le Gendre, Chron. Alberic. ^x Henault. Metzcray. ^y Chronique MS. de M. Thou. ^z Gulielm. de Podio,

It was his foible to form very great designs, and to execute them weakly: but he had the misfortune to differ with his parliament; and, as they would give no supplies, he was compelled to raise money at high interest. This went but a little way in a war where his allies were very hungry, and where, though they were to reap all the profit, they notwithstanding expected him to be at most of the expencè^a. King Lewis, after trying all means to quiet the minds of the malecontents, at length assembled a great army, the best part of which was composed of troops in his own pay. Having twice defeated the confederates, he constrained the count of La March to make a separate peace upon very hard terms, and concluded another truce with Henry, who finding himself disappointed by the greater part of the French lords, began to have a distaste for these kind of proceedings, and therefore went to Bourdeaux, to get his son Edward acknowledged by the inhabitants of that city for his heir apparent^b. The triumphing over this confederacy, which, if things had taken another turn, would have produced an universal insurrection, was the most important, if not the most glorious event in the reign of king Lewis, as it placed his authority on a level, at least with that of his grandfather Philip Augustus^c.

Defeated by Lewis, who thereby settles the authority on a solid foundation.

A.D. 1242.

The count of Thoulouse was the last who submitted; and though the king readily pardoned his revolt, yet he was very strict in the precautions he took, that he should not revolt again. His whole conduct was of the same tenure; and the point he kept continually in view was, to put it out of the power of the great lords to disturb him with impunity. He had before made an edict, with the consent of his parliament or council, that they should not marry their daughters to foreigners without his permission; the pretence was to prevent strangers from inheriting lands in France, to the prejudice of the natives, which was very plausible and popular; but the principal aim was to hinder their having any connections, and of consequence obtaining any support from other princes^d. At this time he made another edict, that such as held lands from him and from the king of England, should make their election to which of the kings they would render homage, and thereby put an end to the old custom of becoming subjects to both kings, and adhering, either as their hu-

Measures taken by him for that purpose, and his caution in regard to the pope.

^a P. Daniel. Trivetii Annales.

^b P. Mauskes.

^c P. Æmil.

^d Nicol.

mours or their interests led them, to which they pleased. This ordinance was considered as a great hardship, since, by making their option, these vassals were sure to lose their estates either in one country or the other. To redress this evil as far it could be redressed, Lewis indemnified those who adhered to him out of the lands of those who chose to do homage to the king of England^e. Pope Innocent IV. being driven out of Italy, was desirous of putting himself under the protection of France, which the king declined granting, as foreseeing many inconveniences that would attend it, but permitted him to hold a council at Lyons, which was not then united to the crown, in which the emperor Frederick was excommunicated. The king soon after fell sick of a grievous distemper, in which he remained for the space of twenty-four hours so totally insensible, that many believed him dead. Upon his coming to himself he immediately took the cross from the hands of the bishop of Paris, making at the same time a solemn vow to go in person with an army against the infidels, which threw the nation into almost as great perplexity as that from which they recovered on the first news of his being out of danger^f. The wisest and ablest of his ministers laboured to dissuade him from this resolution; but their efforts were to no purpose, though he readily agreed to do nothing precipitately, but to take all the precautions possible to prevent this expedition from being so prejudicial to his dominions as those of his predecessors had been.

A. D. 1244.

Resolves to make an expedition into the East, but provides for it with extreme caution.

He judged it necessary to have the consent of the nobility before he undertook this expedition; and as the obtaining this was no very easy matter, considering their general reluctance, and the little hope there was of success abroad, or of tranquility at home, if he went unattended by the most powerful of his vassals, he was obliged to act with the utmost caution. From the address he shewed in the management of his affairs, we may very safely pronounce, that never was so imprudent a design so prudently conducted. He had an interview with the pope, in hopes of reconciling him to the emperor Frederick, but without effect. However, though he missed of doing another's business in this journey, he executed his own, by procuring for his brother Charles, Beatrix, the youngest daughter of the count of Provence, to whom, in prejudice of his other

^e P. Æmil. Annales Francorum. Ludovici IX.

^f Nangius in Vita

daughters,

daughters, and particularly the queen of France, her father had bequeathed his dominions^e. The secrecy and art with which this business was managed, though so many great princes, and particularly the king of England, married to another daughter of the count's, employed all their skill and interest to prevent it, did him great credit. He was no less successful in levying a tenth of their revenues upon his clergy, by the authority of the pope; but when the pontiff would have extracted another sum for carrying on his war against the emperor, Lewis interfered in behalf of the clergy, who were thus reconciled to his expedition^h. The many different methods he practised, and the earnestness he shewed, in exhorting the nobility to follow his example, had by degrees a great effect, more especially after he had prevailed upon the count of March, and the old count of Bretagne, the two most turbulent men in France, to assume the crossⁱ. His greatest difficulty was about the king of England; for having, according to the custom of those times, upon all such occasions, made open proclamation, that if there was any person he had wronged he was ready to do them right, and to make restitution to all who had a right to claim it; Henry sent over his brother earl Richard, who very boldly and plainly told the king, that he ought to restore to his brother Normandy, and the rest of the countries of which he had been despoiled, in case he hoped for success against the infidels^k. The king had so far regard to his application, that he submitted this as a case of conscience to the bishops of Normandy, and, upon their declaring he was not bound to make restitution, he declined it. Henry consented, nevertheless, to the renewing the truce; and the king, having declared the queen-mother regent in his absence, disposed every thing for his departure.

A. D. 1247.

The army winters in Cyprus, re-embarks for Egypt, and lands there without opposition.

He carried with him in this expedition his queen, and his two brothers Robert and Charles. At Lyons he received the benediction of the pope; then passing down the Rhone, he embarked at Aigues Mortes on the 23d of August, and, having fair winds and a fine passage, landed his forces on the 25th of September following in the isle of Cyprus, where he resolved to winter^l. It was determined, during his stay in this island, that a descent should be made into Egypt, experience having shewn that Jeru-

^e Joinville Histoire de St. Louis.

^h Math. Paris.

ⁱ P. Mauskes

^k Nangius in Vita Ludovici IX.

^l Du

Chesne, Dupleix.

A D. 1249.

salem and the Holy Land, when conquered, could never be kept, while Egypt remained in the hands of the infidels. Here also he received ambassadors from Armenia, and from the khân of the Tartars; the latter assuring him that he would find full employment for the sultan of Bagdat, and the former promising to make a diversion against the sultan of Iconium^m. In the spring, having received a considerable reinforcement under the command of Robert, duke of Burgundy, he disposed every thing for his second embarkation. It was, however, about the middle of May before his fleet, which consisted of eighteen hundred sail, departed from Cyprus; but meeting with a tempest in their passage, it is said he had not a third, some affirm not a fourth part of his forces, at the time of his landing. This diminution however, produced no ill consequence; for though the enemy had twenty thousand men well posted to hinder his landing, yet they were struck with such a panic at the sight of his troops leaping on shore, that after one discharge of their arrows, they retired in the utmost confusion, and abandoned the city of Damietta, a place rich, of great extent, and extremely well fortifiedⁿ.

Advances towards Cairo, is surrounded, beaten, and at length taken prisoner by the infidels.

The first success seemed to promise great things, with which, however, the following events did by no means correspond. They took possession of this place in the beginning of the month of June, and the rising of the waters of the Nile rendering it impossible to proceed to Cairo, they were obliged to stay several months where they were. Lewis considering the importance of Damietta, preserved with great care the magazines and military stores that were found therein; and this conduct displeased the bulk of his army exceedingly, who asserted, that, according to the custom of the crosses, he had a right only to a third part of the plunder^o. They shewed from this time but little regard to his orders; for, composed as they were of different nations, many of them persons of high quality, and all volunteers, discipline could arise only from a sense of duty. Instead therefore of providing for the next campaign, they thought of nothing but feasts, shows, and debauchery. When the season for action returned, after rejecting an offer made them by the sultan of restoring Jerusalem, and all the places the Christians had once possessed, and resolving to listen to no propositions whatever,

^m N. Trivet. Annales. Annal. Francorum.
^o P. Daniel.

ⁿ Meze-

they

they marched, as to a certain victory, against the infidels^o. A canal of the Nile lay in their passage; they were equally unprovided with boats or bridges; this, deficiency put them upon attempting to run a causeway, with infinite labour, across it, and with little success; at length they found by chance a ford, which the count d'Artois, the king's brother, passed with two thousand horse, but instead of entrenching on the other side, after having dispersed a corps of the enemy, he pushed on to Massoura, and, finding the place open, began to plunder. The infidels, perceiving that he was unsupported, barricadoed themselves in their houses, and from thence threw wild-fire, stones, boiling water, and whatever else came to hand, upon the assailants; the troops too, whom they had dispersed, rallied and invested the place, so that, surrounded by enemies on every side, the count d'Artois, and the best part of his detachment, perished^p. The rest of the Christian army, however, passed the canal, and with great courage, though in great disorder, attacked the enemy, and gained some advantages, but were at length obliged to post themselves in a strong camp, where they suffered exceedingly from the scarcity of provision, the scurvy, dysentery, and other diseases, being closely blocked up by the superior enemy. The king might have made his escaped by sea, but he resolved to share with his forces the danger of a retreat, which was undertaken when there was scarce a possibility of succeeding. In their march they were continually attacked by the infidels; and at length, on the 5th of April, being entirely broken, the king and his brother were taken prisoners, with the poor remains of their army^q.

A.D. 1250

The infidels made a most insolent and barbarous use of their victory; they used their prisoners cruelly; they took every method possible of shewing their abhorrence and contempt of the Christian religion; they insulted the king personally, they threatened him with fetters, and even with tortures. In all probability they would have proceeded farther, if the precaution he had taken of preserving the magazines and military stores in Damietta, repairing its fortifications, and leaving in it a strong garrison, for the security of the queen, and other ladies, had not put it out of the power of the infidels to carry that place by assault^r.

Lewis bears this misfortune with great fortitude, notwithstanding extreme ill usage.

^o Du Chesne. Chalons.
^p J. de Serres.
^q Nangius in Vita Ludovici IX. Annales de Dunstable. Annales Fran-
 corum,

^r P. Æmil. Dupleix, Mezeray.

When,

When, therefore, they saw the war was not at an end, and apprehended the Christians might send another army into Egypt if they continued in possession of this fortress, they began to alter their measures: but, to understand this matter clearly, we must of necessity observe, that, during the progress of this war, great alterations had happened amongst the Mamalukes, who were then in possession of Egypt^s. Their sultan, at the time king Lewis landed and made himself master of Damietta, was Al Malec Al Salehi, who died of a mortification in his thigh before the opening of the next campaign; his son and successor being at a distance, the army was commanded by Phachro'ddin Othman; but, before the last engagement, the young sultan Al Malec Al Moadhemi was come to the army. His favourites having observed to him, that he was a king only in name, and that the power was in the old sultan Shajro'l Dorra, and a few of the emirs who were in her confidence, they advised him to treat with the monarch of the Franks, that, by recovering Damietta, and putting an end to the war, he might establish his own power^t.

Makes a treaty with the Infidels, recovers his liberty, and evacuates Egypt.

He, yielding to their persuasions, entered into a negotiation with Lewis, and agreed, that he should surrender Damietta in consideration of his own liberty, and pay a million of pieces of gold for the ransom of the other prisoners; to which terms it was added, that there should be peace between the Christians and the Mohammedans in Syria, as well as in Egypt, for ten years. This negotiation being on the point of taking effect, Shajro'l Dorra, and the principal emirs, having intelligence of what was intended, engaged part of the army to revolt, and murdered the unfortunate Al Malec Al Moadhemi under the very eyes of his royal prisoner, who, with these about him, was very near sharing the same fate^u. However, when things were a little settled, these great lords, and Phares Aktai, whom they raised to the rank of sultan, ratified the treaty, which was performed with great punctuality. Lewis, understanding that they were deceived in the tale of the money, and had received a considerable sum short, he was so far from availing himself of the fraud, that he caused it immediately to be made good^w, though in order to do it he was obliged to borrow the mo-

^s Joinville Histoire de St. Louis. Nic. Trivetii Annales. ^t J. de Serres.

^u Annal. Francorum. Gregorii Abul Pharajii Historia Dynastiarum, p 495, 496.

^w Nangius in Vita Ludovici IX.

ney from the knights Templars. Damietta being evacuated by his troops, the king, with his queen and his two brothers, and about six thousand men, which was esteemed about a sixth part of the forces he brought into Egypt, embarked on board the galleys of the Genoese, and were safely transported to the port of Acon in Syria *; all hopes of making any impression in Egypt being lost.

The wisest persons who were about the king disapproved his conduct in going from Egypt into Syria, more especially when they found him bent upon remaining there, and applying himself with as much assiduity to the affairs of that country, as if they had really been his own concerns: they remonstrated to him freely, that his own kingdom was the proper sphere of action for his great virtues; and that, while he was so active and diligent in composing quarrels, redressing grievances, rebuilding fortresses, and forming alliances, in Syria, France suffered severely from his absence; and the truce of England being on the point of determining, his subjects would be exposed to the hazard of a war at home, whilst he was exhausting their force and wealth for the benefit of others abroad. To these remonstrances the king opposed his duty as a Christian monarch, the honour of performing something worthy of his rank and dignity in such an expedition, and the broken condition of the Christian principalities in those parts. He added, that the prudence of the queen-mother's conduct, and the courage of the barons, relieved him from all apprehensions as to the interruption of domestic quiet, or the consequence of an invasion from England. In this hope, however, he was a little too sanguine, for the news of his imprisonment had thrown his hereditary dominions into great confusion, and, together with other afflictions, had so wrought upon the health and spirits of queen Blanch, that little of her former conduct appeared in her administration †. She had suffered an apostate monk, who was afterwards suspected to act as a spy for the sultan of Egypt, to preach a new kind of croisade for the deliverance of the king out of captivity, by which means he assembled near one hundred thousand people of low rank, to whom he gave the appellation of Shepherds. It quickly appeared they might, with greater propriety, have been styled wolves; for instead of living as they did at first by alms, as soon as they grew strong enough to

Restores the affairs of Syria, while his own concerns in France suffer by his absence.

* Du Chesne, tom. v. Annal. Francorum.

† N. Triveti Annales. P. Daniel.

A.D. 1252.

force them, they demanded contributions, which ended in a civil war; in the course of which they were partly dispersed, and partly extirpated^a. This commotion, with the remorse of having executed two persons as spreaders of false news, who first reported the king was made prisoner in Egypt, affected the queen-regent to such a degree, that it broke her heart. She took, a little before her death, the habit of a religious order, and was buried in a monastery of her own foundation, with all the demonstrations of profound sorrow and sincere esteem, that the nobility, clergy, and people could give. This melancholy event had a very untoward effect on the affairs of France, and obliged those, upon whom the administration devolved, to send the most pressing remonstrances to the king to return, without farther delay^a.

Upon the death of queen Blanch, takes a resolution of returning into France.

The king received the news of his mother's death with the most sensible regret: but his consort queen Margaret was very easily consoled, for the old queen had kept her so much under, that she was not displeas'd to be free from her restraint. Lewis, convinced by the reasons assign'd in the remonstrance before mentioned, determin'd to return; but he executed this resolution with great deliberation. He left all the places the Christians still held in Syria in a proper state of defence; he plac'd in them garrisons of his own troops, and distribut'd his money freely, by which means he acquir'd very justly the title of the Father of the Christians^b. These precautions being taken, he embark'd at Acon on the 24th of April, with a squadron of fourteen sail. He took the island of Cyprus in his route, and was in great danger upon those coasts; arriv'd in his own dominions about the middle of July, and made his entry into Paris in the beginning of the month of September. He still wore the cross on his upper garment, appear'd grave, or rather disconsolate; observ'd great regularity in his court; but affect'd in his dress and manners rather the plainness of a private man, than the state of a great prince^c. Thibaut II. king of Navarre, and count of Champagne and Brie, having demand'd his daughter Isabel in marriage, he readily consented to the match, after having settl'd the dispute between him and the countess of Bretagne. Henry III. of England being at this time in Gascony, was desirous of paying him a vi-

A.D. 1254.

^a J. de Serres. Annales Francorum. P. Emil.

^b Du Chesne. P. Henault.

^c Nangii Chronicon. Annal de Dunstaple.

fit, and was received with great pomp at Paris, where Beatrix, countess-dowager of Provence, had the singular felicity of embracing her four daughters, the queens of France and England, and the countesses of Anjou and Cornwall^d. Henry entertained the king with great splendour at the Temple, where he took up his lodgings, and where Lewis would have yielded him the place of honour, if he had not absolutely refused it; the king likewise entertained him very sumptuously, and, when he would have retired in the evening, told him he was master in his own house, and he was resolved to have him one night in his power. He was so well pleased with Henry's frankness and condescension, that he could not help saying at supper, "I would willingly restore you Normandy, and all your dominions, but that is a thing to which the twelve peers and barons of my kingdom will never consent." After a week's stay, Henry set out for Boulogne, and Lewis accompanied him the first day's journey. The truce was soon after renewed between the two crowns.

The king laboured with incessant diligence to correct abuses, to pacify disputes of every kind, and to promote peace throughout his kingdom; for which good purposes he sometimes took very singular methods: as for instance, when the countess-dowager of Provence, the queen's mother, and the count of Anjou, his own brother, consented to abide by his decision, in respect to certain castles which they both claimed, he decreed that the count should purchase them, and at the same time gave him the money^e. He was no less desirous of terminating whatever disputes subsisted with his neighbours. With this view he concluded a treaty with the king of Arragon, and not long after with Henry III. of England, to whom he yielded the Limousin, Querci, Perigord, and some other places, in consideration that Henry and his son prince Edward renounced, in the fullest manner, all their pretensions to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou. This compromise was equally satisfactory to the two kings, and disagreeable to both nations; the English thought their monarch had sacrificed his pretensions for a trifle; and the French looked upon that trifle as absolutely thrown away^f. His eldest son and heir, prince Lewis, dying, the king concluded a match for prince Philip, who was now become the eldest, with the princess of Arragon, who had

Applies himself with great diligence to regulate all things in his realm that had run into disorder in his absence.

A.D. 1263.

^d P. Daniel. ^e Joinville Hist. de St. Louis. Annales Franco-rum. Du Tillet. ^f P. Virg. Hist. Angliæ.

been intended for his brother, and by this alliance secured the peace of his dominions on that side.

His brother Charles of Anjou, declared king of the Two Sicilies by the pope.

The reputation of this monarch for candour and justice was so great, that the barons of England, as well as Henry III. consented readily to make him the umpire of those differences which had produced a civil war. The king accepted the reference, and heard both parties fairly and coolly: his decision was, that the proceedings of Oxford were so indecent towards a crowned head, that they ought to be considered as null and void; but he decreed, at the same time, that the king should strictly observe the Great Charter, and not violate, on any pretence, the liberties and immunities granted to his subjects^a. This determination, fair enough in itself, was construed by both parties in their own sense. Henry, and those who continued firm to him, highly approved it, as restoring the king to his former state and dignity; but Simon, earl of Leicester, the son of the famous count de Montfort, who had been general of the croisade against the Albigeois, affirmed this decision was in their favour, since it confirmed the Great Charter, and obliged the king to perform its contents, which was all that was aimed at by the proceedings in the assembly at Oxford; and thus the good intentions of Lewis were frustrated, and this dispute once more was referred to the sword^b. In the affair of the pope's conferring the kingdom of the Two Sicilies upon his brother the count of Anjou, the king was rather passive; and, indeed, it was such a kind of grant as a prince, of so great probity as Lewis certainly was, could hardly approve. The pope had before offered it to the king for one of his own children, which he absolutely refused, and the pontiff thereupon bestowed it on prince Edmund, son to the king of England; but the situation of things in that kingdom, putting it out of the young prince's power to avail himself of this grant, the pope, who knew Charles of Anjou to be a proper instrument of his resentment, as having a high degree of fierce or rather brutal courage, transferred the title to him. This title, such as it was, arose thus^c:

The popes, perpetual enemies to the house of Suabia, had deprived the emperor Frederick II. of these kingdoms. Mainfroi, his bastard, had usurped them from his nephew Conradine, the sole heir of the house of Suabia, and paid

^a Compromissum Regis et Baron. Angliæ, Spicileg. A. D. 1263.

^b Nangius in Vita Ludovici IX. N. Triveti Annales.

^c P.

Æmil. Annales Francorum,

little regard to the pretensions of the see of Rome, not only disclaiming all homage to the pope, but, in resentment of the provocations received from him, had made incursions into the papal territory. It was this outrage that induced pope Urban to make a tender of the crown to the count of Anjou, and to use his utmost endeavours to remove the many obstacles that lay in the way of this prince's intended expedition; but before this could be done, he died. His successor, Clement IV. prosecuted the same plan; and though he found Charles in circumstances very unequal to so arduous an undertaking, and both the king and queen of France very cold in promoting it, yet, by an assiduous application, and the practice of all the arts for which Rome has been ever famous, particularly by proclaiming a croisade in favour of this new king of his creation, he put him at length in a condition to attack Mainfroi with a numerous force *. Charles seconded the views of the pope with all possible vigour; defeated his competitor in the plains of Beneventum, where Mainfroi was slain upon the spot; quickly gained possession of both the kingdoms which the pope had given him; and shewed himself resolved to maintain them by the same violent methods by which they had been acquired. The young Conradine, seeing the usurper slain, endeavoured to vindicate his rights, and soon assembled a very formidable army, composed partly of the friends to his family, but chiefly of the enemies to the French. However, the fortune and the experience of Charles prevailed; Conradine was defeated in a decisive engagement, taken prisoner, and, by a shameful act of cruelty, put to death by the sentence of those who styled themselves a court of justice. In this manner Charles fixed himself on the throne of the Two Sicilies, and gave rise to what the French style the first house of Anjou †.

Charles passes over into Italy, defeats Mainfroi and Conradine, by which he acquires the crown.

All this time Lewis was employed in settling the affairs of his kingdom and of his family, and was equally attentive to the general system of policy, by which his realm ought at all times to be governed, and the particular cases and events that fell out in his own time. He framed a code of laws, which bear the title of the Establishment of St. Lewis: he reduced into order the policy of cities and great towns, which was in great confusion †: he contrived, or caused to be contrived, those rules and regulations, in respect to tradesmen and artificers, which have subsisted

King Lewis enters on a new croisade, and dies before the city of Tunis in Africa.

* Joinville Hist. de St. Louis. † Descriptio Victorix Caroli ex veteri MS. Biblioth. Reg. † Malaspina. P. Æmil.

ever since: he married his children, and assigned them suitable provisions for their subsistence, without prejudice to the crown: he purchased and united to his domain several lordships, the owners of which were the last heirs of their respective families^o: he determined the claims that some of the nobility had upon the crown; and it is very remarkable, that neither he or they made any scruple of his being judge in his own cause; and it is no wonder, for, if the matter was but doubtful, he decided against himself, as in the case of Matthew de Trie, who claimed the county of Dammartin, as heir to Matilda, countess of Boulogne, in which he condemned himself to restore it, though it had been united to the crown: he compromised a dispute between the kings of England and Navarre, about the town of Bayonne. Instead of availing himself of the troubles, he was continually interposing his good offices with all his neighbours; and though this mediation proceeded, in some measure, from his disposition, yet he made it appear to be good policy, according to his maxim, that a reputation for probity and disinterestedness created an authority that was not to be overthrown. It is certain that, by this conduct he maintained his dominions in peace, reformed the disorders of the state, and brought the affairs of the kingdom into very good order. All these steps were taken with a view to a new croisade, which, after his brother was settled in Sicily, the king undertook; and his example was so powerful, that, besides his three sons, and his nephew the count of Artois, most of the great lords of his court engaged in the enterprize. He embarked again at Aigues Mortes on the 1st of July, directed his course for Africa, and landing on the coast of Barbary, made himself master of Carthage, and prepared for the siege of Tunis, the king of which, who was a Mohammedan, had promised him to become a Christian, but did not keep his word^p. There the plague infected his army, of which many persons of distinction and multitudes of private men died, and at length the king himself, on the 25th of August, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the forty-fourth of his reign: he spent the last hours of his life in dictating instructions to his son Philip, which are excellent in their kind^q (I).

The

^o Du Chene, tom. v. *Annales Francorum.*

^p Du Chesne.

^q Nangius in *Vita Ludovici IX.*

(I) The different qualities of Lewis IX. are such as were scarce ever united in one prince. He was, without doubt, very obe-

The king of Sicily arrived with his fleet and army immediately after his brother's decease; an incident which changed the face of affairs, and saved the remains of the French troops. Philip, who was in the twenty-sixth year of his age, immediately assumed the title and state of king, received the homage of the monarchs of Sicily and Na-

Philip the Hardy succeeds, and brings back the remains of the army to France.

obedient and submissive to the queen his mother, very familiar with his servants, and withal very devout, so as to spend a great part of every day in public or in private prayers. We find him from hence considered as a mild, harmless, superstitious prince, who had the obtaining the title of Saint in view, which he accomplished: but others again have thought him, with equal justice, a hero. His two foreign expeditions were certainly founded upon maxims of policy, as well as piety, however he might be mistaken. He shewed equal prudence and firmness in securing Damietta; his intrepidity in battle was, to the full, as conspicuous as his patience after his defeat. In short, his courage was of a very peculiar kind, without any tincture of fierceness. In a word, he was ever at the command of his reason, but was never subservient to his passions. He was canonized by Boniface VIII. in the month of August 1297, and Lewis XIII. procured the day, dedicated to his honour, to be declared a general feast of the church. By his queen Margaret, daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, he had eleven children, six sons, and five daughters. Lewis the eldest died at the age

of sixteen, and was interred at St. Denis; Philip, who succeeded his father in the throne; John, who died a child; John, surnamed Tristan, born at Damietta, when his father was a prisoner amongst the infidels, espoused Violante of Burgundy, countess of Nevers, died at the siege of Tunis; Peter, count of Alençon, who espoused Joanna, countess of Blois, who deceased in 1283; Robert, count de Clermont, who espoused Beatrix, heiress of the house of Bourbon; his son Lewis de Clermont was created duke of Bourbon by Charles the Fair. Of the daughters, the eldest, Blanch, died at three years old; Isabella, the second, espoused Thibaut, king of Navarre, and deceased without children; Blanch, born at Jaffa in Syria, became the wife of the royal infant Ferdinand de la Cerda, whose children were excluded from the throne of Castile by their uncle Don Sancho; Margaret, who espoused John duke of Brabant; Agnes, who was the consort of Robert II. duke of Burgundy, by whom, amongst other children, she had Margaret, who espoused Lewis Hutin, and was by him put to death; and Joan, who was the consort of Philip de Valois (1).

(1) Du Tillet. Chalons.

varre, for the fiefs they held in France; and, notwithstanding the ravages still made by the plague, kept the field against the Moors, and put so good a face on things, that he received in Africa the surname of the Hardy; which, from his subsequent conduct in Europe, he would hardly have attained. However, in a little time he was confined to his bed by sickness; so that the command devolved on Charles and Thibaut, kings of Sicily and Navarre. They defeated the king of Tunis in two or three engagements, and afterwards prepared to besiege the place in earnest, though the king of Sicily had all along treated privately with the infidels; and at length, with king Philip's consent, concluded a treaty with them. The king's motive to this pacification was the pressing instances made by the regents, Matthew abbot of St. Denis, and Simon de Clermont count of Nesle, for his return. By the treaty the two kings were to have a large sum of money, under colour of paying the expences of the war; the king of Sicily was to have five years tribute, and the monarch of Tunis was to pay him a double tribute for fifteen years to come: there was also a clause that he should permit the Christian missionaries to preach in his dominions, and allow such of his subjects as they should convert to be baptized; but this article was purely to save the honour of the croisade, and without any great hopes of its being performed. The kings then embarked their army and proceeded to Sicily; but they carried the distemper with them, of which numbers died after their arrival. The king, to assuage his melancholy, resolved to make a tour through Italy; took Rome in his way, and, after visiting most of the remarkable places, entered his own territories; having reposed himself some time at Lyons, he prosecuted his journey to Paris, where he was received with great acclamations of joy, notwithstanding the sinister events of this last and most fatal of all the croisades; for therein the king lost his father, his brother, the count de Nevers; in Sicily, his brother-in-law the king of Navarre, his own consort Isabel of Arragon, his sister the queen of Navarre, immediately after her return to Marseilles, his uncle the count, and his aunt the countess of Poitiers, in their passage through Italy.

A.D. 1271.

† Annales Francorum. Mezeray.
Hist. Angl.

* Nic. Triveti Annales.
† Du Chesne. Nangius in Gestis Philip III. Annales Francorum.

After the celebration of his father's funeral at St. Denis, and the ceremony of his own coronation, at which the count of Artois carried the sword of Charlemagne, the king visited the frontiers on the side of Flanders, and proposed afterwards taking possession in person of the counties of Provence and Thouloufe, which were now united to the crown, without any thoughts of a military expedition. This, however, he was constrained to undertake against one of his vassals. The law made by St. Lewis, for preventing private wars, was strictly executed within the royal domain; but the royal vassals held it as a great prerogative to decide their disputes like sovereigns by the sword. The count of Armagnac had taken some offence at the lord of Casaubon, and, after the usual prelude of defiance, came with a great number of his friends to insult him in his castle: thus provoked, the lord of Casaubon sallied out, defeated the count of Armagnac, and killed his brother. The latter, highly irritated, and greatly allied, summoned all his relations, and amongst the rest the count of Foix, to his assistance: the lord of Casaubon, seeing the party very unequal, demanded the royal protection, surrendered all his places into the king's hands, yielded himself a prisoner, and submitted to make any satisfaction that the law should award; upon which the king assigned him the castle of Sompui, on his own domain, for the residence of himself, his family, and friends, till the cause could be heard. The count de Foix, notwithstanding this award, took the castle, and carried away prisoners all who were in it, except the lord of Casaubon, who made his escape. For this contempt the king summoned him thrice to appear, and on his slighting those citations, marched with an army and invested the castle of Foix, which was looked upon as impregnable. In a short time, however, the king reduced the count and his garrison to extremities, who thereupon offered to capitulate. Philip would grant him no other terms than those of surrendering this, with the rest of his fortresses, and himself, at discretion, to which he was forced to submit. When he came, with great humility, to throw himself at the king's feet, he was ordered to be put in irons, and sent prisoner to Paris; but the countess, and his family, were treated with great civility. After a year's confinement he sent for him to court, admonished him to respect the laws, and to live peaceably with his neigh-

He compels the count de Foix to surrender at discretion, and thereby humbles his vassals, who had given law to all his predecessors.

A.D. 1273

• Nangius in Gestis Philip III. P. Daniel.

bours; then dismissed him to his own house, and restored him all his fortresses; which seasonable act of severity saved him any trouble of this kind during the rest of his reign^w.

Marries his son to the heiress of Navarre, and receives the homage of Edward I. of England.

The death of Henry, king of Navarre, gave Philip an opportunity of aggrandizing his family, which he did not neglect. That prince left by his queen, the daughter of Robert, count of Artois, and niece of St. Lewis, an only daughter, whom Philip took under his protection, with intent to marry her to his eldest son Philip; but, as they were related, a dispensation was necessary. This was vehemently opposed by the kings of Castile and Arragon, at the court of Rome, who represented to the pope, that Sicily, being already in the hands of a French prince, it would be very unreasonable to put it in the power of the king of France to add Navarre also to his dominions, more especially as he pretended a claim to the crown of Castile^x. On the other hand, Gregory X. to whom Philip had given the county of Venaislin, was very desirous to gratify the king; but that he might keep some measures with other princes, he granted the dispensation for his second son Lewis, which, though with some reluctance, Philip accepted, and sent the count of Artois with a French army into Navarre. After this provision for his younger son, he thought fit to marry himself, and chose for his consort one of the most beautiful princesses of that age, Mary, the daughter of the duke of Brabant^y. He celebrated his nuptials with great magnificence, and, to the satisfaction which this gave him, he added another, which was receiving the homage of Edward, king of England, for the lands he held in France. This ceremony, however, was attended with a circumstance not altogether so agreeable: Lewis, his father, had engaged in his treaty with Henry III. that if the country of Agenois reverted to the crown, it should be yielded to him or his heirs; and as by the death of the count of Poitiers it was reverted, Edward put in his claim. The country was in itself of great importance, and more so from its situation; but the case was clear, and Philip caused the king to be put in possession of it^z. An act of justice that secured him the friendship of a prince, who, in all respects, was the most capable of giving him disturbance.

A.D. 1274.

^w Du Chesne. Mezeray ^x Mariana, Zurita, Dupleix.
^y Nicol. Triveti Annales. P. Æmil. Annal. Francorum. ^z Polydor. Virgil.

Philip was a great lover of peace, and laboured all he could to preserve it; yet he was not an unconcerned spectator of what he took to be an injustice done to his nephews the infants De la Cerda, of which we spoke largely in the history of Spain^a. While there was a kind of rupture between the kingdoms of France and Castile, in consequence of which an insurrection appeared in Navarre, an unlucky event in France filled the king and his subjects with great perplexity: Lewis, his eldest son and heir apparent, died suddenly, at the age of twelve years, with circumstances that created a suspicion of poison^b. One Peter de la Brosse, who had been about the person of St. Lewis, but in no higher character than that of a barber, had engrossed the favour of Philip, who raised him to the post of high chamberlain, made him his first and almost sole minister, and suffered him to fill all employments, ecclesiastical and civil, with his creatures and relations. This man, perceiving that the king had an extreme tenderness for his young wife, took umbrage at it, and either raised or encouraged a rumour, that she had procured his son's death. As this report made Philip exceedingly uneasy, La Brosse put it into his head to consult a certain nun, who pretended to revelations. The king sent the abbot of St. Denis, and the bishop of Evreux, who was the brother of La Brosse's wife. This prelate first visited the nun, and drew from her what he pleased in confession, so that when the abbot came she would say nothing. The king, disappointed and displeased at the bishop's report, sent other persons, in whom he could confide, to the nun, who then answered clearly that the king ought to despise what was told him to the prejudice of his consort, because it was false^c. This declaration laid the foundation of La Brosse's ruin, who, being soon after charged with holding a private correspondence with the king of Castile, and betraying his master's secrets, was sent to prison, and his family disgraced, to the no small satisfaction of the nobility and the people. But being afterwards condemned without an open trial, and the duke of Brabant her brother, and two or three other lords of her party, being eye witnesses of his execution, the popular tide turned, and La Brosse, who was before thought a criminal^d, was now considered as a victim to the resentment of the queen and her family; a circumstance which gave the king great

*Disgraces
his favour-
rite La
Brosse, who
ends his
days igno-
miniously
on a gib-
bet.*

^a P. Daniel.
phcr.

^b Du Tillet. Mezeray.
^d Gregor. lib. v.

^c Nice-

uneasiness, and was the prelude to those unfortunate events that embittered the remaining part of his life.

*The revolt
of the sub-
jects of
Charles of
Anjou, and
the famous
Sicilian
Vespers.*

The severity of the king of the Two Sicilies had not only rendered him, but his family, odious, to a great part of his subjects; and the insolence and debauchery of the French troops had excited an irreconcilable aversion to the whole nation. At the same time, the immeasurable ambition of Charles, who was actually preparing to attack the emperor Michael Paleologus, and was suspected to have an eye also to the German empire raised a general distaste against him amongst all his neighbours^e. Pope Nicholas III. was of this number, and had received worse impressions of him than any, which induced him, if he is not slandered by the French historians, to concur in, if not to contrive the scheme for his destruction, though this did not operate till immediately after his decease. It began by the general massacre of the French troops in Sicily, on the evening of Easter-day, so famous to all posterity by the name of the Sicilian Vespers^f. Don Pedro, king of Arragon, who had married the daughter of Mainfroi, supported the Sicilians, and openly claimed the kingdom in her right. In this situation Charles had no hopes but from France, where the nobility in general had a great affection for him, and very readily offered to furnish troops for his support. Pope Martin, who had succeeded Nicholas, was also entirely in the interest of Charles, who might probably have recovered his kingdom, if he had not been amused by Don Pedro's challenging him to decide their disputes by a personal combat at Bourdeaux, which Charles, who wanted not courage, accepted. Don Pedro, as we have shewn in its proper place, having very dextrously saved his honour and avoided the combat, prosecuted the war with advantage^g. The pope, zealous for Charles, excommunicated the king of Arragon, and gave his dominions to which of his younger sons the king of France should be pleased to name, who was to hold them as a vassal to the Roman see^h. Philip, flattered by this proposal, declared his son Charles de Valois, king of Arragon and Valentia, and count of Barcelona. At the same time, he furnished his uncle Charles with a fleet and forces for the recovery of his dominions, and put himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intent to set his son, of the same name, upon the throne of Arragon.

^e Jordanus.
P. Æmil.

^f Ptolemæus Lucensis.
^h N. Triveti Annal.

^g Du Chesne.

Projects splendid and specious, if they had been but practicable ^l.

Charles had left his son of the same name, and who, from an accident that befel him, was surnamed Charles the **Lame**, in Sicily, with strict orders to act on the defensive, and to risk nothing till his arrival with the succours that he was embarking at Marseilles; but the young prince, provoked by the Arragonese fleet, broke through his father's instructions, was defeated and taken prisoner; which disaster, though the king his father at first supported with constancy, yet the constraint he put upon his grief cost him dear, since he afterwards broke his heart ^k. The French army, under the command of king Philip, penetrated into Catalonia, and laid siege to Gironne, which made a gallant defence. Don Pedro being in the neighbourhood with a small army, and attacking a convoy that was going to the French camp, received a mortal wound. Gironne being surrendered, and the king having put a good garrison into it, he dismissed part of his fleet, which consisted of three hundred sail, being ships that he had hired from some of the Italian republics. Doria, who commanded the fleet of Arragon, defeated this detachment, and afterwards sunk and destroyed the remainder ^l, which was not a greater loss in itself, than fatal in its consequence, since having the greatest part of the provision, with which the army should have been supplied, on board, the troops were grievously distressed. The king taking this reverse of fortune to heart, fell sick, and died at Perpignan, about the middle of the month of September, in the forty-first year of his age, and in the sixteenth of his reign ^m, extremely regretted by his army, and not less by his subjects in general; for though he loved money rather more than became a king, yet he was very tender in imposing taxes, and, when he did, levied them so mildly, and with such equality, that the people never expressed any impatience (K).

Philip invades Catalonia, takes Gironne, and dies in his retreat at Perpignan.

Philip

^l Zurita. Mariana. Le Gendre.

Rainald.

^l Zurita. Ferreras. Le Gendre.

^k Nangii Chronicon.

Chron. Hist. Angl.

^m Nangii

(K) Philip III. surnamed the Hardy, was the first who granted letters of nobility, which he did in favour of Ralph the Goldsmith, in which he did

no more than restore the ancient constitution of the Franks; who, being all of one blood, were esteemed equally noble, and alike capable of the highest offices.

Philip le Bel succeeds, and is crowned.

A.D. 1286.

Philip IV. surnamed le Bel, or the *Fair*, from the beauty of his countenance and his majestic presence, was about seventeen at the time of his accession, and was crowned at Rheims on the 6th of January, together with his consort Joan, queen of Navarre in her own right, and by whom he became also possessed of the counties of Champagne and Brieⁿ. He found things in a very perplexed state, his finances exhausted, his troops ruined, and the war still open with Castile and Arragon. He was willing to compose his disputes with the former monarch, and a conference was fixed for that purpose; but the Castilian declined the proposal, and it ended only in an interview between their ministers. Edward I. king of England demanded the country of Xaintonge, as belonging to him by the treaty concluded between Lewis IX. and Henry III. Philip caused that treaty to be examined, and finding the matter perfectly clear, directed the country to be restored. He

ⁿ P. Æmil. Annales Francorum. Duplex.

offices. In the reign of this prince a great change was made with regard to the succession to the domains of younger sons to the crown; for upon the decease of Alonso, count of Poitiers, his succession was claimed by Charles, king of Sicily, as heir by descent, and by Philip, king of France, as reverting to the crown, in whose favour it was determined by the parliament at the term of All-Saints, 1283. This prince, by his first wife Donna Isabella, daughter to the king of Arragon, had four sons: Lewis, who deceased five years after his mother; Philip, who succeeded his father Charles count of Valois; Alençon, who was the founder of the royal house of Valois; and Robert, who died young. By Mary his second queen, the daughter of Henry, and the sister of John,

dukes of Brabant, he had one son and two daughters: Lewis count d'Evreux, the founder of the house of Navarre; Margaret, who espoused Edward I. king of England; and Blanch, who first married John de Namur, count of Hainault, son to Guy, earl of Flanders, and afterwards Rodolph, eldest son of the emperor Albert of Austria. She and her only son were poisoned about five years after (1). As for queen Mary of Brabant, who survived Philip, she was in great danger of suffering death upon the poisoning of prince Lewis, of which she was positively accused; but her brother procured her a stout champion, by whom the accuser being worsted, was, pursuant to the notions of those times, hanged without mercy (2).

(1) Da Tillet ubi supra. Genealogie de la Maison Royale.
(2) Paul Æmil. de Rebus Gestis Francorum.

terminated

terminated also in an amicable manner some other differences that had arisen between the two crowns, with which conduct Edward was so well pleased, that he came to make the king a visit at Amiens; went with him to Paris, and there did homage for the dominions he held in France. Edward, after this interview, went to Bourdeaux, where he held a parliament, and where, with great state, he received the ambassadors of Castile, Arragon, and Sicily; a circumstance which gave Philip great pain, as he was at war with all these crowns, and therefore suspected that some negotiation to his prejudice was on the carpet. But in this opinion he was absolutely mistaken; for Edward had nothing farther in view than to facilitate a general peace, and to procure the liberty of Charles the Lame, for whom he had a great affection. He at length concluded a treaty with the king of Arragon, and though the terms were hard, Charles would gladly have accepted them; but upon laying it before pope Honorius for his approbation, he declared it null, and pressed king Philip to carry on the war against the crown of Arragon, with an offer of taxing his clergy for the support of it. This pope dying, was succeeded by Nicholas the Fourth, who had somewhat more moderation; and king Edward, renewing his solicitations to the king of Arragon, prevailed upon him to set Charles at liberty, upon giving hostages for the performance of the terms stipulated, and a ransom of fifty thousand livres, twenty thousand of which Edward agreed to pay. Charles being at liberty, and perceiving some hopes of retrieving his affairs, pressed king Philip to carry on the war in behalf of his brother Charles of Valois, instead of engaging him to persuade that prince to lay aside the title of Arragon, to which he was bound both by the treaty and his oath. However, these military operations not having answered his desire, the king of England insisted on the performance of those articles, in respect to which he was bound. Charles found it his interest to press this point at the court of France; and, perceiving it could be no other way obtained, gave his eldest daughter in marriage to Charles of Valois, and with her the counties of Anjou and Maine, in compensation for his claim upon Arragon; a claim no better founded than in a bull, granted by a passionate pope, for giving away the

A.D. 1288.

* Thom. Walsing. Nic. Trivetii Annales.
de Dunstable, P. Æmil. Mezeray.

† Annal.
4 Du Chesne Nang.

dominions of a prince who would not submit to be governed by him ^r. The quarrel with Castile had been some time before adjusted, at the expence of the infants De la Cerda, whom king Philip, finding it inconsistent with his interest to sustain, was content to abandon. Charles of Sicily also having quarrelled with the count of Artois, that prince returned with most of the French troops that had served under him in Italy; so that peace on all sides was now in some measure established, to the great satisfaction of king Philip, though things did not long remain in this state ^s.

He quarrels with Edward I. of England, and refuses all proposals of accommodation.

The two kings Philip and Edward, who had hitherto lived on the best terms imaginable, and whose right correspondence was of so great consequence to their respective countries, were on a sudden involved in a war, as if it had been by accident ^t. The immediate cause of this war was a quarrel between a Gascon and a Norman sailor; the latter had attempted to stab the former, who escaping the blow, by his agility, the Norman fell upon his own weapon. The crews of their respective ships immediately took part in the quarrel, and fought it out at sea. Soon after a fleet of Norman vessels engaged an English fleet in the same cause, without the interposition of authority on either side. At length, the Normans making prize of English ships, Edward commanded reprisals, and then the matter began to grow serious. Philip sent ambassadors to London, who demanded satisfaction in very high terms. Edward gave them good words, and promised an answer by ambassadors of his own, who were sent back with them ^u. These ambassadors acquainted king Philip, that, hostilities having been reciprocally committed by the subjects of the two crowns, the dispute was to be considered as between the English and French nations; which, however, Edward was very desirous should be amicably determined. As a farther proof of this pacific disposition, he sent over his brother, prince Edmund, to expostulate the matter with Philip; to shew him the impropriety of pretending to summon him as a vassal to the parliament, to abide the judgment of his peers; and at the same time to assure him, that, as he had formerly had strict justice done him by the king in France, he should, on a proper complaint, render the like justice to the subjects of France

^r Du Tillet.

^s Du Chesne, Nang. Chron.

^t Thom.

Walsing. Nich. Trivetii Annales.

^u Annales de Dunstaple,

Du Tillet, P. Daniel.

in England. Philip, mistaking condescension for submission, persisted in his own way, summoned Edward as a peer of France to his parliament; and, upon his refusal, declared all the estates he possessed in that kingdom forfeited for this act of felony. A proceeding which the French historians acknowledge to have been equally violent and unjust, and which they likewise own Edward bore with extraordinary patience *.

Both monarchs began to enter into alliances, and to make preparations for war: but the queen of France, and the queen-mother, very desirous to prevent a rupture if possible, sent for Edmund earl of Lancaster, Edward's brother, back to the French court, and made the following proposals: that, to satisfy king Philip, the king of England should order six fortresses in Guienne to be delivered up, and should permit him to name an officer to command in each of the great towns of that duchy, three only excepted; that upon this cession, the summons should be recalled, the judgment of parliament reversed, and, a safe-conduct being granted to king Edward, Philip and he should have an interview at Amiens, where all things might be finally adjusted; and that in the mean time the places yielded for saving the king's honour should be restored. This agreement, being reduced to writing, was transmitted to Edward, who readily consented to it, and sent over to his brother the necessary orders for the general, who commanded in Guienne, and for the governors of all the strong places in that country. But earl Edmund, before he made use of these orders, had the precaution to demand an explicit approbation of this agreement from the king's own mouth; who, in the presence of the queen of Navarre his consort, and of her mother queen Blanch, the duke of Burgundy, Hugh Vere, son to the earl of Oxford, and John Lacey, an ecclesiastic, promised, that he would abide by the convention. Upon this assurance, the earl of Lancaster dispatched the orders he had received into Guienne, and John de St. John, Edward's general, believing all differences between the two kings at an end, sold the ammunition and provisions out of his magazines, and the governors of the fortresses, pursuant to the orders they had received, opened their gates to the French. But, Philip, being once in possession, disavowed the treaty made by the queens, and sent the constable of France, with an army, to secure what he had thus

King Philip, through a breach of faith, brings on a war with Edward king of England.

* Nang. Chron. Thom. Walsing. Nich. Trivetii Annales.

basely obtained. Edward, in resentment of this perfidy, immediately declared war, and at the same time acquainted king Philip, that he looked upon himself as released, by this notorious breach of faith, from his former obligations; that therefore he renounced his homage, and would acknowledge himself no longer his vassal for any thing he held in France *.

The consequences and issue of this war till concluded by a truce.

It is agreed by the historians of both nations, that the war thus begun was carried on with great vigour on both sides. John de St. John, who was sent back to his command, made himself master of the important town of Bayonne, and of several other places, while the French, who were not at all idle, made a great progress on their side. The count de Valois also entered Gascony with a numerous army. At the same time Matthew de Montmorency, and John de Harcourt, with a powerful fleet, attempted a descent upon England, burned the town of Dover, and some villages on the coast; but the English, in return, landed on the coast of Normandy, and destroyed Cherbourg, and the places adjacent †. Next year, Edmund earl of Lancaster commanded for his brother in Guienne, where he recovered several places, and would have done more if he had not been seized with a dangerous distemper, of which he died not long after at Bayonne. But what the king of England chiefly depended upon, was the alliance he made with the emperor Adolphus of Nassau, the counts of Bretagne, Holland, Bar, Juliers, Guelders, and Flanders. Philip, who had treated the emperor very rudely, was obliged to repair that fault by an embassy; and this perhaps would have produced no great effect, if it had not been accompanied with a round sum of money, which the pressing necessities of that great prince obliged him to accept. At the same time Philip sent as large a sum to Albert duke of Austria; who sharing this money with the lesser German princes, they formed a design to raise him to the imperial throne; in which they succeeded, the emperor Adolph being killed in the dispute. By the same powerful argument Philip wrought upon the rest of Edward's allies, the count of Flanders only excepted, against whom he acted by force of arms, and would have probably reduced him to great extremities, if king Edward had not come with

A.D. 1296.

* Du Chesne, Nicol. Triveti Annales. Thom. Walsing.

† Nang. Chron.

a fleet and army to his relief^z. Philip then dexterously changed his conduct, and, by declaring for the commons in the several cities of Flanders, excited a revolt at Ghent, in which Edward was very near losing his life. A negotiation was now set on foot, and a truce concluded, through the interposition of Charles king of Sicily, whose gratitude to Edward prompted him to act as a mediator upon this occasion. This truce was at first but for a few months; but, for their mutual conveniency, the two kings afterwards extended it to two years, and, as it was made in order to promote a peace, all points in difference between them were referred to the mediation of the pope^a. By letters patents, dated in the month of September this year, the king, to replace the peerage of Champagne now in himself, erected Bretagne into a dukedom and peerage, in favour of John de Dreux, a prince of his blood, who had espoused Beatrix, sister to king Edward of England.

A. D. 1297.

One of the most remarkable occurrences in his reign was the quarrel between king Philip and Boniface the Eighth, which began before this time, and which seemed to be accommodated by the two kings accepting him for the umpire of their differences. This pontiff was certainly a man of parts, but even these were inferior to his pride; he had more learning than judgment, and, with much spirit and penetration, wanted sagacity and steadiness. He had indeed the appearance of both; for his policy, at bottom, was but cunning, and the firmness, of which he made a shew, proceeded rather from the obstinacy of his temper than from a rational fortitude. The quality which particularly distinguished him was a supercilious haughtiness, which led him to imagine himself as much superior to other princes as they were to private men; and this was peculiarly offensive to Philip, from the strong tincture he had of the same kind of weakness in himself^b. The first thing which gave offence to Philip, was his forbidding the clergy in general to grant any aids or subsidies to prince, without leave first obtained from the holy see, under pain of excommunication. Philip encountered this prohibition by an edict, forbidding any of his clergy to send any money abroad without his leave. The pope next attempted to force a croisade upon the loss

Original of the disputes between this monarch and Boniface VIII.

^z Nang. Chron. P. Æmil. Annales Francorum.

^a Du Chesne, Thom. Walsingham.

^b Du Chesne, Nicol. Tri-

^a Du Chesne, Nicol. Tri-

veti Annales.

of Ptolemais, or Acon, the last place which the Christians held in the East; to which Philip would not consent. But what was most provoking, was the manner in which he interposed between the two kings, directing them, in the most peremptory manner, to make peace, and to submit their disputes to the decision of his tribunal. His insolence was equally resented in France and England, upon which he thought proper to give so soft a turn to the swelling terms of his proposals, that the two kings, finding it for their interests, consented that he should act as umpire. The project he dictated was this; that Guienne should be restored to king Edward, and that he should do homage as in times past; that the places in dispute should be sequestered in his (the pope's) hands; that the ships and effects taken should, as far as possible, be restored, and such farther satisfaction made as the pope should hold reasonable; that king Edward should marry the princess Margaret, the king's sister; and that his son Edward should espouse Isabel king Philip's daughter^c. But, many things yet remaining unsettled, the truce was prolonged, and the quarrel between Boniface and Philip reviving, excluded the pope from having any thing farther to do with their affairs. These monarchs having, at length, accommodated all differences by a definitive treaty, Philip received the homage of Edward on the 20th of May, at Paris; where they also concluded a defensive alliance against all such as should disturb, impeach, or trouble, the said kings in their franchises, liberties, privileges, or customs, in their respective realms; a treaty which was understood to be a league against the pope^d.

A.D. 1301.

Revival of their differences, and methods taken by the king and pope to support their respective powers.

It is impossible for us to enter into the detail of the revived quarrel between the king and the pope, the history of which actually makes a considerable volume. It is sufficient for our purpose to say, that Boniface was in general the aggressor: he had erected the abbey of Pamiers into a bishoprick, without the consent or approbation of the king, in favour of Bernard Sayfeti, who was very obnoxious to Philip. On the other hand the king granted his protection to the Colonnas, whom the pope persecuted with implacable malice, and who, for very plausible reasons, refused to acknowledge him for pope^e. To insult him farther, the pope issued bull after bull, assuming to himself a sovereignty over the king and his subjects; he

^c Nang. Chron. Polyd. Virg.
^e Du Chesne Hist. des Papes.

^d Rainald, P. Æmil.

wrote him a letter, in which he told him he was a fool, if he made any doubt of this sovereignty, or of his power to correct him, and call him to an account^f. He named this very bishop of Pamiers his legate, who not only delivered arrogant messages from Boniface to the king, but took the liberty of speaking very disrespectfully to him and of him, and entered into intrigues of a treasonable nature; for which the king caused him to be arrested, and sent out of his dominions. Boniface, upon this step, summoned the clergy and doctors of France to assist at a council he appointed at Rome, to enquire into Philip's conduct. The king encountered this by assembling the states, and not only drew from the clergy and nobility, but also from the magistrates and representatives of cities, a clear acknowledgement of his own sovereignty, a disavowal of the pope's authority, and an appeal to a general council, under a future pope, regularly elected, against the violent and illegal proceedings of Boniface, whose title was now drawn into dispute^g.

The pope notwithstanding proceeded to hold his council at Rome, at which a considerable number of the French clergy assisted; for which reason the king seized their temporalities at home. He also recalled his brother Charles of Valois, who had been the pope's general, and on whom, in right of his second wife, the daughter of Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, he had bestowed that lofty title; but who, in quitting Italy, had left numbers of those, who had served under him, very well affected to the French nation^h. Philip, therefore, doubting what the consequence might be of these disputes, in case they should be longer protracted, and apprehending that Boniface would have recourse to the severest ecclesiastical censure, resolved to prevent him. With this view, he sent William de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna into Tuscany, with a large sum of money, giving out, that, since other measures had failed, he would try whether peace could not be purchased. These agents raised with great secrecy a body of determined men, and with them suddenly invested Anagnia, where the pope was born, and which was now the place of his residenceⁱ. The inhabitants, corrupted by money, joined with them, and seized on his person; when Sciarra not only insulted but struck

Pope Boniface seized by the French partizans, and dies of chagrin for his ill usage.

^f Nang. Chron. Rainald. Nich. Triveti.

^g Polyd. Virg.

^h Antonin. Rainald.

ⁱ Osius Ptolomæus Lucensis, Jordanus.

nus.

him, and, if Nogaret had not interposed, would have killed him: but after some days the popular tide turned, and the inhabitants, having taken him out of their hands, sent him under a good escort to Rome, where he died of a disease brought upon him by anxiety, and the ill usage he had received. Such was the issue of this famous quarrel, which, instead of lessening the royal authority in France, or extending the papal power, established the former, and effectually circumscribed the latter^k. This blow was struck very opportunely, for the pope had actually a bull by him, which he intended to publish next day, for excommunicating the king, and for releasing his subjects from their obedience.

Source of the war in Flanders, that country reannexed to the crown, and a rebellion thereon.

The king, during the course of these events, was embarked in the war of Flanders, which he had determined to unite to the crown, and therefore would never suffer the count Guy de Dampier to be included in the peace with England. The Flemings were at this time excessively rich, their cities populous and well built, but at the same time they were divided amongst themselves, and there was a strong faction in favour of France. Philip flattered these, and sent his brother Charles of Valois to reduce their opponents. A divided people are incapable of making a vigorous defence. The count de Valois was a good officer, had a powerful army of well-disciplined troops, and good intelligence in most of the places he was to attack. With these advantages he soon brought things to such a pass, that the count found himself under the necessity of recurring to the king's mercy. Charles received the old man with humanity; promised that neither he nor his sons should be confined; and that if, within the space of a year, he could not compromise matters with the king, they should be at liberty to return home, and take whatever measures they thought proper. After this transaction Charles entered Paris in triumph, and the queen, who mortally hated the count of Flanders, pleased herself with looking upon him and his sons as they passed in the procession^l. It had been well if her resentment had stopped there; but, in conjunction with the count of Artois, she engaged Philip to disavow the treaty which his brother had made; to send the count prisoner to Compeigne, and his two sons to different castles. The king and queen went afterwards into Flanders, not as con-

^k Rainald. Antonin. J. de Serres. Chron.

^l Le Gendre, Nang-

querors but as sovereigns, and as such they were received, with a profusion of expence, and a joy that bordered upon madness, which was excited by the pains they took to render themselves popular, by remitting some taxes, and by flattering the magistrates wherever they passed. At their return, John de Chatillon was appointed governor by the queen's interest, to whom he was nearly related^m. He had courage and abilities, but he was proud and haughty; the magistrates made great court to him, and, in return, he supported their authority, even when they made an ill use of it. This conduct produced murmurs, and these were followed with chastisements: the towns were most of them open; he repaired their fortifications, and in several places built citadels, to bridle their inhabitants; but, what is very wonderful, he forgot garrisons, which, indeed, were not in use in those days but in war. The people of Bruges, headed by a dyer, revolted; Ghent and other places followed their example; but the French faction and the magistrates were still so powerful, that they were soon calmed, and the dyer and his associates banishedⁿ.

There the dispute might have ended; but Chatillon, who had now a body of troops about him, entered Bruges in triumph, and proposed, when he had posted them properly, to have employed the contents of a couple of hog-heads filled with ropes, in stifling what he called rebellion. The people having notice of this design, took their measures with such secrecy, that, recalling the dyer, they surpris'd the governor, and killed fifteen hundred out of seventeen hundred French horse, which he had brought to be spectators of the execution he intended. He himself hardly escaped, by swimming the town ditch in the night. Three sons of the count, who had retired to Namur, which belonged to their mother, quickly returned, and put themselves at the head of the people, and gradually recovered the best part of the country^o. Philip found himself much embarrassed, but, having raised a numerous army, he sent it under the command of the count of Artois to chastise the Flemings. The young princes were then besieging Courtray, and their army consisted of near sixty thousand men, but they were new raised, and very ill armed. However, they fortified their camp, and continued the siege. The count of Artois,

The new war becomes very serious, and the army commanded by the count d'Artois is beaten.

^m Du Chesne, Polyd. Virg.
^o Du Chesne, Meyerus.

ⁿ Nang. Chron. P. Æmil.

contrary to the opinion of the constable de Nesle, resolved to attack them in their intrenchments, though the strength of his army consisted in cavalry; the consequence was a total defeat, in which the count and the constable both fell, with about twenty thousand men^p. This so irritated Philip, that, to raise a new army, he diminished his coin a third part, that is, he obliged his subjects to take a groat for six pence; and, having assembled the whole force of France, threatened the Flemings with extirpation. The young princes provided the best they could for their defence; but Edward king of England, who saw his old allies suffer with infinite concern, told his queen, as a great secret, that the pope had some partizans in the French army, who would take their opportunity to deliver the king to the Flemings. She, as he expected, gave notice of it to her brother, and Philip, under pretence that the season was too far advanced, retired without doing any thing. It may not be amiss to observe, that these two monarchs, Philip and Edward, understood each other's maxims perfectly well; for as the latter had abandoned the Flemings, the former had left the Scots out of the treaty, so that they provided for their own interests, and gratified each other's resentments, at the expence of their allies^q.

King Philip enters Flanders with the whole force of his dominions.

It was some consolation to Philip, that the fleet which he furnished to his ally the count of Hainault, who was also at war with the Flemings, gained a great naval victory; but the reader must not imagine from hence, that, at this juncture, the French were powerful by sea, for this fleet was composed chiefly of the Genoese gallics, and their admiral was Rainald de Grimaldi, who took Guy, son to the count of Flanders, prisoner, and sent him to Paris. Philip, finding the war expensive, tedious, and hazardous, consented to a kind of truce, and, releasing the old count of Flanders, sent him to try what he could do with his subjects; but upon express condition, that, if he could not bring them to the king's terms, he should return; which he did, and died soon after at Compiègne at the age of fourscore. The king, having by this time recruited his army, marched with his brothers the counts of Valois and Evreux, the flower of the French nobility, and the whole force of the kingdom, against the Flemings, who had still three sons of their count at their head.

^p Nang. Chron. Nicol. Triveti Annales.
Meyerus, J. de Serres.

^q Du Chesne;

Philip, who had served long in Sicily, having brought with him a small corps of Italians, was intrusted with the chief command, whom his brethren and the whole nation willingly obeyed^t. He acted as long as it was possible on the defensive, but the French king at length penetrated into Flanders, eager to terminate this long dispute by a general action, and came up with the Flemish army at Mons en Puelle^s.

The young prince Philip, knowing the French force consisted in cavalry, that he had none to oppose them, and that they had the advantage of ground, fortified his camp with his carriages, determined to defend it to the last extremity. The French advancing on all sides to insult them, the Flemings issued out; but were repulsed with great loss. After they retired to their camp, it was debated, whether they should retreat in the night; but the people in general pressed their officers to attack, in their turn, the French camp; which scheme they executed immediately, with such spirit, that they penetrated, in a quarter of an hour, to the king's tent, where they found the tables covered for supper. Philip had but just time to escape, and, having happily found a horse, rallied some of his troops, and attacked the enemy. The greatest part of the French army, who fled at the beginning, hearing of the king's danger, and being encouraged by the great lords, returned to the charge, and, after an obstinate dispute, drove out the Flemings with prodigious slaughter^t. After this action the king invested Lisle, into which Philip of Flanders had thrown himself with what troops he could collect, and here the king expected the war would have ended, the place having capitulated, in case it was not relieved by the first of October; but, when it was least expected, John de Namur appeared with an army of sixty thousand men, undisciplined indeed, but daring and desperate; so that the king, by the advice of the duke of Brabant, and other great lords, consented to set Robert de Bethune, the eldest son of the count of Flanders, at liberty, to receive his homage for the county, to accept of eight hundred thousand livres for the expences of the war, and to have certain places delivered into his hands by way of security, till this sum should be paid^u. At his return to Paris the king granted a rent of one hundred livres to the church of Notre Dame, and

Gains a great victory, but thinks it prudent, notwithstanding, to conclude a peace.

^r Du Chesne, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

^s Nang. Chron.

^t P. Æmil.

^u Nich. Triveti Annales.

A.D. 1304. placed there an equestrian statue, which many, however, have asserted to belong to Philip de Valois; but it appears from the breviary of Paris, that it referred to this battle, which was fought on the 18th of August^x.

Benedict XI. ab-solves king Philip, dies, and is succeeded by the arch-bishop of Bourdeaux, styled Clement V.

We must now resume the transactions between this monarch and the see of Rome, which were interrupted, in order to give a more distinct account of the war of Flanders. After the death of Boniface, the cardinals speedily elected Nicholas Boccacini, who assumed the name of Benedict the Eleventh^y. He was a mild, good man, and, being desirous to use his power for the promoting of peace, revoked the excommunication which his predecessor had fulminated against Philip; emitting six new bulls, by which, in a great measure, all things were put again into their former state. He also pardoned the Colonnas, and shewed a strong disposition to reform that corruption, which had spread through the dominions of the church^z. These proceedings, while they gained him the approbation of all virtuous and worthy men, excited the hatred of such as were of a different disposition; so that, before he had accomplished much, he was removed by poison^a. In the conclave after his death, which subsisted several months, the Italian and the French factions were so nicely balanced, that there could have been no election, if the former had not proposed to name three eminent persons amongst the clergy on the other side of the mountains, out of which they might name one who was to be unanimously proclaimed pope. This expedient being accepted, they named three archbishops, all partizans of Boniface the Eighth, and amongst these was Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux^b. King Philip, being informed of this nomination, and happening to receive the news when he was in Poitou, sent to desire the archbishop would meet him, as if it was by chance, in a wood. There the king told him, he would certainly make him pope, if he would promise him an absolute pardon for all that had been done against Boniface; an authentic condemnation of the conduct and memory of that pontiff; the restitution of the honours and estates of the Colonnas; the tenths of the clergy of France for five years; and another request which he would make to him at a proper time. Bertrand, without hesitation, accepted

^x Mezeray.
Rebus Gestis Francorum.
Chroniche Florentine.

^y Rainald. Baillet. Du Puy, P. Æmil. de
^z Spond. Fælix, Osius.
^b Contin. Nang.

^a Villani

the king's proposition; and, being unanimously elected pope, took the name of Clement the Fifth.

The new pontiff, to the great regret of the Italian cardinals, resolved to be crowned at Lyons; where the ceremony was performed accordingly, on the 14th of November. In returning from the church to his palace, the pope was on horseback with his triple crown on his head, and the king of France, his brothers, the counts de Valois and Evreux, and the duke of Bretagne, led the beast by turns. This procession, however, would not have claimed a place in our history, but for the accident which attended it; for a great number of spectators having taken post upon an old wall, it fell down at once. The pope had his tiara beat off, the king, and the count de Valois were wounded, the duke de Bretagne, the pope's brother, and several other persons of distinction, were bruised to death^c. Such was the introduction of the papal court into France; for this pontiff and several of his successors leaving Rome, fixed their seat at Avignon. Clement performed his promises tolerably well; he revoked or softened all the bulls that Boniface had issued; he granted the king the tenths of the clergy for the term required; he created several cardinals at his request; but for stigmatizing the memory of Boniface he took time, under pretence of examining witnesses; at length it ended in a justification of his predecessor, in which the king acquiesced, as finding it unavoidable. Philip found it necessary to send his son Lewis into Navarre, where he took the title of king, as heir of his mother. He had the satisfaction also of seeing the marriage completed between his daughter Isabel and Edward the Second, become lately king of England, with whom he had an interview at Bologne, where Edward did him homage for the duchy of Guienne, and the county of Ponthieu. The death of the emperor Albert of Austria, who was assassinated by his nephew, afforded Philip an opportunity of disclosing to the pope his last demand, which he had so long kept secret, and which, if he had still retained it in his own breast, would have infallibly taken effect; but the king having declared in council that his view was to set his brother Charles of Valois upon the imperial throne, he was advised to demand assistance of the pope in person, attended by his court and a good body of troops, an advice which the king relished; but while he was making the necessary preparations, Clement was informed of

A D 1305.

This pope is crowned at Lyons, and removes the papal residence from Rome to Avignon.

^c Villan. Nicol. Trivet. Annales, Gaguini Histor. Francorum.

his intention, and wrote in strong terms to the electors, that they could not do any thing better for themselves, or the peace of Europe, than to chuse an emperor without delay, and named to them Henry of Luxemburgh; so that, before the king arrived at Avignon, the election was over, and Clement delivered from the apprehensions of being distressed by a French king on the one side, and a French emperor on the other^d. Philip, however, had better success in another project, which was that of re-uniting the city of Lyons to the realm of France, from which it had been formerly detached to make a part of the kingdom of Arles. It was at this time a kind of principality, in the hands of its archbishop, who, partly by fair promises, but chiefly by the appearance of Lewis king of Navarre with an army at its gates, was constrained, under certain conditions, to render it to the crown. This was justly considered as a great acquisition, though the king still suffered the archbishop to stye himself count of Lyons^e.

A.D. 1310

A resolution taken to humble the powerful order of knights Templars.

Philip had all this time a very troublesome affair upon his hands, of which the world knew not what to think in his own time, and with respect to which the sentiments of posterity have been, and perhaps ever will be divided. This was the prosecution of the knights Templars, a military order that had been established for the protection of such as went in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and which had received its name from a house, or palace, given them by one of the kings of Jerusalem near the temple. This order had subsisted near two hundred years, was spread through the dominions of all Christian princes, had vast possessions in land, was immensely rich, and composed of men of the best families in every nation throughout Europe^f. They were indeed very much declined from that reputation in which they had formerly stood; were deeply tinged with the corruption of the age in which they lived, were extremely hated for their pride and luxury, and, amongst other vices, were particularly decried for drunkenness; insomuch, that to drink like a Templar was become a proverb^g. Two of this order being sentenced by the grand-master to perpetual imprisonment, the one a Frenchman for heresy, the other an Italian, for a multitude of crimes, insinuated, that if they might have life and liberty given them, they would discover certain secret practices of their order that were little suspected. These men being admitted as witnesses, deposed, amongst other

^d Villan. Gaguin. Hist. ^e Menitrier Histoire Consulaire de Lyon. ^f Contin. Nang. Gaguin. Hist. ^g Thom. Walsingham.

horrible things, that, at their entrance into the order, every knight was obliged to renounce his Saviour, to go through several indecent and filthy ceremonies, and were, through their whole lives, indulged in the most horrid and abominable of all lusts^b. The king received these informations before the pope's coronation, and had then several conferences with him on this subject, which induced the pope to command James de Molai, the grand-master, and other great officers of the order, to repair into France, under pretence of concerting measures for a new croisade; where, with the rest of the knights Templars, to the number of a hundred and forty, they were arrested, by the command of king Philip, in one day, and committed to several prisonsⁱ.

At first the pope seemed to be in great doubt in this matter, and to proceed in it more vigorously by degrees, through the evidence that was brought out in prosecutions before his inquisitor, joined with the king's commissaries, to whom the greatest part of the knights freely confessed all that had been laid to their charge, and gave a distinct and particular account of all their horrid practices, to which the first witnesses had deposed. But still a considerable number persisted firmly in denying every word of what had been advanced; asserting, that those who had confessed did it through fear of death, through force of torture, or through flattering promises of life and liberty^k. Between fifty and sixty of these suffered death, in a field near the convent of St. Anthony at Paris, and died with great steadiness, and piety, professing their innocence to the last^l. The pope, to put an end to this and to other perplexed affairs, appointed a general council to be held at Vienne, in Dauphiny, where, on the 22d of May, in the presence of the king, the count de Valois his brother, Lewis king of Navarre, and the other two princes his sons, a bull, for the condemnation and extinction of the order, was published. Their estates, except in Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and Majorca, were given to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, otherwise knights of Rhodes, and now of Malta, but without hearing the knights in their own defence, though they demanded it with great earnestness, the grand-master and other great officers being reserved to a future judgment^m. In this council the memory of pope Boniface the Eighth was

That order suppressed in the council of Vienne.

A.D. 1312.

^b Baluz. Rainald.

ⁱ Gaguin. Hist.

^k Cont. Nang.

^l Villan. Cont. Nich. Triveti.

^m Thom. Walsingham.

freed from all imputation of heresy, several doctors making long speeches in support of his innocence. After this declaration, two Catalan knights entered, and threw down their gauntlets, offering to prove, at their launces point, against any of the king of France's subjects, the innocence of the deceased pope, in respect of the charges that had been brought against him, not only as to heresy, but as to impiety, atheism, and immorality; with which defiance, though king Philip was by no means pleased, yet things were so circumstanced, that he was obliged to seem contented ⁿ.

The grand master and chief officers burnt, and the rest of the knights of the order dispersed.

James de Molai, grand-master of the knights Templars, and the three great officers of the order, finding they were not set at liberty, after five years confinement, insisted upon being brought to a trial, and, upon their own confessions, which were very full and express, were condemned to suffer perpetual imprisonment, after making open acknowledgement of their crimes before the people. A scaffold was set up before the great porch of the Notre Dame, upon which the criminals were placed, in the presence of several cardinals, and other persons of distinction, and of a prodigious multitude of people, where their sentence and confessions being read, they desired leave to speak ^o. This being granted, James de Molai declared, with a loud voice, that all they had heard was absolutely false, that they had been threatened and seduced into those confessions, and that, though themselves and their brethren had frailties and failings as well as other men, yet, with respect to those impieties and impurities that had been charged upon them, they were absolutely innocent. The king being informed of this declaration, was so enraged, that he ordered them all to be burnt in a slow fire behind the garden wall of his palace, where they suffered with great composure and constancy; a circumstance the more extraordinary, as the grand-master was of a very fickle disposition, had confessed and recanted several times, and shewed such a weakness of spirit as had rendered him very despicable ^p. It is reported that, a little before he expired, he summoned the pope in forty days, and the king in four months, to answer at the divine tribunal for the murder of himself and his brethren. Of the original accusers it was remarked, that the Frenchman was assassinated as soon as he was released out of prison, and that the Italian, hav-

ⁿ Rainald. Contin. Nang.
Æmil. Le Gendre.

^o Villan. Gaguini Hist. p. P.

ing committed a murder, was hanged for it not long after. The order, however, was every where suppressed in England by authority of parliament, but upon general suggestions, and the knights were confined to certain convents, with handsome allowances, upon which they lived regularly, and without affording the least countenance to the imputation that had been cast upon their order^a. In the Spanish kingdoms the Templars suffered no injury in their persons, but their lands were appropriated to other religious orders, or to the defence of the countries, where they were situated, against the Moors. In short, it has been much doubted, whether the greatest crime of these knights was not their wealth and their possessions. The immense riches found in their houses, which every where bore the name of Temples, was also confiscated^r.

There happened some disputes between the king and his son-in-law Edward the Second of England, which seem to have arisen chiefly from misunderstandings between their officers in frontier places; yet they might have produced a rupture, if both princes had not been equally unwilling to come to extremities. To prevent these, Edward, with his queen Isabel, repaired to Paris, and having passed some time there in the most agreeable manner, all things were amicably adjusted, and king Philip subscribed an act, by which all memory of their former differences, as well as the errors of their officers which had occasioned them, were abolished^s. The old quarrel with Flanders was revived with great heat, the king insisting that the count had infringed the last treaty; whereas the count as positively asserted, that it had been broken by the king himself; who, upon the count's retiring privately from Paris, and his son's making his escape after he was arrested, summoned him to abide the judgment of his peers, and he not appearing in person, but by deputy, the king procured a sentence, by which all his estates were declared confiscated. This, however, was esteemed rather severe than strict justice, though the king had extended the power, and raised the credit of his parliament higher than it had ever stood in the days of his predecessors^t (L). But, whatever the sentiments of the world

The affairs of king Philip take an ill turn at home and abroad.

^a Thom. Walsingham, Contin. Nich. Trivet. Walt. Hemingford de Rebus Gestis Edwardi II. ^r Cont. Nang. ^s Gaguini Hist. ^t P. Æmil. P. Daniel.

(L) It was to this stirring Fair, that the French owe the and active monarch Philip the fixing their parliament of Paris, which

world might be, Philip, recurring to his old object, which was re-uniting this great fief to his crown, pursued this sentence of the law with a military force, notwithstanding the interposition of the pope, who, by his legate, cardinal Gosselin, laboured to the utmost of his power to heal this breach, and to prevent the destruction of the count, who was rather unhappy than undutiful. After much altercation, and many propositions made and rejected on both sides, the king took a resolution, grounded upon an opinion that the conquest was easy, to leave all things to the decision of arms. Having assembled a numerous army, commanded by himself, his two brothers, and his three sons, he marched directly against the Flemings; but upon new propositions from the count, who gave hostages for the performance of them, and surrendered also the fortress of Courtray into the king's hands, he consented to a new treaty, and returned to Paris^u.

*He takes
some ab-
solute mis-
fortunes so
much to
heart that
it brings
him to the
grave.*

The French finding themselves in a manner exhausted, and remembering the distresses that had been brought upon them by the last Flemish war, there suddenly appeared a strange spirit of disaffection through all his dominions; so that the nobility, the clergy, and cities, in several provinces, entered into confederacies, to prevent the ministers from carrying their measures for levying money into execution; which associations, when they could be no longer concealed from the king, affected him exceedingly^w. To this was added a new circumstance of domestic chagrin, that penetrated still deeper. He had taken great care in marrying the three princes his sons in a manner suitable to

^u Gaguini Hist. Contin. Nangii, P. Æmil. Duplex, Du Tillet.
^w Contin. Nang. Gaguini Hist.

which had before followed the person of the prince, and held its assemblies where he judged it most convenient. He also erected the parliament of Toulouse, apparently after the model of that of Paris, since he appointed six ecclesiastical and six lay counsellors. He settled the court of exchequer in Normandy upon a like plan, and appointed the great days or solemn assizes at Troyes in Champagne. His difference

with pope Boniface the Eighth put him, by the advice of the Sieur de Marigni, upon calling what were afterwards styled assemblies of the states, in which the nobility, the clergy, and the deputies of the cities sat separately, and framed their respective letters to the cardinals at Rome, in which they asserted the independency of the crown, justified the king's measures, and appealed from the tribunal of the pope.

their

their birth, and great suspicions arose of the infidelity of all their wives; upon a strict examination into this matter, Margaret queen of Navarre, daughter to the duke of Burgundy, and Blanch, the wife of Charles count de la Marche, appeared to be guilty, and to have lived for some time in a scandalous commerce with Philip and Walter de Launai, men of a noble family, but rather mean than comely in their persons; for which commerce they were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and their gallants, after being slayed alive, were drawn over a field, and then hung upon a gibbet; with an usher of the chamber, who had been privy to their amours *. The vexation of this shameful affair, added to his former disappointments, threw the king into a wasting consumption, in which the skill of his physicians could do nothing, so that he expired on the 29th of November, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and in the forty-seventh of his age. He was certainly, to give his character in few words, a prince of great talents, great virtues, and great vices, of which the most flagrant were avarice and cruelty; the consequences of which were severely felt in his dominions long after his decease.

A D. 1314.

Lewis, surnamed Hutin, which signifies *the Boisterous*, or *the Quarrelsome*, because something of this kind appeared in his temper while a child, succeeded at twenty-three, or, as other writers say, at twenty-five years of age, being already king of Navarre. He continued to use the same seal as in his father's life-time, and put off his coronation, under pretence of making the same ceremony serve for himself and his new queen, whose name was Clemence, the daughter of Charles king of Hungary, his first queen Margaret being strangled, by his order, for the crime of adultery, in her prison of Chateau-Gaillard *. There were, however, other reasons for this delay, such as the want of money, the treasury being in a manner empty at his father's decease; and the discontents that reigned in several provinces of the kingdom, which he thought it necessary to compose to prevent any disturbance at that solemnity. This aim he effected by the interposition of his uncle Charles de Valois, and the king's promises, that the nobility should be restored to the privileges they enjoyed in the reign of St. Lewis. These obstacles being removed, he was crowned at Rheims, by Robert de Courtenai, arch-

Lewis X:
surnamed
Hutin, suc-
ceeds his
father,
and meets
with much
dissatisfac-
tion.

* Inventaire de Chartres, tom. vii.
nys, P. Æmil.

* Chronique de St. De-

bishop of that city ^y. The count de Valois, though the king was of age, had such an ascendancy over him, that, in effect, he governed in his name; which was the easier for him to do, as he had a great share in the administration during that of his father, though perhaps it had been better for both kings if they had confided in him less, his hasty and passionate disposition being the principal cause of those disasters that happened both to his brother and his nephew ^z.

The king suffers his uncle, the count de Valois, to cause his minister to be put to death.

Where a king is in want of money, his government cannot long be either steady or peaceable. Lewis was surprised to find himself so much distressed; he demanded the reason of it in his council, and his uncle charged it upon Enguerrand le Poitier de Marigni, a nobleman of Norman extraction, whom his father had raised to the title of count de Longueville, to the post of chamberlain, and, in effect, to that of prime minister, by giving him the direction of the finances: he was a man of great abilities, but as warm in his temper as the count de Valois, and unable to bear this usage after the great services he had done the state; for it was chiefly through his management, that Philip the Fair had triumphed over pope Boniface, and obtained so much from the late pope Clement V. In support, therefore, of his own conduct and character, he boldly answered, that so much of the king's treasure as had not been spent for his service, had been taken by the count de Valois himself. The count gave him the lie, which, with some vehemence, Marigni retorted; so that they were on the point of drawing their swords in the king's presence. The rest of the council interposing, the count de Valois satisfied himself with putting him in prison, and causing him to be prosecuted, exhibiting against him a multitude of charges, some of which were destitute of all foundation, others strongly exaggerated, and in some there might be truth ^a. He demanded time to make his defence; which was refused him, and the count had so great influence over his judges, that they pronounced him guilty in the gross of all that had been laid to his charge: but the king, though he might be well enough content to see the pride of Marigni humbled, more especially as it afforded satisfaction to his subjects, yet he by no means desired his destruction, as having a great opinion of his capacity, and much regard for his fa-

^y Gaguini Hist. Annales de France, P. Æmil. Nang.

^z Thom. Wallingham.

^a Cont.

mily ; but the count de Valois was not to be pacified, his resentment had dictated the ruin of Marigni, and he resolved to accomplish it ^b.

The next step taken, in order to deprive him of the king's favour and pity, was to cause his sister and wife to be arrested, together with the pretended magician, who, by their command, as it was said, had made images of wax of the king and his uncle, in order to destroy them by enchantment. The magician hanged himself in prison ; the women were convicted ; and the king was prevailed upon to give way that Marigni should be executed ^c. He was accordingly hanged on the high gibbet at Mont-faucon, set up by his own order, that the bodies of notorious offenders might be exposed to public view. He did not fall alone ; several of the inferior officers in the finances were confined and put to the torture ; his brother, the bishop of Beauvais, was forced to retire ; and the bishop of Chalons, chancellor of France, was charged with being his accomplice, and with having poisoned his predecessor ; but being brought to a public trial, was acquitted ^d. All this severity was far from answering the end proposed : Marigni was considered by the people as the victim of the count de Valois's passion ; and that they judged right, appeared afterwards, by the king's leaving a considerable sum of money to his children by will. The count de Valois gave largely to the poor to pray for Marigni, and for himself, because he looked upon his being struck with a palsy to be a judgment from heaven, for his severity in persecuting this unfortunate gentleman : neither did the confiscation of his effects, and of those who were styled his accomplices, furnish supplies in any proportion to the king's wants, though, exclusive of what was diverted from the king's coffers, they were very considerable ^e.

The fleur de Marigni is regretted as the victim of count de Valois's cruelty.

The coronation quickly exhausted these ; the proposed war in Flanders required new aids ; and, though Marigni was in his grave, yet the spirit he had introduced into the councils of France still prevailed. The ministers found means to compel the nobility to lend the king money under a variety of pretences ; they levied a tenth upon the clergy ; they sold their liberty to the king's bondsmen, and when they would no longer buy, they levied the money upon them by force, and declared them free whether they

The king makes an unsuccessful campaign in Flanders, and dies suddenly at his return.

^b Gaguini Histor. Gendre. Mez.

^c Continuat. Nangii.
^e Tresor de Chartres cite par Saint

^d Le

would or not ^f. By these, and other practices of a like nature, an army was raised, and the king's passion gratified, who desired, above all things, to chastise the Flemings; or rather the haughty temper of his uncle was indulged, who managed the king so absolutely, that he made his own humours appear to be those of his sovereign. The pretence of this war was the breach of his treaty with king Philip, by Robert de Bethune, count of Flanders; but Robert insisted that the French themselves had broke it, that he had paid immense sums to Enguerrand de Marigni, and that he had been imposed upon and deceived in many respects ^g. The true motive to the war was the entire conquest of Flanders, then in a very low condition, and the people harrassed by a famine. Count Robert, very sensible that he could not oppose force by force, thought it excusable to have recourse to fraud. He negotiated with all apparent signs of submission; he consented to give hostages, and to deliver up the fortrefs of Courtray; but, at length, the wet weather came, as he expected, and the French army, no longer able to keep the field, being obliged to retreat, he recovered Courtray by surprize ^h. King Lewis, finding his coffers as empty as ever, fell into great perplexity, from which he was delivered by a sudden death, occasioned, as some say, by drinking imprudently a glass of water, when he was very hot; but others think he was poisoned; and Mezeray ascribes his death to the accomplices of Marigni, assuring us, that, at this time, poison was but too frequent in France ⁱ. But, whatever was the cause, the king ended his days at the Bois de Vincennes on the 5th of June, after a reign of one year, eight months, and six days, leaving his subjects in great perplexity, on the score of the queen's being with child, and his brother Philip at a distance (M); so that it was doubtful whom they were to obey.

Charles,

^f Le Gendre. Dupleix.

^g P. Henault.

^h P. Æmil.

ⁱ *Abrege de la Histoire de France*, vol. ii. p. 329.

(M). This monarch, king of Navarre, in right of his mother, espoused, while very young, Margaret, daughter to Robert II. duke of Burgundy, by Agnes, the youngest daughter of St. Lewis, who being convicted of adultery in 1313,

was confined in Chateau-Gailard, and there strangled by her husband's command, the year following. By her he had only one daughter, Joan or Jane, heiress after his decease of the kingdom of Navarre, and of the counties of Champagne

Charles, count of Valois, unwilling to part with that authority which he had so long held, seized the Louvre, and made a strong party in order to obtain the regency, which he had the more time to do, because Philip, count of Poictou, being at Lyons, where a conclave was held for the election of a pope, could not be prevailed upon to move till he saw that matter in a fair way of being adjusted. On his arrival at Paris, near a month after his brother's decease, he found things in great confusion; but being supported by the constable the count d'Evreux, though brother to Charles de Valois, and the citizens of Paris, he compelled that ambitious prince to deliver up the Louvre, and to submit their pretensions to the decision of the court of peers, or, as it was then stiled, the parliament, who decided, that the regency belonged of right to Philip, as first prince of the blood, to whom they granted that title and authority for eighteen years, and directed a great seal, which he was to use during that time, with this inscription: "Philip, son of the French king, governing the realms of France and Navarre^k." By this judgment the government was settled for the present, and gave leisure for settling that of the succession. The crown of France, from the time of Hugh Capet, had descended in a lineal succession from father from son; in case, therefore, the queen was delivered of a prince, there could be no dispute; but if she was brought to bed of a princess, or, if her son should die, then came the doubt how the crown should descend, which was so much the greater, as there was no written law to which they could have recourse. Some were of opinion, that the kingdom was a great fief, and that therefore the succession should be regulated as in other fiefs; and in that case the princess Joan, daughter

*Philip, -
count of
Poitiers,
is declared
regent, in
spite of the
intrigues of
the count de
Valois.*

^k Continuat. Nangii. P. Æmil.

pagne and Brie, educated at the court of her uncle Otho, duke of Burgundy, and under the eye of her grandmother. The second queen of Lewis Hutin was Clementia, the eldest daughter of Charles Martel, king of Hungary; she espoused the king in the month of August, 1315, and became a widow in the beginning of

June following. She is said to have been so passionately fond of her husband, that her grief proved fatal to his posthumous son John, king of France and Navarre; and that, after having wept and deplored him for twelve years, she died inconsolable in 1328. Lewis had also a natural daughter, named Endelina, who became a nun.

to the deceased king, was clearly the heiress of the crown^l. Charles, count de la Marche, the younger brother of the regent, Charles of Valois, and Lewis of Evreux, his uncles, Eudes duke of Burgundy, and other princes of the blood, were of this opinion: but others alleged, that the bulk of the realm of France consisted of salique lands, and therefore ought to pass by the salique law, which, excluding females, the regent Philip, as next prince of the blood, should inherit^m. In this situation of things there was a treaty made at Vincennes, the 17th of June, by which it was stipulated, that, in case the queen was delivered of a princess, the heiress of Lewis Hutin should have the kingdom of Navarre, and the counties of Champagne and Brie, in conjunction with her younger sister (not yet born); that the princess Joan should be bred up at the court of the duke of Burgundy, her uncle, and that neither of the princesses should be married without the consent of the person at that time governing the realm of France, and Philip still to have the regency of Navarre and Champagne, till such a marriage should be concluded and consummated. In the course of his regency, he engaged in a war in support of his wife's mother Matilda, countess of Artois, against count Robert, who claimed that country by descentⁿ. This war he conducted with spirit and success: he obliged Robert to surrender himself prisoner, and to submit his pretensions to the decision of the parliament, who gave judgment in favour of the countess, and a fatal judgment it was^o. The queen, who, with difficulty, recovered of a fever, into which grief for the king her husband had thrown her, was on the 15th of November delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of John, and who lived a week, or, as some say, three weeks, and was buried at St. Denis, being proclaimed king, as is generally said, in the funeral service; but there are deeds still preserved which bear date in his short reign, so that the modern historians are justified, who put him into the list of kings of France, by the name of John I.^p

Philip V. crowned king in virtue of the salique laws, and at the same time regent of Navarre.

Philip le Long, or *Philip the Tall*, having made use of the crown revenue to strengthen his party, was declared king upon the death of his nephew; and, as soon as things could be adjusted for that purpose, he went to Rheims, in order to be crowned: the day fixed for that purpose was the

^l J. de Serres. ^m Mezeray. ⁿ P. Dan. ^o Gaguini. Duplex.
^p Du Tillet. Chalons. ^p P. Dan. Boulanvilliers.

5th of January. The old duchess of Burgundy, the youngest daughter of St. Lewis, and grandmother to queen Joan of Navarre, protested by letter against this act, till the rights of that princess should be examined. The king's brother, Charles, repaired to Rheims, but left it the very morning of the coronation, a step which occasioned such a consternation, that the gates of the city were shut till the solemnity was over⁹. The new king, to prevent any disputes about his title, called a general assembly at Paris, in which his coronation was confirmed, and the nobility, prelates, and others, who assisted there; took an oath of allegiance to him and to his son Lewis, who died, however, in a few days after^r. Philip did not stop there; he applied himself to pope John XXII. who wrote to the queen-dowager, and to the counts Valois and De la Marche, exhorting them not to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and, at the same time, gave his instructions to the archbishop of Bourges to excommunicate them if they did^s. In order to put a final end to these disputes, Philip gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the duke of Burgundy, and with her the county of the same name, of which her mother was heiress, and promised the queen of Navarre to the son of the count de Evreux, measures which had the effect he desired, and pacified all who had exerted themselves on the side of the queen of Navarre. As for the count de la Marche, since the death of the young prince Lewis, he had changed his sentiments, and highly approved the law that had been made to exclude females, because it opened him a passage to the throne.

After all, the jealousies and grievances which had disturbed the last years of his father's reign were on the point of creating troubles in his. The nobility, clergy, and citizens, in several provinces, jealous of their respective privileges, began to enter into confederacies for the support of them, which might have been fatal to the public quiet, under a monarch less wise and less firm than Philip^t. He immediately appointed commissaries to enquire into these grievances, and directed them to assure his people, that he would be as tender of giving them just occasion to take up arms, as he would be severe in punishing those who should take them up without cause. He observed that particular privileges were granted, on a supposition that

A.D. 1317.

New troubles on the point of breaking out, which are prevented by the king's firmness.

⁹ Gaguini Chronique MS. de St. Genevieve.
 Serres. Mezeray, ^s Rainald. P. Daniel.

^r J. de
^t P. Æmil.

they were not repugnant to the general welfare of the realm; and as he would oppress none himself, so he would not permit either lord, or bishop, or city, to oppress the meanest of his subjects. Upon the report of these commissaries, the people were so well satisfied, that, though their superiors found themselves hurt a little by the king's notions, yet they found an insurrection impracticable ^u.

The pope in express, in order to dissuade the king from an expedition to the Holy Land.

The war with the Flemings had been suspended by a truce; and though the king was much inclined to put an end to it by a peace; yet this aim was not easily effected, notwithstanding he had the assistance of the pope's spiritual artillery, as well as the force of his own realm; but in the end the Flemings, being convinced of the rectitude of his intentions, compelled their count to put an end to a quarrel which had been alike burthenfome to both nations ^v. He summoned Edward II. of England to render homage for the places he held in France; and though the excuse that prince made would scarce have been accepted by his predecessors, yet, partly out of regard to his sister whom that king had married, and partly from the consideration of his own circumstances, he received it with a good grace ^x. The integrity of Philip was the source of the only objection ever made to his conduct; he had taken the cross with his father at the council of Vienne, and he was so strict an observer of his word, that he made it a point of religion to prepare for a new expedition into the Holy Land, and was, with great difficulty, dissuaded from carrying it into execution while he was regent. After he ascended the throne he remained so bent upon it, that he neglected no method of filling his coffers, and this eagerness gained him the reputation of being covetous, and of having nothing so much at heart as amassing money ^y. The steadiness of the king's disposition, however, would very probably have carried him through, if the pope had not interposed; for the politics of the court of Rome were now so much changed, and the situation of things in Italy rendered the protection of France so necessary to the pontiff, that he wrote to Philip, in very pathetic terms, to desist from this enterprize for the present ^z; which letter, though it had its effect, yet he continued to look upon himself as bound in conscience to accomplish his vow, and

A. D. 1321.

^u Le Gendre
^v J. de Serres.
^z Rainald. Dupleix.

^x Wal. Hemingford de Reb. Gest. Edward II. Hist. Angl.
^y Mezeray.

therefore

therefore never desisted from the means that he thought were most likely to put it in his power ^a.

Amongst other mischiefs occasioned by this exertion, there was one of a very extraordinary nature, almost as prejudicial to his subjects as if the king had actually executed his design. The Mohammedan princes in Africa, considering the last croisade of St. Lewis, and being apprehensive that the king might revive the same scheme, and make the first descent in some or other of their dominions, practised with the Jews, whom his grandfather had banished, and his brother readmitted into France, to poison the wells, fountains, and rivers, and offered them great sums if they would engage in this undertaking ^b. The Jews were afraid to embark in so dangerous a conspiracy; and yet being loth to lose the money, they practised on the lepers, of whom there were great numbers then in France, and who lived by themselves in hospitals, very richly endowed, and who had also many Jews amongst them, to undertake this villainy, which they did; and were so industrious in the performance of it, that a prodigious mortality ensued, insomuch that, if the king had persisted in his intention, he would have found it scarce possible to have raised an army. This conspiracy being detected, many of the lepers were burnt, and the people rising against the Jews committed most horrid disorders, under colour of executing justice; so that a greater or more universal calamity could not well have happened ^c. The king had been persuaded by the pope to send an army into Italy, against the family of Visconti, lords of Milan, who were at the head of the Gibellines. This army was commanded by Philip, count of Mans, son to Charles, count of Valois; but Galeas de Visconti coming to meet him with a small retinue, giving him good words, and promising to submit all points in dispute to the judgment of the king of France, Philip returned with his forces, without doing any thing ^d; which inactivity, however it might injure his reputation, was certainly without any prejudice to his country. At his return he found things in the confusion we have represented, the people every where highly irritated against the Jews, and the Jews protesting that they were the victims of their impatience, on account of the nation's being afflicted with a plague, which they

Strange disorders in France, occasioned by a plague attributed to poisoning the waters.

^a Mezeray. P. Daniel.

^b Contin. Nangii. J. de Serres.

^c Gaguini Inventaire de Chartres, tom. vii.

^d Chronique

MS. de St. Genevieve.

could neither help or remove ^c. This affair is very darkly represented by all, and in very different lights by some historians.

The king dies, and, though a prince of great merit, is very little regretted.

The last great action of Philip's life and reign, or at least the last great thing he attempted, was to complete what his predecessors had begun, in reducing the money, the weights, and the measures, throughout all France, to some settled standard. He sent commissaries through all the provinces to take an exact account of the state of things as they then stood. He began to compound with some of the great lords, particularly the princes of the blood, for their rights of coinage within their own domains, and actually agreed with the count de Valois, and the count of Clermont and Bourbon; but found it very difficult to succeed, notwithstanding he was at great pains to make it appear how much it was for the common benefit of his subjects, and that it was the only effectual remedy for some of those evils of which they had so much complained ^f. But a report prevailing, that he intended to raise a tax of the fifth part of every man's revenue, in order to pay such individuals as would not part with their privileges, a general discontent ensued. Philip, much affected by the misfortunes that had happened to his subjects during his reign, and not a little chagrined to find all his actions misinterpreted (more especially by the prelates, whom, from a point of conscience, he had excluded by law from sitting in parliament, because it hindered their residence in their diocese, and prevented them from discharging their pastoral duty ^g), fell sick of a fever, accompanied with a dysentery, of which having languished five months, he breathed his last on the third of January, at the entrance of the sixth year of his reign, and in the twenty-eighth of his age, not without great suspicion of poison, being hated by the clergy, and little beloved by the nobility ^h. He is, however, by all the French historians, allowed to have been a wise, moderate, pious, just, and public-spirited prince ⁱ. It appeared after his decease, that he had been miserably cheated by those who had the direction of his finances; but it also appeared that he was very sincere in his designs, by his appropriating in his will the sums he had saved, for the very purposes for which he had declared they were intended. He was himself learned, and a great lover of learning, religious without bigotry, and so

A.D. 1322.

^c Mezeray.
^p Henault.

^f N. Triveti Annales.
^h J. de Serres.

^g Duplex.
ⁱ Du Tillet. Boulanvil.

circumspect in ecclesiastical promotions, that those who were most assiduous in seeking them very rarely met with preferments ^k (N).

Charles IV. surnamed Le Bel, or the *Fair*, succeeded his brother in the throne, when he was about the age of twenty-six, without any scruple or dispute, though contrary to that rule of succession which he himself had espoused when his brother claimed the crown. The duke of Burgundy, who had married the eldest daughter of the deceased monarch, was the first to do him homage. But though he set up no pretensions to the crown, yet he claimed the county of Poitou upon this principle, that her father having no higher title at the time of his wife's birth, she was of consequence his heiress in respect to that county as well as Burgundy, which, or an equivalent, had been yielded to him; but the parliament finding that the county of Poitou was given by Philip le Bel only to his son and his heirs male, they declared the duke of Burgundy's pretensions groundless ^l. The next point was to get rid of his wife Blanch of Burgundy, who had been all this time prisoner in Chateau-Gaillard. For this purpose, an application was made to the court of Rome, where the pope was so complaisant as to declare the marriage null, for two reasons; the first was, that the lady's mother, the

Charles the Fair succeeds his brother, and meets with no opposition.

^k Duplex. P. Daniel.

^l Gaguini. P. Æmil.

(N) His queen was Jane, or Joan, the daughter of Othelin, count of Burgundy, by the countess Matilda, who enjoyed Artois in her own right. Joan was condemned with her sister, at the close of the reign of Philip the Fair, as guilty of adultery; but, after a year's imprisonment, the king took her again, being persuaded, or seeming to be persuaded, that she was innocent. He had by her Lewis, who died a child; Joan, who espoused Eudes, duke of Burgundy; and Margaret, who was the consort of Lewis, count of Flanders, to whom she brought a great succession: she survived to the age of seventy-two, and died with

the reputation of a saint. Isabella, the third daughter, married Guigon, dauphin of Vienne, and, after his decease, to John, baron of Faucogney in Franche-Compte; Blanche, who died a nun in the monastery of Long Champ, the 26th of April, 1358. The corpse of king Philip V. was interred in the abbey of St. Denis, his heart in the church of the convent of Cordeliers at Paris, and his entrails at the Jacobins. Queen Joan retired, after his decease, to a convent at Roie in Picardy, where she died January 31, 1329; and her body being afterwards removed to Paris, was interred in the convent of Cordeliers.

A. D. 1123.

countess Matilda, had been godmother to the king; the other, that the lady Blanch herself was related to him in the fourth degree, for which, indeed, a dispensation had been obtained from the court of Rome, but this dispensation was now found not to be in proper form^m. On such slight circumstances as these stood the marriages and successions even of princes. The king, being now at liberty, married the princess Mary, daughter to the emperor Henry of Luxemburgh, in hopes of male issue, and also with a view to facilitate his correspondence with the princes of Germany, for reasons that will quickly appearⁿ.

A war breaks out with the king of England, which is strangely managed on both sides.

The peace which had so long subsisted between the crowns of France and England, was interrupted by various accidents. Edward being summoned to do homage for the territories he possessed in France, made the same excuses he had formerly used, and might have made them with the same success; but the lord of Montpesat having built a castle on lands which were claimed by the crown of France, was dispossessed of it by that prince's order; however, by the assistance of the seneschal of Guienne, it was recovered, and the French, who were in possession, put to the sword, as the French writers say^o. For this hostility, Edward was summoned to the parliament to answer before his peers. Notwithstanding he sent his brother Edmund, earl of Kent, to prevent things from coming to extremity, yet the French army, under the command of Charles, count of Valois, entered the territories of Edward, and reduced the best part of them in a short time; so that to preserve Bourdeaux, and the few places that were left, he was forced to conclude a truce for a short time, under colour of giving his brother leisure to recollect himself, and to come over and render homage in person^p. The truth seems to be, that this war, though carried on in France, was contrived in England, to serve the purposes of the barons, who were then upon bad terms with the king, and the queen, who began to enter into their views, and looked upon a war with France as the only means of accomplishing them^q. This was the last campaign of the great count de Valois, who being afflicted with a grievous distemper, the nature of which the physicians did not understand, persuaded himself it was a judgment from Heaven, for the persecution of the seur De Marigni, whose body he caus-

A. D. 1124.

^m Mezeray. P. Daniel. ⁿ Le Gendre. ^o Wal.
Hemingford de Reb. Gest. Edward II. P. J. de Serres. P.
Henault. ^q Polydor. Virgil.

ed to be taken down, the judgment against him to be reversed, and his family restored in blood and to their estates: proofs of a sincere repentance, which he did not long survive. Mezeray^r would persuade us that he died of poison, and that he had no reason to trouble himself so much about the fate of Marigni, who met with no more than he deserved. Yet sure the count de Valois was a better judge than he; and how guilty soever the minister might be, he was notwithstanding unjustly condemned, being unheard.

Edward of England was much at a loss, as the queen and her faction foresaw, how to adjust his affairs in France, where his own presence was absolutely necessary; and yet to quit his kingdom was to lose it. In this situation the queen, who stood but ill with him and his ministers, offered to go over and negotiate a peace with her brother. Notwithstanding the bad terms on which they stood with her, as having lately deprived her of all her French servants, they consented to this proposition; the bringing about of which seems to have been the whole secret of the quarrel, in which the kings had very little share on either side^r. Upon her arrival at Paris she complained bitterly of the Spencers, and endeavoured rather to inflame her brother Charles against her husband, than to conciliate the disputes betwixt them; but Charles, who knew that the pope and other princes had their eye upon his conduct, remonstrated to her on the impropriety of her behaviour, and that it was requisite to settle the peace before the king meddled in the matters of which she complained^t. The peace was accordingly regulated; the seizure of Guienne was acknowledged to be just, because Edward had refused his homage; Charles was to name a seneschal, and to keep possession of his new conquest, but was to grant a safe-conduct for Edward to come over; and, upon his doing him homage, was to restore all he had taken. This agreement brought Edward into the old difficulty of leaving his regal dominions, which he was unwilling to do; and to remove this obstacle, it was proposed he should resign the duchy of Guienne, and the rest of his lands in France, to his son prince Edward, whose homage in that case king Charles would receive. This expedient was accepted by Edward, with a few restrictions; such as, that these countries should revert to him

Isabel, the king's sister, contrives the destruction of Edward II. her husband.

^r Abrege Histoire de France, Tom. ii.
Annal.

^t P. Æmil. P. Daniel.

^s N. Trivetti

in case the prince died; that his uncle should not assign him a guardian; and that the young prince should not be induced to marry without his father's consent^u. The king thereupon sent him over, accompanied by the bishop of Exeter, and a suitable train; and all things being adjusted, Edward expected his queen should have returned. His expectations, however, were in vain; many of the English malecontents repaired to her there, and she continued to instigate her brother against her husband. The bishop of Exeter perceiving her drift, and that the court were no strangers to her intrigue with Roger Mortimer, he left Paris, and secretly returned home, disclosing all he knew to king Edward, who thereupon demanded his queen and his son in high terms. These not prevailing, hostilities were again renewed, abundance of French ships taken at sea, and incursions made by land in the duchy of Aquitaine^w. The pope and the king of Castile interposing, and representing to Charles that his conduct was not at all suitable to his dignity, he forbid his subjects to frequent his sister's court; and at length ordered her and the prince her son to retire out of his dominions. At the same time, however, Robert de Artois, count of Beaumont (not without the privity of the king as is generally supposed), advised her to go into Hainault, where she concluded a marriage for her son with the daughter of that count, and engaged his brother to accompany her to England with a small force. Being, on her arrival, assisted by the malecontents, she quickly deposed her husband, and raised her son to the throne, whom Charles would never acknowledge so long as his father lived^x.

Charles fails in his attempt to gain the German princes to elect him emperor.

Let us now return to the affairs of France. At the beginning of his reign, the king, in virtue of a decision of the parliament, had placed Lewis in the seat of his grandfather Robert de Bethune, as count of Flanders, Nevers, and Rhetel, notwithstanding the opposition of his uncle Robert, who pretended that, being one degree nearer his father than Lewis, he ought to succeed; and the Flemings giving him some disturbance, the king granted him such timely assistance as prevented their breaking out into open rebellion^y. He was not altogether so successful in his attempt to supplant Lewis of Bavaria in the

^u Thom. Walsingham. Gest Edward II. Polyd. Virgil. de Jean Froissart, liv. i.

^w Walter Hemingford, de Reb.

^x Histoire & Chronique

de Jean Froissart, liv. i. Wal. Hemingford de Reb. Gest. Edward II.

^y Meyerus. Contin. Nang.

empire. The pope had quarelled with this monarch, and supported Frederick duke of Austria, who likewise styled himself emperor, and whom Lewis had defeated and then held in prison. The scheme of the pope was, that Charles should enter into a league with Leopold of Austria, Frederick's brother, to procure that prince his liberty: that, in consideration of this assistance, Frederick, as soon as he was set free, should resign his pretensions to Charles, who, upon his being acknowledged emperor by the princes of Germany, was to pay Leopold a large sum of money^a. Lewis of Bavaria spoiled the first part of this plan, by generously setting his rival at liberty, and allowing him to keep the title of emperor during life. The pope, however, kept to his design; and Leopold of Austria, desirous of gaining the money that had been promised him, assured Charles, that, if he would but come to the frontiers, most of the princes of the empire would meet, receive, and elect him. The king went accordingly, with an equipage suitable to his rank, but found nobody except Leopold, who laboured to excuse this disappointment, and engaged the pope also to renew the treaty: but the king was so ashamed of what had happened, that he would not risk a second disgrace, notwithstanding he had this project once exceedingly at heart, from the ambition of restoring the diadem to France^a.

Charles fought in general to be well with his neighbours, and maintain those alliances which were most likely to turn to the advantage of the crown of France, in case of any dispute. It was with this view that he renewed his alliance with the king of Scots, in which he inserted an article, importing, that in case the throne of either kingdom should be vacant without an heir apparent, the states should declare who had the right: and the other king should assist the heir, so declared, in person, with all his force, against any opponents^b. It seems the king was apprehensive of dying, as he did, without heirs male, though he had a son by his second queen, who died as soon as born, and his mother not long after, which circumstance might probably induce Charles to make this treaty. However, not long after he espoused Joan, daughter to Lewis, count of Evreux, who was his cousin german, notwithstanding he had been divorced from a wife

*He marries
a third
time, his
cousin ger-
man, in
hopes of
male issue.*

^a P. Æmil. J. de Serres.

^a Le Gendre. P. Henault.

^b MS. de Bethune dans le Bibliotheque du Roi de France, cote 9687.

on the score of consanguinity, who was not so nearly related to him ^c. Edward II. of England being dead, he summoned his son Edward to do him homage for the duchy of Guienne, and the rest of his territories in France; but Edward excused himself for the present, by alleging the unsettled state of his affairs, and the unlucky consequences that might attend his passing the seas. This excuse was accepted and the truce renewed, there being particular reasons why the king did not incline to excite any disputes with England, or indeed with any of his neighbours; and, amongst these, it was none of the least that his health began to decay ^d.

He dies after a short reign, and leaves his queen pregnant, which occasions a new regency.

He shewed a great inclination to live upon good terms with the princes of the blood. Being desirous of having Clermont, which belonged to Lewis, the son of Robert, the younger son of St. Lewis, he gave him in exchange the county of la Marche, and some other places, and, by letters patent, erected his barony of Bourbon into a dukedom and peerage ^e. This was one of the last actions of his life; for his disease increasing, he died at Bois de Vincennes on the first of February, as he entered the seventh year of his reign, and the thirty-fourth of his life, leaving his third queen big with child ^f. Some historians speak of this king as a prince of a very moderate genius: it may be rather said of a moderate disposition, for he did not want either martial courage or steadiness of mind, which appeared clearly in his zeal for justice; for he called to an account the Lombards, and the other officers, who had been employed in the treasury, and had acquired immense fortunes by pillaging the people. One of them died under the torture, and the rest, being stripped of their ill-got wealth, were sent home as naked as they came into France ^g. Charles shewed no less courage on another occasion: Jourdain de Lisle, a great lord of Aquitaine, relying on his wealth, his quality, and his being allied by marriage to pope John XXII. committed innumerable insults on the laws, insomuch that he had eighteen charges against him for capital offences. This lord, being summoned to appear before the parliament at Paris, beat out the officer's brains with his own mace; notwithstanding which outrage, he had the imprudence to go thither in a short time after, when the king caused him to be arrested,

A.D. 1328.

^c Contin. Nang.
Henault. Boulan.
veti Annal.

^d Thom. Walsingham.
^f N. Triveti Annal.

^e P.
^g N. Tri-

and hanged, by an arret of parliament, without any respect to his birth, his wealth, or his alliance^h. In this monarch ended the male line of Philip the Fair, who, though he left behind him three sons at men's estate, and consequently had the fairest hope of a numerous and lasting posterity, yet, in so short a space as fourteen years, they all deceased, and left the crown to pass into another branch of the royal family^l. Charles, on his death-bed, being put in mind of the succession, contented himself with saying, that if his queen was delivered of a daughter, it belonged to the parliament to declare the next heir^k.

The descendants of Hugh Capet governed the kingdom of France, in a direct line from father to son, for eleven generations, without taking in the young king John, and including the two collateral reigns of Philip V. and Charles IV. There were thirteen monarchs in all^l, whose reigns together make upwards of three hundred and forty years, during which space they wonderfully extended as well their authority as their dominions; and had at this time recovered, either to the crown or to princes of the royal family, the better part of the ancient kingdom of France^m. They had also reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility within bounds, and were much less dependent upon the clergy than the monarchs of the second raceⁿ. Yet, after all, the nation was in low circumstances, the frame of government far from being uniform^o; and, in short, the seeds of those disorders were very perceptible to prudent and thinking men^p, which, in the succeeding reign, sprung up and became visible to the whole world in their dismal effects^q.

Remarks on the history of France, during this period of the third race.

^h Du Tillet.
de Serres.
^o Gaguini.

ⁱ Mezeray.
^m P. Henault.
^p Mez. P. Henault.

^k Le Gendre.
ⁿ Chalons. Boulan.
^q Le Gendre.

^l J.

S E C T. VIII.

The Reigns of the French Monarchs of the House of Valois: Philip VI. John the Good, Charles V. Charles VI. Charles VII. Lewis IX. and Charles VIII.

Philip VI. or the Fortunate.

The regency claimed by king Edward III. against Philip de Valois, but adjudged to the latter.

AS, on the death of Charles the Fair, France was without a king, and as the succession depended on the sex of a child unborn, there was a plain necessity of appointing a regent. The common histories speak of a great contest between Philip, count de Valois, and king Edward the Third, as to their respective rights of succession to the crown of France; and what they say is true in the main, but not clearly or distinctly expressed. The dispute was, in reality, about the crown, but the claim was made only to the regency; for it was a point established, that this belonged only to the next heir; so that declaring the regent was, in effect, declaring the next heir. Philip alleged that he was the grandson of Philip the Hardy, the nephew of Philip the Fair, the cousin german of the deceased king, and his nearest heir male, descended from a male, which was not contested with him by any of the princes of the blood ^a. Edward, on the other hand, claimed it as being the nephew of the last deceased king, and consequently nearer in blood than Philip, who was but his cousin ^b. He admitted the general principle that females could not inherit the crown of France, for this plain reason, that otherwise the crown must have belonged of right to the princess, of whom the queen might be brought to bed, or to the queen of Navarre, who was the daughter of Lewis Hutin; but, in admitting this principle, Edward only set aside his mother's right to establish his own; for though he acknowledged females incapable, yet he insisted that the males descending from females had a just claim ^c. The parliament of France thought otherwise, and decided in favour of Philip, count of Valois, who thereupon assumed the title and authority of regent during the queen's pregnancy ^d.

^a Froissard, lib. i. Edward II. Dupleix.

^c Froissart. lib. i.

^b Wal. Hemingford, de Reb. Gest.

^d Continuat. Nang.

All the persecutions in the former reigns having failed of producing any amendment in the administration of the finances, the regent thought it might contribute to his reputation, and bring some wealth into the treasury, if he called Peter Remy, lord of Montigny, who had for some time directed these affairs, to an account. This step he took accordingly, and by a judgment of the parliament, the regent himself presiding, Peter was condemned to be hanged, and all his goods confiscated, which, if we believe the writers of those times, amounted to one million two hundred thousand livres, that is, about twenty millions of the present French money^e. The states of Navarre understanding that the daughters of Philip the Long, and Edward the Third of England, as the son of the queen's daughter, formed some pretensions to their crown, cut that dispute short, by proclaiming the daughter of Lewis Hutin, and sending a deputation to invite her and her husband, Philip, count of Evreux, to return into their dominions. A return which Philip permitted, after having engaged them to grant a kind of annuity of five thousand livres to the daughters of Philip the Long, and to accept of an equivalent for the counties of Champagne and Brie, which, in virtue of this composition, remained annexed to the crown^f. On the first of April the queen dowager was delivered of a daughter; upon which Philip immediately assumed the name of king, notwithstanding Edward the Third sent over ambassadors to claim his right, for which several eminent lawyers had declared^g. On the 29th of May following he was crowned at Rheims, with much solemnity. On this account he received the surname of the Fortunate, though the Flemings, who hated him for his father's sake, styled him Philip Trouve, that is, Philip the Foundling, or the come-by-chance king. It is said that Robert de Artois was very active in Philip's behalf; and perhaps he was, for he had married his sister; but certainly his services are over-valued by such as attribute to his address king Philip's attaining the crown^h. He had the king's favour and confidence, and this created an opinion of his abilities and influence.

Amongst the great peers who assisted at the ceremony of the coronation, was Lewis, count of Flanders, who carried the sword of state, and whom his subjects had driven out of his dominions, chiefly on account of his attachment

^e Mezeray.^f P. Henault.^g Murimuth Chron.^h Chroniques de Flanders, Haillan, Mezeray.

*Assists
Lewis
count of
Flanders
in reducing
the Flem-
ings,
whom he
beats at
Cassel.*

to France, Philip, therefore, thought himself obliged in justice and honour to restore him; and having speedily assembled a very numerous army, marched directly into Flanders, accompanied by the king of Navarre, the duke of Burgundy, and the principal nobility of Franceⁱ. The Flemings, though their army was inferior to that of the king, encamped on the side of a mountain, with the town of Cassel behind them, strongly entrenched, and a river in their front. Philip was inclined to attack them in their camp, but the best officers in his army dissuaded him; so that if the Flemings had remained firm to their first resolution, and acted entirely on the defensive, the king, like some of his predecessors would have been obliged to retire, after wasting his treasure and his army^k. But, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, they attacked the king's camp with such intrepidity and address, that they were very near becoming masters of his person. Philip, however, behaved with great courage; and having given time for his troops to recollect themselves, attacked the Flemings in their turn, with such spirit, that they were entirely defeated^l. The loss of this battle was the loss of Flanders; for the king becoming master of Cassel, burning it to the ground, and threatening every place that made resistance with the same fate, carried all before him, restored the count, and left the Flemings humbled by his power, but without any relaxation of their hatred to his person^m. At his return to Paris, he summoned king Edward to do him homage, and, receiving no satisfactory answer, seized his revenues in Franceⁿ. In regard to the services rendered by Robert de Artois in the war of Flanders, the king erected his county of Beaumont le Roger into a peerage; so that at this time he was considered as a favourite declared.

A.D 1328.

*Edward
III. comes
over into
France,
and does
homage
to king
Philip at
Amiens.*

Next year Edward the Third of England thought fit to pass the sea, and, having landed at Bologne, repaired to Amiens with a numerous retinue; where he was very kindly received by Philip, who had with him the kings of Navarre, Bohemia, and Majorca. Great disputes arose about the nature of the homage which the king was to pay; that is, whether it was liege or simple; the former including services, and an oath of fealty, the latter being no more than an acknowledgement that the countries for which homage were done were fiefs dependent on the crown of

ⁱ Cont. Nang.
^m Dupleix.

^k Le Gendre, Boulanvil.
ⁿ P. Virg. Walter Hemingford.

^l P. ZEmil.
France;

France; besides Edward insisted that satisfaction should be given him for the lands that had been taken from the duchy of Guienne before he did homage. Philip, desirous of having this matter adjusted, consented that Edward should render him homage in general terms, and should take time to examine his own archives, and from thence determine which species of homage was due: and as to the dispute concerning the lands in Guienne he was to have his action before the parliament °. Upon these terms Edward did homage in the cathedral church of Amiens, on the 6th of June, and returned very soon after to England p. Philip acted in this whole affair with great caution and prudence; he knew that the homage due to him was liege; but considering that the king must then have appeared bare-headed, without arms or spurs, and have taken his oath upon his knees, he was persuaded that the spirit of a young man would not let him stoop to that humiliation; and therefore he condescended to this expedient, that he might receive the homage in any form, reserving to himself a right to have this afterwards explained in a manner more authentic. Edward had made a protestation before a notary at London, that, whatsoever he did, he did by compulsion, and through fear of losing his lands, and that therefore it should be no prejudice to his just rights. The same year king Philip determined a dispute concerning ecclesiastical and lay jurisdictions, in favour of the clergy, who held themselves so much obliged thereby, that they set up his statue, and gave him the title of catholic q.

A.D. 1329.

After a reasonable delay, Philip sent the duke of Bourbon, accompanied by several great lords and learned lawyers, to the court of England, in order to obtain the satisfaction that had been promised to him; and the affairs of king Edward being at that time exceedingly embarrassed, he found it requisite, after a previous examination of records, to grant letters patent, in the most clear and explicit terms, acknowledging the homage to be such as king Philip had demanded, and allowing the homage he paid, tho' in general terms, to be understood and taken as such r. What particularly determined Edward to this measure was a new disturbance in the duchy of Guienne, the inhabitants of which, believing they should have been supported from England, made some incursions into France; upon which king Philip sent his brother Charles duke of Alençon into

Is obliged to make a declaration satisfactory to the French court, tho' displeasing to him.

° Cont. Nang. P. Æmil.

p Walter Hemingford, P. Virg.

q Du Tillét Boulanvil.

r Walter Hemingford, Po. Virg.

that duchy, with an army, who took the town of Xainte, and demolished the walls. Edward concluded from hence, that, if he refused the satisfaction desired, he should be stripped of all his dominions in France, before he was in a capacity to defend them^a. In the summer he came over into this kingdom, demanded restitution of what had been taken from him, and seemed disposed to live upon good terms with the king; which being all that Philip desired, he treated him with all possible respect, and gave him the satisfaction he demanded. Here the French writers seem to think the disputes between these princes had ended; for though they did not love, they esteemed each other highly, and had great apprehensions of the reciprocal disturbances that each might create in the other's dominions, which made them willing to avoid a rupture, as being inconvenient to either in the present state of their affairs^b. This disposition, however, was quickly altered, by means of a certain incendiary, whose private interest, or rather whose violent resentment, induced him to leave no means untried to inspire Edward with an implacable aversion against Philip; in which aim he succeeded, and involved the two nations in a war, the most fatal and bloody that almost any history records, and which more than once brought the kingdom of France to the very brink of destruction^c.

A.D. 1330.

*Sentence
of the par-
liament
against
Robert
d'Artois,
who there-
upon retires
into Eng-
land.*

This incendiary was Robert de Artois, who being a prince of the blood of France, having married the king's sister, and having served him with great vigour and valour in the cabinet and in the field, thought his services could never be paid, and that Philip was bound to accomplish for him whatever he desired, in whatever manner, and by removing whatever obstacles lay in the way^d. He began by presenting a memorial when king Edward was at Amiens, desiring leave to examine witnesses in regard to his just claim to the county of Artois, which was granted. He next demanded a revision of the judgment given by parliament in that cause, on a suggestion that he could exhibit new proofs, which were absolutely conclusive. He was indulged in this too, and the suit was reduced to the same state in which it stood before either of the two judgments was pronounced^e. He then produced these evidences, which, upon inspection, were found to be forged. The very woman, by whose contrivance this whole scene was carried

^a Cont. Nang. P. Æmil.

^b P. Virg.

^c Mezeray,

P. Daniel.

^d Cont. Chron. Nang. Froissart, lib. i.

^e Du

Tillet, Mezeray.

on, being seized, confessed the facts, and made every thing as clear as possible. The king laboured as much as was in his power to prevail upon his brother-in-law to desist from these pretensions, and to have nothing farther to do with those whom he had engaged in these practices. He promised to desist, but still persevered; so that, the king provoked by these and some more criminal practices, after granting him various delays of justice, at length, in full parliament, pronounced an edict of banishment, and confiscation of all his estates ^v. He retired into the territories of the duke of Brabant, where he engaged in new intrigues; and Philip, having thereupon taken measures for humbling the duke of Brabant, and having caused his own sister, for the share she had in her husband's sinister contrivances, to be arrested, Robert de Artois withdrew, in the disguise of a merchant, with all the wealth he had amassed, into England, where he was kindly received by Edward, as well in regard to the services he was able to render him, as in resentment to the protection afforded by Philip to David king of Scots; who, though his own brother-in-law, Edward had dispossessed of his dominions. Many of the French historians, and amongst these some of great note, have considered Philip's proceedings against Robert as flowing from a spirit of implacable persecution ^z; whereas others, by producing the original process, have vindicated the king's conduct, and shewn, that if he had followed the advice of his parliament, in seizing the person of Robert, he might easily have prevented the mischiefs to which he was exposed, by suffering him to retire and seek shelter amongst his enemies ^a. But with regard to Edward's creating him earl of Richmond, though affirmed by some good authors, it is certainly a mistake ^b.

A.D. 1331.

Philip had lived upon exceeding good terms with pope John the Twenty-second, who seemed to be very desirous of establishing a new croisade; in which, to shew his obedience, and at the same time to answer other purposes of his own, Philip shewed himself very zealous, and, with the kings of Arragon, Naples, and Bohemia, took the cross, though it has been very much doubted, whether he was at all in earnest in regard to this expedition ^c. He raised forces; he took the necessary measures for assemb-

Philip and Edward both prepare for war, tho' secretly, and under various pretences.

^v Memoires de Robert d'Artois.

^z Du Hail. Hist. de

France.

^a P. Æmil.

^b Froissart, lib. i. P. Æmil.

Ancien. Chron. de France, Memoires de Robert d'Artois.

^c Le

Gendre, J. de Serres.

ling a great fleet; and this design afforded a fair pretence for levying large sums upon the clergy and laity, at the same time it gave a colour for negotiating on every side, which was of more consequence than all the rest; it gave occasion to the pope to interpose with the king of England, and to protest, according to the doctrine of those times, against making any attempts on the dominions of a prince, who had taken a vow to employ his arms in defence of the gospel against the infidels. On the other hand, Edward, though scarce of full age, managed his affairs with great temper and address; he had nothing so much at heart as maintaining what he took to be a good title to the crown of France, and at the same time there was nothing of which he was so much afraid as of the loss of the duchy of Guienne, and the county of Ponthieu, before he was in a condition to prosecute that title. The first thing he aimed at was subduing Scotland; yet he did not make war directly upon king David Bruce, but suffered such of his nobility as were inclined to assist Edward Baliol to invade Scotland; where they gained great advantages, and, under pretence of giving the Scots a new king, reduced the whole kingdom to misery^d. As soon as the four years truce was at an end, he marched into Scotland in person, and traversed it from south to north, penetrating at length as far as Caithness. Philip, to favour his allies, suffered some irruptions into Guienne, and at the same time made fresh complaints at Avignon to pope Benedict, who had succeeded John. Edward sent his ambassadors also to the pontiff; offered to submit the differences between them to his decision; professed his inclination to go also into the Holy Land with Philip, and to leave all things in their present situation, till their return^e. He sent his ambassadors likewise to the court of France; where they complained of the injuries done him; solicited redress in the most respectful terms; and assured Philip, that king Edward had nothing so much at heart as preserving the peace between the two nations. But at the same time he treated with the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, with the count of Holland and Zealand; with the count palatine of the Rhine, and other princes of Germany; and made no secret to them of his intention to attack France, not barely about the wrongs he had sustained in Guienne, but in support of his right to the crown of that realm, which Robert of Artois persuaded him was indubitable. This man had so high an idea of his own

A. D. 1337.

^d Walteri Hemingford Chron.

^e J. de Serres, Mezeray.
abilities,

abilities, that as he boasted he made Philip de Valois king by his address, so he now threatened to depose him for his ingratitude ^f.

King Philip being informed of these negotiations, and perceiving clearly that the pretence of taking the cross was no longer of any use, detached a squadron of his fleet against the infidels, and brought the rest, consisting chiefly of Genoese vessels, into the ocean; where they might be employed against the English ^g. He made alliances likewise with the princes on his frontiers, particularly the king of Navarre; and on the side of Germany he brought into his interest John of Luxemburgh, king of Bohemia, the dukes of Austria, and several great prelates and peers of the empire. In a dispute of this nature it was of great consequence which side was taken by the Flemings. Their Count Lewis declared without reserve for king Philip, but his subjects weremuch more inclined to Edward. James Artevelle, a brewer, the most able and the most artful man in that country, governed them as much as if he had been their prince, and the advantages derived from the English commerce determined him in favour of Edward; who, at his request, passed the sea with a great navy, and landed a numerous army at Sluys ^h. In the first councils that were held, it was resolved to act offensively, but for this conduct there wanted a pretence; the vassals of the empire could not act either by the orders, or even as allies of Edward, without direction from the emperor, and he was under a treaty with France. This difficulty, however, was soon overcome; the French had made themselves masters of Cambray; the emperor resolved it should be retaken; and, for this purpose, he created Edward vicar general of the empire, who besieged it without delay, though John duke of Normandy, king Philip's son, defended it with a numerous garrison. Yet, after a short time, Robert de Artois prevailed upon him to raise the siege, and march into Picardy ⁱ. Philip covered his country on that side like a captain of great experience, and declined coming to a battle, though some writers ascribe this conduct to Edward. However, the seat of war was again transferred into the Low Countries, where Edward, with his forces, besieged Tournay; to the relief of which

The war breaks out, and Edward prevailed on to conclude a truce.

^f Froissart, lib. i. Ancien. Chron. de France, Memoires de Robert de Artois. ^g Cont. Chron. Nang. Gagui. Hist. P. Æmil.

^h Walteri Hemingford, Anonym. Historia Edward

II. ⁱ Cont. Nang. Chron. Thom. Walsingham.

Philip marched with a numerous and well-appointed army, but acted again with so much caution, that Edward found himself in a manner blocked up in his camp. The countess dowager of Hainault, sister to Philip, mother-in-law to Edward, and sister-in-law to Robert de Artois, coming out of the convent to which she had retired, interposed with so much spirit and address, that she engaged all parties to agree to a truce for a year^k; and might, perhaps, have brought about a peace if she had survived.

In order to bring over the Flemings, Edward assumes the title and arms of France.

During these transactions some great things were also performed by sea. The French fleet, or rather the fleet in the pay of France, took two ships of force, and many trading vessels; committed great depredations on the coasts; burnt the town of Southampton, and attempted descents in several places; and, notwithstanding they were at length repulsed, did a great deal of mischief^l. But king Edward, in his passage to Flanders, met with this fleet at sea, engaged and defeated it after a very obstinate resistance. This was the first great maritime action that happened in the course of the war, and cost both parties very dear; the greatest part of king Philip's fleet was destroyed, and near twenty thousand men perished; on the other side, the English had about seven thousand men killed, and their fleet so roughly handled as to be able to perform nothing of consequence that year. Philip, following the example of his predecessors, prosecuted Edward as a peer of France before the parliament, for receiving and supporting Robert de Artois, after he had been condemned for treason, and for this crime directed the duchy of Guienne and the county of Ponthieu to be seized; in pursuance of which conduct many places were taken, till the war on all sides was suspended by a truce^m. At the siege of Tournay, Edward first took the arms, and assumed publicly the title of king of France, and the Flemings did homage to him as their monarch, that they might avoid the imputation of rebellion, and the forfeiture of two millions of florins, which they stood bound to pay the pope upon their last treaty with Philip, in case they at any time revolted against the crown of France; which penalty they conceived to be eluded by their owning Edward's title, and acting against Philip as the usurper of that realm from the right heirⁿ. Yet, upon the truce, they admitted the return of their

A.D. 1340.

^k Froissart, Walteri Hemmingford, Anonym. Historia Edwardi III.

^l Rob. de Avesbury.
^m Froissart, P. Æmil.

ⁿ Cont. Chron. Nan g

count, who feasted Edward magnificently at Ghent, though he would not be persuaded to enter into his interest.

A new and unlooked for incident revived the war even before the conclusion of the truce, and spread its flames much wider than ever. Arthur the second duke of Bretagne, prince of the blood, and peer of France, had, by Mary, daughter of the viscount de Limoges, three sons, John, Guy, and Peter. By his second wife Yoland, or Violante, daughter of Robert, count of Dreux, and Beatrix, countess of Montfort, which lady, at the time of her espousing the duke of Bretagne, was the widow of Alexander, king of Scots, he had John de Montfort, and five daughters^o. The eldest and the youngest of his sons, of the first bed, lived and died without issue; but Guy, count de Penthièvre, left behind him an only daughter, who, from an accident that befel her while a child, was called Hopping Jane. Her uncle John, the third duke of Bretagne, would have regarded her as his heiress, having an implacable aversion to his mother-in-law, and his brother John, count de Montfort^p. After contriving various methods to defeat him of his succession, the duke at last gave his niece in marriage to Charles de Chatillon, second son to the Count de Blois, by the sister of king Philip, whom the French historians generally call Charles de Blois^q; and to whom, in conjunction with, and in right of his wife, duke John caused the states of Bretagne to swear homage, not doubting that, after his decease, the king would support his nephew's title, which was the principal motive to the marriage. This duke dying in the month of April, John count de Montfort, in right of his mother, immediately seized his palace and treasures, which quickly enabled him to make himself master of all the strong places in the duchy^r. As he knew the disposition of the king and court of France, he had very little hopes of remaining long quiet; and therefore, to secure himself a protection equal to that on which his competitor depended, he went over to England, and offered to do homage to king Edward, either as king of France, on whom it depended by the new creation, or as king of England, since in quality of duke of Normandy, which he claimed independent of his right to the crown of France, Bretagne depended anci-

Dispute about the succession to Bretagne, revives the war before the close of the truce.

A.D. 1347.

^o D'Argen. Histoire de Bretagne.
Gaguin. P. Æmil. J. De Serres.
D'Argentre Hist. de Bretagne.

^p Cont. Nang. Chron.
^q Froissart. ^r Froissart,

ently on him, and was but a remote fief of the crown of France. Edward entertained him kindly, received his homage, promised him support, and sent him back to Bretagne^s. On the other hand, Philip caused him to be summoned to answer for his conduct before the high court of parliament, and probably granted him a safe-conduct; for he went to Paris, made his excuses to the king, and remained there some time; but suspecting a design to secure his person, he withdrew secretly, and retired into his own country. The parliament proceeded however, and at length declared the right of succession belonged to the countess de Penthièvre, and the king ordered his son John, duke of Normandy, to put that lady and her husband into possession of the duchy of Bretagne^t. John de Montfort exclaimed against this sentence as unjust, and as given at the solicitation and out of complaisance to the king; in which complaint there seems to be some foundation, since he was brother to the deceased duke, and consequently nearer in blood than his niece, and heir male, and therefore to be preferred to a female: and it was not a little strange, that he, who was capable of taking the crown of France by descent, should have no title by the same descent to a fief of that crown^u.

*Robert
de Artois
slain in
the war
with
Charles
de Élois
in Bre-
tagne.*

The war of Bretagne seemed to be determined almost as soon as it began; for the duke of Normandy entering that duchy with a numerous army, John de Montfort threw himself into Nantes, and made all the dispositions requisite for an obstinate defence; but the duke having corrupted one of his officers, the place was betrayed into his hands, together with the person of John de Montfort, who was sent prisoner to Paris, and confined in the tower of the Louvre^v. His wife, the daughter of the count of Flanders, retired into Hennebon, which was a place of great strength; and, having prevailed upon the garrison and inhabitants to risque all in her defence, and in that of her son, a child in the fifth year of his age, she spared no pains to encourage or to augment the party of her husband. His competitor Charles de Blois marched with a considerable force to besiege her in Hennebon; upon which she sent Amaure de Clisson into England to solicit succours from king Edward, and with him the young prince her son, that he might be safe. Charles, who looked on the

^s Contin. Nang. Chron.
D'Argentre Hist. de France.
^v Cont. Nang. Chron. Du Tillet.

^t Ancien. Chron. de France,
^u Thom. Walsingham.

reduction of the place as a certain prelude to the conquest of Bretagne, pushed the siege with all the warmth imaginable, and was on the very point of taking Hennebon, and the duchefs, when the English succours arrived, under the command of Walter de Mauny, an excellent officer; who, with a handful of troops did all that could be expected from him; but would have probably been oppressed by numbers, if the countefs had not very artfully procured a truce. This gave her an opportunity of going over in person to England; where, the truce between the two crowns being expired, she procured a powerful succour, commanded by Robert de Artois, with whom she embarked on board a fleet of forty-five sail. In their passage, they met and attacked the French fleet, commanded by Lewis de la Cerda, whom the historians of those times call Lewis of Spain, but they were separated by a storm*. On their arrival in Bretagne, the war revived with great spirit, in which, as in the fight at sea, the duchefs acted in person. Robert de Artois made himself master of Vannes, which was soon after retaken by the French, and Robert de Artois, with much difficulty, made his escape. The wounds he received proving dangerous, he embarked for England, where he died about the middle of October, and was buried with great solemnity at Canterbury: a very fortunate event for king Philip, which affected Edward so much, that he resolved to go over in person to Bretagne to revenge it. This resolution he executed accordingly with a greater force than had been hitherto employed on that side.

An eagerness to perform something very extraordinary prevented him from doing at all what he thought to have done at once; for perceiving there was no considerable army in the field to oppose him, he laid siege to Nantes, Rennes, Vannes, and Guignan, at the same time. The duke of Normandy, who knew those places were well provided, made no great haste to succour them, that the English army might be harrassed by the fatigue of those sieges, and that he might have time to augment his own. At length, hearing that Edward had taken Guignan, he marched towards Rennes; and, the enemy having raised the siege, he proceeded to Nantes, the siege of which was likewise raised at his approach. The whole of Edward's army being assenbled about Vannes, the duke of Normandy

A.D. 342.

King Edward, after an unsuccessful campaign in Bretagne, makes a pacification.

* Froissart, Ancien. Chron. de France, P. Æmil. v Contin. Nang. Chron. Froissart.

formed a blockade at a great distance; and, though Edward took every method he could devise to provoke him, yet he continued still in the same situation, till, by the interposition of the new pope Clement the Sixth, a truce was concluded, and Edward returned into England with less advantage than from any campaign he ever made^z. By this treaty John de Montfort obtained his liberty, and, though he was forbid to leave Paris, yet he took the first opportunity of leaving it privately, and returning again to Bretagne. As for the conferences held at Avignon, in the presence of the pope, they were far from advancing the peace, but they had this good consequence, that the truce was prolonged for three years, and this for France and England, as well as Bretagne, Scotland, Guienne, and the Low Countries, the allies on both sides being included^a.

A.D. 1344.

King Philip, by an act of severity, affords Edward an opportunity to declare void the truce.

It seems to have been the view of Philip, in concluding the first truce, to make way, if possible, for a peace; for though hitherto his losses had not been great, yet he found that Edward had so many advantages, and was so capable of improving them, that he would willingly have ended it; but finding it was not in his power, he applied himself to strengthen the alliances he had already formed, and to make such acquisitions as might prove beneficial to his family. He met with some success in the former scheme; and more especially in the promise of naval assistance from Spain, and much greater in the latter, by his treaty with Humbert the Second, dauphin of Viennois, of which we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, and by the purchase of the lordship of Montpellier, from the unfortunate king of Majorca, of which we have already given an account in its proper place. He might have done more in reference to both, if the war had not broke out sooner, and with greater violence than ever, by a breach of the truce, as some writers say, on the part of king Edward; but, in reality, from an inexcusable act of cruelty, flowing from that impetuosity of temper which was the great source of all Philip's misfortunes. He had concluded a marriage between his second son Philip, duke of Orleans, and the princess Blanch, the daughter of his predecessor Charles the Fair; and to heighten the solemnity of the wedding, had appointed a tournament^b. On

^z Ancien. Chron. de France.
France, P. Æmil.

^a D'Argent. Hist. de
^b Cont. Nang. Chron. D'Argent. Hist.
de Bretagne.

the faith of the truce, Oliver de Clifson, who had served with reputation on the side of Charles de Blois, had been made prisoner by the English, and been exchanged for an English earl, came to Paris, with several other gentlemen of Bretagne, to share in these diversions. Soon after their arrival, the king caused Clifson and eleven more to be arrested, upon some suspicion that they held intelligence with John de Montfort, or with king Edward, and, without any form of law, caused them to be beheaded in prison. As the blood of the nobility had hitherto been sacred in France, this act of violence excited terror and jealousy amongst them, and struck all the kingdom with consternation ^c. When the news of it came to Edward, he was so incensed, that he was on the point of putting all the French prisoners in his hands to death; but Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby, dissuaded him, by saying, that it was not the way to efface a bad precedent by making a worse: upon which the king sent for Henry de Leon, and told him, that though he might as well put him to death as Philip had sacrificed his countrymen, or insist upon a very large ransom, as he was the richest gentleman in Bretagne, yet he would be content with a very small one, if he would go to Paris, and, in his name, defy Philip de Valois; tell him, that he looked upon the truce as no longer subsisting, and that he would never conclude another till he had revenged the death of these unhappy gentlemen ^d.

The first efforts were made in Guienne, to which the earl of Derby was sent with a strong squadron, and a numerous corps of troops on board. He managed the war with great success, and defeated the count de Lisle, who commanded for king Philip on that side. John de Montfort displayed his banners again as duke of Bretagne, and, with the assistance of some English troops, besieged Quimper; but the place was so strongly fortified and so well defended, and his own troops in so poor a condition and so ill provided, that he was constrained to raise the siege; the disgrace of which affected him so strongly, that he died soon after of discontent, leaving his son a kind of hostage in England, and his broken fortune to the care of that heroine his spouse ^e. In Flanders things took the like turn; king Edward not only went thither, but carried with him also his son, afterwards the famous Black Prince, in hopes

A.D. 1345.

At first the events of the war are rather favourable to king Philip.

^c Froissart, Ancien. Chron. de France. ^d Walteri Hemingford.
^e Cont. Nang. Chron. Ancien. Chron. de France, P. Emil.

that,

that, through the interest of his friend Artevelle, for so Edward always called him, the Flemings might be induced to leave their natural prince, and accept either of him or his son. His agent did all that was in his power, but in vain; the proposition was rejected, and the commons of Ghent entertaining some suspicion of Artevelle, who remained behind, the rest of their deputies raised a tumult on his return, and beat out his brains^g. Thus far things went well for king Philip, even without his own assistance; but the earl of Derby was still victorious in Guienne, and pushed his conquests as far as Angoulesme. The king ordered his son, the duke of Normandy, to march against him; but was unable to provide him with a competent army, for want of money. He had foreseen this want, but did not think it would so soon have come upon him. He had, however, endeavoured to provide against it, by imposing that tax upon salt which still subsists^h. This furnished him with money indeed; but it came in slowly, and was attended with several insurrections and universal discontent. At length the duke of Normandy marched with a hundred thousand men against the earl of Derby, who had not a third part of that number; recovered most of the new conquests; and, by degrees, pressed him so hard, that he was forced to send to king Edward and demand relief, without which it was impossible to save Guienne, which the war had already almost ruinedⁱ.

Philip meditates the invasion of England.

King Philip, having exerted his utmost force in assembling and completing the army of the duke of Normandy, relied upon that for resisting the English under the earl of Derby, now by his father's death become earl of Lancaster, even when they should be augmented by the troops which he knew king Edward was bringing thither in person. He therefore meditated an invasion on England, in the king's absence, which was to be facilitated by an irruption of the Scots; and with this view he had a great number of Gencefe vessels in his ports, and some thousands of cross-bowmen, who were to embark as soon as the king had appointed a place for his fleet to assemble. He had also set on foot a fresh negociation with the Flemings, and had made them very considerable offers, if they would return to their allegiance^k. While he was using the properest

^g Mezeray, P. Daniel. ^h J. de Serres, Dupleix. ⁱ Thom. Walsingham, Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. iv. ^k Contin. Nang. Chron. Gagui. Hist. Ancien. Chronique de France, Froissart, P. Æmil.

means to carry these important projects into execution, Edward, having drawn together four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, twelve thousand Welch, and six thousand Irish foot, embarked them on board eight hundred transports, and, escorting these with a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, embarked in person on the 4th of July, with an intention to land either at Bayonne or Bourdeaux; but being twice drove back by contrary winds, which threw him, with no small hazard, on the coast of Cornwall, he began to listen to the advice of Geoffrey, brother to the count de Harcourt¹. This gentleman had not only been of the council, but was also a declared favourite to king Philip, till, by such degrees that are but too common at courts, he was disgraced. Knowing the violence of his master's temper, he fled about two years before into England, where he was very kindly received, and much esteemed by Edward. This Geoffrey had, from the beginning, remonstrated to him, that Guienne and Poitou were in themselves countries not over fruitful, and by this time wholly exhausted, having been so long the seat of war; whereas Normandy (which was his own country) was very rich and fruitful, full of large towns, indifferently fortified, and where, on account of taxes which they thought illegal, and for various other reasons, the gentlemen were highly disgusted with Philip and his government. Edward finding that he could not execute his own purpose, very wisely altered it, and, directing his course to the opposite shore, landed his troops at La Hogue. He there divided his forces into three bodies, commanded by himself, the earl of Warwick, and Geoffrey Harcourt, with which he spread desolation on every side: Carentan, St. Lo, and Velonge, were taken sword in hand, and pillaged: Rouen, better fortified, might have escaped; but the count d'Eu and the earl of Tancarville having retired thither with the militia of the adjacent country, the townsmen would needs have them give the English battle; which they being persuaded, or rather compelled to do, were not only defeated, but driven into the town: the place was taken, with the constable and the count, a prodigious slaughter, and an immense booty. Edward then advanced up the Seine as high as Poissi, within less than twenty miles of Paris, from whence he sent to challenge Philip either to a battle or single combat; and, receiving no answer, retired into his own coun-

¹ Villani Chron. lib. xii.

ty of Ponthieu, in order to refresh and recruit his army, being now inclined to march into Flanders, having received fresh invitations from the Flemings.

Philip assembles his allies, and the whole force of his realm, in order to revenge this insult.

Many of his allies, and most of his great vassals, having joined king Philip, the sight of so numerous an army, and such a croud of nobility, induced that prince to hope, that, in the first transport of their resentment, they might overwhelm the reduced army of his antagonist. Full of this idea, he followed the English with all possible diligence. King Edward, who had now in view a retreat into Flanders, directed his march towards the river Somme, in order to pass into Artois; but found it so well guarded, that it was impossible: upon this, he ordered proclamation to be made amongst his prisoners, of whom he had fifteen or sixteen thousand, that, if any of them could shew him a ford, he would give him his liberty, with that of twenty more, and a sum of money into the bargain. One of the prisoners accepted the proposal, and led him to the ford of Blanquetaque; where the English passed in spite of the opposition given them by six hundred cross-bows, and the like number of horse, on the other side; and having reached the village of Cressy, four leagues beyond Abbeville, encamped in the neighbourhood. King Philip passed the same night in the last mentioned town, and in the morning continued the pursuit, not with that leisure and prudence which he had shewn upon other occasions, but like a man led by his passions, who measured the glory of his victory by the number of the slain.

The famous battle of Cressy, in Ponthieu.

He came up with the English about four in the afternoon, and a battle ensuing, was defeated with great slaughter^m. The next day's loss was little, if at all, inferior to this; for a vast body of militia from all the adjacent countries, marching in order to join the king's army, fell in unexpectedly with a body of English troops, and, being easily routed, were most of them put to the sword. The king, who behaved very gallantly himself, and was carried from the battle by force, sent for the duke of Normandy, to join the remains of his army, while the victorious Edward continued his march to the sea, and closed the campaign by investing Calaisⁿ, as a place very commodious for his designs.

The town of Calais was obstinately defended by its inhabitants, a circumstance which obliged Edward to fortify

^m Vide History of England.

ⁿ Ancien. Chronique de

France.

his camp, and to take great precautions for the continuance of the siege: in the mean time king Philip, being joined by his son the duke of Normandy, and having drawn forces from every part of his dominions, took the oriflame from the abby of St. Denis, and, with an army of one hundred thousand men, marched to the place besieged. When he arrived at a convenient distance, he dispatched some officers, with orders to view the enemy's camp, who found it covered by a strong regular line, within which were warm convenient huts for the soldiers, places of arms at proper distances, and convenient markets, in which all sorts of necessaries were sold at an easy price^o. They offered him battle in the name of king Philip; to which he answered coolly, that he did not mean to give him battle, but to take Calais; and, at their return, they reported the English to be so well posted, that it would be great imprudence to venture an attack. Philip carried his point in regard to the young count of Flanders, whom his subjects invited home, received him with great affection, and would have married him to the princess Isabella, daughter to king Edward; but he, deceiving them, escaped to Paris, where, by the advice of king Philip, he espoused Margaret, daughter to the duke of Brabant^p. This, though a point of consequence, afforded but very little consolation for the loss of Calais; which, after it held out near a year, surrendered on terms which only high resentment could impose, or the deepest necessity admit. Six of the principal inhabitants were to be given up to Edward, who declared his intention to put them to death. This treaty must have been ineffectual, if six of the chief burghers had not offered themselves, and went out in their shirts, with halters about their necks, to throw themselves at Edward's feet, who sternly ordered their execution; from which they were, with difficulty, saved by the queen, upon condition they left the place, and never returned any more. They were honourably received, and amply provided for by king Philip^o. Edward, once master of the place, turned out all the inhabitants, and replaced them by his own subjects. The war was not more fortunate for Philip on any side. In Guienne, the earl of Lancaster not only recovered whatever places the duke of Normandy had taken, but added also to his conquests the port of St. John d'Angeli, Poitiers, Niort, and

The important town of Calais is taken by Edward.

A.D. 1347.

^o P. Æmil. Dupleix.
de France. P. Æmil.

^p Cont. Nang. Chron.

^o Chron.

Xaintes^r. The widow of John de Montfort defeated Charles de Blois, in Bretagne, and made him prisoner, with his two sons; and, while her consort besieged Calais, the queen of England defeated the Scots, and took David Bruce their king^s. Things were in this state when a legate from the pope interposed, to the no small satisfaction of Philip; and Edward, knowing the disorder of his finances, readily yielded to a truce, which he afterwards prolonged for three years^t.

The county of Dauphiné annexed to the crown; the king's marriage and death.

The return of peace could not but be welcome to a nation in the most distressed condition. All the country from Paris to the sea was laid desolate and waste, and beyond the Loire all was in the same condition. A famine succeeded to the war, and to that a plague, which swept away multitudes; but this visitation was not peculiar to France, having ravaged Asia and Italy before, and continued its deadly progress to the very extremities of Europe^u. His misfortunes softened the heart of Philip, so that, when Geoffrey de Harcourt threw himself at his feet, with a scarf about his neck, in the form of a cord, he raised him up with great kindness, and forgave him. An attempt made upon Calais, though without the king's knowledge, might easily have revived the war; but king Edward going thither in person, and making prisoners all who were embarked in that expedition, whom he ransomed at a high rate, and Philip disavowing the act, the truce subsisted as if no such thing had happened^w. The dauphin of Viennois, notwithstanding repeated cessions of his estates, in case he died without heirs, after the death of his first wife, was inclined to marry; and having cast his eyes upon Joan, daughter to the duke of Bourbon, Philip, whose talent was negotiation, prevented that match, by interposing his grandson Charles, who espoused the lady. The dauphin, who was of a soft and pliant temper, resolved to quit the world, to take the order of St. Dominick, and at the same time relinquish his territories to Charles, the first of the blood royal of France, who bore the title of dauphin^x. The duchess, of Normandy, daughter to the king of Bohemia, and sister to the emperor Charles, dying, the king proposed a match for his son with the princess Blanch, sister to Charles the Wicked, king of

^r Rob. de Avesbury. J. de Serres.

^t Cont. Nang. Chron. Chronique de France. P. Æmil.

^s D'Argent. Histoire de

^u Froissart, Ancien.

^w Dupleix, Du Tillet.

^x Cont. Nang. Chron. Histoire de Dauphiné.

Navarre ; but, when he came to see her, he was so charm-
 ed with her beauty and prudence, that he espoused her him-
 self, and obliged his son to marry the countess of Bologne,
 widow of Philip of Burgundy, count of Artois, the mo-
 ther of Philip, the last duke of Burgundy of that race ^γ.
 These marriages occasioned great rejoicings, which, how-
 ever, were of no long continuance ; for his young queen,
 who was scarce seventeen, became a widow in less than a
 year, the king dying of a short illness at Chartres en Beauce,
 on the 22d of August, in the twenty-third year of his
 reign, and the fifty-seventh of his life, leaving the queen
 with child. His misfortunes, joined to the hastiness of
 his temper, made him little regretted, more especially as A.D. 1350
 an opinion prevailed, that his person was unlucky, not-
 withstanding the surname of Fortunate, which he acquir-
 ed at his accession to the throne ^z.

John the Good.

On the demise of his father, John duke of Normandy
 ascended the throne of France ; and there were many rea-
 sons why his subjects might enjoy an extraordinary degree
 of ease and happiness under his reign. He was forty years
 of age ; had always behaved very dutifully towards his fa-
 ther ; commanded armies often ; shewed much courage,
 and no want of conduct, in the execution of those com-
 mands ; and, having had a large share in the administra-
 tion of affairs in his father's life-time ; he felt the weight
 of the crown no greater than he was well able to bear at
 his accession ^a. He was crowned, with his second wife
 Joan of Bologne, on the 26th of September ; and, to
 grace this solemnity, made his son Charles, the dauphin,
 knight, together with his second son Lewis, his brother
 Philip duke of Orleans, and the son of his consort, Philip
 duke of Burgundy. He proceeded from Rheims slowly
 to Paris, and made his public entry into that capital,
 on the 17th of October, with great splendour, and the
 loudest acclamations, the feasts upon this occasion lasting
 a whole week ^b. This scene of mirth and joy was very
 speedily disturbed, by an act of severity ; which shewed
 that John inherited the disposition, as well as the domi-
 nions of his father. Rodolph de Brienne, count of Eu
 and of Guines, constable of France, had made three or
 four trips into France since the time he had been made

*John duke
 of Nor-
 mandy suc-
 ceeds his
 father,
 and sullies
 the begin-
 ning of his
 reign with
 the death of
 the con-
 stable Ro-
 dolph, count
 of Eu and
 Guines.*

^γ Ancien. Chronique de France. ^z Hist. de France, par
 L'Abbé De Choisy. ^a Froissart, P. Æmil. J. de Serres.
^b Cont. Nang. Chron.

prisoner by the English in Normandy, under colour of procuring money to pay his ransom, which had been fixed at so large a sum as eighty thousand crowns^o. Being at this time in Paris, the king caused him to be arrested, and three days after beheaded, without any trial, in the presence of the duke of Bourbon, and some other lords. It was given out, that, at his death, he confessed his having entered into engagements with king Edward. The crime charged upon him was, that he had consented to let that monarch have his county of Guines; which, lying in the neighbourhood of Calais, was at that juncture of the utmost importance; and to excuse the manner of his punishment, it was alleged, that, from the examples of Robert de Artois and Geoffrey de Harcourt, the king had reason to secure himself against the consequences of a third instance of the like kind. But this excuse did not satisfy the nobility, who looked upon the action with horror, and were terrified with the apprehension of such a precedent. Their apprehensions were not at all lessened by the manner in which the king disposed of the estates of the deceased. The constable's sword he bestowed on Charles de la Cerda, great grandson to Alonso the Wise, by the father's side, and standing in the same degree of relation to St. Lewis by his mother: the county of Eu he gave to John de Artois, the son of Robert; but, though both were his near relations, neither had merited any thing of the state, but derived these benefits purely from the king's favour^p. The county of Guines was left to the daughter of the deceased, who espoused Walter de Brienne, titular duke of Athens, who, in process of time, became also constable of France. The king being very sensible of the uneasiness of the barons and the noblesse, endeavoured to dissipate their fears by a great variety of court diversions, and instituted the order of the Star^q, that he might attach a considerable number of them to his person; which, though it had some effect, did not answer his intentions in any great degree. The institution of the Garter by Edward produced this project.

As it was not the spirit of peace, but merely a sense of weakness on both sides, that originally produced and hitherto prolonged the truce, so it was never very strictly observed on either side. The French made an inroad into Xaintonge, under the command of marshal Offemont, who was defeated and taken prisoner; but they had better for-

*The truce
ill kept,
yet renew-
ed by the
two
crowns,
under the
mediation
of the pope.*

^o Ancien. Chron. de France. ^p Froissart. Du Till. ^q Ancien. Chron. de France. Extrait de la Chambre des Comptes.

tune in the blockade of St. John de Angeli, which, though a sea-port, surrendered for want of provision^r. On the other hand, Sir Aumary de Pavia, who was still governor of Calais, corrupted the officer who commanded in Guines, and so took it, as if by surprize. As this blow was felt, king John complained that the truce was violated; but Edward vindicated himself, by saying that he had looked upon the truce as a kind of merchandize, of which both were to make use; and that as John had got a port on one side, he had borrowed a fortress on the other^s. Sir Aumary, who, though very brave, was an absolute knave, encouraged by this success, attempted to surprize St. Omers, in which Geoffrey Charni commanded; but he gave him so warm a reception, that, after an obstinate and bloody dispute, his troops being defeated, he was, by an unlucky fall from his horse, taken prisoner; and, in return for his having cheated Geoffrey of twenty thousand crowns for the sale of Calais, where he was also taken prisoner, and forced to pay a great ransom, he now caused Sir Aumary to be tore to pieces with wild horses^t. In A.D. 1351. Bretagne the war was carried on with more heat than ever between the houses of Montfort and Blois. In short, every thing tended to an open revival of the war, as soon as both parties should have recruited their forces, in which view John had some advantage, as his brother-in-law, Charles of Luxemburgh, was become emperor^u. Next year the truce was again renewed. At this time Charles, king of Navarre, having taken possession of his dominions, returned to the French court, where he was bred, and where he was admired and beloved, as one of the most gallant and accomplished princes of that age. At first he affected entirely the character of a man of pleasure, which he found to be most acceptable at court; and having by these means rendered himself wonderfully agreeable to the queens, for there were then three, he carried his first point of marrying the princess Joan, the king's daughter, without difficulty^v. He then complained that the county of Angoulesme, being ruined by the war, it was but just that the loss he sustained thereby should be repaired; and several places being bestowed upon him in Normandy, the king gave that county to his favourite the constable Charles of Spain, a donation which so provoked the king of Navarre, who was desirous of keeping that domain, that he caused

^r J. de Serres. ^s Dupleix. ^t P. Æmil. Chalons.
^u Continuat. Nangii Chron. ^v Mez. Le Gendre.

A.D. 1352.

Charles le Mauvais, king of Navarre, causes excessive embarrasments in France.

this unhappy prince to be killed in his bed, owned and justified the fact, and at length compelled the king to grant what terms he thought fit to demand, with a full pardon for his accomplices. Though he submitted in person to a kind of conviction before the parliament of Paris, yet it was upon an assurance of having his pardon, and, which is much more extraordinary, having king John's second son delivered him as a hostage till the ceremony of his dismissal should be over; a concession which served only to debase the king, to heighten the ambition of Charles, and to augment his party^x.

In another place we have given the character of this prince, whom the French style Charles the Wicked, and who was indeed one of the most dangerous enemies the king or kingdom ever had. It shall suffice, therefore, here to observe, that, exclusive of that title which, in his mother's right (the daughter of king Lewis Hutin), Charles thought he had to all; he also pretended to the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Champagne and Brie, with some other places, which had belonged to some or other of his ancestors^y. His method was to advance his pretensions singly and separately; and as soon as he had obtained an equivalent for one, he set up another, at the same time treating with the English, and with such as, from particular prejudices, were become malecontents^z. The king, being acquainted with these practices, bestowed the duchy of Normandy upon his son the dauphin, and ordered him to seize the king of Navarre's estates. This step brought Charles out of his regal dominions by sea, where he quickly became so troublesome, that the crown was forced to purchase quiet at the expence of one hundred thousand crowns; notwithstanding which gratification, he still kept up an intelligence with England, and was the only person confided in by the malecontents^a.

A.D. 1354.

King Edward passes over to Calais, and returns without doing any thing more than ruining the country.

A strong desire in king John to recover the important fortress of Calais, and the well-grounded opinion which Edward entertained, that there never was a more favourable opportunity for extending his conquests, induced both princes to suspend negotiation, and to refer their quarrel once more to the sword. Edward the Black Prince was sent over, with some of the young nobility, a reasonable supply of money, and a small body of old troops, into

^x Favin. Histoire de Navarre.

France. ^z Gaguini Hist. Boulanvil.

^y Ancien. Chronique de France. ^a Robert de Avesbury.

Guienne, where he was received with great joy, and carried on the war with spirit, while the French forces under Gaston Phœbus, count of Foix, and the constable de Bourbon, gave him very little opposition, because their pride and jealousy of command would never allow them to act in conjunction^b. In the autumn Edward himself crossed the sea to Calais, with a good army; and having taken the field, ravaged the country to the gates of Hedin. John, having at length collected a superior army, marched directly to give him battle, and sent one of the marshals of France to offer it; but the king of England answered, that he would fight when he thought fit, and so retired again to Calais. John, perceiving clearly that this war would prove too weighty for his revenue, called an assembly of the three states of the realm at Paris, before whom he laid a true state of his affairs, and desired their assistance. They consented accordingly to maintain thirty thousand men so long as the war should last; revived the gabelle on salt, which had been suppressed on the death of king Philip; imposed many other taxes, and settled a committee of accounts, who were to levy, receive, and disburse the moncy thus granted, for the purposes to which it ought to be applied; an incontestable proof of the liberty which the French nation enjoyed at this time, and which was not inferior to that of any other in Europe^c.

A.D. 1355.

Whatever satisfaction the king might receive from this condescension in the states, it could scarce alleviate the disturbance given him by the intrigues of the king of Navarre, who had drawn the counts of Foix, Namur, Harcourt, and in general all the young nobility, into his party. He had even inveigled the dauphin duke of Normandy, whose head he filled with notions, that he had not a proper degree of authority allowed him; and went so far as to engage him to think of leaving his father's dominions, and to retire to the court of his uncle the emperor Charles^d. These projects were discovered in time; the king sent for his son, gave him so clear an insight into the king of Navarre's views, and made him so sensible that he meant him no better than he did to himself, who was obliged to have guards about his person, to defend him from the emissaries of this ambitious prince^e, that the dauphin, who had great

King John arrests the king of Navarre, and causes some of his confidants to be beheaded in his presence.

^b Tho. Walsingham, P. Æmil.^c Gaguini Hist. P. Danie^d Contin. Nangii Chron. Histoire de France par l'Abbé de Choisy.^e Gaguin. Hist.

abilities, entered thoroughly into his father's schemes, and, in order to carry them into execution, made the peace of his associate as well as his own, and then returned into Normandy^f. There he had the address to get the king of Navarre, and most of his creatures, into his power; where, being surpris'd by the king with a small troop of determin'd persons, the count of Harcourt, and some of the most seditious, were beheaded upon the spot, and the king of Navarre was sent prisoner to Chateau-Gaillard^g. It was believed that this act of severity would have defeated all their intrigues, and have prevented this country from becoming the seat of war; but it fell out quite otherwise; for prince Philip of Navarre broke out immediately into open hostilities; demanded and received succours from the English, so that all Normandy was in confusion. Amongst the most active in these troubles was Geoffrey de Harcourt, whom king Philip had pardoned, and who now took up arms again to revenge the death of his nephew, and in one of these expeditions he was slain: but king Edward retained such a sense of his services, that he took care to preserve his estate to his family^h.

*Is defeated,
and taken
prisoner.*

The prince of Wales, taking advantage of this great diversion, marched from Bourdeaux with two thousand gens d'arms, and six thousand archers; and, after traversing Auvergne, entered into Berry, plundered all the country round, and amassed a very rich booty. On the news, however, that the king was advancing towards him with fifty thousand men, he resolv'd to retire through Touraine and Poitou into Guienne; but the king, conscious of his own superiority, took his measures for surrounding him so well, and push'd him with such vivacity, that at length he came up with him at Maupertuis, two leagues from Poitiers, having so effectually secured the passes, that it was in a manner impossible for him to avoid fighting, for which, in this situation, the prince made the best disposition possibleⁱ. John, at the head of a vast army, engag'd him with great fury; but, by his own obstinacy and indiscretion, he lost the battle, and was taken prisoner with his fourth son Philip^k. There fell, exclusive of persons of great rank, about six thousand in the field of battle, and about fifteen thousand were taken prisoners, most of whom the English dismissed, on a promise to ren-

^f P. Æmil. ^g Du Tillet.
Ancien. Chronique de France.

^h J. de Serres.
^k Histoire Angl.

ⁱ Froissart,

der themselves, or send their ransom to Bourdeaux, on a certain day. After this glorious victory, the prince, with infinite difficulty, got safe to Bourdeaux¹. The king remained six months there, with whom prince Edward would willingly have concluded a peace; but his father, desirous of having his share in the triumph, insisted that he should be sent into England^m.

It is impossible to conceive a country more miserable than France was rendered by this untoward event. The king had left no regent, and consequently no legal representative in the kingdom: but the dauphin, assuming the title of his lieutenant, endeavoured to supply this defect, by calling an assembly of the states, to be held at Paris, which was the more necessary, as the nobility paid him no great respect, and seemed disposed to lay hold of this opportunity to raise their own power, and to live, in all respects, like princes. The dauphin found the rest of the assembly of the states exactly in the same disposition; so that, without attending either to his or the public distress, they began to prescribe to him whom he should turn out, or whom he should take in, so that he was glad to let them separate, under pretence of giving him time to make a visit to his uncle the emperor. Soon after the king of Navarre made his escape, and was in a little time brought in triumph to Paris, where by his eloquence, of which he made a very free use upon all occasions, he governed the populace at his pleasure, so that the dauphin knew not what to do, or whom to trust. He was obliged to call another assembly of the states; but instead of governing them, they appointed a council to govern him. He now followed the example of the king of Navarre, began to harrangue the citizens at their common hall, and made, in a short time, a great progress in popularityⁿ. An accident spoiled all: a common fellow murdered the treasurer of France, and then retired into a privileged place; upon which the dauphin sent the two marshals of Dauphiné and Champagne to take the criminal out of sanctuary, and hang him without farther ceremony. The bishop of Paris immediately exclaimed that the privileges of the church were invaded; and the provost of the merchants, Marcel, by whose instigation the murder was done, having raised a general insurrection, went to the lodgings of the dauphin, butchered both the marshals be-

The dismal situation of France, and the great intestine troubles that ensue on the king's absence.

¹ Gagnin. Hist. Polyd. Virg. ^m Ad. Murimuth. P. Æmil.
ⁿ Ancien. Chronique de France. Mez,

fore his face, and some of their blood flying upon him, the dauphin asked, with some emotion, if he was to share the same fate? The provost told him he was not; and as a mark of security and protection, snatched his embroidered hat, or hood, off his head, and clapped his own blue one, which was the signal of the Navarre faction, upon the dauphin, who was forced to dissemble his resentment, and take all in good part^o. He had been compelled to grant all the king of Navarre desired, and obliged to live upon fair terms with him; though he suspected that he had administered to him a dose of poison, by which he lost his hair and his nails, and narrowly escaped with his life^p.

A.D. 1357. The scheme of the malecontents was to change the form of the government; to vest the supreme power in the third estate; and to leave the king his title, with little or no authority: but when the chiefs of the citizens of Paris made a proposal of this sort to the other great cities in the kingdom, it was rejected with contempt. The dauphin conceived hopes from this refusal; taking advantage of the king of Navarre's being in Normandy, he went to the parliament, and demanded from them the title and authority of regent, which was granted; then he gave the great seal to his chancellor of Normandy, and the sword of constable to Moreau de Fiennes: afterwards he assembled the states of Picardy and Champagne, where he was received, obeyed, and assisted, to the utmost extent of his wishes and their power^q.

New disturbances through the insurrection of the peasants,

While the dauphin was thus employed, the miseries of the kingdom, which seemed scarce capable of any augmentation, were nevertheless heightened by so new and unexpected an evil, as, for the time it lasted, abated the consideration and even the sense of all the rest. The nobility, as we before observed, were so far from entertaining any just sentiments of the danger and distress to which the nation was exposed, that, on the contrary, they pushed their pride, luxury, and ill-timed magnificence farther than can be well imagined, pillaging the poor peasants who inhabited their lands, and using it as a common phrase of reproach, *Jacque bon homme*, that is, *good man James*, or, as we would say, *the poor Jack, shall pay for all*^r. The common people, in this starving condition, rendered the more intolerable by that splendor and profusion which appeared in their lords houses, could not

^o Le Gend. Du Tillet, ^p Continuat. Nang. Chron. Polydor. Virgil. ^q Mezeray, P. Dan. ^r Gaguin. Hist. Le Gend.

help venting their complaints to each other, deploring the hapless state they were in, and the want of any reasonable hopes of seeing things mend. It happened that some peasants about Beauvois discoursing upon this subject, and inveighing against the inhumanity of their lords, their want of regard to the honour of France, and their contemptuous behaviour to the king under his misfortunes, wrought themselves at last to such a height of fury, that they resolved to extirpate the whole nobility. Laying hold of pitch-forks, staves, reap-hooks, and such rough instruments of mischief as came in their way, they began to carry their desperate design into execution, destroying, without mercy, the families of such as they could surprize, and plundered their houses. This humour diffused itself into several provinces; and this mutinous rabble, from the circumstances before mentioned, were styled the *Jacquerie*^s. The nobility, who in those days made the use of arms their sole profession, assembled for their own defence, and, in a little time, took a severe revenge on these undisciplined multitudes. The duke of Orleans charged them in the neighbourhood of Paris, and cut off ten thousand; the king of Navarre fell upon another body, and put twelve thousand to the sword, with their principal leader William Caillet^t. The regent also laid hold of this occasion to raise an army of thirty thousand men; but, acting with more moderation, he engaged many of them to lay down their arms, and at length appeared with his forces before Paris. The citizens, sensible of the ill usage he had received, endeavoured to pacify him; but the provost Marcel, foreseeing that he should be the victim in case of an accommodation, excited a fresh sedition, and called in the king of Navarre with a body of English and Norman troops; but as these did not observe the strictest discipline, new disturbances happened, and they were expelled^u. The provost and his faction conspired to deliver the city entirely into his hands; but their design being discovered at the very point of execution, the provost, with the ringleaders of his party, were destroyed, and the gates being opened to the regent, the public tranquility was gradually restored, notwithstanding the efforts made by the king of Navarre to prevent it, which at length rose so high, that he sent a public defiance to the regent, and broke out into open war^v.

A.D. 1358.

^s P. Æmil. Du Tillet.^t Ancien. Chronique de France.^u Contin. Nangii Chron. H. Knyghton Chron.^v A. Mu-

rimuth. P. Henault.

King of Navarre saves France and the regent, by making a peace on reasonable terms.

As there were at this time great bodies of English troops in different parts of France, under the command of officers who acknowledged no superior, and acted on no principle but that of getting the most they could, it was by the assistance of these that the king of Navarre hoped to carry his point; and what that was will not be difficult to learn, when we know that he made a solemn declaration, that, for the future, he would never acknowledge any right in the house of Valois to the crown of France^x. By the help of these independent bodies of English, who were, beyond comparison, better soldiers than the dauphin's new raised troops, he so straitened the city of Paris, in which he had still a great number of friends, that, at length, it became more than probable he would have prevailed, and have had the city delivered to him by capitulation at least, if not without. But of a sudden, and contrary to all expectation, and without any visible motive, he demanded an interview with the regent, and concluded a peace with him on moderate and reasonable terms^y. The writers of those days attribute this moderation to inspiration from heaven; on the other hand, his brother Philip said he was bewitched; later writers ascribe it to the inconstancy of his temper; but all agree, that this conduct of his saved France, and the subsequent part of this history will put it beyond doubt. The truth of this perplexed business seems to have been, that, in his harangue to the people of Paris, he had suffered words to escape him to this effect, "That, if right took place, he had a better title to the crown of France than either he who wore it or he who pretended to it;" which expression being reported in England, he quickly found that he was to expect no farther assistance from thence; for, as to what was given him by the truce before mentioned, Edward disavowed it. The king of Navarre, therefore, began to consider what effects would follow upon the taking of Paris; and perceiving clearly that it would serve only to enrich the free-booters, his allies, in the first instance, and facilitate Edward's design of setting that crown on his own head, with whom he should be much less able to deal with than with king John and the dauphin, he very wisely altered his plan, and made an equitable peace, to which his brother Philip refused to accede, but continued to carry on the war in Normandy in conjunction with the English^z.

^x Le Gendre, L'Abbé de Choisy. ^y Polyd. Virgil. ^z Anon. Chronique de France. Froissart,

All this time king John remained in England, under circumstances none of the most pleasing. On his arrival he made a public entry into the city of London, but it was such an entry as could give him no disquiet. He rode on a white courser, which, in those days, when punctilio^s were much observed, was a mark of sovereignty, and the prince of Wales, on a little black horse, rode by his side ^a. He had lodgings assigned him in the Savoy, where he was treated with all the respect due to his high rank, and with all the esteem which his great personal merit deserved. The king, the queen, the princes of the royal blood, paid him visits, and endeavoured to comfort him: he had liberty to go where he pleased, to take the diversion of hunting; was feasted and caressed by the nobility, and adored by the people; for, with all the heat of his temper, he had an affability and a condescension that made subjects of all who approached him; and he had his favourite son Philip, to whom Edward is said to have given the surname of Hardy, for reprimanding a gentleman who served that monarch with wine before his father. But, notwithstanding all this comfort, he had his sorrows ^b. His subjects had shewn but little concern for him from the time he was taken: on the contrary, in the first assembly of the states, all they laboured was to reduce his authority. His queen, though a princess of incomparable merit, being little regarded at Paris, withdrew into her son's dominions, and died in Burgundy. His ransom, or his liberty, scarce occupied the attention of any of the assemblies; and, in a word, he seemed to be so thoroughly abandoned, that he took a resolution of concluding a treaty with Edward, upon the best terms he could obtain: but when he had concluded it, and, in conjunction with Edward, sent it over to the regent in order to have it ratified, the states thought them so hard and so dishonourable, that they refused their approbation, a refusal which equally displeased both kings, and gave Edward an opportunity of returning to France as soon as the truce expired ^c. This truce was made for two years; and some of the French authors seem to think, that if the cardinals who made it had not prevailed, France must have been inevitably conquered. Yet, if we consider facts, they will scarce leave us any room to doubt that this truce was more fatal to France than if the war had con-

*Viage of
king John
in Eng-
land; con-
vention
made by
him; Ed-
ward in-
vades
France.*

^a Mez. P. Daniel.
J. de Serres.

^b J. de Serres.

^c P. Æmil.

tinued; for this afforded leisure for civil broils, left those independent corps, who were stiled Companions, to plunder wherever they were strongest; made way for other insurrections, and deprived the dauphin, and other princes of the blood, of that authority, which, with an army in the field, they must have had^d. Edward was aware of all this, and, under colour of punishing such as were in the style of his court rebels alike to both kings, he raised an army, and equipped a fleet, which plainly enough expressed his real intention to become the master, as well as to assume the title of France; and accounts sufficiently for the alteration of his conduct towards king John, whom, with his son Philip, he committed to close prison. His fleet, transports included, consisted of eleven hundred sail, and his army, when landed at Calais, and joined by the troops which were before in France, amounted to one hundred thousand men. He began his campaign in the month of November, and, though the season was rude, he continued in the field, on a supposition that he should quickly receive submissions from most of the provinces in France^e.

The famous treaty of Bratigny; king John recovers his liberty and returns to Paris.

The regent was very sensible, that he had not either money or men at his disposal sufficient to give any direct opposition to such a force: he took, therefore, the only method that was left, and with great prudence distributed what troops he had through the principal cities and towns in the kingdom, under officers of distinguished courage and indisputable integrity. This conduct had its effect; for, though Edward marched up and down where he thought fit, and plundered and laid waste the country at his pleasure, insomuch that he drew from the duchy of Burgundy, by way of contribution, two hundred thousand florins, exclusive of provisions, yet no place of any consequence submitted^f. At length he invested Rheims, with an intention, as the French historians say, to have caused himself to be crowned there, as soon as he became master of the city. But the archbishop, who had a considerable force in the place, defended it for about six weeks; and then the king decamping, marched towards the Loire, carrying with him his dogs and his hawks, that he might hunt and take his pleasure, and that the world might see how little he apprehended from

^d Tho. Walsingham, Nangii Chron.

^e Ad. Murimuth.

^f Continuat.

the French arms. At length he changed his course and took the route of Paris, where the regent was with what forces he could collect, to whom he sent a defiance by a herald; but that prince was wiser than to change his measures, or to risk another day like those of Cressy or of Poictiers^g. The pope's legates all this time solicited Edward to listen to an accommodation, in order to which the plenipotentiaries from the regent followed his camp; but, though the duke of Lancaster joined his intreaties to their's, he shewed great coldness to these motions for peace, till, towards the close of April, being encamped in the open fields that lie round Chartres, such a storm of thunder and lightning arose as astonished his army and himself, by which many of his soldiers, and above a thousand horses, perished^h. Edward, looking upon this as a signal from heaven, sent his plenipotentiaries to the village of Bretigny, about a league from Chartres, where they met the French ministers on the first of May, and concluded their conferences on the eighth. This treaty was in the names of the two princes Charles and Edward; the regent swore to the due performance of it on the tenth, and the prince of Wales on the sixteenth of the same monthⁱ. A truce now took place, till things could be finally adjusted. King John passed the sea to Calais in the month of July, where the regent was permitted to visit him; but it was three months before Edward could go thither and put the last hand to the treaty; which being sworn to by both kings, John was set at liberty, on the 24th of October, after a captivity of more than four years. In his way to Paris he was met by the king of Navarre, who promised to live with him for the future in the strictest friendship. On the 13th of December he made his public entry into the city of Paris, where the inhabitants in general, and the common people in particular, gave great testimonies of joy, and made him a present of silver plate that weighed about a thousand marks^k.

A.D. 1360.

The vast ransom which the king had engaged to pay, constrained him to think of every method of raising money; and for this reason he did two things, which were very disagreeable to his subjects; the first was giving his daughter in marriage to Galeas, the son of John Visconti, duke of Milan, who purchased that princess at no less than six hun-

The kingdom of France once more ransacked and plundered by the Tard venus, or Late-comers.

^g Gaguini Hist. Du Tillet. ^h Tho. Walsingham. ⁱ Villani Chron. ^k Ancien. Chronique de France.

dred

dred thousand crowns; the other, was permitting the Jews to return into and remain in France for twenty years, for which permission they paid largely ^l. To these calamities were added two others, still more sensibly felt; the first was a plague, that swept away upwards of thirty thousand persons within the compass of a year at Paris; the other, an inundation of disbanded soldiers, who had formerly served in the English army, and now, under the command of officers of their own chusing, made a lawless and cruel war, to fill their own pockets. These styled themselves the *Tard-venus*, or the *Late-comers*, signifying that they had only the gleanings of the late harvest that had been made in France ^m. The king, after they had been disowned and declared robbers by the English, ordered the constable James de Bourbon to march against them, accompanied by many of the nobility, and an army of twelve thousand men. He had, however, the misfortune to be totally defeated, he himself and his son were mortally wounded, the greatest part of the nobility slain, and the rest made prisoners, by which event the whole kingdom was laid open to these insatiate plunderers ⁿ. They then separated into two bodies; one of which, under the command of Seguin de Badofol, wasted the countries of Lyonnais, Beaujolois, and Nivernois; the other, under various commanders, took the route of Avignon, in order to ransom the pope and his cardinals. In their passage they made themselves masters of Pont St. Esprit, where they met with an immense booty, and where they elected a general, who styled himself the Friend of God, and the Enemy of all Mankind ^o. At some distance of time, the king, with much difficulty, and at the expence of a vast sum of money, prevailed upon Badofol to retire into his own country of Gascony; and the marquis of Montferrat, whom the pope had sent for to his assistance, engaged him to follow him into Italy ^p. About this time died Philip, duke and count of Burgundy, count of Artois, Auvergne, and Bologne, and the hopes of his succession raised new disturbances. The king of Navarre conceived that he had a clear right to the duchy at least, as descending from Margaret of Burgundy, eldest sister to Eudes, grandfather to the deceased duke. King John claimed it, as being descended from Joan, her younger sister; but being one

^l Du Tillet, P. Daniel.

III. ⁿ Mezeray, Le Gend.

cien. Chronique de France. P. Æmil.

^m Anonymi Historia Edwardi

^o J. de Serres.

^p An-

A.D 1361.

degree nearer in point of descent, he entered under that pretence, and annexed it to the crown ^q. The French historians may style Charles of Navarre what they please; but whoever candidly considers the nature of his claims to this duchy, the counties of Champagne and Brie, and even to the crown of France, will think that, how bad a man soever he was, he was also very badly used. John de Bologne, the uncle of the deceased duke, by the mother's side, had the counties of Bologne and Auvergne, and the count of Flanders, obtained the counties of Burgundy and Artois ^r.

King John finding himself much less at his ease than he expected, his court far from being so magnificent as formerly, and the power of the dauphin, since he became regent, such as in some measure restrained his own, he resolved to divert himself for some short time, by making a tour to Avignon to confer with pope Innocent VI. to whom he had great obligations; for that pontiff had interposed, upon all occasions, and sometimes with more warmth than was decent, on his behalf ^s. In this journey he took the opportunity of visiting his new acquisition the duchy of Burgundy. On his arrival, the inhabitants of all ranks, but more especially the nobility and the inhabitants of great towns, applied to him, with great duty and humility, representing that they had been so long used to be governed by a prince of their own of the blood royal of France, that it was impossible for them to be happy under any other form of rule, and therefore intreated him that he would so far comply with their customs, as to bestow upon them one of his sons for their duke. It seems not improbable that the king and his petitioners understood each other's mind; at least it is certain that they came very soon to an agreement, since, notwithstanding the late reunion of the duchy to the crown, John, by his letters patent, containing very high commendations of his favourite son Philip, granted to him and his heirs, procreated in lawful wedlock, that duchy, in as full a manner as it had been held by its former dukes; and, as a mark of special favour, declared this new duke the first peer of France ^t. This deed was afterwards confirmed, out of respect to his father, and with little regard to the rules of true policy, by his brother Charles the Wise. This fortunate young prince Philip, by the marriage of his predecessor's widow, (who was also

King John bestows the duchy of Burgundy on his son Philip, and declares him first prince of France.

^q Du Tillet. Boulanv.
Gendre.

^r P. Æmil. J. de Serres.

^s Gaguini Histor.

^t Le

A.D. 1362.

*Makes a
tour to
Avignon,
and at the
persuasion
of Urban
V. takes the
cross.*

a maid,) acquired immediately the county of Burgundy, and in process of time those of Flanders and Artois, of which she was the heiress, and thereby laid the foundation of the greatness of the second house of Burgundy, which, in succeeding times, made so great a figure in Europe; and which, from the penning of king John's letters patent, became long after the subject of lasting and bloody disputes ^u.

According to some writers, king John arrived at Avignon in the life-time of pope Innocent VI. according to others, immediately after his decease. He was succeeded in the pontifical throne by William Grimoaldi, abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, who was not so much as a cardinal. At the time of his election he was minister at the court of Naples; but being recalled to Avignon, he accepted the papal dignity, and assumed the name of Urban V^w. The king of Cyprus coming to entreat his favour and protection against the infidels, to whose insults his dominions were continually exposed, he entered so warmly into his interests, and recommended them with such vehemence in his sermons and discourses, that king John took the cross on Good-Friday, notwithstanding all the opposition that such of the nobility as were about him made to a project of this kind, when his dominions were in so unsettled a condition, exhausted of men and money, and so many disputes raised as to the true meaning of several articles in the treaty of Bretigny, that a war with England was more likely to ensue than that peace to subsist ^x. But king John attributed the misfortunes of his father, and several of his predecessors, to their taking the cross, and not fulfilling their vows. He had imagined a possibility, by the help of this expedition, to carry the greatest part of the companions, the best troops and the worst men in Europe, into places where their valour might be employed, and their thirst of riches gratified, without prejudice to Christendom. Besides, his lofty temper was gratified by the title of generalissimo of the Christian armies; so that he entered with great heat into this new design, for which he is grievously censured by the French historians, both ancient and modern, as a prince who sacrificed to his own humour the welfare of his subjects ^y.

A.D. 1363.

^u Du Tillet, P. Dan.
ancien. Chronique de France.
ancien. Chronique de France.

^w Contin. Nangii Chron.
L'Abbé de Choisy.
Gaguini Hist.

^x An-
^y An-

At his return into France, king John met with fresh circumstances of difficulty and displeasure. The hostages that had been sent into England for the performance of the treaty, and for the payment of the king's ransom, grew very uneasy at the uncertain and distant prospect of their return home. King Edward taking advantage of this impatience, framed, with their concurrence, a kind of new convention, in which the reciprocal renunciation of claims was contained; and farther, a release from king John, from all pretensions of satisfaction for the spoil and damage committed by the Companions and Late-comers, in breach of the truce ^a. This convention did not appear very unreasonable to king John; but the dauphin and the parliament, who considered those pretensions as the only means they had to prevent the rigorous execution of that harsh treaty, disapproved the convention entirely; upon which the hostages, who had been carried over to Calais, that they might contribute, by their solicitations, to the ratification of this peace, were more-closely confined. Lewis, count of Anjou, the king's son, bore this restraint so impatiently, that he made his escape, to the great grief of the king, who would not suffer him to remain in his presence, but ordered him to return to England again, pursuant to his famous maxim, that if truth and good faith were banished from the world, they ought at least to reside in the mouths and hearts of princes ^a. As prince Lewis did not think fit to obey him, king John took a sudden resolution of returning himself to London; from which he was not to be dissuaded, as holding himself obliged thereto by the treaty, and hoping also to bring things to a better conclusion with king Edward in person, than it was possible for him to do by the interposition of ministers ^b.

His son the duke of Anjou, escapes from England, where he was an hostage, and refuses to return.

He passed the sea in the Christmas holidays, and landed at Dover the 4th of January, where he was received with great honour. He proceeded from thence to Canterbury, where he offered a jewel of great price, according to the notions of those times, at the shrine of Thomas à Becket. He continued his journey to London, where he was welcomed by the king and queen, and restored to his old lodgings in the Savoy; but it does not appear that he advanced much in his negociation, though treated with all possible marks of affection and respect, and indulged in

King John goes over again to England, and dies there at the palace of the Savoy.

^a Paul. Æmil. J. de Serres, Du Tillet. Chron. P. Henault.

^b Mezeray.

^a Contin. Nang.

A.D. 1364.

his favourite diversion of hunting^c. Whether the chagrin, occasioned by this disappointment, or some natural malady, was the cause, so it was, that he fell into a wasting and languishing condition, of which he died on the 8th of April; having the satisfaction, however, of being attended in his last moments by his brother the duke of Orleans, his son the duke of Berry, and his cousins Lewis, duke of Bourbon, and John d'Artois, count d'Eu^d. He deceased in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the fourteenth of his reign, more regretted and beloved by the English than by his own subjects; his funeral was solemnized with great pomp, at which Edward assisted in person, in deep mourning, and his corpse was afterwards sent over to France, attended by the count d'Eu. This monarch had the surname of the Good; for which some historians find themselves at a loss to account, because they behold him in the light of an impetuous, obstinate, and over-bearing prince, who listened only to his own notions, which were commonly dictated by his passions^e: but, as they confess, he was unfeignedly pious, candid, honest, and sincere, as brave as any man of his time, generous, magnificent, and affable. Posterity may, perhaps, be inclined to think that some surnames might be mentioned, even amongst the French kings, that were not at all better founded; be this as it may, he left his dominions in a deplorable condition, and his son and successor under great difficulties. But negotiation was not his talent, and the hopes he had of persuading, in conjunction with the king of Cyprus, Edward III. to close his victorious reign by a crusade, deceived him; for that king answered civilly, but coldly, that he was now arrived at too great an age to think of seeking foreign adventures, though he was some years younger than king John, and of a much more robust constitution (C).

Charles

^c Continuat. Nangii Chron. Ancien. Chronique de France.
^d Tho. Wallingham, Ad. Murimuth. Anonymi Historia Edwardi III.
^e P. Æmil. Gaguini Hist. Mezeray, P. Dan.

(C) John's first consort, for she was never queen, was the princess Bona of Luxemburgh, daughter to John, king of Bohemia, and sister to the emperor Charles IV. by whom he had Charles the dauphin, duke of Normandy, Lewis duke of Anjou, John duke of Berry, and Philip duke of Burgundy. He had likewise by the same princess five daughters: Joan, queen of Navarre; Mary, who espoused Robert, duke of Bar; Agnes,

Charles the Wise.

Charles V. surnamed, very justly, the Wise, succeeded his father, that is, he assumed the title of king, with very little augmentation of power. He caused himself and his queen to be crowned at Rheims, on the 19th of May, and a few days after made his public entry into Paris, with great magnificence, in which he was never deficient on such occasions, though remarkably frugal at other times^f. He found the kingdom in a distracted and distressed condition; he bent his utmost endeavours to recover and restore it, and he did this slowly and silently, by making choice of wise ministers and able generals, reserving to himself the great secrets of state, and issuing his orders with the same coolness and punctuality, when his affairs were in the worst and in the best condition. The king of Navarre was in arms in Normandy, at the time of his father's decease, and had a good army there, well paid, under the command of John de Grailli, captal de Buch. Charles had not either men or money to oppose him; but he sent Bertrand du Gueslin, an officer of great reputation, to command in Normandy, and he, partly by his arts, but chiefly by his fame, raised a considerable body of forces, with whom he defeated and made prisoner the captal, at the battle of Cocherel. It was no great affair; but we find it as particularly described by the writers of those times as any action that had happened in France, out of regard, as they say, to the generals, who became afterwards the most distinguished of their time; but, in reality, because it was the first dispute of any note in which the French troops had been victorious, since the battle of Cressy^g. The king came soon after in person to Rouen, where he caused a nobleman, of a great family and considerable fortune, to be beheaded, for being in arms against

Accession of Charles V. and the prudential maxims by which he restored France.

^f Contin. Nangii Chron.

^g Gaguini Hist.

Agnes, who died young; Margaret, who became a nun; and Isabel, who espoused John Galeas, duke of Milan. His second consort, Joan, widow of one duke of Burgundy, and mother of another, was, at the time of their marriage, about twenty-nine years of age, and esteemed one of the most beau-

tiful and one of the most prudent ladies in his dominions. She retired, during his captivity, into the territories of her son the duke, and died there, in the fortieth year of her age (4). By this princess king John had two daughters, who died young.

(4) Monstrelet, Annales de France.

him at that battle. He declared du Gueslin marshal of Normandy, and count of Longueville, which country had reverted to the crown by the death of prince Philip, brother to the king of Navarre. This method of punishing and rewarding with éclat the king commonly followed, with good effect ^b. He confirmed his father's grants to his youngest brother; augmented the appenages of his other brothers; and rendered great kindnesſes to all the princes of his blood, contrary to the maxims of his grandfather Philip de Valois, who did all he could to keep them low. Yet, to fill his coffers, in ſome degree he had recourſe to an act of reſumption, making it his choice rather to diſoblige the great than to oppreſs the little ⁱ. In Bretagne, the war being renewed, the young count de Montfort defeated Charles le Blois in the battle of Auray, in which he fell. The king, who managed every occaſion with great addreſs, laid hold of this; admitted the count to do homage as duke of Bretagne; and ſecured to the widow of Charles le Blois the title of duchefs of Bretagne, for her life, a penſion of forty thouſand livres, and the county of Penthievre for her children, with the remainder of the duchy to them, in caſe of the failure of heirs in the reigning family ^k.

*Publiſhes
an edit of
reſump-
tion, and
uſes other
means of
ſupplying
his treaſu-
ry.*

The new duke of Bretagne, who was much of the ſame age with the French king, came to Paris to pay his homage, in virtue of the treaty; and, at this interview, both princes ſhewed great marks of eſteem and condeſcenſion for each other. Bertrand du Gueſlin, who had been taken priſoner in the war of Bretagne, was ſet at liberty; and the duke, perceiving how great his credit was at the court of France, confirmed to him the grants that had been made by his predeceſſor; at the ſame time the king took Oliver Clifton, and other Bretons into his ſervice, without giving the duke any offence. But he could not draw that prince into a marriage to his ſatisfaction, upon the loſs of his wife, who was a daughter to king Edward, but on the contrary he eſpouſed the daughter of the princeſs of Wales, by her firſt huſband, ſo that he ſtill maintained his connection with England ^l. The captal de Buch, though a priſoner, was extremely well received by the court of France. Charles was an excellent judge, and a liberal rewarder of merit; and having ſeen the dexterity with which the captal ma-

^b Annales de France. Mez.

ⁱ P. Æmil. L'Abbé de

Choisy.

^k D'Argentre Hiſtoire de Bretagne.

^l An-

cien. Chronique de France.

naged a treaty between himself and the king of Navarre (which, as we have shewn in its proper place, was concluded upon terms very favourable for France), resolved to gain, at any rate, one who, as it now appeared, was as able a statesman as he had shewn himself a general. The captal could not resist the king's careffes, who releas'd him without ransom, and who, on his entering into his service, made him a present of the county of Nemours. But upon his going to Bourdeaux, the prince of Wales telling him, that it was impossible to serve two masters, he return'd the king his patent for the county of Nemours, and remained with his old lord ^m. The low state of his finances continued still to give the king a great deal of trouble; because the situation of his subjects in general was such, that it was not either prudent or safe to impose any new taxes, or even to exact, with the usual rigour, those they had been formerly accustomed to pay ⁿ. This consideration oblig'd the king to have recourse to methods not very agreeable either to his rank or to his nature. His uncle Philip duke of Orleans, who had been long prisoner in England, had a very large estate, a considerable part of which arose from grants that had been made by the late king; and these, in the present state of things, the king determin'd to resume. The process was no sooner commenced with this view, than the duke of Orleans, instead of defending himself, declared in full parliament, that though he thought and believed he possess'd nothing but by a legal right, yet knowing the king's motive, he surrendered the whole into his hands, and should be content with whatever he thought fit to restore ^o. This step defeated Charles's scheme, who only accepted of his uncle's renunciation to confirm his titles in the strongest manner. The king, however, had recourse to sumptuary laws for repressing luxury, which was still at a great height; and for encouraging industry, as the sole means of relieving his people; and enforcing these, not so much by penalties as his own example, they had their effect ^p.

The composition of affairs in Bretagne, and the peace concluded with the king of Navarre, seem'd to leave France much at ease, and to allow king Charles leisure to put in practice the schemes he had form'd for restoring prosperity to his subjects; and yet from these treaties followed an evil, that brought the nation into greater distress

The Grand Companies ravage France, and reduce the king and his subjects to the utmost distress.

^m Ancien. Chron. de France.
^o P. Æmil. Mezeray, P. Daniel.

ⁿ Annales de France.
^p P. Henault.

than ever it had felt before. While the war lasted, Bretagne, which did not belong to the crown of France, and Normandy, felt the weight of it, while other provinces had time to breathe. But now these mischiefs were carried into every part of the kingdom, by the troops that were disbanded on all sides on the conclusion of those treaties^q. This evil flowed chiefly from the manner in which armies were formed in those days, and was the most terrible scourge to which any country could be exposed: for these soldiers did not straggle about the country, either singly or in small bands, robbing and pilfering at their pleasure, but were formed into large corps, under the command of some knight or officer of distinction, who, having raised himself in service, but having no estate, chose this method of supporting himself, and those who adhered to him^r. When these corps appeared single and separate they were styled the Malandrins; but after six or seven of these knights entered into a confederacy, though their corps were at a considerable distance, to march to each other's relief, in case of any attack, they assumed the name of the Grand Companies, and became very formidable in point of strength, as well as dreadfully oppressive^s. One of these knights, who styled himself the Archpriest, had such a strength, that, after spoiling Champagne and Burgundy, he made an irruption into the territories of the empire, and would have done more mischief, if some of his own soldiers had not murdered him in a fit of resentment. The king saw, with the greatest anguish of mind, his subjects oppressed and exhausted, and himself treated with contempt, without any power of redress. With small forces, or even larger bodies of the troops hastily raised, there was nothing to be done; and to set on foot an army required money, which he had not^t. In the mean time this evil was intolerable. He complained of it to king Edward, a great part of the Companions being his subjects. It touched the king of England in honour as well as in interest; he therefore issued a proclamation, requiring them to lay down their arms, and no longer to molest the people of France. Some few obeyed, and but a few; the rest sent him for answer, that they held nothing from him, and that they would not abandon the places they had seized, or disband their corps, for him or any prince living. This insolence so

^q Annales de France, Hist. de Bertrand du Guesclin. ^r J. de Serres, Du Tillet. ^s Ancien. Chron. de France, P. Æmil. ^t Froissart, Annales de France.

provoked Edward, that he resolved to pass the seas with a numerous army, if king Charles had not declined his assistance, having, as he said, found out a method of relieving himself: on which Edward swore, he might trust to that method, for help he should have none from him, if they drove him out of his dominions^u. But Charles was by no means willing to have Edward again in France at the head of a potent army, for reasons that will appear.

The man who delivered the king and his subjects, when in this terrible dilemma, was Bertrand du Gueslin, who undertook to persuade the Companions to quit France of their own accord; and having opened his project to the king, he approved, and offered him all the assistance in his power^w. Thus encouraged, he went to a meeting of their chiefs, who were all his old acquaintance, and most of them his intimate friends; after being, for some days, a companion of their mirth, he observed to their chiefs, that it was a base and dishonourable kind of life they led, and that the shame of it, instead of being alleviated, was heightened by their birth and rank. They pleaded necessity; to which Gueslin replied, that the Moors were still in possession of Granada, and other rich provinces in Spain; that it would be more safe, more advantageous, as well as more honourable, to turn their arms against these infidels; that he would undertake to procure them the means, in every respect, of embarking in such an enterprize, and would accompany them in the expedition^x. This offer they readily accepted; upon which thirty-five of their chiefs went to Paris, where they were kindly received, and magnificently feasted, by the king, at the Temple, and, besides rich presents, had two hundred thousand franks given them for the current expences of their expedition.

Bertrand du Gueslin engages them in an expedition into Spain with the king's consent.

Their rendezvous was fixed for Chalons on the Soane, where du Gueslin joined them, with three hundred of the most gallant gentlemen in Bretagne. Charles sent a marshal of France to see them out of his dominions, and to conduct them with as little prejudice to his subjects as possible. The route that they took was to Avignon. The pope, alarmed at their approach, sent a cardinal to meet them; who demanding what they were, and why they came; du Gueslin told him; they were thirty thousand crosses, marching against the infidels, and that they were desirous to have the pope's absolution, and a couple of hundred thousand florins by way of alms^y. The cardi-

^u P. Virg.
Bertrand du Gueslin.

^w Annales de France.

^y P. Æmil. P. Daniel.

^x Histoire de

The History of France.

scandal the inhabitants the first which had resisted the money. However the people, seeing there was remedy, turned the inhabitants of Aragon to the hundred thousand florins, in hopes they would be content that sum. But de Guelfin told the cardinal, they did not come to plunder poor people, but to punish the rich; that their force he must take back the money and restore it punctually to those from whom it was, and bring them two hundred thousand florins from papa and the college, who could spare it; which done, there was no remedy, he was obliged to take, and they lived the money, together with a primary donation. There they passed the Pyrenees, de Guelfin accompanied with his true design; which was to deliver them to the Cruel, and to advance his brother Henry, Count of Castile, to the throne. We have already seen the progress and event of this expedition, and it shall not be long here, that Charles the Fifth never gave a stronger proof of his consummate policy than in the assistance he did to count Henry, though it might seem very extraordinary for a monarch, whose dominions and whose treasures were equally exhausted, to advance such power and in favour of a young prince, whose title was almost null, and by whom at this time he was not so much as really known. His penetration showed him, that nothing could be more advantageous for France than this striking, which, at the bottom, had the appearance to be pope, and at the same time his address enabled him to persuade the new king of Castile, that what he had done was out of pure generosity, and that so he required, he had no other means of preserving the crown, but in the support of France, which gained him a firm and constant ally, and put such a check on the kings of Aragon and Castile, as fully compensated the success afforded to the Count Don Henry, even supposing them to have had no other motive. The Black Prince having taken the Count Don Pedro under his protection, imposing the same on Don Henry, who had too soon dissolved the rest part of the Companions, and employing his forces to draw off the rest, who were either English or Gascons, defeated Don Henry in the famous battle of Navarre, made de Guelfin prisoner, and restored Don Pedro to the throne. Charles did not, upon this count, declare

Measures, but rather Dr. Hume with one hand the
 other and another generally in history. I cannot but
 wish that our country's Spectator for this or Great
 country, covered the History of the Queen, though it is
 a little tedious, and thereby contributed, in a great degree
 to the knowledge of the late of Charles in Spain, and to
 the knowledge of the late, relating Henry on the throne,
 who has made his way, not only by the letter but the
 Author's Machinery on every which, in its consequence
 has a great operation on the political system in that age.

When these things happened abroad, Charles showed
 great and determined passion, and with indomitable
 spirit, the public affairs at home; he restored the
 regularity of parliament, by calling their frequent
 sessions, by taking the judgment given Charles to be
 fully executed, and by introducing motions of confidence
 and leaving two in principal dignity. He
 turned into the management of his business naturally; he
 retained their disposition, showed others, and lived
 with great moderation. He granted new privileges to
 the cities, restored the trade left; and, by many new
 political circumstances, repeated his dominion. He
 repressed luxury by his own example, and by the strictness
 of his court, where a well-managed magnificence appeared
 on public occasions, and the strict frugality at all other
 times. He expected nothing that might excite the
 jealousy of the neighbouring princes. The pope was
 entirely in his interest, it was the emperor, and several
 of the princes of Germany; the court of France he left
 in continual dispute. The court was inclined to marry
 his daughter and betroth to a younger son of Edward of
 England; but this step could not be taken without a dis-
 pensation, and Charles had so great an interest with the
 pope, that it could not be obtained. He afterwards pro-
 posed his brother Philip duke of Burgundy, and proposed
 a dispensation, about which there had been so much dis-
 pute. By these arts, and more especially by rendering
 himself the man of parts of all characters, the king soon
 became by a system of making the most of his interest
 and his character. It was not long before the people
 all went to his view, the most reasonable that he could
 wish, and he managed it with such caution and discretion,
 as drew from it such revenue as more but a great

o Author of France, & the Queen
 Chron. o Queen of
 o Queen of
 o Queen of

nus could have discerned it would produce; his neighbours looking on his conduct as an effect of an humble and placid spirit, from which they had nothing to apprehend ^h.

He begins to control the Black Prince in Guienne, and prepares for a war.

At the time the prince of Wales returned from his Spanish expedition, he found a melancholy alteration in his affairs. Pestilence and a very hot climate had consumed the greatest part of his army. Don Pedro, in deceiving him, left an immense debt upon his shoulders, instead of the mighty reward he had promised him; and, which was worst of all, a latent disease, which degenerated into a dropsy, brought upon him great infirmity of body, which rendered him the less able to apply proper remedies for stopping the declining state of his affairs. The war had drawn him into prodigious expence, and into a variety of engagements, which he knew not how to discharge. Six thousand of the Companions, all that remained of those dreadful troops, were quartered in his territories, till their wages could be paid. Besides, he could not bear the thoughts of retrenching his court, which had been hitherto at least as magnificent as those of Paris or London ⁱ. This emergency obliged him to impose a florin upon every hearth within his territories; which, though submitted to in most places, yet in Guienne it was opposed with the greatest vehemence, the count of Armagnac and other great lords looking upon it as a violation of their privileges; which, at all events, they determined to maintain ^k. Charles considering, that two-thirds of his father's ransom was paid, most of the hostages redeemed, his people in a great measure recovering, his neighbours well-affected to him, and the concerns of Edward such as left him less able to maintain a war than at any time since the peace of Bretigny, began to listen to the complaints of the Gascons. He had his emissaries in the county of Ponthieu, and in other parts of the English conquests, where they found a great spirit of discontent, which they took all possible pains to cherish and increase ^l. At length, he laid the treaty of Bretigny, and all the subsequent proceedings, before his court of peers, and demanded their advice; in consequence of which he summoned the prince of Wales to appear, and answer the complaints made against him by his barons. To this citation he answered with disdain, that

^h Meyer in *Annal. Fland.*
^k *Knyght. Chron.*
^l *Nangii Chron.*

ⁱ *Annales de France, H.*

^l *Cent.*

he would appear, but it should be with a retinue of sixty thousand men; and he likewise caused those, who had summoned him, to be arrested. Hostilities did not immediately follow; on the contrary, a negotiation ensued with the court of London. King Edward insisted, that the crown of France had no sovereignty over the provinces he possessed, and that the appeal of the Gascon lords was an act of rebellion: on the other hand, Charles asserted, that Edward, having never renounced his pretensions to the crown of France, the duchies of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, he still retained the sovereignty over Guienne and the rest of the provinces^m.

A D. 1368.

By the assistance of his estates, Charles finds himself in a condition to begin a war.

As the embarking in a new war was a very dangerous step, Charles proceeded very deliberately, and with seeming irresolution; by which he gained time to enter into distinct treaties with his allies; held his enemies in suspense; and called an assembly of the states in the month of May, that it might appear he did nothing but by the advice and with the consent of his subjects. In this assembly he managed all things with such address, that the clergy declared the king, in all his proceedings, had acted in a manner suitable to the principles of religion and equityⁿ. The nobility promised to assist him with their lives and fortunes, and the third estate applauded his majesty's justice and moderation, with a promise to support so good a cause to the utmost of their power. As the king wanted no more at this time, they were dismissed without so much as the mention of new taxes; but, in consequence of these declarations, Charles, without ceremony, declared war against Edward; who resumed the title of king of France, and prepared to punish what he styled temerity and breach of faith. The war, on the side of Guienne, was rather favourable to Charles; for the Companions revolted, in a great measure, to him; a defection which surprised the prince of Wales, who had also the misfortune to lose the lord Chandos, one of the wisest men, and one of the ablest officers, in his service, who was killed in a skirmish^o. The county of Ponthieu, in Picardy, revolted; but the fleet, which the king had assembled at Harfleur, with an intent to invade England, was rendered useless by the arrival of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, and a great body of English troops; for this obliged the king to oppose to him his brother Philip of Burgundy,

^m Froissart. H. Knyghton.
 cien. Chronique de France.

ⁿ Annal. de France.

^o An-

A.D. 1369.

with the forces that should have embarked for a naval expedition. There was, however, very little done on this side by either party; for Charles had expressly prohibited his brother from fighting, and the attempt made by the duke of Lancaster to burn the fleet was also very luckily prevented^p. In September, the states met again, and, upon a detail of what had happened since they had been held last, they unanimously agreed to impose the same taxes that had been levied for the release of king John, with the addition of hearth-money; which was esteemed a more equal, though a heavier tax than a capitation. A method of proceeding which astonished all Europe, who supposed France to be quite exhausted^q.

Through the king's management it is carried on with advantage on all sides.

In consequence of these great aids, the king augmented his forces; and, upon the resignation of the good old constable Fiennes, determined to recall Bertrand du Guesclin out of Spain; who not only very readily obeyed, though amply provided for by the king of Castile, but negotiated and signed a treaty with that monarch, by which he agreed to assist king Charles with a force by sea. On the arrival of this celebrated officer in France, he was first employed in Guienne, where the king's brother made no scruple of serving under him, though he had no title, or so much as a regular command^r. He recovered many places in a short space of time, and would have without doubt, made a greater progress, if the king had not sent for him to oppose Sir Robert Knolles; who, with a body of English forces, after having ravaged Champagne, advanced into the neighbourhood of Paris, and burnt some small towns in the sight of that city, where the king was with a considerable number of troops; but he would not be drawn out, or run any hazard: on the arrival of Bertrand, he had the sword of constable delivered to him, and was directed, with a small sum of money to raise troops^s. The king might have given him greater forces, but he was afraid he would hazard a battle. The constable, with the few troops he had, stopped the progress of Knolles, and recovered most of the places he had taken: the king commended his prudence highly, though now and then he ventured on a bold stroke. His success revived the spirit of the French nation, and made them endure with patience the heavy taxes which the last assembly of the states had imposed,

^p Thom. Walsingham, Polyd. Virg.
res. Du Tillet.

^r Annales de France.

^q P. Æmil. J. de Serres. J. de Serres.

^s Ancien. Chron de France.

the rather because the king took the precaution of engaging the clergy every where to preach up the justice of his cause, and to urge the necessity of continuing a war, that was of equal importance to the crown and to the people ^t. A.D. 1370.

About this time died pope Urban V. who had done that monarch essential services, and who was succeeded by Gregory XI. whom he likewise gained to his side. To balance these advantages, king Edward drew over the duke of Guelderland to his party, and would have made a greater progress amongst the princes of the empire, if Charles had not prevented him, by augmenting their pensions, and by inviting several of them to his court, where they were treated with all possible attention and respect. He could not, however, prevent the king of Navarre from passing privately into England, where he concluded the treaty of Clarendon with king Edward, the substance of which was not known in France till some years after; but Charles, however, took his measures so prudently, that it had no effect ^u.

The constable returned in the winter to Paris, and concerted with the king the operations of the next campaign; in regard to which the greatest difficulty was to find the funds requisite for the payment of the troops. By the counsel of du Gueslin, the king gave a gentle squeeze to the officers of his treasury, who, it was suspected, had stole, but who, it was certain, could spare: he borrowed likewise large sums of the lawyers: and the clergy, who having so often declared to the people the justice of the war, could not refuse to support it. But these were temporary expedients, which the king knew might, in their consequences, do him more hurt than good; and therefore he appointed commissaries for the payment of his troops, who accounted to the constable, and the constable to the king; and out of the money he saved, he punctually paid his debts ^w. He had this year five corps in the field; none of any great force, but sufficient to take towns, more especially by intelligence, and to harass the English army, instead of coming to a battle; for he still remembered Cressy and Poitiers; though he kept a numerous body of troops about his person, that he might push any extraordinary success, or repair any unforeseen misfortune, without delay ^x. The king of Navarre, who was returned from England into Normandy, perceiving that he made

Methods taken to strengthen his alliances.

^t Hen. Knyghton Chron. ^u T. Walsingham, P. Daniel, Le Gendre. ^w Cont. Nang. Chron. Annales de France. ^x Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin.

war with success, and took all his measures with so much precaution, consented, upon hostages given, to confer with the king, concluded a treaty with him, and left his children in his hands, notwithstanding his late treaty with England. For, knowing that neither of these monarchs wished him well, he held it best, either by force or by fraud, to provide for himself. About this time Charles of France concluded a treaty with Robert king of Scots, and established the Scots gens d'arms at a hundred men; but it was St. Lewis who first formed this corps, entrusting his person to twenty-four of that nation^y. The cardinal bishop of Beauvais, perceiving how incompatible it was to be the counsellor of the king and the pope at the same time, laid down his office of chancellor, in which, however, he was succeeded by his brother; for it was not the king's custom to disgrace his ministers^z. In the mean time the prince of Wales, vexed at the success of the French, resolved to recover Limoges, which he suspected had been delivered to them by treachery; and, having reduced it, he caused a great part of the inhabitants to be put to the sword. This was his last exploit; for, perceiving the people chagrined, being himself afflicted for the loss of his son Edward, and, in a manner, worn out by his disease, he returned into England. He left the government of Aquitaine to his brother John duke of Lancaster, having first taken an oath of fidelity from the barons, who troubled themselves little about it after his departure; for the imposition, feuage, and other duties, had alienated their affections, which he formerly commanded^a.

A.D. 1371.

Don Henry of Castile sends a fleet to the assistance of France, which does great service.

By the treaty which the constable had concluded with Henry king of Castile, that prince was bound to assist the French monarch with a fleet. The duke of Lancaster, having espoused the daughter of Don Peter the Cruel, assumed thereupon the title of king of Castile and Leon; soon after which he returned to England with his brother, who had married her younger sister, leaving the command in Aquitaine to the famous captal de Buch, with the title of constable. Don Henry, who knew the connections which the duke of Lancaster had with the king of Navarre, and suspecting his intentions to make a new irruption into Spain, in case the war with France had

^y MS. de la Biblioth. du Roi, cap. 8354.

^z Annales de

France. ^a Ancien. Chron. de France, H. Knyghton.

a favourable issue, sent a fleet of forty sail of large ships and thirteen frigates, with instructions to act as the king of France should direct^b. Charles, having early intelligence of a great succour, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, that was to be sent to Rochelle, gave timely notice of it to the Castilian admiral; who attacked that fleet on the eve of St. John, within sight of the port; and, being much superior in strength, defeated, and almost destroyed it entirely, made the earl of Pembroke, with many other persons of distinction, prisoners, and, amongst other large vessels, sunk that which had the treasure on board for the pay of the troops; so that it may be very truly affirmed Don Henry repaid, by this naval succour so opportunely given, whatever support or assistance he had received from the French crown^c. The constable du Gueslin took advantage of the consternation this occasioned to make an irruption into Poitou, where he took several places of great strength, and afterwards joined the duke of Berry in the Limosin. It is, however, uncertain what the fate of the war would have been, if the capital de Buch had continued to command; but he, being surpris'd and taken prisoner in a skirmish, was sent to Paris, where he was confin'd in the Temple; and, though immense sums were offer'd for his liberty, he ended his days there, after five years confinement^d.

Immediately after this accident, Poitiers opened her gates to the constable; at which event the king was so agreeably surpris'd, that he ennobled the mayor, the sheriffs, their descendents and successors; St. John de Angeli, Taillebourg, Angoulesme, Xaintes, and several other places, followed the example of Poitiers. The city of Rochelle would willingly have followed their example, but there was an English garrison in the castle. The French mayor was too hard for the English governor, whom he invited to dinner, and produced to him an old letter, under king Edward's seal, knowing that the governor could not read; who, after he looked upon it a little time, returned it. "You see," said the mayor, "that the king commands we should muster both our garrisons together, that the people may be better acquainted with, and have greater confidence in, each other, and I shall leave the time and manner to you." The governor drawing out his garrison the next day, the mayor

The constable du Gueslin conquers great part of the English possessions.

^b Annales de France.
Walingham.

^c H. Knighton Chron. Thom.

^d Annales de France.

surprised the castle; but, before he would render the place to the constable, he insisted upon having the king's consent to raze that fortress, and a charter for the town as ample as that of Paris; both which were obtained, and the mayor actually demolished the castle before he delivered the keys^e. The progress of the constable's arms received some check from the gallant defence of Fontenaille Comte, in which the lady of Sir John Harpedon commanded; who, though young and handsome, exposed her person as much as any private man during the siege, and even when the place came to be stormed, nor once offered to capitulate, till on the point of being taken; when the constable, who was a gallant man, gave her leave to prescribe her own terms. The remains of the English officers and troops threw themselves into Thouars, a very strong place, which they meant to defend to the last extremity; but the constable offering to allow them till the feast of St. Michael for the succours they expected, they consented to surrender, if not relieved by king Edward or the prince of Wales^f. Edward assembled and embarked an army, commanded by himself and his sons, which, if it had arrived in time, might yet have changed the face of affairs; but, meeting with contrary winds, they were constrained, not without great hazard, to regain the English coast; so that, at the time appointed, Thouars submitted^g. The constable had afterwards the good fortune to defeat John d'Evreux, who came with twelve hundred men at arms to relieve the castle of Chisai; made himself master of that place, and surprised Niort, which was stronger, and of greater consequence, all in a day; so that Poitou was entirely reduced, and the king gave that country to his brother the duke of Berry^h. The best part of the expence of this campaign was born by the Jews, to whom the king sold a permission to remain ten years longer in France, at a very high rate; though this event is placed lower in his reign by many historiansⁱ.

A.D. 1372.

Duke of Breagne, being pushed by the king, quits his dominions, and serves under the English.

The duke of Bretagne, who, as we have shewn, still maintained his connections with the English nation, as having a grateful remembrance, that to their assistance he owed his dominions, found himself in a wretched dilemma from the ambition and artifice of the king, who never discovered his discontent till it was in his power to

^e Ancien. Chronique de France, Froissart. Hist. ^f Annales de France. T. Walsing. ^g Du Til. ^h Du Til. ⁱ Gaguini Hist. P. Æmil.

^f Gaguin. ^h Du Til.

make himself felt severely. The constable and Oliver de Clifton were not the only Bretons provided for in his service; and, besides those in his pay, he had many of the nobility in pension; so that he ran no great hazard in summoning the duke to attend him as his vassal, with all the forces he could raise. It was in vain that he pleaded he was allowed a neutrality by the treaty of Bretigny; it was to little purpose he distinguished between his homage for the duchy, and for his county of Montfort. The constable entered Bretagne, with an army, on one side; Oliver Clifton, with his forces, invaded it on the other; the nobility and the people revolted in most places: so that, having distributed the English succours into Brest, and some other towns of importance, he retired into England^k. But it was not long before he returned with John duke of Lancaster, who landed at Calais with an army of fifty thousand men, with which he proposed to restore his father's affairs, and to rival his brother's great exploits in that kingdom. He began his march towards the end of July, and passed through Picardy and Champagne, leaving behind him every where sufficient marks of his resentment. Charles had three armies in the field; one commanded by his brother the duke of Burgundy; another by his cousin the duke of Bourbon; and a third by the constable, which consisted chiefly of cavalry. Besides these the king had a corps of four thousand gens d'arms, and a numerous body of infantry, under his own command^l. The two dukes coasted the English army on each side, the constable followed in the rear, so that there were frequent skirmishes; but as none of them had a strength sufficient, and were besides restrained by the king's orders, there was no battle. The duke of Bretagne pressed the duke of Lancaster to march into his duchy; but that prince persisting in his resolution to proceed to Guienne, there was never after a right understanding between them^m. The duke of Lancaster, however, pursued his own measure, traversed Burgundy and Auvergne with great rapidity, and suffered so much in this long march through an enemy's country, that, when he arrived, in the Christmas holidays, in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux, he had scarce a fifth part of his army left. In the course of this year, the king lost his two great ministers, the chancellor and his brother the cardinal de Beauvais.

^k Ancien. Chronique de France.

^l Annales de France.

^m Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin.

He replaced the former by Peter d'Argemont, by the election of the parliament, and the latter by the bishop of Amiens, by his own choice; but, though fortunate in these respects, yet this year was alike fatal in Italy and England, as well as France, by a severe famine, and by a devouring pestilence that followed it. The king, however, did all he could to keep up the spirits of his people, and obliged the clergy to do all that was in their power likewise to cherish and relieve them; shewing such a vigilance and activity, even in the minutest things that regarded the public welfare, as contributed greatly to maintain a tranquility that had never been seen before under circumstances of a like kind, and which contributed as much to the support of his character, and preserving the affections of his people, as the victories he had gained, and the great turn he had given to the affairs of Franceⁿ.

Charles consents to a truce, and makes use of it to improve the domestic state of France.

The pope, who had sent repeated admonitions, and employed different legates to reconcile the two kings, now pressed things so warmly, and set the epidemic diseases reigning throughout their dominions in so strong a light, that they, at length, agreed to send their plenipotentiaries to Bruges, in order to conclude a peace, or at least a truce. At the head of these plenipotentiaries, on one side, were the king's brothers, Lewis duke of Anjou and Philip duke of Burgundy, and at the head of the other John duke of Lancaster. All hopes of peace were lost, by the English insisting peremptorily, that Edward should hold Guienne in sovereignty; to which claim the French would not hearken. At length, however, a truce was concluded for a year; but without making any mention of Bretagne^o. This was a great stroke of policy between the two kings, to relieve their own territories, and give their subjects time to breathe; but at the same time to nourish the flame of war in a corner, that such as wanted either the will, or the means, of being quiet, might find employment, and prevent the reviving of the Compa-
 A.D. 1374. — nions. In consequence of this cessation, John duke of Bretagne returned into his own dominions, with a considerable body of English troops; where, from the inveterate spirit that prevailed between the two parties, much blood was shed, the duke considering the opposite party as rebels, and Oliver Clifton openly professing his intention to exterminate the English, though he had served

ⁿ Gaguini Hist. P. Daniel, Le Gendre.
 ouque de France, Froissart.

^o Ancien. Chronique de France, Froissart.

amongst them with great vigour in the beginning of this war. The duke, however, was very near seizing him, and most of the other chiefs, whom he had reduced to the last extremity, and to whom he refused all terms, if they had not been rescued from his vengeance by renewing the truce of Bruges for another year; in which Bretagne was included ^p. Charles willingly seized these short intervals of peace, in order to accomplish many things he had in his mind for the benefit of himself, his family, and his people. He made an edict to fix the majority of the kings of France at their entrance into their fourteenth year; whereas Philip the Hardy had fixed it at fourteen complete. Charles caused this edict to be registered in parliament, and then declared it a fundamental and irrevocable law of the kingdom ^q. The death of his uncle the duke of Orleans was a loss to him in some respects; but it augmented his revenue considerably. He was so provident, that, from the time of the first truce, his coffers were always full, and yet there was never a prince more liberal. He was continually giving lands and estates to the constable, who sold them almost as fast as he received them, and spent the money; yet he was so far from being extravagant, that he did not so much as affect magnificence; but he suffered no service to pass unrewarded, he left no man of merit that he knew in distress ^r. The king who was perfectly informed of this disposition, took care to support a generosity that was of such use to his service. He acted in the same manner with regard to his ministers: he had many in different departments, and, in cases of difficulty, he took the advice of them all; reported their opinions to three or four persons in his cabinet, and determined with them what was to be done. His maxim was, that, even in matters of state, reasoning might be public, provided the resolution was kept secret ^s.

A.D 1375.

Next year died the great terror of France, Edward the Black prince, for whom the king caused a solemn service to be performed; not so much, say the French writers, out of respect to their kindred, as through esteem for his person, and for his virtues. Immediately after this step, he published a general amnesty; knowing that there were many of his subjects who had hitherto adhered to the

He makes use of the death of the prince of Wales, and of king Edward, to ruin the affairs of the English.

^p D'Argent. Hist. de Bretagne.
France. ^r Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin.
Virg. P. Æmil.

^q Ancien. Chronique de
^s Polyd.

English interests purely out of gratitude and affection to the prince of Wales, and it had a good effect^t. The truce was renewed for another year; but the hopes conceived on both sides for a peace, were defeated. The truth seems to be, that Charles had never any intention to conclude it; for at this time he entered into fresh alliances with the kings of Castile and Scotland. As soon as the truce was expired, the joint fleets of France and Spain came upon the English coasts, made several descents, and attempted more; but, except burning the town of Rye, did nothing very considerable. It was by the prisoners taken in this expedition that the French had an account of king Edward's death; which happened near a month before, but had been concealed by an embargo^u. This was a kind of signal, upon which the armies of Charles attacked the English on all sides. One army, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, entered Artois; another invaded Auvergne, under the conduct of the duke of Berry; that which acted in Guienne was commanded by the duke of Anjou; and the forces in Bretagne were under the constable: the king himself had a very powerful body of troops, that he might be able to repair any accident that should happen through the chance of war. The constable joined the duke of Burgundy, who found it difficult to deal with Sir Thomas Felton and the seneschal of Bourdeaux. Soon after his arrival, the constable attacked and defeated them, making both their commanders prisoners of war^w. This victory was so well pursued, that, at the close of the campaign, Bayonne and Bourdeaux, with the districts about them, and the fortresses of Calais, with its dependencies, were all the places left to England on the continent; and a strong appearance there was that they would not long keep these; for, besides the weakness natural to a minority, there were already great divisions in the English councils.

A.D. 1377.

The emperor Charles IV. visits the king at Paris, who makes a new treaty with the king of Navarre.

It is reckoned a very singular honour by the French historians to this reign, that the emperor Charles the Fourth, and his son Wenceslaus king of the Romans, came to make the king, who was the emperor's nephew, a visit at Paris. They were received with all possible marks of respect, and entertained with all imaginable kindness, as well as with the utmost magnificence; but,

^t Annales de France.
Froissart. J. de Serres.
H. Knyghton, P. Æmil.

^u Ancien. Chronique de France,
^w Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin,

with all this, Charles took care not to push his complaisance so far as to afford the smallest foundation for those claims of superiority, which some princes have been inclined to make from being invested with the imperial dignity. He took occasion, on the contrary, to make some use of this interview, by procuring his son the dauphin to be declared perpetual vicar in the county of Dauphiné, and the ancient kingdom of Arles, which were still reputed dependent on the emperor^x. About this time happened the famous process against the king of Navarre, on a charge of intending to procure the king to be poisoned; for which some persons suffered, and that king lost his valuable possessions in Normandy, by which he had been so troublesome to the French crown, and his lordship of Montpellier; which was all he had for the counties of Champagne and Brie, and the duchy of Burgundy; and at this very juncture he was on the point of being deprived of the rest of his dominions, by the infant of Castile; but Edward the Third was now dead, a circumstance which abated the terror of the English arms^y. The reigning queen of France, and the dowager-queen Joan, deceased this year; events which gave the king great concern. Pope Gregory the Eleventh also died; upon which the cardinals elected an Italian prelate, who assumed the name of Urban; but, as he had the misfortune to disoblige the cardinal of Amiens, the French minister, whom he charged with being an enemy to peace, he and his associates chose another, who took the name of Clement the Seventh, fixed his residence at Avignon, and procured himself to be acknowledged by all the crowns in alliance with France, except the king of Castile, who would acknowledge neither^z, but maintained a prudent and exact neutrality.

A.D. 1378.

The king thought he could not have any season more proper for executing the great design he had formed, of annexing the duchy of Bretagne to the crown. For this purpose, he proceeded against the duke before the court of peers in parliament, with all possible solemnity; procured him to be attainted of felony, and his duchy, with the rest of the lands he held, to be confiscated, notwithstanding the opposition given him by the widow of Charles de Blois, in respect to the claim of her children on the ex-

The death of Charles V.

^x Histoire de Bertrand du Gueslin, P. Æmil. y Ancien.
Chronique de France. z Annales de France, Gaguini Hist.
P. Daniel.

A.D. 1379.

tion of the reigning house^a. But, contrary to all probability, what was intended for the ruin, produced the restoration, of the duke; for the nobility, who had hitherto followed the French party, revolted, recalled and received their natural prince, with all possible testimonies of loyalty and affection, and drove the French out of the province. The king, listening to the insinuations of the cardinal of Amiens, shewed some coldness to the constable, who thereupon offered to resign his office, and to retire into Castile; from which design he was, with great difficulty, diverted; and even then declared, without ceremony, that he would not serve against his country^b. Another impolitic step of the king was, the disbanding at once all the Breton officers and soldiers in his service; by which means the duke was furnished with a complete army of his own subjects, formed and disciplined at the expence of France; with which he gained such advantages as produced a negociation, and a sort of project for a peace. The English, while the king was thus occupied, began to restore their affairs, and had recovered some considerable places in Guienne, and several castles in Auvergne and the Limosin. The constable was sent, with a considerable body of troops, to repress them; and with these he laid siege to the castle of Chateaufort de Randan, in which there was a numerous garrison; who, after a long siege, entered into a capitulation, by which they promised to surrender, in case they were not relieved by the 12th of July. On that very day the constable died, and the governor of the fortrefs, notwithstanding, brought the keys, and laid them at the feet of his corpse^c. The king expressed great concern for his death, and ordered his body to be interred in the abbey of St. Denis, between the tomb of the queen his wife, and that intended for himself. The earl of Buckingham, uncle to Richard the Second, arrived at Calais with a strong body of troops, and traversed all France, though not without some loss, and threw himself into the country of Guienne; and, before the king could well receive advice of this irruption, he was advertised, by the stopping of the issue in his arm, that he had but a small time to live^d. He thereupon sent for the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, to whom he gave his last instructions as to the government during

^a Ancien. Chronique de France.

Tillet.

de France.

^c Ancien. Chronique de France.^b Gaguini Hist. Du^d Annales

his son's minority; advised them to give the constable's sword to Oliver de Clifton; to marry the young king to a princess of Germany, in order to strengthen their alliances; and to remove, as speedily as it was possible, that heavy load of taxes which the necessities of the times had obliged him to impose. He supported the approach of death with great constancy of mind, and, in his last moments, shewed much piety, and a perfect resignation. He breathed his last at a country palace near the wood of Vincennes, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign, exceedingly regretted by his subjects, and respected, as a wise and religious monarch, by all the princes of Europe (D).

Charles

(D) The sagacity of this prince was as much celebrated in his life-time as after his demise, and yet it was not more considerable than his modesty. He did nothing without advice, which he received thankfully, and heard patiently; but, in the end, squared his actions by his own judgment, which was always acknowledged to be right, because it was always attended with success. He left an immense treasure behind him, for which he has been censured by some, and commended by others; but, without question, his aim in collecting it was good. He was the founder of the royal library, which is now become one of the principal ornaments of France; he left therein nine hundred volumes; whereas his father king John had not above twenty. He was rather knowing than learned; but he was a lover of learning, and a great patron of learned men, and took so much pleasure in their conversation, that some of the nobility, who were not of that number, took it amiss. His private life was perfectly regu-

lar: he rose early; was punctual in his devotions; dined before noon; slept after dinner; took moderate exercise; was never idle, and went to bed betimes. He was very determined, with a great appearance of irresolution, taking his measures while he seemed to deliberate; so that he frequently defeated oppositions that could not otherwise have been overcome: he was more solicitous about discipline than numbers in his armies, and took care himself about magazines and provisions, which former princes thought beneath them; and had so perfect a comprehension of whatever might happen, that he never wanted resources, either for repairing a loss or improving an advantage. His consort Joan, the daughter of Peter duke of Bourbon, was a princess of exquisite beauty, admirable parts, and exemplary in her conduct; for which reason the king took her into his councils, and advised with her about every thing he did, with a view chiefly to enable her to act as regent during the minority of her

Charles the Well-beloved.

Charles VI. succeeds, under the tutelage of his uncle, and public affairs fall into confusion.

Charles the Sixth, at the time of his father's decease, was about twelve years old, and consequently under the necessity of having a guardian; but who that was to be was not easily determined. The duke of Anjou, the eldest of the king's uncles, who had quitted the command of the army on the news of his brother's illness, claimed the regency as his right; and, upon a hearing before the parliament, it was allowed him^e. The duke of Berry, less able but not less ambitious, being for the present excluded, the care of the king's person and education was committed to the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, the former his uncle by the father, and the latter his uncle by the mother's side. The young king was, with great splendor, crowned at Rheims, and the duke of Burgundy took place of his elder brother, the regent, at table, as being the first peer of France^f. The sword of constable was given to Oliver de Clifton, and most of the heavy taxes were suppressed; but this was but a temporary alleviation. The regent, whom Joan queen of Naples had adopted, and who, upon her decease, determined to assert his pretensions to that crown, seized all the late king's treasure, which amounted to many millions, his jewels, plate, and whatever else he had of value, to defray the expence of this expedition^g. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy plundered also; and though not with equal success, yet, taking all they could, the heavy taxes, so lately laid aside, were again to be imposed. The late king's servants were ill-treated; the chancellor, who had opposed the duke of Anjou's regency, was glad to resign and retire^h. The

^e Anc. Chron. de Fran. Hist. Anon. de Charles VI. ^f Froissart. P. Æmil. ^g Duplex, Le Gendre. ^h Anc. Chron. de France.

her son; but she died before him, in labour, in 1378. He had by her Charles, who succeeded him; Lewis duke of Orleans, from whom descended the two royal houses of Orleans and Angouleme; five daughters who died young; Katherine, who espoused John count of Montpensier, son to his bro-

ther the duke of Berry, by whom she had no issue. His body, by his own direction, was interred at St. Denis, his heart at the cathedral of Rouen, and his entrails at the abbey of Maubuisson. Theatrical entertainments were first introduced into France in his reign (1).

(1) J. de Serres, Du Tillet, P. Daniel, Le Gend. Abbé de Choisy Gaguini Hist. Duplex, Mezeray.

bishop

bishop of Amiens, whom the young king hated, fled to Avignon, with an immense sum which he had amassed; and a gentleman of the old king's chamber was forced to discover where his private treasure, consisting of many ingots of gold, lay concealed between two walls; this discovery, however, he did not make, till the duke of Anjou sent for an executioner to put him to death. In fine, all things fell into confusion, the duke of Bourbon alone acting in a manner becoming his rank, and his near relation to the young king. His good intentions were, in a great measure, frustrated by the duke of Burgundy, who, though he had promised to take care of the young monarch's education, made his court to him by flattering his humour, and indulging him in all kind of diversions, in which lay his sole delight; and this indulgence proved, in the course of his life and reign, one principal cause of his misfortunes^l.

In such a situation as this the English might have done much towards restoring their affairs, if the general policy, or rather perfidy of the age, had not prevented them. The earl of Buckingham, with the English forces, had passed the winter in Bretagne, where, at the request of the duke, they had laid siege to Nantes, the only place of consequence in this duchy that was still in the hands of the French; but while they were thus employed, he took the opportunity of treating with the crown of France; and, having obtained as good terms as he could desire, agreed to quit the English interests, and oblige them to return into their own island; a promise which, without much difficulty, he performed^k. The duke of Berry, tired of living like a private man, demanded the government of Languedoc; in which claim he was supported by his brother the duke of Anjou, from whom it had been taken in the late reign, on account of the exorbitant oppressions of which he had been guilty, and bestowed on the count of Foix; but when the duke of Berry came to take possession of it, the people peremptorily declared, that they would not receive him; upon which it became necessary to reduce them by force^l. The young king, who had a martial spirit, proposed to march thither in person; but was restrained by the duke of Burgundy: however, the duke of Berry prosecuted his design with the greatest strength he could collect, but was defeated by the count de Foix; who reflecting on the con-

The people in Languedoc and Paris rise in arms, and are punished in purge.

^l Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. ^k P. Æmil.

^l An-

sequences of his own victory, and how dear he might be made to pay for this triumph, compromised matters in time, and, withdrawing into his own dominions, left the government in dispute to the duke of Berry^m. The people of Paris enraged, and unable to pay the old and new taxes that were laid upon them, broke out into an insurrection; in which, having armed themselves with mallets, they were from thence styled Maillotins. They rendered his capital unsafe for the king and his council, and, in the first transports of their resentment, were guilty of some cruelties and violences not to be excused. The more substantial inhabitants, taking their measures in the night, assembled such a force as dispersed these rioters, and restored the public tranquillity; but the duke of Anjou, who knew there was nothing to be got by prosecuting beggars, made these burghers accountable for the mischiefs done by those they had dispersed; and having engaged the king his nephew to act against them, in the end extorted one hundred thousand livres for their pardon; which was all that he wanted. Thus the king's guardian plundered his subjects.

A.D. 1381.

Charles carried by the duke of Burgundy to act against the revolted Flemings.

An eager desire to gain possession of the crown of Naples was what induced the duke of Anjou to act in this rapacious manner. When he had accumulated all he could, he proceeded to Avignon, to the great joy of the whole nation, and from thence into Italy, with a better army than either of the two last kings had been able to raise; where, without performing any thing remarkable, except wasting all his treasure to the last shilling, he died of chagrin. Upon his departure the duke of Burgundy had almost the sole management of the king, whom he led with an army of twenty thousand gens d'arms, and sixty thousand foot, to the assistance of his father-in-law Lewis count of Flanders, whose subjects were in arms, on account of the enormoustaxes he levied to maintain a dissolute court, and to squander on his mistresses and parasitesⁿ. The chief of the commons was Philip Artevel, the son of James the famous brewer of Ghent; and though he was forced into these troubles, yet, being once engaged, he acted with great spirit and prudence, but it may be with too much ferocity, when he ordered no quarter to be given to the French, except to the little king Charles, whom he directed, if taken, to be brought to him, that,

^m Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. France.

ⁿ Ancien. Chronique de

being bred up at Ghent, he might learn to speak good Flemish ⁿ. The first operations of the war were favourable to the Flemings, but in a general action at Rosebecque they were entirely defeated, with the loss of twenty-five thousand men, amongst whom was their chief. This action was followed by the most outrageous acts of severity; and the king having humbled the Flemings, as well as restored their count, returned into his own dominions with a victorious army, disposed to obey any orders, without presuming to distinguish whether it could be for the king's service to cut the throats of his subjects who were in no condition to resist ^o.

A.D. 1382.

In their young king's absence the people of Paris had fallen into fresh tumults, and been guilty of various acts of indiscretion, urged by the weight of their taxes, and the scandalous manner in which they saw them consumed. They knew the king, or rather his uncles, were exceedingly displeas'd, and therefore they dreaded his return; but, to put the best face they could upon the matter, they armed thirty thousand men very completely, and marched out to meet their monarch by way of parade, but in reality in hopes of making some impression ^p. In this, however, they lost their aim, their force was despis'd, and the insult was punish'd. The little king marched into his capital at the head of his forces, took possession of it as if he had enter'd it by storm, broke some of their gates, beat down the chains, and shut up their streets, compelled them to deliver up their arms, arrested between two and three hundred of their principal townsmen, put some of them to death every day for a fortnight, and amongst them the advocate-general, who had been often a mediator between the crown and the people, who was upwards of seventy years old, and whose greatest offence consisted in having been of the party of the duke of Anjou ^q. After these examples were made the king deprived the city of its privileges; and having extorted an exorbitant sum from the rest of the burgessees, discharged such of his prisoners as were still in prison, and had not been included in those warrants by which others were put to death. Much the same conduct was us'd to the cities of Rouen, Troyes, and Orleans, and several other great towns, by which incredible sums were extorted from the poor people, and so little of them applied to the king's service, that the greatest

*Chastices
those who
had raised
tumults in
his absence.*

A.D. 1383.

ⁿ J. de Serres, Le Gend.
^p Gag. Hist. Ferreras.

^o Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
^q Annales de France, P. Æmil.

part of the army was disbanded without being paid. The English, under the command of the earl of Buckingham, now duke of Gloucester, landing at Calais, marched through Picardy and Artois to the assistance of the Flemings (for the people of Ghent still held out), and, in conjunction with them, besieged Ypres. To the relief of this place the king marched with a potent army, which the allies being too weak to resist, raised the siege, and the English quitting the places they had taken, were at length obliged to fortify Bourbourg, where they made so gallant a defence, that at length it was agreed to permit them to retire, with all the honours of war, to Calais^r. The duke of Bretagne, at whose request this expedition had been undertaken, was deeply censured, notwithstanding which he had credit enough to negotiate a truce between the two crowns for six months; and his power of doing this by dint of influence at the court of London, made him more suspected and more hated^s.

The duke of Burgundy established in Flanders.

The year following was remarkable for the death of Lewis, count of Flanders, which happened towards the end of January; by which the king's uncle, Philip, added to his duchy of Burgundy that county, together with those of Artois, Retel, Nevers, and several other lordships, of which he went in person to take possession^r. There was a negociation at this time carried on between the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bretagne on one side, and the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester on the other, for a peace; but it ended only in a continuance of the truce. The duke of Anjou, the first of the second French line of the monarchs of Sicily, died about this time, under circumstances which have been before mentioned: the king took his widow and his son under his protection, procured the pope to acknowledge the young prince in quality of king of the Two Sicilies, and sent an army to establish him in the county of Provence, which he held by the same title. The king being now seventeen, of a very robust and sanguine constitution, his uncles thought it time that he should marry. This design being once declared, a great many princesses were mentioned, such as the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, a daughter of the duke of Lorraine, and several others; but the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, reflecting on the strict charge the late king had given them, that his son should espouse

^r Anonym. Vit. Richardi II.
de Choisy.

^s D'Argentre.

^t L'Abbé

a princess of Germany, they were more inclined to the princess Isabella, daughter to the duke of Bavaria, of whose wit and beauty they caused a very high report to be made to their nephew ^u. The king declared, that he would not follow the custom of princes in binding himself for life to a woman he had never seen; and therefore insisted upon an interview with this princess. This was at length stipulated should be at Amiens, where she was brought by her aunt, the duchess of Brabant, who took care to give her all the instructions necessary for securing the heart of the young monarch, which she did so effectually at first sight, that he declared immediately his resolution to conclude a marriage, which proved equally fatal to himself and to his subjects ^w.

A.D. 1384.

The fixing and celebrating the king's marriage did not so entirely occupy the thoughts of his uncles, and other counsellors, as to take off their thoughts from the war; on the contrary, conceiving that the possession of Calais, which put it in the power of the English to make an offensive war on France at their pleasure, was the true reason why they stood upon such high terms, and would not hear of peace without the restitution of Normandy as well as Guienne, they projected an invasion of England, as the most likely means to bring their enemies to reason. As this enterprize required long and vast preparations, they began early, and the port of Sluys was appointed for the place of rendezvous ^x. The inhabitants of Ghent, and the Flemings in general, who continued in arms against the duke of Burgundy, having intelligence of this design, and having lived long in connection with the English, framed a project for burning the French fleet in the harbour. This scheme, which was so well laid by the inhabitants of Dam that it could scarce have failed, was discovered by one who had engaged in it; and the king was so provoked, that he transferred the seat of war into the Low Countries, where having in person made himself master of that place, and punished the people severely, it so much affected the burghers of Ghent, that they entered into a negociation with the duke of Burgundy, and submitting to him on certain terms, restored peace to the Low Countries ^y. This was a point of great consequence to the duke, who, in the management of the king's affairs, took care to make them turn highly to his own advantage;

The young king make all expedition into Flanders, and sends relief to the Scots.

^u J. de Serres, P. Dan. lanvilliers.

^w Gag. Hist. P. Henault.
^y Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

^x Bou-

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Germany, they were more cruelly
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they caused a civil war to break
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thought, received an equivalent for the restitutions he had been obliged to make in France^ε.

Charles VI. frees himself and his subjects by assuming the government, and naming a new council.

The duke of Burgundy prevented the king's attention to his own affairs the next year, by engaging him to turn his arms against the duke of Gueldres, who making a speedy submission, left Charles at liberty to return into his own kingdom, and to execute the design he had been long meditating, of becoming, in fact, as well as in show, the sovereign of his people: he kept his secret till he found a favourable opportunity of doing what he proposed, and then confided it only to those who were to be employed in bringing it to pass: he called a council at Rheims, at which were present his uncles, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon; the princes of the blood, the countable, the archbishop of Rheims, the chancellor, and many other persons of distinction in the church and of the robe^h. The king then acquainted the assembly, that he was under great obligations to his uncles, as well for the trouble they had taken in giving him instructions, as for the pains they had been at in governing the realm, but that for the future, he was determined to discharge his duty himself, with the assistance of such a council as he should think fit to appoint. The chancellor explained the subject more at large, and then collected the opinions, beginning with the cardinal of Laon, who, in a succinct speech, approved and applauded the king's intentions, and, in shew at least, his sentiment was approved by the rest; but the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were extremely displeas'd; and the cardinal, being the chief object of their malice, perished soon after by poisonⁱ. Of his uncles, the king only retained the duke of Bourbon, and the countable, the chancellor, with some other of his father's old officers, made up the new council. The face of affairs was immediately changed; a truce with England was concluded for three years, that the king might have leisure to look strictly into the state of his affairs, and to give what ease he could to his people^k. He began by reforming the parliament and his household, lessening the number and expence of both. He restored the liberties and privileges of Paris, abolished taxes and imposts, received whatever petitions were brought him, and redress'd grievances of every kind with such alacrity, as plainly shewed, however his name might be employed, they did not take their rise

^ε Ancien. Chronique de France.
II. ⁱ P. Æmil. L'Abbé de Choisy.

^h Anonym. Vit. Richardi
^k P. Daniel.

from him: As all historians agree he was the best made, the best bred, and the best tempered man in his dominions, it is easy to conceive that, by this change of measures, he became highly popular, insomuch that his subjects bestowed on him the surname of the Well-beloved, which he certainly deserved. He was so far from being suspicious, that the most malevolent insinuations made no impression on him: "I had rather (said he) believe well of an ill man, than run the hazard of conceiving an ill opinion of one who behaves well." Being told that a courtier, to whom he had been very kind, spoke amiss of him, he answered, without emotion, "It cannot be true; for how can a man speak evil of us, who have done him much good?" He had a very retentive memory; and as he passed through the streets; upon public occasions, not only returned the salutes of private persons, but spoke to them by their names, and enquired after their families. With all this affability there was nothing of artifice; and though he made many promises, he never failed to make them good. So many good qualities scarce ever centered in one, who made so indifferent a prince ^b.

A.D. 1328.

He loved spectacles; and to indulge this humour, caused the queen to make a public entry into Paris, after which she was crowned with great solemnity: he then made a tour to Avignon, where he saw his cousin Lewis, duke of Anjou, crowned by pope Clement king of the Two Sicilies. In his return, he examined strictly into the state of affairs in Languedoc, received all applications to him graciously, and, in redressing grievances, forgot that the duke of Berry, who was the author of most of them, was his uncle, though he treated him upon all occasions with great personal respect ⁱ. In this progress also he visited the count de Foix, Gaston Phœbus, one of the most accomplished princes of that age; or, as others say, he was visited by him at Thoulouse. He was so well pleased with the respect shewn him by Charles, that, having no children, he declared him his heir; and as he died soon after suddenly, the king might have annexed that country to the domains of the crown, if he had not, at the intercession of the duke of Berry, regarded the rights of the count's nephew; yet the duke had not interest enough to preserve his own government, which the king gave away, to prevent his revenging himself upon those who had laid open

Makes a tour to Avignon, and in his return visits Languedoc, and redresses the people's grievances.

^a P. Æmil. P. Henault.
Vit. Richardi II.

^b Le Gendre.

ⁱ Anonym.

A.D. 1389. his tyranny and oppression ^k. The same year his brother the duke of Touraine, afterwards duke of Orleans, espoused Valentina, daughter to the duke of Milan, and his cousin-german, after a great disappointment in regard to the heiress of Hungary, to whom he was contracted, and who, by a real or pretended force, was prevailed on to espouse another prince ^l.

The dukes of Berry and Burgundy retain a wrong sense of their being excluded the government.

The king, who was of a very active disposition, who delighted in feats of arms, and who was desirous of distinguishing himself in the field, had often great enterprizes in his head. Sometimes he thought of marching against Bajazet, emperor of the Turks; at other times he proposed to terminate the schism which had subsisted for so many years, by putting pope Clement VII. who resided at Avignon, in possession of Rome: but his ministers, and more especially the constable, shewed him so clearly what dreadful consequences would follow in case he embarked in either of these enterprizes, that, being convinced, he acquiesced in their counsel: but they sent troops to the assistance of the Genoese, and other allies, and shewed all possible attention to whatever concerned, even in a distant degree, the honour of the crown ^m. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, though they kept within the bounds of their duty, were extremely mortified by their exclusion from court, which they attributed entirely to the constable. By their connivance, at least, if not encouragement, the duke of Bretagne made no great haste in the performance of his treaty, and particularly, in restoring the lands which belonged to the count de Penthievre, son-in-law to the constable; upon which he invaded the territory of the duke, and great disorders were committed on both sides ⁿ. The duke of Lancaster came over to negotiate a peace, in which, finding much more difficulty than he expected, he contented himself with renewing the truce for another year. The death of the duchess of Orleans gave the king an opportunity of bestowing on his brother that title and duchy, not much to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, who were very unwilling to fall under the dominion of a prince of the blood ^o. This aversion was chiefly owing to what had happened to the people of Languedoc, under the administration of the duke of Berry, and what they were still like to suffer; for that prince had obliged the baron de Chevreuse, his suc-

A.D. 1390.

^k Gaguini Hist. P. Henault. ^l Mezeray, P. Daniel.
^m Froissart. P. Æmil. ⁿ Ancien. Chronique de France. ^o Hist.
 Anonym. de Charles VI. Gaguini Hist.

cessor, to leave it, and resign the government into the king's hands, by threats of causing him to be assassinated^p. At length, not without difficulty, the king restored peace on the side of Bretagne, or rather suspended the war: for the duke remained the irreconcilable enemy of the constable, who was no less hated by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, all the male contents referring their supposed grievances to him, because he was at the head of the council, and stood highest in the king's favour; and because that, from being a private gentleman, he had raised himself by his merit to such high honours, and by his prudence and economy had acquired an immense fortune; which his enemies not only envied, but, in case of a confiscation, were in hopes they might share^q.

Amongst the lords who made a figure at court, there was one Peter Craon, a man of parts and pleasure, but very profligate. He had been the confident of the regent duke of Anjou, and was intrusted to bring him supplies of money when he was in Italy; but he betrayed his trust, and lavished in his debaucheries at Venice, what should have supported his master and his friends at Naples, who perished for want of it^r. At his return to France, he was prosecuted, and paid a large fine; but being well with the rakes at court, and becoming the declared favourite of the duke of Orleans, he had more credit than ever. The knowledge he had of that prince's intrigues proved his ruin; for, hoping to gain the esteem of the duchess, he informed her of some things; she, to bring about a reconciliation, gave him up to the duke, who would have had him assassinated; but the whole tale coming to the king's ears, he forbid him the court, and ordered him to retire to his own estate^s. There, distracted with his disgrace, which he attributed entirely to the constable, he took the cruel resolution of murdering him; and having dispatched a band of assassins, one by one, to Paris, he followed them thither. As the constable returned from court about midnight, with a few attendants, he attacked him with his band of ruffians, and left him for dead, after they had given him fifty wounds^t. Craon making his escape, fled into Bretagne, where the duke, out of enmity to the constable, received and protected him. In a month's time that great man recovered, to the amazement of the court, and to the great joy of the king his master, who caused

A D. 1397.

P. Craon attempts to assassinate the constable de Clisson, and leaves him for dead.

^p Mezeray. P. Daniel. ^q P. Henault, L'Abbé de Choisy.
^r Anonym. Vit. Rich. II. Juv. des Ursins. ^s Du Tillet.
^t P. Æmil. J. de Serres.

such of the assassins as could be seized to be put to death, and condemned Craon to the like punishment, causing his house to be demolished, which has since been converted into a church-yard ^u.

The king marching into Bretagne, is attacked with a sudden phrensy.

The king having demanded Craon be sent him in chains by the duke of Bretagne, that prince answered, that he knew nothing of him; to which assertion the king yielding no credit, marched with all the forces he could collect into his territories, notwithstanding the pains taken by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to appease him, who, after being so long kept from court, were recalled to accompany him in this expedition^w. The army arriving at Mans, the king was seized with a slow fever, but could not be prevailed upon to rest or take physic. On the 5th of August, having marched all day in the heat of the sun, a miserable, ragged, wild-looking fellow darted from behind a tree, and laying hold of the bridle of his horse, cried out, "Stop! where are you going, king? you are betrayed;" and immediately withdrew again into the wood. The king passing on, not a little disturbed, it happened that one of the two pages who rode behind him, and carried his lance, overcome with heat, fell asleep, and let it fall upon the helmet which was carried by the other; the king, hearing a tinkling noise, looked behind, and seeing the page lifting the spear, killed him immediately; then riding furiously with his sword drawn, he struck on every side, and at every body, till having broke his sword, one of his gentlemen leaped up behind him, and held his arm^x. He fell soon after, and lay as if he had been dead; so that being taken up, and tied in a waggon, he was carried back to Mans, where he fell into a lethargy that lasted for two days, and then he came a little to himself^y. This accident put an end to the war. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy seized the government, excluding the duke of Orleans, whom his brother at the time he became frantic, had like to have killed. At their return to Paris they sent the king's principal ministers to several prisons, bestowed the office of constable on Philip de Artois, count d'Eu, Oliver de Clifson having retired into Bretagne, where he defended his lands against the duke with such spirit and courage, as at length forced him to seek a reconciliation^z. In the winter the king so far recovered, as to save the lives

A.D. 1392.

^u Gaguini Hist. Le Gend. ^w Dupleix. ^x Juv. des Ursins. ^y Ancien. Chronique de France. ^z Ancien. Chron. de France, Du Tillet.

of his ministers, whom his uncles had procured to be condemned; but he was obliged to banish them, to gratify those in whose hands he was^a.

History scarce affords any parallel of a court or country more corrupt, and at the same time more miserable, than that of this unfortunate prince and his subjects, in consequence of his misfortune: all was discord and confusion, intrigues, debauchery, and dissension. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy ruled the kingdom, excluding the duke of Orleans, under pretence of his youth, from any share in the government, and even from the shadow of power. It was not so with his duchess, the daughter of the duke of Milan, and the grand-daughter of king John; young, beautiful, and insinuating, she acquired such a power over the king, that she governed him at her pleasure; and, which is more extraordinary, it was she only that could govern him, for in the time of his malady he knew nobody else, not even the queen^b. This influence offended the duchess of Burgundy extremely, who could not endure to see so much court paid to that princess; and, as is too frequently the case, the quarrels between the wives extended themselves to their husbands, and produced that furious and implacable hatred, which in its effects was so pernicious, and in the end was very near proving destructive to France. To render the duchess of Orleans odious to the people, it was given out that she had bewitched the king; and, to heighten the odium, it was said that the duke of Orleans had also bewitched the queen: but the most candid writers confess, that there was no ground to suspect any other kind of magic than what flowed from the assiduity of the young and handsome, when, unrestrained by principle or sentiment, they give a loose to their passions. When the king, through the care of his physician, seemed to be tolerably well recovered, another unlucky and unforeseen accident deprived him again of his senses^c. The queen married one of her ladies of honour, a German, to a person of distinction about the court, and the marriage was to be kept with great solemnity at the palace of the queen-dowager, relict of Philip de Valois. Amongst other amusements, there was to be a masque, which gave occasion to some young lords to appear in the dress of savages, made of linnen, which sat close to their bodies, covered with rosin, which, while

His indisposition is augmented by another singular and unfortunate accident.

^a Gag. Hist. Duplex.

^b J. de Serres.

^c Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

hot, had been powdered over with down, that they might appear like satyrs; the count de Joigny, Johain natural son to the count de Foix, the son of the count de Valentinois, Nantouillet, and Guifai, one of the esquires of the body, were of this party, and the king made the sixth^d. This trivial secret was so well kept, that, when they came to the ball, they were not known, but their whim was mightily applauded; the duchefs of Berry, seeing him robust and well-made, laid hold of the king, and told him she would not part with him till she knew who he was. In the mean time, the other five began the dance, when the duke of Orleans, out of levity, making a shew of running a lighted torch against one of the savages, set his habit on fire, which quickly communicated the flame to the rest, and changed this scene of wanton mirth into sorrow and distress.

*His disease
returns
with great
violence*

In the midst of their torments, the masks roared out continually "save the king, save the king!" The duchefs of Berry immediately recollected that he must be the mask which stood by her, and thereupon throwing her robes over him, and wrapping them close about him, put out the fire: Nantouillet, by jumping into a cistern of water, saved his life; the other four were so terribly burnt that they died in two days; and the king was so much affected with the fright and with grief, that it caused a relapse^e. After this the king had four or five fits every year to the time of his death. He grew heavy and uneasy the evening before the fit, and next morning, as soon as he awaked, appeared either furious or foolish. Sometimes he was boisterous and cruel, at others melancholy and full of tears; and sometimes he would laugh and play like a child, but knew nobody but the duchefs of Orleans, and would take nothing from any other hand^f. In his lucid intervals his uncles took care to amuse him with diversions of every kind, and, to the utmost of their power, hindered his addicting himself at all to business, under colour of concern for his health: this was of a piece with their politics in the time of his minority; but they acted more wisely in another respect, since, contenting themselves with the annual and entire revenue of the crown, they did not, as before, oppress the people with taxes. Perceiving that the passion which prevailed at court for gaming began to extend itself into the pro-

A. D. 1375.

^d Juvenal des Ursins. Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. ^e Ancien, Chronique de France, ^f P. Henault.

vinces, they took care, by good laws, to stop the progress of this malady, and to substitute martial and manly exercises instead of such methods of consuming their leisure time^g. They shewed likewise great respect to the parliament, which now began to sit through the year, with only some short vacations, according to the regulations prescribed by the king, who made several other rules, that were so prudent and useful as to be ever since retained^h.

The government of France did all that lay in their power to compose the schism that had so long disturbed the church, and laboured earnestly to persuade the two popes to resign their dignities, to facilitate a measure of so great importance. But the pontiffs, who never could agree in any thing before, understood each other's mind, in this particular, and concerted their excuses so well, that Clement, who resided at Avignon, died in possession of the papal character; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the crowned heads, the cardinals of his faction chose Peter de Luna, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. and proved even more intractable than his predecessorⁱ. The truce with England was prolonged from time to time, till at length king Richard II. found it expedient to marry the princess Isabel, the daughter of Charles, though a child; upon which they had an interview with each other, and concluded a truce for thirty years. On this occasion Charles prevailed upon the king of England to restore the important fortrefs of Brest to the duke of Bretagne, who had mortgaged it to his grandfather for an immense sum of money: he also redeemed Cherbourg in Normandy, which belonged to Charles the Noble, king of Navarre, to whom he gave the duchy of Nemours, as an equivalent for his estates in that province, and for all his other pretensions^k. On the other hand, the king of England procured the pardon of Peter Craon, and the restitution of his lands, who, at his return to Paris, shewed himself a most exemplary penitent, and employed his revenues in making satisfaction to a multitude of persons whom he had injured^l. The Genoese, wearied with domestic troubles and foreign wars, put themselves under the protection of France^m. On the contrary, the count

Accommodates all disputes with king Richard II. who espouses his daughter.

^g Gaguini Hist. Le Gend.

^h Juvenal des Ursins.

ⁱ P. Daniel.
 nique de France.
 Daniel.

^k J. de Serres.

^l Ancien. Chron-

^m Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. P.

of Perigord having assembled a considerable body of troops, made use of them to subdue by force several places to which he had pretensions, without respecting the arrears of parliament, or the king's orders. One of the marshals of France being sent against him, defeated his troops, besieged him in one of his fortresses, and, having constrained him to surrender, carried him prisoner to Paris, where his process was quickly made, in consequence of which he was condemned to lose his head and his lands. The duke of Orleans interposing, preserved the one and acquired the other; for this young prince was yet more violent and more rapacious than his uncles, and by various means had amassed prodigious riches besides many counties and seignories, omitting nothing that could extend his power or augment his wealthⁿ.

395.

The count of Nevers and the constable d'Eu, go with a corps of troops against the Turks.

Sigismund, king of Hungary, being attacked by Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, demanded, in very humble terms, the assistance of the crown of France, to which indeed he had little pretence, since he had carried away by force, and espoused, the heirs of Hungary, at a time when she was contracted to the duke of Orleans^o. However, the humility of the application having effaced the memory of the affront, the flower of the French nobility marched to his assistance. At the head of these forces was John, duke of Nevers, eldest son to the duke of Burgundy, the count de Eu constable of France, the count de la Marche, prince of the blood, the marshal de Boucicaut, the sieur de Coucy, John de Vienne, admiral of France, the princes of Bar, the sieurs Sempy and Tremouille, Rainald de Roie, with upwards of two thousand gentlemen, at their own expence. It is agreed, that there never appeared a body of troops better equipped, more warlike, or more wicked^p. They forced king Sigismund to fight the Turks at great disadvantage; the battle was lost entirely through their imprudence, in which the admiral John de Vienne was killed upon the spot; the count de Eu, and the sieur de Coucy, died in prison; the count de Nevers, the marshal de Boucicaut, and the rest of the princes, were ransomed at a vast expence, which did not displease the duke of Burgundy his father, who, under colour of his son's ransom, levied twice as much upon the people^q. This was

A. D. 1395.

ⁿ Gag. Hist du Tillet, Boulanvil.
Ancien. Chronique de France, Le Gendre,
Dupix, J. de Serres.

^o Juv. des Ursines
P. P. Æmil.
^q Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

the famous defeat of Nicopolis, which rendered the French equally odious in the eyes of the Turks and of their own allies. The office of constable was bestowed on the marshal de Sancerre^r. Next year the king had more frequent returns of his malady than ever, and was once surpris'd so suddenly, that he called to the duke of Burgundy to take his dagger from his side; adding, "I had rather die than injure any of my subjects." His daughter the princess Mary, a child of five years old, was sent to a nunnery, in pursuance of the king's vow; and the queen dowager Blanch of Navarre, widow of Philip de Valois, died universally regretted^s.

A. D. 1397.

The emperor Wenceslaus made a tour into France, in order to visit the king, and to concert measures for obliging pope Benedict to resign, as the only effectual means for putting an end to the schism; but the king being attacked by his disease, during the emperor's residence at court, the projects concerted with him came to nothing. The marshal de Boucicaut, however, was sent to besiege the pope in his palace, which he did, but with very little effect; for the duke of Orleans, merely because he was attacked by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, became his protector, and in the king's lucid intervals set aside what they did by their own authority at other times^t. Henry, earl of Derby, son to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, having been banished from England, after visiting other foreign countries came into France, where he was received very kindly, and treated with great marks of esteem; but returning into England, under pretence of demanding his inheritance on the death of his father, he found the affections of the people so much alienated from the king his cousin, that he with little difficulty deposed Richard, and seated himself on his throne^u. The French were not much disturbed at this event, because they flattered themselves that the people of Guienne, and more especially the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, where Richard was born, and where he was still exceedingly beloved, would have revolted. But they found themselves mistaken; upon which the king sent the sieur Albret to king Henry to demand his daughter, who with some difficulty was restored; but, as the French writers say, no

The emperor makes a tour to Paris, and Henry IV. supplants Richard II. in England.

A. D. 1398.

^r P. Æmil. J. de Serres, P. Henault, L'Abbé de Choisy.
^s Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. Ancien. Chronique de France.
^t Gag. Hist. Mezeray, P. Dan. ^u Anonym. Vit. Richardi II. Le Gendre.

part of her dowry was returned. Next year died John the Valiant, duke of Bretagne, full of years, and covered with glory *.

Duke of Bretagne dies, and leaves his family to the care of Oliver de Clifson.

He left his children to the protection of the duke of Burgundy, and to the care of his old enemy, but older friend, Oliver de Clifson, who, after his disgrace at the court of France, retired to his own estate in Bretagne, where, with the troops which his own reputation and the assistance of his friends, particularly of the duke of Orleans, enabled him to assemble, he defended himself so gallantly against the duke, that he proposed a truce and a conference, and sent his son to Clifson as a hostage for his safety. Clifson complied with the invitation, and carried the young prince with him. The duke, amazed and confounded at this act of generosity, after what had passed between them, frankly granted him his own terms, and ever after confided in him as his best friend, leaving to him the regency of his dominions when he went to the court of France, and, as the highest testimony of esteem, the care of his children at his death *. How well he merited this act of confidence immediately appeared. He was himself ill, and kept his bed at the time of the duke's death. His daughter, the countess of Penthieyre, who had married the competitor to the late duke, proposed to him roundly dispatching the duke's children to make room for her own. Instead of making her an answer, Clifson laid hold of the javelin that stood at the head of his bed, and threw it after her as she ran down stairs; she tumbling through fear and haste broke her thigh, and, by her lameness ever after, testified her father's honour and her own disgrace †. The duke's eldest son succeeded, and from his care received an excellent education.

A.D. 1399.

The duke of Orleans disposes his uncles of power, and is again dispossessed by the duke of Burgundy.

Wenceslaus, emperor of Germany, being deposed by the electors, who sent the duke of Bavaria, the queen's father, to the court of France, to justify what they had done, the duke of Orleans, notwithstanding his regard for the queen, declared in favour of Wenceslaus, and led an army into Germany to restore him; but having secured the duchy of Luxemburgh, which that prince had sold him, and finding that Wenceslaus himself was content with the kingdom of Bohemia, he returned without performing any thing of importance ‡. About this time also the marshal de Boucicaut returned from Constantinople,

* Ancien. Chronique de France. Gag. Hist. x J. de Serres.
 † Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. ‡ Le Gendre.

which city he most gallantly defended against the Turks; and not long after came the emperor Manuel Paleologus himself, to entreat farther assistance against Bajazet; from whom, for the present, he was delivered by the famous Tamerlane, who, after his victory, is said to have written letters to king Charles, and to have made a treaty with the crown of France. Archambaude de Grailli, brother to the famous captal de Buch, by the death of the count de Foix, inherited that country; but having taken possession of it without the king's consent, the countable was sent against him with an army; and though he was not very successful, yet the count thought fit to come to Paris, where, having made great submissions, and done homage to the king, he was received into high favour, the rather, because he frankly declared that he never would have quitted the English interest, but for the murder of Richard of Bourdeaux, the son of his beloved master the Black Prince ^a. The king's disease was now grown to such a height, that, even during his lucid intervals, his brain was so weak, that it was improper to trouble him with business. In this situation he granted commissions to the proper officers, for executing justice and expediting public affairs ^b. The duke of Burgundy making a tour into his own dominions, the duke and duchess of Orleans made so good use of that opportunity, and of the influence they had over the king and queen, that they prevailed upon Charles, who was then in his senses, to grant a commission, creating the duke his brother lieutenant-general and governor of the realm, as such times as, through the visitation of God, he was himself unable to administer public affairs ^c. The duke of Orleans, in virtue of this commission, imposed a general and heavy tax, from which even the ecclesiastics were not exempted. The weather being very unseasonable, and the scarcity of necessaries great throughout the whole kingdom, this measure gave the duke of Burgundy great advantage, inasmuch as, at his return, he avowed publicly in parliament, that what was alleged of his consent to that edict was an absolute falsity, since, notwithstanding an offer had been made him of an enormous sum of money, he had constantly refused it. The two dukes arming, and each of them having his allies, the kingdom was in great danger of being torn by a civil war. At length the duke of Bourbon interfering as

A.D. 1400.

^a Ancien. Chronique de France. Du Tillet.
Hist. P. Dan.

^b Gag.
^c Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. Mez.

their

their common friend, engaged them both to quit the court till things could be adjusted. When the king was next in health he put the question in his council, his uncle and his brother being absent, so that their votes were free; in which situation the majority of votes was for the duke of Burgundy^d.

The duke of Burgundy secures the duchy of Bretagne and his brethren to the French interest.

In quality of tutor to the young duke of Bretagne and his brothers, the duke of Burgundy certainly rendered a very considerable service to the crown of France, by bringing the three young princes, John, Arthur, and Giles to Paris; a step which entirely defeated the views of Henry IV. of England, who, by marrying their mother the duchess-dowager, had in view strengthening the English interest in Bretagne^e. The duke of Orleans, who, though inferior in age and prudence, was to the full as ambitious as the duke of Burgundy, sent a challenge to king Henry; who answered, that, as a king, he could not take notice of such letters if they did not come from a crowned head. The duke replied that he was no king, but a traitor, a murderer of his prince, and an usurper. Henry rejoined in the same language, that the duke was a turbulent and ambitious prince, who had bewitched his brother that he might seize the royal authority, which he was unable to manage. These disputes occasioned animosities, and even hostilities, between the two nations; which, though entirely founded in pique and self-interest, yet both sides endeavoured to colour by specious pretences^f. The French exclaimed, that the marriage portion received with queen Isabel was not restored, a charge which the English admitted, but offered to deduct it out of what was still due for king John's ransom^g. The constable Sancerre dying, the king bestowed the sword upon Charles, lord of Albret, his cousin, a young man very nobly born, but without experience. The queen was delivered of a son, who succeeded afterwards to the crown^h. The marshal de Boucicaut was sent to command in Genoa, where he governed with so much severity that he rendered his nation odious. The death of the duke of Milan, father to the duchess of Orleans, weakened the interest of the French in Italy; and the schism still continuing, served to disturb and distract their affairs; so that the residence of one of the pretenders to the papacy at Avignon did them no goodⁱ.

A.D. 1400.

^d Ancien. Chronique de France.
Charles VI.

^e Du Tillet.

^f Gaguini Hist.

^g P. Henault.

^h Hist. Anonym. de
ⁱ Tho. Walsingham.

The close correspondence between the duke of Orleans and the queen, which was not without scandal, enabled them, however, to maintain their authority, and to plunder the people, which they did without mercy. On the other hand, the duke of Burgundy, either grown wiser from experience, or out of a desire of opposing them, was a constant enemy to the imposition of new taxes, and laboured all he could to relieve and protect the people; and this labour occasioned his death, which happened at Hall in Hainault, to be exceedingly regretted^k. He was succeeded in the greatest part of his dominions by his son John, count of Nevers, who, in point of ambition was equal, in courage superior, but in abilities, or at least in moderation, very unlike his father. The queen and the duke of Orleans excluded him entirely from the government; and if they had acted with any tolerable temper and prudence, they might very probably have preserved the authority they had gained; but while they had nothing so much at heart as this, they acted as if it had been their intention to lose it. They took all possible methods, mean as well as oppressive, to amass wealth, and, when they had acquired it, they spent it as unworthily^l. The queen was said to send large sums into Germany, that, in case of any accident, she might have wherewithal to subsist; as for the duke, he was continually purchasing lands, though he would never pay his debts. Their courts were numerous and splendid, while those of the king and his children were so ill provided, that the people began to murmur. The king, in one of his lucid intervals, hearing how his children were used, sent for the dauphin's governess, and upon her owning that they sometimes wanted food, and often cloaths, the king, fetching a deep sigh, gave her a gold cup, out of which he drank, adding, that pomp was ridiculous where necessaries were wanting^m. He ordered, however, a general council to be called of all the princes of the blood, to which the duke of Burgundy was expressly summoned. He came, accompanied with a considerable force; and then the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the kings of Navarre and Sicily, declared openly against the queen and the duke of Orleans, who thereupon withdrew to Melun, and attempted to carry away the dauphin and the king's children; but the duke of Burgundy, to

Beginning of those disputes between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy, which proved so fatal to France.

A.D. 1404.

A.D. 1405.

^k Du Tillet, Mezeray.
P. 22. mil.

^m Monstrelet, Mez.

^l Annales de France Monstrelet,

marry his sister, pursued and brought him back ⁿ. Things continued for some time in very great disorder, insomuch that a civil war was apprehended; the duke of Orleans's party having attacked the duke of Berry in his house in the night; but being repulsed, and finding his party too weak, and himself too much hated, to do any thing by force, he acquiesced in a provision, that, during the times of the king's absence (which was a phrase they made use of to express his madness,) the kingdom should be governed by a council of state, composed of the princes of the blood; upon which a kind of outside reconciliation ensued ^o.

Duke of Orleans murdered by the command of the duke of Burgundy, who is forced to withdraw.

As the two dukes continued to hate one another as passionately as ever, and were reciprocally framing plots to each other's prejudice, the other princes of the blood persuaded them rather to shew their courage and their power by expelling the English out of the kingdom: pursuant to this advice, the duke of Orleans marched into Guienne, where the constable had already taken several places, and extorted a great sum of money from the inhabitants of Bourdeaux; and the duke of Burgundy at the same time, at the head of very numerous forces, entered Picardy ^p. They could not have a more favourable opportunity of achieving what they proposed; for Henry IV. found himself so embarrassed by secret conspiracies and open rebellions, that it was not in his power to carry on the war with France as he would otherwise have done. Yet both the princes failed; the duke of Orleans rising before Blaye, which he had besieged, and, on his return to Paris, procuring the king's orders to the duke of Burgundy to quit the siege of Calais, in which he had made very little progress ^q. These disappointments made the princes more furious; the duke of Burgundy attributing his disgrace entirely to the duke of Orleans; and the latter affirming, that, during his campaign in Guienne, he had not been properly supplied with money; new intrigues were commenced, new violences committed, and a new civil war was on the point of breaking out, when the duke of Berry interposed, who had been very ill treated by the duke of Orleans, and who had no great cause to be satisfied with the duke of Burgundy; but they were both his nephews, and his intercession was so cordial, and his whole conduct so impartial, that, overcome with his importunities, they consented to a reconciliation, which was sealed with the

A.D. 1406.

ⁿ Meyer in *Annal. Flandr.* ^o *Juv. des Ursins.*
^p *Ga-*
guini Hist. ^q *Thom. Walsingham, P. Æmil.*

solemn rites of the altar, both of them swearing, in the presence of God, to live in perfect friendship and fraternal unity for the future ^r. Within three days after this solemn act, the duke of Orleans being, as usual, at the queen's lodgings, where he spent his evenings, a person came in haste to inform him that the king desired to speak with him immediately, on an affair of importance; the duke, mounted on his mule, preceded by two pages, and followed only by two of his domestics, set out for the Hotel de St. Pol, where the king lodged, and in his passage was attacked by a company of about twenty ruffians, commanded by one whom he had removed from a trifling office in the king's service, who with his pole-ax cut off his hand that rested on the side of his mule ^s. He cried out immediately, "I am the duke of Orleans!" It is he, replied the assassin, for whom we wait, and with a second blow cleft his skull. One of his servants, a Fleming, endeavoured to cover his body with his own, and was dispatched with him. The assassins made their escape with such expedition and address, that they were none of them known ^t. This execrable action was committed on the 23d, or, as some say, on the 22d of November. The author who for some days was not known or suspected, appearing publicly, and assisting at the funeral of the duke. But the provost of Paris being sent for by the council, to know what discoveries or what enquiries he had made, he demanded and obtained leave to search the houses of the princes themselves. The king of the Two Sicilies looking at this time upon the duke of Burgundy, saw him change countenance; and soon after he confessed to that prince, and to the duke of Berry, that it was by his order that the duke of Orleans was killed; upon which they advised him to retire, and he took their advice, accompanied only by five persons. The admiral assembled a company of one hundred and twenty knights, with whom he would have pursued him, but the council interposed, and obliged him to desist ^u. The duke of Bourbon expressed great displeasure that he was not arrested; and equally abhorring the wickedness of some, and ashamed at the pusillanimity of others, left the court, and retired to his own estate. The council being informed that the duke of Burgundy was raising troops, and had published a manifesto, in which he avowed and justified the murder, were much alarmed.

^r Gaguini Hist. Polyd. Virg.

^s Mezeray, P. Daniel.

^t Boulanvilliers.

^u Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

A.D. 1407. The king, who had a long lucid interval, went to the parliament, and held his bed of justice on the 26th of December, and there published an edict, by which he directed that the eldest sons of France, of what age soever, at the time of their accession, should be esteemed kings, anointed and crowned, and that all public acts should run in their name, and not in that of any regent whatever^w. This measure seems to have been calculated to secure the crown to his sons, then all of them children.

The duke of Burgundy comes and forces the diseased king to grant him a pardon. The duke of Berry, and other great lords, were sent to persuade the duke of Burgundy not to add the insult on the king's authority to the death of the duke of Orleans, but to qualify things in the best manner possible, and to demand in general terms a royal pardon. The duke making use of his superior force, rejected all propositions of accommodation, marched triumphantly to Paris, demanded and forced an audience from the king, insisted upon justifying himself publicly, which he did by the mouth of his apologist Dr. John Petit, who, in the presence of the dauphin and the princes of the blood, defamed the deceased duke of Orleans as a tyrant and a traitor, inferring from thence, that, instead of considering the duke of Burgundy as a criminal, they ought to respect him as the king's best subject, and the deliverer of the kingdom^x. This defence was heard with silence and secret dislike; and the queen and most of the princes of the blood withdrawing, the duke, who had the king in his power, obtained from him as full a pardon as he could desire or devise. He was not satisfied with this, but obliged him likewise to remove the admiral, and to appoint the Sieur de Chatillon to that office, who was in his interest^y. A sedition at Liege, where the people had expelled his brother-in-law, who pretended to be their bishop without being a priest, induced the duke of Burgundy to march with all his forces to his assistance. On his retiring from Paris, the queen and the princes of the blood returned with what forces they could raise, and sent for the duchess-dowager of Orleans, who entered with a great train all in deep mourning. A week after came the young duke, who had espoused the queen dowager in England, with the same marks of distress; the process against the duke of Burgundy was formed in the accustomed manner, his pardon declared null and void, and himself a public ene-

^w Recueil de Pieces, Gaguini Hist. P. Æmil. ^x Annales de France. Du Tillet. ^y Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

my^z. As this change was very sudden and surprizing, so it lasted not long; for the duke of Burgundy having defeated the people in Liege with great slaughter, and left his brother-in-law, who styled himself bishop, to murder some thousands more, for having dared to dispute his claim to that title, returned once more into France, with a numerous army^a. At first the queen and the princes of the blood thought of fortifying Paris, of raising an army and meeting him in the field; but finding the citizens were most of them in his interest, and that it would be difficult to raise the supplies necessary for carrying on a war, they judged it more prudent to retire, with what forces they had, to Tours, which retreat they executed with great prudence, and carried the king with them. The duke of Burgundy sent the count of Hainault to treat with the queen and dauphin, to whom the king had committed the management of public affairs^b. He was well received, and sent back with the lord Montague, who had the direction of the finances, and who offered to him, as the final resolution of the court, two propositions; first, that he should make a clear and satisfactory submission to the king in public; and next, that he should abstain from coming into his presence for some years; which offer he rejected with contempt, and so terrified Montague, that, to make his peace, he promised to render him all the service that was in his power^c. The duke proceeding to Paris, entered it with his forces; and having remained there for some time, received, by the indefatigable endeavours of Montague, such terms as he thought fit to accept, and such as perhaps would not have been obtained, if the duchess dowager of Orleans had not died of grief^d. But, notwithstanding he gave law in this manner to the king and the princes of his family, he lost that credit which hitherto he had maintained through the greatest part of his kingdom, by the licentious behaviour of his troops, and by the miseries which this civil war occasioned, which was now imputed to his ambition^e.

A.D. 1408.

A submission in general words to the king, and a desire of being reconciled to the duke of Orleans and his brothers, expressed in the same manner, was all that could be exacted from the duke of Burgundy: but in hopes of rendering real a reconciliation, supported by solemn oaths

Dismal fate of the sieur Montague, after being many years at the head of the finances.

^a Gaguini Hist. des Ursins. de France. P. Æmil.

^a P. Æmil. P. Henault.

^c P. Daniel.

^d Gaguini Hist.

^b Juvenal

^e Annales

and promises, not only of the parties, but of the princes and great lords on both sides, the duke of Burgundy gave his daughter to the duke of Vertus, brother to the duke of Orleans, with an annuity of four thousand livres, and a portion of a hundred and fifty thousand crowns in ready money^f. The whole court returned to Paris, where the duke of Burgundy finding it extremely difficult to maintain himself by mere dint of superior force, began to practise on the princes, and by a great shew of respect drew over the duke of Berry, as, by fair promises of doing him justice, he also did Charles the Noble, king of Navarre, who had been neglected and hardly treated. The queen, seeing the duke's authority so well supported, practised in her turn on the mind of the dauphin, and engaged him to retire with her to Melun^g. The duke took the occasion of her absence, and a relapse of the king, to seize the lord of Montague, master of the king's household, who had the supreme direction of the finances. This man was immensely rich, excessively vain, and universally hated; his process was made, the rack forced him to become an evidence against himself, and, being thus convicted, he was publicly beheaded. At the time of his death he declared his confession to be false, and extorted by pain; vindicated the memory of the duke of Orleans, and shewed more firmness than could have been expected from his former course of life^h. He had two brothers, the one archbishop of Sens, and chancellor of France, the other bishop of Paris; and his daughters were married into great families, but were unable to save him: however, the sentence was afterwards reversed, and his memory vindicated by a judicial process, at the expence of a convent which he had founded; who sold their plate to defray the expences of the suit; a circumstance that deserved perpetual memoryⁱ. When the king recovered, he was amazed at the fate of his minister; but, being told that he suffered by due course of law, he was, or at least seemed to be satisfied. The queen also, which is still more extraordinary, having a part of his forfeiture, and her brother Lewis duke of Bavaria another part, was reconciled to the duke of Burgundy, though Montague's greatest crime was his attachment to her service. The privileges of the city of Paris were entirely restored, and particularly the power of the militia; but the inhabitants

A D. 1409.

^f Mezeray, P. Henault.
lons. L'Abbé de Choisy.

^g Boulanvil.
ⁱ Annales de France.

^h Cha-
were

were become so very wise, that they thanked the king for his favour; and declined accepting it: abundance of unnecessary pensions were suppressed, and several extravagant grants were resumed: the truce with England was on neither side observed, and yet no war declared. The city of Genoa revolted, and the French lost their influence in Italy^k; which had been principally useful in their commerce.

A great council of the princes and peers being summoned in the king's presence, it was decided therein, that, for the future, when the king was indisposed, all acts of government should run in the name of the dauphin. This measure made it not only proper but necessary that he should be taken out of the hands of the women, and consequently it grew to be a point of the highest importance who should be intrusted with the care of this young prince, because it was, in effect, to trust them with the government^l. In point of decency, the king demanded first the advice of his uncle the duke of Berry, who, with much warmth, and without the least hesitation, recommended the duke of Burgundy, to whose daughter the young prince was contracted; but when, in consequence of his nomination, he saw this office on the point of being conferred upon him by common consent, he grew uneasy, and would have substituted himself; but it was too late, the duke of Burgundy was appointed; and the duke of Berry, unable to shew his resentment any other way, retired from Paris^m. The duke of Orleans, who had lately lost his consort, the queen-dowager of England, quickly repaired to the duke of Berry, and declared his resolution to revenge his father's death. The duke of Bourbon joined him also, with several other persons of the highest quality; but, while they meditated the means of restoring the government, the duke of Bourbon died. He maintained to the last that excellent character he acquired in his youthⁿ. The duke of Berry, finding his own strength, published a manifesto, and marched towards Paris: the duke of Burgundy also assembled an army, and had the king on his side; but when things were on the point of coming to extremities, it was proposed, as the only certain and effectual method of preserving peace, that all the princes should quit the court,

The duke of Burgundy assumes, as governor of the dauphin, the direction of the kingdom.

A.D. 1410.

^k Monstrelet, P. Æmil. Du Tillet.

de France.

ⁿ P. Æmil.

^l Ancien. Chronique

^m Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. Gaguini Hist.

and that the king should appoint new ministers of his own choice. The duke of Burgundy executed this treaty fairly; and, after taking leave of the king, with great testimonies of duty and respect, withdrew into his own dominions; but the duke of Orleans, though often summoned, would never dismiss his troops, but, on the contrary, secretly omitted nothing that could be done to extend his party; and to augment his forces^o.

*Repentment
between
the two
factions
runs high-
er, and is
productive
of greater
mischiefs
than ever.*

At Paris the king and his people were in great hopes they should, at length, enjoy some degree of quiet; the new ministry were frugal and circumspect; they were sensible, that not only their authority but their safety depended on their behaving honourably; and, from this principle, they were very attentive to their duty. But, while they were thus employed, the court was alarmed by letters from the duke of Burgundy, assuring them that the princes were about to raise new troubles, in order to make themselves masters of the persons of the king and dauphin, and of the government; for which reason he advised the king to make a new governor of Paris, and to provide for his own security^p. The inhabitants of Paris opposed this measure, because the duke of Berry was still their governor. The king laboured to compose these troubles; the queen undertook to mediate; and the duke of Orleans seemed to acquiesce, as the duke of Burgundy really did. But the former, when he found himself strong enough, challenged the latter; and, throwing off the mask, declared war^q. The queen also espoused the cause of the duke of Orleans; a circumstance which so enraged the Parisians, that they now desired the duke of Berry might be removed, and the count de St. Pol appointed in his stead^r. They had their desire, and had very soon after reason to repent it. The first act of the count's government was raising a kind of guard, consisting of five hundred butchers, who, having once arms put into their hands, made the whole city tremble. All France was now divided into two parties; such as favoured the duke of Orleans, who, from his father-in-law (for he was again married) were styled Armagnacs, and those who adhered to the duke of Burgundy, who, from one Caboché, were styled Cabochines; the former, by way of distinction, wore a white scarf, with what we call a St. George's cross, the latter a red one, with the cross of St. An-

A. D. 1412.

^o Gaguini Hist. P. Daniel.

^p Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

^q Ancien. Chronique de France.

^r Mezeray, P. Daniel.

drew^o. The dauphin, on the march of the duke of Orleans and his forces towards Paris, wrote to the duke of Burgundy to come to the assistance of himself and his father, and was quickly obeyed. The duke of Orleans advanced towards him with a numerous army; but, when they were on the point of engaging, the duke of Burgundy decamped; for many of his Flemish lords, having served their time, began to retire: the duke of Orleans, laying hold of this opportunity, caused his forces to block up Paris, which he must have reduced, if, when it was least expected, the duke of Burgundy had not suddenly entered it with a small body of choice troops. This succour soon changed the face of affairs; the people of Paris recovered their spirits, and, having joined the duke of Burgundy, recovered several places, and at length constrained the duke of Orleans to decamp and retire^t.

The king, who had been out of his senses the best part of the time his capital was blocked up, shewed very strong resentment when he recovered, and declared his resolution to punish his uncle and his nephew to the utmost. He was so hurried by his passion, that he took no kind of offence at the duke of Burgundy's having demanded succours from England, though that step had alarmed the people of Paris prodigiously; more especially when they saw, that the best part of the succour he brought consisted in these troops; but they behaved so well in the field, and observed such an exact discipline in the place, that they were quickly reconciled to them^u. The king, to shew how much he was in earnest, removed the constable Albret, and bestowed the sword upon the count de St. Pol. He made some other changes of the same nature; and, as soon as an army could be assembled, marched directly into the duchy of Berry, with an intent to besiege Bourges. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, who were there in person, with a good garrison, sent to make their compliments to the king; but, nevertheless, defended the place with great vigour. They had some persons near the king, who promised, upon a sally made into his quarter, to seize and put him into their hands; but this scheme miscarried, and their confederates, being discovered, were publicly executed^w. The siege still went on; the duke of Orleans had an army in the field, yet the duke of Berry

Charles puts himself at the head of an army against his uncle and his nephew.

^o Gaguini Hist. P. Henault.
^u Juvenal des Ursins, Gaguini Hist.
 P. Emil,

^t J. de Serres, Du Tillet.
^w Annales de France.

never stooped to propose any terms of accommodation. The mystery was soon revealed, by the landing of the duke of Clarence in Normandy, with a complete army from England. The princes, who, while they blocked up Paris, accused the duke of Burgundy of treason, for having accepted a body of six thousand English auxiliaries, commanded by the earl of Arundel, had notwithstanding concluded a treaty with king Henry in the month of May, by which they promised to obtain the restitution of all the places he claimed in France, provided he sent an army to their assistance; and upon this relief, which was now come, they depended ^x. In the situation things now stood in, both parties were inclined to peace, but neither would propose it. The count of Savoy, who was nearly related to the duke of Berry, and who had espoused the duke of Burgundy's daughter, drew them out of this difficulty; and, the terms being previously settled, the dauphin had the honour of dictating a peace. The old treaties were renewed, and sworn to afresh; the duke of Berry gave up the place, and had it restored to him again; the princes renounced their treaty with England, and their league against the duke of Burgundy: and, on the other hand, the king reinstated those whom he had removed. It was also agreed, that all names of reproach should be abolished, and great rejoicings were made for this new reconciliation; which was sealed with fresh oaths and protestations on both sides ^y. There still remained one great difficulty: this was, how to dispose of the English army, which had committed great devastation, and was now advancing in full march towards Bourges. The duke of Orleans had sent for them, and he was to pay them; but he had no money; he was constrained to give his brother the count of Angoulesme, and other nobles as hostages, till he could raise it; and the duke of Clarence having accepted these, directed his march to Guienne. By this time, or at least soon after, Henry the Fourth had breathed his last, and his son Henry the Fifth was seated on the throne ^z.

A.D. 1412.

The Burgundians become obnoxious to the dauphin Lewis duke of Guienne.

However short the struggle may be, the miseries of a civil war are long felt; the dukes of Berry and Burgundy returned with the king to Paris, and seeing clearly, that a war with England was likely to ensue, for which they were totally unprovided in all respects, they called, or ad-

^x Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. Mezeray.
Chronique de France.

^z P. Æmil. Chalons.

^y Ancien.

vised the king to call an assembly of the states; which step had no other effect than to learn from them the disagreeable news, that the whole nation was so totally exhausted, and at the same time so generally dissatisfied, that in this way they had nothing to expect^a. The assembly being dismissed, Lewis dauphin of France, a very high-spirited young prince, resolved to take the actual as well as nominal direction of affairs upon himself. Having some persons about him of good sense, he began to make various regulations, which had an air of public spirit. This, like all the attempts of reformation during the present reign, commenced with the persecution of those who had been employed in the finances, and of whom the states had loudly complained^b. At the head of these was Pierre, or Peter des Essards, the creature of the duke of Burgundy, who had been raised to the supreme direction of the finances by the destruction and death of Montague. Essards, finding himself pressed for two millions of crowns, produced to the dauphin the duke of Burgundy's receipts, and at the same time acquainted him, that the duke had formed a design of assassinating all the princes of the house of Orleans, or, as others report, the three dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon^c. This discovery restored him to the dauphin's good graces, who thereupon made use of him to secure the city of Paris, which he was to do by taking possession of the Bastile with a body of men that might be depended upon. Essards was so cautious, that he would take no step without the order of the duke of Burgundy as well as of the dauphin; and the latter applying to the former for such an order, he presently divined the truth, but signed it at the same time as if he had not had the least suspicion^d.

The affair being conducted with great silence and secrecy, Essards became master of the fortrefs without the least disturbance; but he was scarce master of it before he found it invested by an infinite croud of people, with the band of butchers at their head, under the command of Simon de Caboche, and John de Troye a surgeon. These were quickly after joined by two knights, who were declared partizans of the duke of Burgundy; a circumstance which made it evident enough from whence the storm came. The dauphin, therefore, was forced to have re-

The dauphin brings back the duke of Orleans and his friends.

^a Juvenal des Ursins, Duplex, Du Tillot.

^b Daniel. ^c Hist, Anonym. de Charles VI.

^d Mezeray,

^e Duplex,

course to that prince to allay it; and he, pretending to use his influence on the people on his behalf, persuaded Pierre de Effards to surrender; to whom he gave assurances of friendship and protection till he came to the scaffold, where, notwithstanding this usage, he behaved with great decency and dignity, without uttering any complaints but of himself, for having, through a principle of ambition, been instrumental in Montague's death^e. The same ruffians surrounded and attacked the palace, in which the dauphin resided, forced several of his friends and servants from his presence, amongst whom was his uncle Lewis of Bavaria, and put James de la Riviere, his chamberlain, to death. The same insolent rabble constrained the king, who was now in his senses, with the dauphin, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, to go to the parliament, and register edicts of their framing; and so low were they fallen, that, either to make their court to, or for fear of the populace, they wore white hoods^f. On this occasion Arnold de Corbie, chancellor of France, was deposed, and several other persons of rank, were replaced as these reformers thought fit. Helion de Jaqueville, whom they had made captain of Paris, hearing fiddles one evening in the dauphin's apartment, broke in, with a croud of his attendants, and, though the duke of Burgundy was present, treated him, and those who were about him, with the utmost indignity, and even put them in danger of their lives, though the duke pretended all the time to pacify them, and often whispered the dauphin, that he should not let the people see he was afraid^g. It is no wonder that prince should think a life like this insupportable, or endeavour at all events to free himself. The method he took was to write in his father's name, and with his consent, to the duke of Orleans; who, communicating his letter to the rest of the princes, they speedily assembled a sufficient force, and advanced towards Paris. The king declared his inclination to peace; conferences were for this purpose set on foot, and John Juvenal des Ursins, advocate-general, having disposed the better sort of people in Paris to exert themselves, the citizens declared for peace. The Cabochins endeavoured to revive the old spirit; but it was too late, and some of them being slain, the rest quitted the city, and withdrew into Flan-

^e Annales de France, Monstrelet.
Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
Henault.

^f Juvenal des Ursins,
^g Gaguini Hist. Mezeray, P

ders, whither they were quickly followed by the duke of Burgundy, who, having failed in an attempt he made to seize the king while he was hunting, and the dauphin having alarmed him in his turn, thought it most convenient for him to retire ^h.

Upon this revolution the dukes of Bavaria and Bar, who were both prisoners, recovered their liberty; the former was made governor of the Bastile, and the latter of the tower of the Louvre. The rest of the princes repaired speedily to Paris, where they were well received, and the duke of Burgundy as universally condemned as he had been lately admired. This odium the duke of Anjou, called by courtesy the king of the Sicilies, carried so far, as to send him back his daughter, whom he had contracted to the prince his son; which affront created an irreconcilable hatred between the two families ^l. In the mean time a treaty of marriage was set on foot between Henry the Fifth of England, and the king's daughter the princess Catherine, which was managed on one side by the duke of York, and, on the other, by the princes lately returned to court; but, for the present, this produced nothing more than a truce. Before the close of the year came ambassadors from the duke of Burgundy, to make his excuses to the king for quitting Paris in so abrupt a manner, and to assure him of his duty and submission ^k. The true design of the embassy, however, was to know the disposition of the courtiers and citizens, and to encourage and keep up the spirit of his friends. He assured them, not only there but in several other great towns, that he was raising forces secretly, in order to come to the deliverance of the king and dauphin; the latter having written to him, as he affirmed, letters in very strong terms, representing the confinement and distress in which they were, and importuning him without delay, and without paying any respect to letters of another tenor that he might receive from them, to assemble an army and come to their assistance ^l. His friends believed all that he said, while those of the duke of Orleans and the princes, and even the princes themselves, knew not well what to think with respect to his assertions, or what measures to take to prevent his bringing about another change, as sudden as that which themselves had effected ^m.

The duke of Burgundy sets on foot fresh intrigues.

A.D. 1413.

^h Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

^l Annales de France.

^k Ancien. Chron. de France.

^l Annales de France, Du Tillet.

^m Juvenal des Ursins, Gaguini Hist.

*Charles
marches
against the
duke of
Burgundy.*

As the king was at this time indisposed, the queen called a great council, in which the dauphin, the princes of the blood, the great lords, and particularly the count de Armagnac, the chancellor of France, the heads of the university, which in those days had great weight, and some of the principal citizens of Paris were present. The first step that was taken was to impose an oath of secrecy; then the chancellor, in a long speech, laid open the misfortunes of the state; insisted on the dauphin's youth, the vivacity of his spirit, his proneness to pleasure, his neglect of business, and the facility with which he was misled by some idle young men who were about him. The dauphin was surprised, and on the point of shewing his anger, when the princes and great lords, in their turns, spoke to the same purpose, and declared, that the safety of the state depended upon some speedy and effectual remedy. This was presently applied, by removing those from about him who were suspected, and especially one who was believed to have prevailed on him to write to the duke of Burgundyⁿ. The dauphin was forced to acquiesce, to write letters, requiring the duke to lay down his arms, and others to the principal towns in the kingdom, denying and disavowing the facts contained in the duke of Burgundy's manifesto. The king, recovering, acted with still greater warmth; the university condemned the apology of Dr. John Petit for the murder of the duke of Orleans, as full of heretical and detestable doctrine. The duke of Berry, as governor of Paris, disposed every thing in a proper manner for its defence, by the advice of the count de Armagnac, father-in-law to the duke of Orleans. It was by his persuasion that the better sort of people took arms and did duty, and by his persuasion the princes of the blood, in their turns, went their rounds every night. The dauphin, to clear himself from all suspicion, was remarkably active and steady^o. The duke of Burgundy advanced with a great army; made himself master of Compeigne and Soissons; had St. Denis betrayed to him, and brought his army within sight of Paris. He next sent a herald to acquaint the citizens, that, at the express desire of the king and dauphin, he was come to deliver them out of a shameful confinement, and therefore demanded admittance. The count de Armagnac received the message with contempt, and sent the herald back without answer. The duke approached the gates with his army in order of

ⁿ J. de Serres, Le Gendre.

^o Gaguini Hist. Dupleix.

battle; but finding every thing in perfect order, and not the least tumult or confusion, though he continued there some hours, withdrew, and soon after retired into his own territories ^p. The king then published a manifesto; in which, beginning with the murder of his brother, he represented the duke as the great author of the calamities of France; declared him a public enemy, and exhorted all his good subjects to treat him in that light. A potent army being quickly formed, the king, accompanied by the dauphin, put himself at the head of it, reduced Compeigne by capitulation, and having taken Soissons by assault, caused two persons of distinction, who defended it, to be beheaded. He proceeded from thence into Artois, where he was met by the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainault, brother and sister to the duke of Burgundy; who interceded for him, and assured the king, that he desired nothing more than to come and justify himself to his majesty. The king answered with great firmness, "If that be all, let him come with a proper train: if he has any thing to demand we are ready to do him justice; if he will confess his errors and demand pardon, he shall have it." The king then wrote to the states of Flanders, to know whether they meant to make the quarrel of their count their own, upon which they sent deputies, who declared roundly, that, whatever conduct the duke of Burgundy, their count, thought fit to pursue, they would behave themselves as his majesty's good subjects. The duke of Burgundy, upon this declaration, sent the duke of Brabant and the countess of Hainault, with full powers to make peace, which was signed on the 16th of October, upon the king's terms. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with the archbishop of Sens, refused to subscribe; alleging they had never broke the former peace, which was the basis of this; but the dauphin, sensible of his power, said, "My lords, if you mean to keep the peace, you must subscribe;" and they complied, though with a bad grace. The king returned in triumph to Paris, and his subjects once more entertained hopes of seeing the public tranquility settled on a solid basis.

A.D. 1414.

There had been, ever since the accession of Henry the Fifth to the throne of England, a kind of negotiation between the two crowns for a general peace; in which, without doubt, the French were in earnest. Henry's am-

Henry V. negotiates with Charles in order to discover the state of France.

^p Monstrelet. Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. France, Juvenal des Ursins.

^q Annales de Ancien Chron. de France.

bassadors,

bassadors, who were persons of the first quality in the kingdom, expressed the like disposition in very strong terms; but, from the propositions they made, one might be led to suspect their sincerity; for, having first demanded the crown of France, and afterwards many vast concessions, they at length stuck to three points^s. The first was the entire restitution of all that was stipulated by the treaty of Bretigny, which, through this whole negotiation, was stiled the great treaty; next a moiety of the county of Provence; and, lastly, what was still remaining of king John's ransom; which points being once adjusted, the king would treat of a marriage with the princess Catherine, then about fourteen, provided he might be assured of having with her a round million. The French court was exceedingly embarrassed, as perceiving plainly that the English were well apprised of the distracted state of their affairs; and therefore they offered great cessions, together with the princess Catherine, and a fortune of six hundred thousand crowns^t. The English ministers acknowledged they had no power to conclude the marriage, and returned home by the way of Honfleur. They were presently followed by a splendid embassy from France, at the head of which was the archbishop of Bourges, who gradually advanced the fortune to within fifty thousand crowns of what had been demanded; but, perceiving that the English ministers only amused him, as their ambassador had been amused at Paris, and that they were on the point of invading France, he demanded an audience of leave, and returned with his colleagues^u. This prelate acquainted the king, that the parliament, influenced by the clergy, had embarked the English monarch in a war to preserve their own power and possessions; that there was no doubt to be made of his reviving his claim to the kingdom, and very great reason to believe, that the duke of Burgundy still held a correspondence in England. Before any great use could be made of this intelligence, Henry, embarking with a potent army at Southampton, landed in Normandy, after defeating a French squadron, and invested Harfleur, at the mouth of the river Seine^v. It is highly probable the French ministers had depended upon a party they had in England, at the head of which was Richard earl of Cambridge, the lord treasurer Scroop, and Sir Thomas

^s Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.
 de Elmham, T. Walsingham.
 guini Hist. Boulanvil.

^t Juvenal des Ursins, T.
^u Annales de France.

Grey: most of our historians say, that their design was to kill the king, but it is more probable, that they meant to carry off a part of the army, and to proclaim the right heir of Richard the Second; for the support of which project they had stipulated with the court of France an advance of a million of livres; but, the whole business being discovered, the French saved their money, and the persons engaged in this plot lost their heads^x.

The constable d'Albret, who commanded in Normandy, had a considerable army under his command, in the neighbourhood of Rouen, with which he did nothing considerable; yet the garrison of Harfleur defended themselves with great courage and spirit, but were at length compelled to capitulate, and to agree, that in case they were not relieved, they would render the place on the 18th of September; but, when the day came, they very imprudently endeavoured to elude the promise they had made; a want of good faith which so provoked Henry, that he caused a general attack to be made, carried the place sword in hand, reserved a few persons of distinction prisoners, put the rest to the sword, and gave the town to be pillaged by his army^y. His satisfaction at this success was very much qualified by the miserable condition in which he found his army, harrassed and diminished in a moist climate and marshy soil, the flux prevailing amongst them, the season advanced, and the weather so bad, that the best part of his fleet was retired into Calais road. In these circumstances he took a resolution of marching thither by land; the little opposition he had hitherto received persuading him that he should meet with nothing to impede him^z. He quickly discovered his mistake; for the king, the dauphin, and the rest of the princes of the blood, having taken the field, he saw his forces in a manner surrounded. He passed, however, the river Somme, where he found it fordable; but when he was on the other side, he discovered the French army in the plain near the little village of Agincourt^a. The king being ill, the dauphin and the duke of Berry were forced to remain with him; so that the command devolved upon the constable, who made but an indifferent choice of the field of battle, which was, in truth, little better than a quagmire; but he took his measures to hin-

He makes a descent in Normandy, takes Harfleur, and marches towards Calais.

^x T. de Elmham Aët. Pub. tom. viii.
de France.

^y Ancien. Chron.
^z Montfretet, Juvenal des Urins.

^a Annales de France, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI.

der the enemy's march so effectually, and king Henry found the dispute so very unequal, that he had recourse to a negotiation, in which he offered to restore Harfleur, and to pay the expences of the war, provided he was allowed a free passage to Calais. The constable, the marshal de Boucicaut, and most of the old officers, were for accepting this offer, which, they said, was gaining a victory without blood; but the young nobility, particularly the duke of Bourbon and Alençon, were of another opinion, and the herald was sent back without answer ^b.

Henry, forced by the French to fight, gains a complete victory at Agincourt.

The constable, however, would not fight till he had the king's express orders, who was by this time recovered. His army consisted of about sixty thousand men, though some writers make them double that number. The English were about twenty-two thousand, of whom near one half had the flux. On the 25th of October, about nine in the morning, the armies were in sight; the English had their archers in the center, the gens d'arms on their right, and the infantry on their left, all perfectly well posted, and twelve hundred choice archers in different ambuscades. The army of France had so many dukes, counts, and great lords, who were above being commanded, that all was in confusion from the very beginning. To shew that their courage was equal to their rank, they were all in the first line; so that the bulk of the army was without any officers of distinction. They marched precipitately as to an assured victory; whereas the English advanced very slowly, and discharged such flights of arrows as did great execution. When they drew near, the archers, perceiving they were out of breath, charged them with great vigour, broke them in less than half an hour, and then fell upon the main body, which made very little resistance, as having no officer of consequence to command them. Henry, with his gens d'arms, put an end to the dispute, bearing down such separate corps as here and there endeavoured to remain firm ^c. On the part of the English fell the duke of York, uncle to the king, very few persons of distinction besides, and about seventeen hundred private men. The French lost the constable, the admiral, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Brabant, the count of Nevers, both brothers to the duke of Burgundy, three princes of the house of Bar, the count de Vaudemont, brother to the duke of Lorraine, the archbishop of Sens, one hundred and twenty lords carrying banners,

^b T. de Elmham, Le Gend.

^c Monstrelet.

eight thousand gentlemen of family, and about two thousand private men^d. There were likewise fourteen thousand prisoners, and amongst these the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendosme, and Richmond, the marshal de Boucicaut, and about two thousand knights. The news of this defeat being carried to Rouen, amazed the king and those who were about him. The surprize was still greater at Paris, from an apprehension that the duke of Burgundy would return into France with an army. The duke de Bretagne, with a great body of troops, joined the poor remains of the French army within fifteen miles of the field of battle; and if, without loss of time, they had attacked Henry again, they might very probably have repaired the mischief; but no attempt of this sort being made, he arrived safely at Calais, where he began instantly to take measures for the next campaign.

In the mean time the duke of Burgundy acted a double, or at least a perplexed part; he sent Henry a defiance for the death of his brother the duke of Brabant, at the same time he marched, with a great body of cavalry, towards Paris; a motion which augmented the public confusion. He sent deputies to desire an audience of the king, who were to see in what situation the court stood, which was now returned to Paris; they were haughtily treated by the dauphin, who charged them to command their master, in his name, to disband; but, before their departure, the dauphin was seized with a dysentery, of which he died in a few days, not without suspicion^e. He was about nineteen, tall, robust, and active in his person; eager and desirous of having a great measure of power, though at the same time he hated business: much given to wine and women, and if not really poisoned by his father-in-law, he fell a victim to his own vices. The queen to support herself, and to secure the public tranquillity, sent for the count of Armagnac, to whom, on his arrival at Paris, the king gave the sword and the envied title of constable of France, and never was it bestowed on one more able to discharge it.

The count de Armagnac had so deep a judgment, so quick a penetration, and was withal so active and so vigilant, that, as it were in an instant, he brought order out of confusion, obliged the duke of Burgundy to retire

The duke of Burgundy labours to turn the public misfortune to his own advantage.

A.D. 1415.

^d Annales de France, T. de Elmham.
de Charles VI.

^e Hist. Anonym.

The count de Armagnac ruins the faction of Burgundy, and restores the king's affairs surprisngly.

into his own territories, and so harrassed his army in his retreat, as to render him contemptible even in the sight of the people of Paris^f. In the king's lucid intervals, the constable gave him so true an insight into his affairs, made him comprehend so clearly how they might be restored, and so fully convinced him of his own fidelity, that he made him superintendant of the finances; so that, in effect, the whole power civil and military was lodged in his hands^g. He acted so resolutely, that he broke intirely the faction of Burgundy in Paris, executed several of the duke's emissaries, purged the university, and dissolved such of the corporations as were devoted to his interest^h. He also made a tour into Normandy, where he gained some advantages over the earl of Dorset, caused Harfleur to be blocked up by sea; but the Genoese vessels, being but half-manned, were defeated by the English, and the place relieved. The emperor Sigismund made a tour to Paris, in order to engage the king to concur in the measures taken in the council of Constance to put an end to the schism, by deposing all the three popes, Gregory the Seventh, Benedict the Thirteenth, and John the Twenty-third: he was received with all possible marks of respect, and treated, during his stay, with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem, in hopes that, by his influence, a peace might be concluded with England; but, taking offence because he was not allowed to act as a soveraign while in the French dominions, he made a short turn, and, instead of remaining a mediator, became the ally of Henry the Fifth, and sent his old friend Charles a letter of defianceⁱ. But what embarrassed the court most was the behaviour of John duke of Touraine, who, by the death of his brother, was become dauphin. He was at this time in Hainault, where he married Jaqueline the daughter and heirefs of the count, who afterwards espoused the duke of Bedford^k. He was about eighteen, and, being either persuaded or awed by the count of Hainault, entered into the interests of the duke of Burgundy, and came with his father in-law, escorted by a body of troops; but refused to go to Paris, to pay his duty to his father, unless the duke of Burgundy was recalled; or rather the count of Hainault made this declaration, in his name, to the queen^l.

A.D. 1416.

^f Annales de France.
^g Juvenal des Ursins.
^h Ancien. Chronique de France.
ⁱ P. Æmil. Le Gendre.

^g Juvenal des Ursins.
ⁱ Monstrelet.

^h An.
^k Mezeray.

At his return from Paris, where he was very near being arrested, to Compiègne, the count of Hainault found the dauphin dying. This young prince had an imposthume in his ear, which, breaking inwardly, had choaked him. The faction of Burgundy being able to make no more use of him living, charged his death upon the constable de Armagnac, without either proof or probability. The constable, to pay them in their own coin, asserted, that the emissaries of the duke of Burgundy had poisoned the dauphin Lewis^m. But the duke, seeing that stories of this kind made no lasting impression, digested all the grievances of the nation into a kind of manifesto. This he sent to most of the great towns in the kingdom, inviting them to join with him in a league for the public good; which had the greater effect, as the dukes of Berry and Anjou were lately dead, and the rest of the princes of the blood prisoners in Englandⁿ; but, after all, perhaps his schemes had failed, if, in the midst of these miseries and misfortunes, there had not happened a new division at court^o. The dauphin, entirely governed by the constable, consented to seize great quantities of plate and jewels, which the queen his mother had deposited in various convents and churches, and applied it for the public service. The queen, in high discontent, retired to Vincennes; where she kept a very splendid court, the expense of which little suited the state of the kingdom, or the diversions which were such as could not be reconciled either to the dignity of her rank or the modesty of her sex^p. The constable, an austere man, could not see his master thus dishonoured in silence; he mentioned it to him therefore, and the king, making a tour to Vincennes, received such satisfaction from his enquiries, that he caused one of her gallants to be put to death, and banished her and her daughter Catherine to Tours. Henry the Fifth, landing with a new army in Normandy, conquered a great part of that province, the constable having been obliged to recall the greatest part of the troops from thence, in order to oppose them to the duke of Burgundy; whom he baffled in various attempts, and might probably have obliged to retire once more into his own dominions, if the queen had not, forgetting her rank, her duty, and her character, to gratify her revenge, written to him, and demanded his protection^q. In this expedi-

By his means the queen is banished, who demands thereupon the protection of the duke of Burgundy.

^m Gaguini Hist. J. de Serres.

^o Du Tillet.

^p Duplex.

ⁿ Annales de France.

^q J. de Serres, Duplex.

A.D 1417. tion he was fortunate; he delivered her from her captivity, and, in return, she co-operated with him for the destruction of the king and kingdom. She republished an old edict, by which, in the minority of her eldest son, the king had declared her regent; of which she now resumed the title and authority. She fixed the seat of her government at Troye, where she created a new chancellor, a new parliament, and formed a new great seal. She gave the title of constable of France to the duke of Lorraine, declaring the count de Armagnac unworthy of that dignity; but, though she was bountiful in bestowing titles, yet all the power was reserved to the duke of Burgundy, who made a very bold attempt to surprize Paris; which, though very well concerted, did not succeed^r.

A general spirit of falsehood and deceit prevails through all courts at this period, and destroys all credit.

It would require a volume of no inconsiderable size to explain all the dark and insidious practices that were at this time carried on, and which plainly demonstrate, that the extreme misery brought on the French nation was owing to nothing but the corruption of their manners; which having, on the one hand, introduced a luxury unknown to former times, excited, on the other, a passion for wealth and power, which quickly stifled all principle^s. Hence the very end of negociating was lost; for instead of seeking to put a stop to prevent disputes, by an amicable and equitable decision, the parties aimed only at deceiving each other, and kept faith no longer than they thought it their interest to keep it. The duke of Burgundy had, by letters patent under his hand and seal, acknowledged Henry the Fifth for the lawful owner of the French crown, though certainly he never intended to set it on his head^t. The French princes were so uneasy at their imprisonment, and saw so little hopes of being delivered, that they likewise entered into a negociation with Henry, the basis of which was their beginning to have a good opinion of his title, and the object of it the procuring leave for the duke of Bourbon to go to France, there to negotiate a peace upon the king's terms; and, if that could not be brought about, then to acknowledge his title, and do homage to him as their lawful prince^u. The duke went, and failed; but, at his return, himself and the rest of the princes refused to perform their engagements, for which they were all closely imprisoned, and Henry, against his

^r P. Æmil. Mezeray.

^s Ancien. Chronique de France.

^t T. de Elham.

^u Du Tillet.

will, was forced to depend upon his sword. This reluctance of his did not at all proceed from his diffidence of defeating the French army, of which, in the present state of things, he was in a manner sure; but conquest was not to be obtained but by a numerous army, and he was already so effectually undone by the expence, that he had been forced to pawn his crown and all his jewels to furnish the necessary supplies for the next campaign; and this, notwithstanding he had received from his subjects all that it was in their power to give^u. In the mean time a negotiation had been set on foot for reconciling the queen and the dauphin's party in France; in which such difficulties occurred, that the ministers employed on both sides agreed to leave the terms to be prescribed by the legates of pope Martin the Fifth. Their decree was, that the king should devolve his authority on the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy jointly, to which both parties willingly agreed; yet this did not produce a peace; for the constable de Armagnac, though he could not open the eyes of the dauphin, prevailed upon the chancellor to declare that he would not put the seal to such a treaty^w. For this he is highly blamed by most of the French historians, as if he had manifestly sacrificed the public to his private interest; but sure, if they had attended to his reason, they could scarce have done him this injustice; for he alleged, that he could not think of delivering the royal person and power into the hands of one who had made a treaty against both; which, being denied by the duke of Burgundy, was the cause that the writers of those times censured the constable, as supposing that he invented this as a pretence; but, since we are now sure of the matter of fact, we are certainly better judges of that point than they, and it is but just, that we should speak of things as the light of history directs us^x.

The constable, perceiving that not only the dauphin but the people were displeas'd, judg'd it necessary, towards keeping up their spirits, to send out a part of his forces to recover Montlheri and Marcouffi, a service which they performed; but nevertheless this success proved his destruction. There was one Perrinet le Clerc, the son of an ironmonger, who had been ill-treated by the domestics of one of the king's counsellors, of which he had complained, without being able to obtain redress: his fa-

*Paris surpris
by the duke of
Burgundy's
troops,
and the
constable
murdered
by the po-
pulace.*

^u P. Æmil. Le Gendre.

^x Juvenal des Ursins.

^w Ancien. Chronique de France.

ther, in right of his post in the militia, had the keys of the gate of St. Germain, which, to gratify his revenge, the young man stole from under his head when asleep, opened that gate, and admitted eight hundred of the Burgundians, under the command of the lord Lisle Adam, on Saturday the 28th of May; the very day after the populace, in spite of the constable and the chancellor, had proclaimed peace^y. The Burgundians were quickly joined by several thousands of low people, who surprised the chancellor, several prelates, and at length the constable, who was discovered by a mason, to whose house he fled for shelter; and these, together with two archbishops, they conducted to prison. But a few days after, that they might have an opportunity to plunder, they took arms again, forced the prison-doors, and murdered the greatest part of them, by throwing them from the top of the edifice, upon their companions pikes, and afterwards dragged the bodies of the constable and the chancellor de Marie about the streets^z. The duke of Burgundy returned soon after with the queen, and the king, either through weakness or fear, received them very kindly. It was not long before the duke found himself under great difficulties from the very spirit which, in so unlooked-for a manner, put him in possession of the capital, the people assuming a liberty of doing what they pleased, which at first he durst not oppose. This was carried to so great a height, that the common hangman walked about the city in his robes; and, when they had a mind to plunder any rich family, those about him cried they were Armagnacs; upon which he dispatched the master of the house, and perhaps his sons, and the people took all they had. This executioner had the folly to go to the duke of Burgundy's palace, and the impudence to shake him by the hand; but the duke, sending the best part of the city troops to recover the towns the constable had taken, laid hold of this opportunity to hang the hangman; and, by bringing in a body of his own troops, kept the people in better order^a. He would have treated with the dauphin, whom his mother earnestly invited back to Paris; but that prince was either not inclined, or was persuaded by those about him not to trust her. He fixed himself therefore at Poitiers, where he assembled the remains of the parlia-

^y Annales de France, P. Æmil. Mezeray, P. Daniel. ^z Mon-
strelet, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. J. de Serres. ^a Ancien-
Chron. de France.

ment of Paris, appointed a new chancellor, besieged and took Tours, with many other places.

While these strange adventures happened in France, king Henry reduced the greatest part of Normandy, but offered at the same time to treat with the dauphin and with the duke of Burgundy, though both these treaties were mere amusements; the king telling the pope's legate, that he might see the finger of God in the chastisement of France; and that having himself a good title to the crown, Providence seemed to have opened him a fair path to the possession of it^b. In all these treaties, therefore, there was nothing of sincerity on any side; the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy vainly deluded themselves with the hopes of gaining Henry as an ally; whereas the king of England meant to close with neither, but, by treating with both at a time, to thrust himself like a wedge between them, and thereby hinder their coalition, which was the single event he had to fear. It may suffice, therefore, to say, that, though on the part of the duke of Burgundy the treaty was managed by the queen in person, who carried with her the princess Catherine, to whose beauty the king was far from being insensible, yet he was so much a hero and a politician, that, in spite of his passion, his interest prevailed; so that, notwithstanding many propositions were made, they separated without coming to any conclusion^c. Henry, during the time of this treaty, remained at Mante, and the French court at Pontoise, the conferences being held in a place at a convenient distance between these two towns, and terminated in the beginning of the month of May, very little to the satisfaction of the duke of Burgundy, who saw plainly, that he began to lose his interest with the French, and that at the same time he was less considered by the English. A circumstance that led him to repent the contributing as he had done to their invasion and success^d.

The queen and the duke of Burgundy treat with Henry about a marriage and a peace.

The dauphin, alarmed at his mother's treaty with the king of England, and knowing to how great a degree he was hated by her, resolved, if possible, to accommodate matters with the duke of Burgundy, as the most effectual means to repel the English, or at least to procure somewhat milder terms. He sent Tannegui du Chastel, who had been governor of the Bastile, and who (taking him

In this confusion the dauphin enters into a treaty with the duke of Burgundy.

^b Annales de France, Juvenal des Ursins, P. Daniel. Anonym. de Charles VI. Thom. Walsingham. Chron. de France,

^c Histor. Ancien.

out of bed in his shirt) had preserved him the night that Paris was surpris'd, to Pontoise, to propose an interview with the duke, which was brought about through the persuasion of madam Giac, of whom the duke was passionately fond^e. This interview was held the 11th of July, at Souilli le Fort, a league from Melun, with great marks of esteem and tenderness on both sides, and with the most profound submission on the part of the duke of Burgundy. They swore perpetual friendship and unity on a cross, presented by the bishop of Laon; and, at parting, agreed on another conference at Montereau Faut Yvonne^f. Henry was quickly apprised of this accommodation, and that both parties had agreed to carry on the war against him with vigour, which seem'd to be a most perfidious act in the duke of Burgundy, considering the terms on which he stood with that monarch; yet, in reality, the king of England had no great reason to complain, since in treating with the dauphin he had offer'd to join with him in the conquest of Flanders, provided he might retain the sovereignty after it was reduced; with which proposition the dauphin acquainted him in their interview^g. By way of revenge, the king sent a strong detachment of his forces to surpris'e Pontoise, where the marshal Lisle Adam commanded, who made his escape, with some difficulty, in his shirt, together with six thousand men, the greatest part of them in the same condition. The news of this hostility greatly qualified the joy which the people of Paris had express'd upon proclaiming the peace, and with good reason, for the English took all the treasure, equipage, and baggage, of the court in that place, to the value, as it was computed, of two millions^h. In Lower Normandy the forces of the dauphin recovered several places; and in a brisk action at Mortain were victorious, and killed the English about four hundred men, the duke of Burgundy remaining all this time in a state of confusion and inactivity, as if he knew not which side to take.

who is murder'd by his connivance at least, if not command, at a conference at Montereau. In this situation the dauphin sent to put him in mind of his appointment, and of the necessity of their conferring together at Montereau. The duke went thither unwillingly, and by the persuasion of his mistressⁱ. The con-

^e Annales de France, P. Virg.

^f Ancien. Chron. de

France, Montrel.

^g Act. Pub. tom. ix. T. Livii, Vita

Henrici Quinti.

^h Mizeray, P. Dan.

ⁱ P. Æmil.

J. de Serres.

ference was upon a bridge, with ten persons of confidence on a side. The duke, on the approach of the dauphin, bent his knee, and in that action threw his sword too far behind him; he therefore laid his hand on it to pull it right, on which Tannegui du Chastel, who had been a domestic to the duke of Orleans, cried with a stern voice, "It is time," and immediately, with his pole ax, cut off the duke's chin as he was kneeling, and, before he was able to rise, or put himself in a posture of defence, he was dispatched by several mortal wounds. Noailles, who was the nearest him of any of his own party, drawing his dagger, was killed upon the spot; eight more of his friends were secured, and only Montague, by leaping the barriers, which was thought impossible, made his escape: this tragedy was acted on the 10th of September^k. Most writers say it was in the dauphin's presence; others allege that two of his own people withdrew him before the duke was killed; certain it is, that he disavowed it by a manifesto, and as certain that this disavowal was generally believed. At Paris they expressed the utmost horror and indignation; and the queen's chancellor, for there were now double officers of every denomination, prevailed to have the first president sent to the new duke, to condole, in the name of the king, the queen, and the city of Paris on the loss of his father^l. On the 17th of October a treaty of union was signed, by deputies from several cities, at Arras, for revenging his death; and on the 2d of December a truce, between the kings of France and England, under the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, that all parties might act with the greater vigour against the common enemy, that is, against the dauphin^m.

A D. 1419.

In the spring of the succeeding year, the court being at Troye, the duke of Burgundy went thither with a numerous attendance, and was received with the greatest kindness and respect; soon after came the king of England, attended by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, a great number of English lords, and an escort of sixteen hundred men; and after a few days spent in visits and ceremony, proceeded to ratify, on the 21st of May, a treaty, which had been settled the preceding year at Arras, by which the whole constitution of France was overturnedⁿ. This treaty contains thirty-one articles; the chief of

By the treaty of Troye, Henry V. of England is declared regent and heir of France, and the dauphin Charles is proclaimed an enemy to the state, and disinherited.

^k Annales de France, Juv. des Ursins. Serres.

^l Dupleix, J. de

^m Ancien. Chron. de France, P. Æmil.

ⁿ T.

Livii, Vita Henrici V. Monstrel.

which were, that Henry should espouse madame Catharine of France; that after the death of Charles he should succeed him as his next heir; that, in the mean time, he should exercise the regal power, but with the style and title only of regent and heir of France; that, in succeeding times, the realms of France and England should be governed by the same person, but that both nations should live according to their own laws^o. After the ratification by Charles, his queen, the duke of Burgundy, and a multitude of great lords, who swore fealty to Henry and his heirs, he was contracted to the princess Catharine, whom he espoused on the 2d of June; and then the treaty being approved by the parliament, was proclaimed in most of the great towns, and the dauphin declared an enemy to the state, and incapable of the succession^p.

Henry takes every method to secure the possession and the succession, while the dauphin labours to vindicate his right to the regency, and to the crown.

Henry, king of England and heir of France, judging rightly that, as his title was acquired, so it must be supported by force, instead of wasting his time in celebrating his marriage with jousts and tournaments, to which the French lords were inclined, marched the very next day to reduce Sens, which submitted without any resistance. The king, having made his entry, turned to the archbishop, whom the dauphin, for his attachment to the duke of Burgundy, had expelled, and who performed the ceremony of the king's marriage, and made him the following compliment: "We are now even, my friend; yesterday you gave me a wife, and to day I restore your's^q." He proceeded to Montereau, which was reduced with like facility; when the duke of Burgundy finding his father's corpse interred in his cloaths, caused it to be put in a leaden coffin, embalmed, and sent to Dijon: the army next besieged Melun, which was defended with great spirit and bravery for four months, and then surrendered by capitulation, which the French writers say was not exactly kept^r. The season being pretty far advanced, the two kings returned to Paris; where, notwithstanding they were in a very miserable and starving condition, the inhabitants were forced to exhaust themselves in rejoicings upon this occasion. A few days after, the duke of Burgundy demanded justice of the king, for the murder of his father. In an assembly held in the presence of both kings, the dauphin being summoned to appear, and justify himself against the

^o Aët. Pub. tom. ix. Thom. de Elmham.
Vita Henrici Quinti. Du Tillet.

^p T. Livii,
^q Ancien. Chronique de

France. ^r P. Æmil. Mezeray.

charge brought by two proctors, in the name of the duke of Burgundy, he was condemned for contumacy, as failing to appear, declared convict of murder, banished France for ever, and adjudged unworthy and incapable of the crown; which sentence was pronounced by John le Clerc, who had then the office, or at least the title of chancellor of France^s. In the month of December was held an assembly of the states, in which a subsidy was demanded of an eight part of the money every man possessed, to which the deputies consented, and it was raised by paying heavy money at the exchequer, and receiving light in the proportion before mentioned^t. We must now pass to the other court: the dauphin, now in the seventeenth year of his age, assumed the same title with Henry, styling himself regent and heir of France. All the provinces beyond the Loire declared for him without scruple; most of the princes of the blood, and many of the nobility, chose to follow his fortunes. The prince of Orange, as a partizan of the house of Burgundy, was the only enemy he had in the south of France; but, by giving the government of Languedoc to the count of Foix, he made his efforts in that cause ineffectual^u. The count of Foix affecting to render himself independent, and having with this view demanded a patent for the same government from the king, the dauphin found it necessary to deprive him, though of his own naming, which he did, and replaced him by the count de Clermont, eldest son of the duke of Bourbon^w. He likewise found means to get more money than the two kings, by their edict for debasing the coin; for he raising the nominal value much higher than they, as soon as their new coin appeared, drew the best part of it into the cities under his obedience, which enabled him to pay his troops; while at Paris, the winter being remarkably hard, the people perished by hundreds in the streets with cold and hunger.

A D. 1420.

The affairs of his hereditary dominions obliged Henry to make a tour to England, whither he likewise carried his new queen, leaving the duke of Exeter to command in Paris, and to take charge of the court of France. The earl of Salisbury was made governor of Rouen; but the command of the army, and the chief direction of affairs,

Queen Katherine goes over into England to be crowned, and the king raises forces for the war in France.

^s J. de Serres, Dupleix. Du Tillet, P. Daniel. ^t Annales de France. Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. P. Æmil. J. de Serres. Dupleix. ^u Boulanvil, Le Gend. L'Abbé de Choisy. ^w Ancien. Chronique de France, Montrelet, Thom. Walsingham.

were committed to his brother the duke of Clarence. The duke of Burgundy, at the same time, returned likewise into his territories; and the truth was, they both stood in great need of forces, those they had brought from England and Burgundy being worn out, either by sickness or service, and they were afraid of trusting to an army composed for the most part of French troops*. Henry was likewise desirous of seeing his queen crowned in England, of obtaining the sanction of parliament to his treaty of Troye, which he considered as the constitution of his new monarchy, and a large supply of money, that he might be able to complete the conquest of France. He succeeded in most of these points; but had the misfortune to be told by his parliament, that England, exclusive of fame, was so far from being a gainer by his conquest, that the acquisition of France was like to become her ruin, a declaration which chagrined him exceedingly; for he sincerely loved his country, and saw he had impoverished it with regret. He loved his family likewise, with a tenderness not altogether governed by prudence: a strong instance of this affection appeared in permitting his brother the duke of Gloucester to steal Jaqueline, duchess of Brabant, from her husband, on account of the great dominions which she possessed in her own right; for this exploit gave a great disgust to the duke of Burgundy, as well on the score of the outrage done to his cousin, as because the establishment of this young prince in the Low Countries would have been very unacceptable to himself, as the king might easily have foreseen^y.

The Scots forces, under the command of the earl of Buchan, defeats the duke of Clarence, at Vauge.

Things in the mean time took a new turn in France. The dauphin having received a supply of six or seven thousand Scots, under the command of the regent's son John Stuart, earl of Buchan, he sent them to defend his frontier on the side of Anjou, and appointed the Sieur de la Fayette, with a corps of French forces, to assist them. These Scots being quartered at Bauge by themselves, the duke of Clarence had intelligence of them; and making no doubt that he should be able to surprize them, marched with fifteen hundred men at arms, and the best archers he had, with that view, leaving orders for the earl of Salisbury to follow him as soon as he conveniently could,

* Annales de France, Thom. Elmham, T. Livii, Vita Henrici Quinti, Polyd. Virgil. L'Abbé de Choisy, P. Æmil. ^y Monstrelet, Juvenal des Ursins, Histor. Anonym. de Charles VI. P. Æmil. Le Gendre,

with the rest of his forces. The earl of Buchan, having posted his troops advantageously, received him gallantly. The duke exposed himself in such a manner, that, after performing all that could be expected from his birth and courage, he was slain upon the spot, and his troops were defeated: there fell likewise the earl of Kent, lord Grey, the lord Ross, and about three thousand men; the earls of Somerset and Huntingdon, with some other persons of note, were taken prisoners. This victory, though it cost the lives of fifteen hundred French, was, as their writers very justly observe, of great consequence, since it proved that the English were not invincible^a. The French army next besieged Alençon; the earl of Salisbury marched that way to raise the siege; but finding the enemy too strong, he retired, and his rear suffered in his retreat. Henry landed at Calais with twenty-eight thousand men, of which four thousand were horse: he marched directly to the relief of Chartres, which was besieged by the dauphin, who retired at his approach, and he followed him as far as Orleans^a. On his return, at the request of the people of Paris, he besieged Meaux, which held out for eight months, and, when it surrendered, the king caused the governor to be beheaded. This, and some other instances of rigour, chagrined the French exceedingly: but, nevertheless, they thought it prudent to make great rejoicings on the news of queen Catherine's being delivered of a son at Windsor, who was considered as the successor of both kingdoms^b. As for the unfortunate Charles, he would have been more pitied if he had shewn any sense of his misfortunes; but he seemed to be altogether without feeling; and as for the queen, her implacable aversion to the dauphin, her particular kindness for the princess Catherine, who very much resembled her, and the respect paid her by her son-in-law, who was the first prince in Europe, kept her from seeing the real misery of her condition; so that, upon all occasions, she appeared with a freedom and spirit, which, at the same time that it raised the odium of the French, made her contemptible to the English^c.

Henry resolved to open the next campaign with driving all the dauphin's garrisons out of Picardy, and took the field for this purpose in the month of June, having

^a Annales de France. Montrelet, Thom. Elmham, Paul. Æmil. Le Gendre. ^a Juvenal des Ursins, Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. ^b Ancien. Chronique de France, T. Livii, Vita Henrici Quinti. ^c Hist. Anonym. de Charles VI. Montrelet, Thom. Elmham, P. Æmil. Le Gendre, Gaguin. Hist. J. de Serres.

A.D. 1421.

Henry and Charles de cease, and leave France in a miserable and distressed condition.

with

with him the poor infirm king and the two queens. He staid some time at Senlis, while the earl of Warwick cleared the adjacent country; but was suddenly recalled to Paris, by intelligence that the dauphin had friends there, who meant to put him in possession of the place. On his arrival he found a woman, who had been apprehended with letters to such as were privy to this design; and, as she acknowledged her fault, he directed that her accomplices, being secured, they should be all thrown together into the river. After this detection and disappointment of his enemies, he returned again to Senlis. The dauphin, in the mean time, invested Concupon the Loire, with twenty thousand men, and obliged the governor to consent that he would render the place into his hands, if it was not relieved by the duke of Burgundy by the middle of August. The duke, piqued at this event, challenged the dauphin to name a day of battle; which being accepted, Henry resolved to be present, and with that view ordered his forces to march from Paris and Picardy through Champagne, to join those of the duke of Burgundy; but finding himself very much indisposed at Melun, he directed his brother, the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Warwick, to join the duke of Burgundy as soon as possible, and retired himself into Vincennes. There his distemper increased to such a degree as left little hopes of recovery: this distemper was a fistula, the nature of which being then little understood, was so ill managed, that a mortification ensued. In his last moments he recommended to the lords that were about him three things; the first was to preserve, by all means possible, the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and to give him, in case they could engage him to accept it, the regency of France, which, if he refused, he confided to the duke of Bedford. In the next place, he forbid them to set at liberty the French prisoners, till his son should be of full age; and, lastly, he commanded them, in case they should ever be forced to make a peace with Charles de Valois (so he called the dauphin) to secure the duchy of Normandy, and annex it, as an independent sovereignty, to England^d. He declared Humphry, duke of Gloucester, regent of England, and appointed the earl of Warwick governor of his son's person. This disposition being made, he prepared for death, with great

^d Ancien. Chronique de France. Dupleix, T. Elmham, Du Tillet, T. Livii, Vita Henrici Quinti. Gaguini Hist. L'Abbé de Choisy.

calmness and constancy, ending his days on the last of August, in the thirty-sixth year of his age^e. The duke of Burgundy having refused the regency, the duke of Bedford assumed it, but governed entirely by his and the queen's advice. The unfortunate Charles was daily declining in his health; and, being seized with a quartan ague, died on the 21st of October (H), in the fifty-fourth year of his age,

^e Juvenal des Ursins, T. Livii, Vita Henrici Quinti. Thom. Walsingham. Polyd. Virg.

(H) We have already described the person of this monarch, and observed that he was one of the handsomest men of his age. At the age of seventeen, his strength was so great, that he was able to break a horse-shoe: he wrestled, vaulted, ran at the ring, and performed every sort of manly exercise with great dexterity. His natural good qualities gained him the affection, and, in some degree, the esteem of his subjects. He caused the body of the constable du Guesclin to be buried with great splendour, at St. Denis: neither was he grateful only to the dead, but to the living, insomuch that he never forgot any personal services that were rendered him, but rewarded them amply, some say profusely. He was prodigiously given to shews and spectacles, and was never better pleased than when he could find an opportunity to exhibit them. It is hard to say whether the king's sickness or long life, his own weakness, or his wife's gallantries, the want of experience in his sons, or the boundless ambition of his uncles, were most prejudicial to his realm; but the conjunction of them all, and the loss

of the battle of Agincourt, brought it so low, that it is not impossible Henry V. if he had lived, might have established a new line. By his queen Isabel of Bavaria, whom the French represent as equally vicious and cunning, the king had many children; viz. two princes of the name of Charles, who died young; Lewis, duke of Guienne, and, by their death, dauphin, who married Margaret, daughter to the duke of Burgundy, and died at the age of nineteen without issue; John, duke of Touraine and Dauphiné, who espoused Jacqueline, daughter to the count of Hainault, who also died without issue, about the same age with his brother; Charles, who succeeded his father; and Philip, who died the same day he was born, and was the child of whom the queen lay-in when the duke of Orleans was murdered; the princess Joan died at two years old; Isabel espoused first Richard II. king of England, and then Charles, duke of Orleans; another Joan, the consort of John, duke of Bretagne; Mary, who became a nun; Michella, married to Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy; and Catharine, their youngest

age, the forty-third of his reign, and the thirtieth from the loss of his senses: he was little deplored by his subjects, still less by the English, and there was not so much as a single prince of the blood to attend his funeral ^f.

Charles VII. or the Victorious.

The state of France under her two kings, Henry and Charles, who are both proclaimed.

AT this time the whole French nation had the heavy misfortune of being considered as rebels and traitors, whatever side they took. At the interment of Charles VI. Henry of Windsor was proclaimed king of France and England, being then about ten months old; but the sword of state was carried before the duke of Bedford, who, with the title of regent, had all the power of king ^g. The dauphin Charles was in the twentieth year of his age, a mild prince, of a very gentle and affable disposition, by which he became very acceptable to all who approached him. We meet with very different characters of him in history; but, if we advert to facts only, we shall find that he very much resembled his grandfather; and that those who say his good fortune, in having able ministers and great captains in his service, stood him instead of courage and conduct, do him great wrong; for, if he had not been both a wise and a steady prince, he would never have raised France from the wretched condition in which he found her ^h. About ten days before his father's death, he was preserved, by what was then esteemed a miraculous interposition of Providence, from a sudden and miserable death. The room, in which he was giving audience at Rochelle, fell all at once, by which many were wounded, and some killed on the spot ⁱ. The dauphin, sinking in his chair, fell upon a thick wall, and there rested, from whence he was taken down without the least hurt. At the time of his accession he was at a little castle, where

^f Vide Auc̄t. supra citat. ^g Annales de France, Monstrelet, vol. ii. Histoire de Jean Chartier, Historiographe de Charles VI. Gaguini Hist. Pr. Henault. ^h Ancien. Chronique de France, J. Chartier. P. Æmil. J. de Serres, Le Gendre. ⁱ Monst. vol. ii.

youngest daughter, who married Henry V. and, after his decease, Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales, by whom, amongst other children, she had Edmund, earl of Richmond, who was the father of Henry VII. king of England (1).

(1) Vide Auc̄t. supra citat.

the first day he put himself in mourning; the next he appeared in scarlet, and took the title of king, without any other ceremony than displaying the banner of France. The English, and the French who adhered to them, styled him, in contempt, the king of Bourges, though, except the duchy of Guienne, he had all the provinces on the other side of the Loire, the princes of the blood, the best captains, the ablest lawyers, and, which was of much more consequence, the laws themselves on his side^k.

A.D. 1422.

All the events at the beginning of this reign were unfortunate: the important town of Melun was taken by the English, through a misunderstanding between the French generals and the earl of Buchan; and this was followed by a revolt of many French lords, who thought the cause of Charles was now become desperate. The duke of Bedford was not inferior to his brother, the deceased king, in point of courage; and, in respect to prudence, he was his superior. He saw the difficulties with which his post, as regent of France, was incumbered; and he foresaw those with which they were likely to be augmented. To remove the former, and to prevent the latter, he resolved to unite, if possible, the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne inseparably to his interests^l. The former had two sisters, Mary, the widow of the late dauphin Lewis, and Anne, who had never been married. He demanded the latter for himself, and procured the former to be given to Arthur, earl of Richmond, brother to the duke of Bretagne, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, and whom, by this step, he thought sufficiently attached to the English interest. The battle of Crevant, in Burgundy, was another fortunate event to him, and a terrible blow to Charles. The earls of Salisbury and Suffolk defeated there the earl of Buchan, with the best corps of troops that Charles had in his service, made that earl prisoner, and killed a great many brave officers who were under his command^m.

Earl of Buchan defeated and made prisoner in the battle of Crevant by the English.

A D. 1423.

He had known great difficulties and distress before; to say the truth, he had known nothing else since he knew any thing; but he was never so closely pressed, or with so little hopes of succour. The countries that owned his authority were already exhausted of men and money; the English were not only possessed of the best part of the

Charles endeavours to draw assistance from foreign princes to support his title.

^k Histoire d'Artus III. Duc de Bretagne, Pr. Henault. Boulanvilliers. ^l Monst. vol. ii. Gaguini Hist. P. Æmil. Mez. P. Daniel. ^m Annales de France. J. de Serres, Pr. Henault.

kingdom,

kingdom, but, by landing an army in Guienne, and attacking him on the Loire, they might have destroyed him in one campaign. He was himself very young, and void of all education; and yet he was so far from despairing, that he invited other men to share in his hopesⁿ. The earl of Buchan had been styled constable of the Scots, most of whom were slain in successive actions; the king, to console him, and to draw greater succours from the same country, gave him the sword, and created him constable of France; he bestowed likewise the lordship of Aubigny upon Sir John Stuart of Darnley, on whom he afterwards conferred the county of Evreux. This generosity had a good effect; the duke of Albany concluded an alliance with him on the terms which he proposed, and sent over the lord Douglas with six thousand men, to whom Charles gave the duchy of Touraine, and declared him lieutenant-general^o. The duke of Milan sent him six hundred horse, and a thousand cross-bows; many of his own subjects raised considerable corps at their own expence; by this means he brought a considerable army into the field, and left the operations to the discretion of his generals. One of his captains had surpris'd Yuri, which, being a place of great consequence, the English had invested; the constable marched to his relief with fourteen thousand men, of whom one half were of his own country; but the place surrendered before their arrival. The constable turned short upon Vernueil, which was a place of as great consequence; and, pretending that he had raised the siege of Yuri, engaged the garrison to surrender.

*His troops
beat at the
battle of
Vernueil, in
which the
constable
and the
earl of
Douglas
are killed.*

This event so much provoked the regent duke of Bedford, that he marched in person, attended by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, with a superior army to recover it. Several of the French generals were for leaving a strong garrison in the place, and declining a battle, which they had formerly found the best method of proceeding. But the constable and the other generals of his country were of a contrary opinion; and, notwithstanding the French lords urged that their king had no army but this, which if beaten, he had no resource, yet they persisted in their resolution of fighting, asserting, that a battle gained would change the face of affairs, give a reputation to the king's arms, and very probably excite insurrections in his

ⁿ Ancien. Chronique de France.
Le Gend. Mez.

^o Dupleix. Du Tillet.

favour in most of the provinces in the kingdom: the duke of Alençon, and one or two other great lords, being of the same mind, it was determined to fight. On the 16th of August, the duke of Bedford appeared with his army drawn up in one line, the constable made the like disposition with great skill, intending to have remained firm, and to have received the charge; but the viscount of Narbonne, full of impatience, marched directly to attack the English with his own cavalry, and was followed by other French lords, a rash step which obliged the constable to follow them, and to lose the advantage of his post and of his disposition. The duke of Bedford, on the contrary, halted, as soon as they began to move; so that they were fatigued and out of breath when they began to attack; and, being vigorously repulsed, and their general killed, were quickly broke. Nevertheless, the Italian horse broke through the archers, and fell upon the English camp, which they were tempted to plunder. Thus the main body was left open on all sides; and, after a dispute of an hour, it was broke, and the French were totally defeated. There fell in this fatal field, the constable, the earl of Douglas, his son, the counts of Aumale, Ventadour, and Tonnerre, with upwards of one hundred other lords, besides the viscount of Narbonne, whose body the duke of Bedford caused to be broke on a wheel, and then exposed on a gibbet, because he was one of the ten present at the death of the duke of Burgundy^p. Five thousand private men were killed in the battle and in the flight; the duke of Alençon, his bastard brother, and the marshal de l'Eschat, were made prisoners. The loss on the other side was so considerable, that the duke of Bedford forbid any rejoicings for a victory that had cost him so dear; and granted an honourable capitulation to the garrison of Vernueil, as being very well pleased to recover the place without the fatigue of a siege^q.

The affairs of Charles were now in a wretched situation. He had but very few strong places, no army, most of his generals were killed, and, which was the greatest misfortune of all, he was totally without resource. His subjects were exhausted to such a degree, that no violence could have extorted much; instead of attempting any such exaction, he seemed to take a satisfaction in sharing their

This reduces the affairs of Charles VII. into a dismal condition, in which he sustains himself by his temper.

^p Annales de France. Monst. Polyd. Virgil. P. Dan. Pr. Henault. ^q Ancien. Chronique de France. J. Chart. Histoire d'Artus III. Le Gendre.

misery, lived as they did, and demanded nothing. He lost none of the few friends he had left; on the contrary, many abandoned their estates, and came to join their shattered fortunes to his^r. He received them with open arms; he caressed and commended them; and declared upon all occasions, his inclination to reward as soon as it should be in his power: to say all, in a few words, his condition was now so sunk, that his affability was his sole prerogative; and the reputation he had established of gratitude, the only remnant of revenue. The duke of Bedford might have marched to the Loire the next spring, and have buried the ruins of the French monarchy, with its monarch, in the succeeding summer; but, as if he had been ashamed of oppressing so feeble an enemy, he indulged them as long a time to breathe in as they could desire^s. Yet the duke of Bedford was as vigilant as he was brave; and this inactivity, which saved the French, proceeded from his misfortune, not his fault. The prodigious success of the English, and the glory attending it, had corrupted even the greatest minds. Humphry duke of Gloucester, regent of England, and the duke of Bedford's brother, not satisfied with the possession of Jaqueline, countess of Hainault, whom he had taken from her husband the duke of Brabant, would likewise tear from him the countries which he held in her right; and, with this view, had landed a numerous English army, more than sufficient to have completed the conquest of France; where they would have easily crushed the duke of Brabant, if his cousin, the duke of Burgundy, had not stepped in to his relief^t. This was that unexpected diversion which saved Charles from destruction, by obliging the regent duke of Bedford to turn all his views on this side; and to employ those great parts and that persuasive eloquence with which he was blessed, to reconcile his brother and his brother-in-law, and to prevent the empire, which the victorious Henry had raised, from mouldering into ruins before it was well established. In this necessary design he met with so many obstacles, that, notwithstanding the apparent danger of his leaving France, he was constrained to make a tour to England, where the management of several important affairs detained him for some months, to the great prejudice of his nephew's concerns, in this his new kingdom^u.

A.D. 1424.

^r Du Tillet, Pr. Henault. ^s Mez. ^t Monst. Ancien Chronique de France. Du Tillet, Pr. Henault. Boulan. ^u Annales de France. P. Emil. J. de Serres. P. Daniel.

Charles having this leisure to look round him, might have fortified some principal towns, entered into alliances, or at least have raised a new army; but none of these steps could be taken without treasures; and he was distressed for a subsistence. But there was something to be done within the compass of his power, and this was done. He understood that Arthur, earl of Richmond, notwithstanding his close alliance with the duke of Bedford, had conceived offence from being refused the command of the English army, which he thought due to his high rank, and very suitable to his being an English peer. The ministers of Charles, knowing he had been bred up at the French court, and had behaved very gallantly at Agincourt, thought it not impossible to recover him; and, by his means, the duke of Bretagne, his brother. With this view a negotiation was set on foot, which, though put into the hands of a very able man, miscarried: this was the president Louvet, the companion of the king's misfortunes, and the director of his finances; but he had the misfortune to be odious to the house of Bretagne, and, consequently, nothing that came from him was regarded. The king therefore, had recourse to his mother-in-law, the queen-dowager of Naples, who, taking with her his prime minister Tannegui du Chastel, went to the court of Bretagne, and by dextrously playing the constable's sword in the eyes of the earl of Richmond, who was eager to be at the head of an army, carried her point, though on pretty hard conditions, since the king was forced to give hostages, and even cautionary places, for the security of the earl's person, who farther declared he could not enter into his service, but with the consent of the duke of Burgundy*. This condition was also admitted, in hopes that it might prove the means of entering into a negociation with the duke of Burgundy, and it had this effect; for the duke consented to the earl of Richmond's promotion; and, having lately married the lady Bona of Artois, sister to the count of Eu, shewed some inclination to reconcile himself to the king; but, how acceptable soever these transactions might be in one light, they caused no small chagrin, when viewed in another; for the duke of Bretagne insisted on the removal of the president Louvet, and two or three other persons who had been always about the king; and the duke of Burgundy would hear of nothing

The duke of Bretagne and his brother the earl of Richmond reconciled to king Charles.

* *Annales de France. Histoire d'Artus III. P. Æmil. Du Tillet. P. Dan.*

A.D. 1425. while the king had for his first minister the man who had the chief hand in murdering his father^x. This was Tannequi du Chastel, a person, in all other points, irreproachable, and who acted in that affair from his zeal for the memory of the duke of Orleans, in whose service he had been brought up from his youth. His behaviour at this critical juncture gained him credit, even with his enemies; for he went to the king, and, after a modest recapitulation of his services, declared, the only reward he sought was his leave to retire^y. The president Louvet and the rest were also forced to give way; but they did it with a bad grace, and the president insisted upon naming the Sieur Giac his successor. These precautions taken, Arthur, earl of Richmond, received the sword of constable. He soon after took the field, and recovered several places from the English upon the frontiers of Normandy.

The earl of Richmond, constable of France, governs the king and kingdom.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded for king Henry in Normandy, being informed that the duke of Bretagne had done homage for his duchy and county of Montford to king Charles, made himself master of Pontorson, and of St. James de Beuvron, which being conveniently situated, he made continual inroads from thence to the very gates of Rennes. The new constable of France marched speedily to the relief of his brother, recovered Pontorson, and blocked up Beuvron; but was obliged to raise the siege for want of supplies^z. In the first transport of his passion he seized the chancellor of Bretagne, and carried him to Chinon, where the king then was, who pacified him with some difficulty; and, having got the chancellor out of his hands, sent him with a commission to the court of Burgundy. The constable then fell upon Giac, and finding him involved in a quarrel with another of the king's favourites, whose name was Trimouille, he took him into his councils. With his assistance, he forced the castle in which Giac lay, and taking him out of bed, carried him to a place entirely in his own power; there, with an odd and irregular form of justice, he caused him to be condemned for embezzling the king's money; and without farther ceremony threw him into the river^a. The violence of the constable was less condemned than the

^x Monst. vol. ii. *Ancien Chronique de France.* Mez. Pr. Henault.
^y *Histoire d'Artus III.* J. de Serres.
^z Monst. Gaguini
 Hist. J. de Serres. Mez. Le Gend. ^a *Annales de France.*
 J. Chart. P. Emil. P. Dan. Pr. Henault.

wickedness of Trimouille, who had an intrigue with Giac's wife (the same person who was the duke of Burgundy's mistress), and married her. Soon after the king replaced his unfortunate minister by a gentleman of Auvergne, whose name was Camus de Beaulieu. This person had likewise the misfortune not to please the constable, who ordered him to be stabbed near Poitiers; then going to court, instead of excusing it, he told the king that he was but an ill judge of ministers, and for the future he would chuse for him. Charles, who without being either a coward or a fool, could submit to necessity with a better grace than ever prince did, desired to know who was to be his minister, the constable answered Trimouille; "It shall be so, replied the king; but I know him better than you, and that he will give you cause to repent it^b. Montargis was at this time besieged by the English; and, being a place of consequence, the king was very desirous to relieve it: an army was assembled to escort a great convoy of provisions, and the constable would have charged himself with the enterprize; but, being told it was beneath his dignity, the command was given to the bastard of Orleans; who not only performed what was expected from him, but was so fortunate as to oblige the earl of Warwick to raise the siege. But, while his arms were successful on this side, the regent duke of Bedford, who had reconciled himself to the duke of Burgundy, invaded Bretagne with a great army, compelled the duke to subscribe the treaty of Troye, and to give him all possible assurances of remaining an obedient subject to his nephew king Henry, Trimouille, to make his court to his master, advised him to lay hold of this opportunity to humble the constable; but, as this minister had rendered himself odious to several of the princes of the blood, they took part with the earl of Richmond, and this animosity produced a kind of civil war; in which, however, the king had the better^c. In this situation the people deplored alike their domestic troubles and apprehensions from the English.

A.D. 1427.

The war was carried on with great spirit, and with different success in all corners of the kingdom; and brave men on both sides signalized themselves by their exploits; which, however, decided nothing, but served to breed many experienced officers, and to introduce a more regular discipline, as well as to improve the art of managing

The earl of Salisbury besieges Orleans, and is killed before the place.

^b Ancien Chronique de France.^c Annales de France.

Monst. Gaguini Hist. J. de Serres, Pr. Henault.

artillery and small arms, beyond any thing that had been seen in former wars ^d. But the regent duke of Bedford, having once more fixed the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, recurred to his former plan, and resolved to make the entire conquest of France. He was already in possession of a place upon the Loire, which enabled him to pass that river at his pleasure; but it was at too great a distance; and he was apprehensive, that if he had attacked Charles with his whole forces in this manner, that prince might pass the river in another place, and march to Paris ^e. After mature deliberation, he appointed Thomas Montague, earl of Salisbury, to command a body of ten thousand veteran troops, and gave him instructions to besiege Orleans, a place of great extent, and, for those times, well fortified. Salisbury executed this command with equal vigour and capacity; he spent the summer in reducing all the fortified posts in the neighbourhood of that city; and formed the siege at the beginning of autumn. On the other hand, Charles, considering the loss of Orleans as the prelude to the loss of his dominions, took all the precautions possible for its defence. Very considerable magazines were raised, and a great quantity of military stores lodged in the place. The lord de Gaucour, a person of great experience and reputation, was the governor, and he was assisted by the Sieur la Hire Saintrailles; in a word, most of the brave men who had raised themselves to rank and fame, threw themselves into this city, in order to defend it as long as it was possible; the siege lasted all the winter, and the earl of Salisbury had the misfortune to be killed by a cannon shot; but the earl of Suffolk, on whom the command devolved, continued it with equal vigour and vigilance; and, by receiving continual supplies, his army was increased to twenty-three thousand men ^f. The method of investing was at this time very rude; for we find that they had six great, and fifty-four small forts round the place; but as there were open spaces between them, the bastard of Orleans and other gallant officers found means to introduce succours; and the garrison from twelve hundred, was, by the end of the year, swelled to three thousand men ^g; amongst whom were the flower of the French nobility.

A.D. 1428.

^d Ancien. Chronique de France. P. Æmil. J. Chart. P. Dan.
^e Mezeray. Boulan. ^f Annales de France. J. Chart.
 Gaguini Hist. Du Fil. Chalons. ^g Montt. Ancien, Chronique de France. P. Æmil. J. de Serres. Dupleix.

At the approach of Lent, the regent duke of Bedford sent a convoy of salt-fish to the camp, with an escort of seventeen hundred men, commanded by Sir John Fastolfe, or Falstaff; which convoy the count de Clermont was sent by Charles to attack, knowing that upon the issue of this action, the continuance of the siege, in a great measure depended. Sir John, perceiving the approach of the enemy, drew his men behind his carriages; and not only sustained the shock with great intrepidity, but repulsed the assailants, and put them into disorder; upon which, ordering some of the carriages to be withdrawn, he sallied with his forces, and defeated the French entirely ^h. This was stiled the battle of Herrings, and makes a great figure in the history of those times ⁱ. The bastard of Orleans, who with four hundred men had marched from Orleans to support this attack, had the good fortune to return, and to get safe into the city, which, notwithstanding, was soon reduced so very low, and there was so little appearance of any relief, that the garrison at length offered to surrender to the duke of Burgundy, an offer which the English generals rejected; and this refusal, in all probability, preserved both the city and the crown to Charles, who, upon its surrender, must have retired into the mountains of Dauphiné, as having no force sufficient to keep the field. But while things were in this state, a miracle, as the French would have us believe, a singular and lucky stratagem, as the penetration of later times have taught us to call it, saved Orleans, and delivered Charles from the necessity of seeking shelter in inaccessible places from the pursuit of his victorious enemies.

The famous battle of Herrings, in which the French are beat by Sir John Fastolfe.

A little before the battle of Herrings, a young woman, whose name was Joan d'Arc, a native of the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, came to the governor of the last mentioned place, and demanded that he should send her to the king, as having been promised by a divine revelation, that, under her command, the king's forces should raise the siege of Orleans. But the governor considering she was but between eighteen and twenty, and a person no way distinguished amongst the country people for understanding, refused her request, for fear of making himself ridiculous ^k. She went after the battle, and reproached him for want of zeal for his master's service, and told him, that if he did not now send her, Orleans would be

The Maid of Orleans first relieves, and then raises the siege of that city.

^h P. Daniel. ⁱ Mezeray, Pr. Henault. ^k Annales de France. Chroniques de Monstrelet. Gaguini Hist. P. Dan. Pr. Henault.

lost. Upon this declaration, the governor ordered two gentlemen to attend her to Chinon, where the king was; and, though there could not be a more dangerous journey, yet, as she had confidently promised, they performed it safely¹. Upon her arrival, the council made some difficulty of admitting her to the royal presence; but at length she gained admittance. The king was in his apartment, surrounded by many persons of distinction, without any marks of his high rank, to whom she immediately addressed herself, and told him that she had a commission from Heaven to deliver his city of Orleans, and to conduct him afterwards to Rheims, in order to celebrate his coronation^m. The king either was, or affected to be in great doubt, demanded some evident incontestible marks of her mission, caused her to be examined by a committee of divines, and sent her afterwards to Poitiers to confer with the parliament. Having had the advice of both, he ordered a body of ten or twelve thousand men to assemble, in order to serve as an escort to a great convoy, which she undertook to conduct safely into the city. This service she performed, shut herself up afterwards in the place, with the assistance of the bastard of Orleans harassed the besiegers so much, that at length they were constrained to retire, after having lain before, and in the neighbourhood of the city, upwards of a year. From this exploit she was styled La Pucelle d'Orleans, or *the Maid of Orleans*: she wore the dress of a man; appeared on horseback like a young cavalier; charged at the head of the troops with great courage; affected an extraordinary piety; and was irreproachable in point of morals.

She performs many great things, and is highly esteemed and gratefully rewarded by the king.

La Pucelle remained but two days in Orleans after the raising of the siege, and then repaired to the king, whom she pressedⁿ exceedingly to take the resolution of going to Rheims, there to receive his crown, after the accustomed forms; which step, however, was vehemently opposed by some of the great lords, and most of the experienced officers, as a thing utterly impracticable; but the Pucelle had her party likewise, who prevailed; and it was at last resolved that it should be attempted^o. The difficulties were

¹ Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans, imprimée sur un Manuscrit Anonime, par M. Godefroi. Le Gend. Mez. Boulan. ^m Histoire de Charles VII. par J. Chart. Chalons.

ⁿ De Bellai Traité de la Discipline Militaire, liv. ii. fo. 56. Histoire de Charles VII. par J. Chart. J. de Serres. Le Gend. Chalons.

^o Chroniques de Monstrelet. Gaguini Hist. Du Tillet. Mezeray.

great, but the Pucelle had the honour of overcoming most of them, by which means her reputation was highly raised, the courage of the French troops elevated, from a notion that they were conducted by a person inspired; and this opinion likewise made no small impression on the English and Burgundian troops, who were no longer invincible in their garrisons, or even in the field, where victory had accompanied them before. In fine, Rheims opened her gates; the king was solemnly crowned on the 17th of July; pushed his conquests as far as the Seine, and even made an attempt upon Paris, where the Pucelle exposed herself extremely, but at length was obliged to desist. In the mean time a new negociation was set on foot with the duke of Burgundy, which, however, was baffled by the industry and address of the duke of Bedford, who, notwithstanding, declined fighting the French army; and, it is remarkable, that the forces of the kingdom were now so much reduced, that the troops on both sides, at the close of this campaign, did not exceed twenty-five thousand men. The Pucelle demanded the king's leave to retire, as having completed her mission; but her presence was thought so necessary, that the king constrained her to remain. As a mark of his favour and gratitude for past services, he ennobled her family; bestowed on them the name of Du Lis, and all their descendents males and females; the latter part, however, of this grant has been since abolished.

A.D. 1429,

The duke of Bedford, in order to secure the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, concluded new treaties with each of them, giving to the former Champagne and Brie, and to the latter the county of Poitou, when they should be able to conquer them; he likewise amused the people of Paris with the hopes of seeing the young king Henry, who was to come and keep a magnificent court amongst them; but finding that they were privately taking measures to put their city into the hands of king Charles, he seized about one hundred and fifty of the wealthiest citizens who were in that interest; beheaded some; broke others upon the wheel; and obliged the rest to deliver themselves by paying a heavy ransom, which furnished him with money, of which he stood in great need. Amadeus the Eighth, duke of Savoy, and Lewis de Chalon, prince of Orange,

Is however taken in a sally at the siege of Compeigne, and is delivered to the English.

^p Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans, P. Æmil. P. Dan. Pr. Henault. ^q Histoire de Charles VII. Histoire de la Pucelle d'Orleans. J. de Serres. Du Tillet. Mez.

who had hitherto professed themselves friends to king Charles, believed it very practicable to share Dauphiné between them, by which partition the duke was to have Grenoble and the mountainous country about it; and the prince Vienne, and as much of the rest of the province as he could keep^r. However, Ralph, lord of Gaucour, governor for the king, having very early intelligence of this confederacy, attacked and defeated the prince of Orange, who narrowly escaped with his life, and afterwards reconciled himself to the king, and entered into his service. But the most important event of this year was the siege of Compeigne, which the duke of Burgundy invested with a numerous army. The place was gallantly defended by the Sieur de Flavy, and the Pucelle throwing herself into it with an additional force, made a sally on the 26th of May, in which she had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by a gentleman of Burgundy, who sold her to the English. Notwithstanding this misfortune, Compeigne was so well defended, that the count de Vendosme, having assembled a competent number of troops, forced the besiegers in their camp, and obliged them to retire in such haste, that they left their artillery and baggage, an advantage which so raised the spirits of his forces, that he offered the duke of Burgundy battle, which that prince thought it prudent to decline.

A.D. 1430.

Carried to Rouen and burned there as a sorceress and a witch, while Henry VI. was in that city.

The war was carried on with as much vigour on both sides as the shattered state of their finances and the exhausted condition of the provinces would allow; so that every day produced either the surprisal of towns, excursions for plunder, or disputes in the field; which, however, determined nothing^s. The disputed succession of the duchy of Lorraine augmented the differences between king Charles and the duke of Burgundy, the former took part with Rene d'Anjou, brother to Lewis, king of Sicily, who had married Isabella, the daughter of the last duke Charles; and the duke espoused that of the count De Vaudemont, brother to the deceased duke of Lorraine. This affair was for the present decided by a battle, in which Rene was made prisoner^t. The regent duke of Bedford, who had caused the young king his nephew to pass the sea to Calais, from whence he came to Rouen, made use of his presence there to countenance the prosecution of the Pu-

^r Gaguini Hist. P. Dan. Chalons. ^s Chroniques de Montf. Annales de France. P. Æmil. P. Dan. Pr. Henault, ^t Histoire de Charles VII. par J. Chart. Chroniques de Montf.

celle, who was charged with heresy, forcery, and seducing the people from their duty. She defended herself with great firmness and spirit, during a trial that lasted for several months; but being condemned, she submitted to the censure of the church, abjured her heresy, resumed the habit of her sex, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, without receiving any other sustenance than bread and water. A few days after, her dressing again in man's apparel was adjudged contumacy. She was condemned, by the bishop of Beauvais and the inquisitors, who were her judges, to the flames; and, being delivered to the secular power, was accordingly burnt in the market-place of Rouen^u. She suffered with courage, and asserted she was no impostor. Her memory was justified twenty-four years after, when the crown of France was the strongest, by the papal authority; but the dispute is not yet settled amongst the learned, whether she was a saint, a witch, or, what the moderns call, a girl of spirit. On the 2d of December, Henry made his entrance into Paris, by the gate of St. Denis, was received with all apparent marks of duty and submission, and of joy likewise; he paid his respects to his grandmother the queen-dowager, and on the 17th was crowned in the cathedral of Notre Dame, by his uncle, the cardinal bishop of Winchester, a circumstance which disoblged the bishop of Paris extremely^w; there were only two spiritual and none of the temporal peers present. On the 21st he held his bed of justice in open parliament, and received the homage of all the members. Before the close of the year he returned again to Rouen.

The reason for which the duke of Bedford sent him thither, was, that his person might be secure, the troops of king Charles frequently making incursions as far as the Seine, and there being still some suspicions as to the fidelity of the people of Paris. Yet this step, equally prudent and well executed, was very near producing a bad effect. A French gentleman surpris'd the castle, with one hundred and twenty men; and the city would have been taken if the troops employed for that purpose had not quarrelled about the division of the booty; a dispute which gave the English and the townsmen an opportunity of recovering the castle, and of executing the best part of the garrison,

A D. 1431.

The constable seizes la Trimouille, the king's prime-minister.

^u Hist. Angl. Proces MS. de la Pucelle. Dupleix. ^w Histoire de Charles VII. par. J. Chart. Chroniques de Monst. Hall. Holinshed. Stowe. Mez. P. Dan.

who

who had surrendered at discretion *. The bastard of Orleans, now styled count of Dunois, had been more fortunate in surprising Chartres; and the English, in their turn, made themselves masters of Montargis, which the French attempted to recover, but failed, through the negligence of La Trimouille, the king's first minister, who becoming very odious, the constable resolved to treat him as he had treated his predecessors. Having concerted measures with some of the principal persons about the court, who abhorred him for his pride, they seized him in the castle of Chinon, in the very next room to the king; and, after a struggle, in which the minister was wounded, carried him away prisoner, and shut him up in the castle of Montefor, where he remained long confined. The king at first appeared highly exasperated at this outrage on his authority; but finding there was no remedy, and having himself also just cause to be offended with the minister, who was very near as arbitrary as ever the constable had been, he suffered himself to be pacified by the queen, and bestowed his confidence on her brother the count de Maine, who had been one of the most active in seizing Trimouille, and who was excited to this behaviour by the promise of the constable that he should be his successor.

A.D. 1432.

Charles conciliates his own inclinations to ease and pleasure, with the interests of his government.

Charles went yet farther: he called a kind of assembly of the states at Tours, where his chancellor declared in his name to the assembly, that the king was not offended with those who had seized la Trimouille, but held them still in his good graces. This was the third time that the constable had changed the ministry by violence; and yet, at the persuasion of the count de Maine, the king was reconciled to him, and received him again at court as if nothing had happened †. The modern historians say, that Charles, who was young and much addicted to his pleasures, hated business, and was very glad to let any body govern, provided they left him to divert himself in peace. He was certainly young, amorous, and well enough pleased with spectacles; but he was very far from wanting either parts or courage, and he very often shewed both when they were least expected; but hitherto he had been always governed, and those who governed him did his business well. Many of the princes and great lords were both able and inclined to serve him, but they would do it

* Annales de France. Dup'leix.
Annales de France. P. Æmil. P. Dan.

† Chroniques de Monst.

in their own way; and, whatever might be in his will, it was certainly not in his power, to render them more submissive^a. He saw, therefore, that, by pursuing his pleasures, to which he was no enemy, his own affairs and those of the state would not suffer; since the nobility, who affected to be independent, were willing and able enough to carry on the war. He knew that the constable, though very impetuous and over-bearing, was an excellent officer, had a great influence over his brother, and had the honour of the crown and the welfare of the public sincerely at heart, which were motives sufficient not to make him very difficult about a reconciliation; but, besides all this, he very well knew, that how much soever he might be obliged to stoop, while his crown was in dispute, he might resume the monarch at any time, when in full possession of his dominions. He contented himself, therefore, with being a spectator, and with carrying on some intrigues with the duke of Orleans in England, which turned highly to his advantage. In the mean time some insurrections in the Low Countries embarrassed the duke of Burgundy; and his sister, the duchess of Bedford, dying, some disputes arose between him and the regent, who, without consulting him, had married a second wife. The cardinal of Winchester, in order to reconcile them, proposed an interview at St. Omer's, to which place they both came, but, notwithstanding, never met; for the duke of Burgundy insisting upon the first visit, they withdrew more exasperated than ever, each determined to pursue his own measures^a.

The war had occasioned a famine through the greatest part of the kingdom: in Normandy more especially the people suffered so much, and thought themselves so ill used by some of the English commanders, that they revolted, took several places, and if they had been joined in time by any of Charles's forces, might have recovered their province. As it was, they were in a short time reduced, partly by promises and partly by force; and all that their rising produced, was an increase of those mischiefs which they assigned as the causes of their taking up arms^b. The duke of Bourbon being dead, after a long captivity in England, his son count de Clermont, who

A.D. 1433.

The king, by the arts of the duke of Orleans, engages his competitor Henry VI. to consent to a treaty.

^a Histoire de Charles VII. par J. Chart. Abrege Chronologique J. de Serres. Mez. ^a Annales de France, Monf. P. Emil. Dupleix. Le Gend. ^b Histoire de Charles VII. par J. Chart. Hall. Holinshed. Stowe. Gaguini Hist. Mez. P. Daniel.

A D. 1434.

now bore that title, made a potent diversion on the side of Burgundy, notwithstanding he had married the duke's sister. At first, in all probability, the war was in earnest, but by degrees they fell to treat, and at length they made a particular treaty, which produced some insinuations of the king's inclination to compromise the disputes that had so long subsisted between them. The constable then renewed his intercourse with the duke of Burgundy, who perceiving that he should find equal inconveniences in case the English prevailed, resolved to treat at once, and secure to himself those advantages which could not well be refused him, as things then stood. In the mean time the duke of Orleans, in concert with king Charles, had amused the government in England with the hopes of an advantageous treaty of peace, which was to be negotiated at Calais. The design of this profession seems to have been to procure the consent of the English court to treat at any rate; to which measure, when they had once yielded, they could not avoid sending their plenipotentiaries to Arras, where two legates were arrived, one from the pope, and the other from the council at Basle, and where the duke of Burgundy not only assisted by his ministers, but also in person^c.

*Concludes
the famous
Treaty of
Arras,
with Phi-
lip the
Good, duke
of Burgun-
dy.*

The offers made by the French plenipotentiaries were the duchies of Normandy and Guienne entire, the usual homage only reserved, which the English ministers absolutely and scornfully rejected; insisting, that both parties should keep what they had got, excepting only the exchange of such towns and districts on both sides as were situate within each other's general bounds, and might thereby prove the source of new disputes. As they would not depart in the least from these terms, the mediators declared in favour of the propositions made by Charles; and upon this declaration, the English plenipotentiaries withdrew^d. This was precisely what king Charles and the duke of Burgundy wanted, who had already settled, at least in a good measure, all their disputes; and the treaty being quickly reduced into form, was signed and ratified by both parties. It was mortifying enough, in many respects, to the monarch who made it, and as advantageous, in all respects, to the duke of Burgundy, as he could desire. Therefore the necessity on the one hand,

^c Abrege Chronologique, Monst. Gagnini Hist. Mezeray, P. Daniel. ^d Annales de France, Histoire de Charles VII. par Jean Chart. P. Æmil. Du Tillet, Le Gendre.

and the advantages expected on the other; secured the king against any reproaches for making a treaty, which, in many respects, derogated from his dignity, and which would have been highly prejudicial to his interest, if he could, with any propriety, be said to have any interest, capable of standing in competition with the peace. In the space of a week after the peace was concluded, Isabella, queen-dowager of France, died of a broken heart, occasioned, in a great measure, as the French historians say, by the reproaches thrown upon her by the English soldiers, who told her, to her face, that she knew her son Charles to have no relation to the king her husband. She had lived long in a private condition; her death made little impression, and her coffin being put into a boat, with four of her domestics, was sent by water to St. Denis, and there interred, without so much as a bishop to perform the funeral ceremonies. In her will she expressed great tenderness for the regent duke of Bedford, whom she styled her son. There has been a tomb erected for her since, though it cannot be said, with any propriety, to do honour to her memory, since a wolf is placed at the feet of her effigies, as a symbol of her cruel, rapacious, and unnatural disposition^e. In the month of December following died the regent duke of Bedford, at Rouen, concerning whom the French and English historians seem to contend which shall speak best. He was in all respects, one of the ablest and bravest men of his time, equally respected and regretted by both nations. The French recovered this year Dieppe, and several other places in Normandy; and the ill reception the duke of Burgundy's notification of his treaty met with in England gave them good reason to hope, that this prince, who by this peace was become neuter, would be, in consequence of it, obliged to declare himself their ally; though this was far enough from being his original intention^f.

A.D. 1435.

The duke of York succeeded the late king's brother, the duke of Bedford, in the regency of France; but having a high spirit, and expecting as deep a submission when things went ill as when they were ever so prosperous, he was much less fit for that employment^g. However, having great courage and activity, he might perhaps have done tolerably well, if he had been sent over immedi-

The city of Paris is delivered to Charles VII. who from this time is considered as monarch of France.

^e Histoire de Charles VII. par Chart. Morst. Annales de France, Du Tillet, P. Daniel. ^f Abrege Chronologique. P. Emil. Pr. Henault. ^g Annales de France, Hall. Holinsh. Stowe. Gaguini Hist. P. Daniel. Le Gend.

ately;

ately; but the factions in England retarded his departure, and therefore made way for such misfortunes as were afterwards without remedy. The constable of France, though he had not an army sufficient to attempt the siege, laboured to distress the city of Paris, by a distant blockade, and preventing regular supplies of provisions, in which aim he succeeding so far as to make the inhabitants very uneasy^b. Sir Robert Willoughby commanded in that capital with a garrison of about fifteen hundred men; and as long as the duke of Burgundy was in the English interest, held the people in great order; but, after the treaty of Arras, he found himself under great difficulties, which put him under the necessity of treating them more severely; upon which they entered into a secret negociation with the constable, and offered, provided they might have a general indemnity, and a confirmation of their privileges, to seize one of their gates, and to admit his forces. This the constable readily promised, and undertook that the king should confirm it: and, having surpris'd a part of the garrison, the citizens fulfilled their promise, and deliver'd him one of their gates: the English governor, Willoughby, assisted by such prelates as yet adhered to king Henry's interest, did all that was possible to repel the French, and preserve the place; and at length, when this was found impossible, retired into the Bastile, where they were presently blocked upⁱ. Some disputes arose whether any terms should be offer'd, or whether they should insist upon their surrendering at discretion; but the constable, perceiving that the people of Paris inclin'd to treat the English garrison mildly, he offer'd that they should be sent to Rouen, either by land or water: they chose the latter conveyance, and the capitulation was punctually executed^k.

Philip, duke of Burgundy, besieges Calais, but is constrained to raise it by the duke of Gloucester.

This glorious action restored the constable entirely to his master's favour, who did not immediately repair to Paris, but first solemnized the marriage of his son the dauphin with a princess of Scotland, Margaret daughter to James II. and next took care to regulate every thing in the best manner possible in the provinces on the other side of the Loire. The duke of Burgundy, finding that the English were negotiating an alliance with the emperor Sigismund,

^k Histoire de Charles VII. par Chart. Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris.

ⁱ Monst. Abrege Chronologique, Annales de France, Gaguini Hist. Du Tillet.

^k Histoire de Charles VII. par Chart. Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris, Montf. P. Æmil. P. Daniel.

and suspecting that they encouraged insurrections in the Low Countries, declared openly in favour of France, and with a numerous army besieged Calais. But the duke of Gloucester going over with a competent strength, compelled him to raise the siege, and afterwards ravaged Artois, and other provinces adjacent. The duke of York likewise landing in Normandy, with a body of English troops, quickly recovered most part of the French conquests, and made the necessary dispositions for taking the field early the next spring with a competent army, while a formidable rebellion in the Low Countries put it out of the power of the duke of Burgundy to give his new allies any kind of assistance.

The winter proving very hard, general Talbot, one of the ablest and most fortunate of the English officers, took advantage of a great fall of snow, and, having dressed his soldiers in white, surprised Pontois; and the French, who made a like attempt upon Rouen, not only failed, but suffered extremely in their retreat. The parliament and other sovereign courts being returned to Paris, the inhabitants were very desirous the king should also return thither; but Charles, who knew the rumours that had been spread to his prejudice, persisted in the resolution he had formed, of not going thither till he had performed some action of importance; he sent orders, therefore, to the constable, to assemble a body of troops to besiege Montreuil, which, by commanding the Seine, gave the people at Paris much disturbance; as the place was strong, and had a good garrison, it made an obstinate defence; however, when an assault was practicable, the king assisted in person, passed the ditch up to the middle, mounted the ladder that was raised against the breach, and was among the first who entered the place, which was quickly taken, the garrison retiring into the castle, which also capitulated in a few days¹. This exploit had the effect the king proposed; it raised his reputation highly, and contributed not a little to the universal joy that was expressed at his making a solemn entry into Paris, on the 17th of November, after an absence of about nineteen years^m. This joy, however, was of very short duration, since, in six weeks time, he was obliged to abandon it on account of the plague, which was accompanied with famine and

*The king
makes his
entry into
his capital.*

A.D. 1437.

¹ Annales de France, Monst. Abrege Chronologique, Du Tillot, Le Gend. ^m Histoire de Charles VII. P. Daniel, Pr. Henault.

another severe winter, in which wolves passing the river in the night, destroyed numbers of people in the streetsⁿ. The scarcity extended itself through the greatest part of the kingdom; and the long continuance of the war having in a manner extinguished industry, multitudes had no other way of subsisting than by rapine.

Charles lays the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican church.

The king passed the next year on the other side of the Loire, where he had an affair of great importance to manage. The council of Basil had quarrelled with pope Eugenius the Fifth. Having taken several resolutions to bridle the papal power, they sent them by five ambassadors to the king, desiring that, by his authority, they might be observed throughout his dominions. Charles called an assembly of the clergy at Bourges, where, in the presence of the princes of the blood, and of the chief nobility of the kingdom, he caused these canons to be examined; and finding them, for the most part, to be very wise and just, and perfectly calculated to extinguish the capital grievances^o that had been so long complained of, he caused them to be compiled into a law, for the benefit of the Gallican church, to which he gave the title of the Pragmatic Sanction; by this the power of nominating to ecclesiastical dignities, granting expectatives, pensions, exemptions, and other acts of power, were taken from the see of Rome; and those branches of the papal prerogative, which were not abolished, were so curtailed, as to be less injurious to the people and detrimental to the monarchy^p. But when the council afterwards deposed the pope, he would not withdraw his obedience^q; neither would he yield to the intercessions of this or of the succeeding pontiffs, with relation to the Pragmatic Sanction, which has been justly considered as the great bulwark of the rights of the Gallican church, against the tyrannical pretensions of the Roman pontiffs^r.

A.D. 1438.

A treaty with England, which, in the end, comes to nothing.

The duchess of Burgundy, who, as a daughter of Portugal, was nearly related to Henry the Sixth, being both descended from John duke of Lancaster, prevailed upon that monarch to send over his uncle, the cardinal of Winchester, to confer with the plenipotentiary of France, about the means of procuring a peace, which was alike necessary to both parties; but these conferences, though

ⁿ Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris. ^o Monst. Abrege Chronologique, Histoire de Charles VII. par Chart. J. de Serres. P. Daniel. ^p Annales de France, Duplex, Le Gend. ^q Gaguini Hist. ^r Histoire de Charles VII. P. Æmil. Pr. Henault.

often renewed, came at last to nothing¹. In the mean time the constable, with some difficulty, took Meaux; but, having besieged Avranches, general Talbot surprised his forces, and constrained him to raise the siege. The king was so much chagrined at this check, that he sent orders to the constable to keep the army assembled, in order to undertake some other enterprize; but, from the licence of those times, that scheme was found impracticable; upon which the king, by the advice of the constable and chief officers, contrived the best plan of discipline that the then state of his affairs would admit. Having provided for the constant and regular pay of the forces, he declared his intention to see that plan carried into execution for the public benefit, and without respect of persons; which, though perfectly well intended, was, however, very ill taken, by many who found their private account in the public disorders, and pretended that past services were ill requited; because, after having defended the king's subjects, they were not allowed to plunder them. But Charles, who saw the reasonableness of the new regulations, and who also foresaw their consequences, though he gave good words to the malecontents, remained firm to his resolution, which was in effect the first attempt made to introduce a true scheme of duty, and to subject military men to military laws².

The dukes of Bourbon and Alençon were among the number of the malecontents; as well as the count Dunois, who could not bear the superiority of the constable; but the principal author and mover of this sedition was La Tremouille, who, having recovered his liberty, thought he must of course be restored to the post of prime minister³. By his advice they practised upon the dauphin, and, notwithstanding the honesty and integrity of the count de la Marche, his governor, drew that young prince, who was but in his eighteenth year, to join them. They made choice of Blois for their rendezvous, to which city the constable came by choice, so that they had every thing in their power; and yet were so imprudent as, after affronting, to let him go. It was with some difficulty he joined the king, who could not help saying at the sight of him, "Now I have my constable I am afraid of nobody:" nevertheless

A.D. 1435.

The dauphin concurs with the malecontents in the sedition called the Praguerie.

¹ Abrege Chronologique, Annales de France. ² Abrege Chronologique, Histoire de Charles VII. par. Chart. Annales de France, Duplex, Pr. Henault. ³ J. de Serres, Le Gend. * Gaguini Hist.

he proposed to shut himself up in a fortress; to which proposal the constable answered, "Remember the fate of Richard of England^x." The king then began to arm, sent a herald to demand his son from the duke of Alençon, and, with the few troops he had about him, marched directly against the malecontents; who, when they came to raise a rebellion in earnest; found themselves strangely mistaken; for most of the cities shut their gates against them, and sent troops and money to the king. The dauphin then applied himself to the duke of Burgundy, who assured him of his friendship, and, as a mark of it, promised to send an envoy to recommend him to the clemency of the king.

*Is forced
to return
and submit.*

Thus abandoned he retired with the duke of Bourbon into his domains, where they quickly received a message, requiring them to come to court, which they resolved to obey; because the count of Dunois, who deserted them early to throw himself at the king's feet, had been received into full favour. They set out with La Tremouille, Chaumont, and de Prie; but when they came within half a league of Cusset, where the king was, they received an intimation that those lords had no favour to expect^y. The dauphin would have retired with them, but the duke of Bourbon advised and prevailed upon him to proceed. Upon their arrival the king bid the dauphin retire to his apartment; the duke kneeling to kiss his hand, he said, "This is not the first time you have offended me, but take my advice, and let it be the last." The dauphin came next day to his father, told him he had engaged his word to the three lords, and that, if he would not pardon them, he would leave the place. "With all my heart (replied Charles), the gate is open; and, if you don't think it wide enough, I will order twenty yards of the wall to be broke down^z." However, the dauphin staid, and his father changed all his domestics, except his confessor and his cook. Thus ended this piece of confusion, which was styled the Praguerie, or Briguerie. While the dauphin was employed in disturbing his father's government, the earls of Somersset and Dorset, with the famous general Talbot, besieged Harfleur. In the mean time the duke of Orleans settled his ransom in England at three hundred thousand crowns; two thirds of which sum were paid by

^x P. Daniel.

^y Annales de France, P. Æmil. Mezer. P.

Daniel, Pr. Henault.

^z Monst. Journal de ce est qui arrive

a Paris, Gaguini Hist. Du Tillet, P. Daniel.

the duke of Burgundy, out of pure generosity, as the French authors affirm; our records, however, much reduce the duke of Burgundy's favour; by which an end was put to the feuds between the two families. The two princes exchanged their orders of the Golden Fleece and the Porcupine; and the duke of Orleans, as soon as he was released, married the daughter of the duke of Cleves, who was the duke of Burgundy's niece. With this close conjunction between the two dukes, king Charles was so much displeas'd, that he would not permit the duke of Orleans to come to court with the nobles of Burgundy who attended him; at which refusal the duke was so much offended, that he retired to his own estates^a.

A. D. 1440.

The king, perceiving how much his reputation was rais'd, by the vigour he had shewn in suppressing the malecontents, resolv'd to command his army in person, and to carry on the war with spirit, which was the more necessary, as the duke of York had return'd into France, with the title of regent, after the death of the earl of Warwick. His first enterprize was against Creil, upon the Oise, which he took after a siege of no long continuance; and this encouraged him to invest Pontoise, a place of great consequence to the Parisians, who therefore applauded the king highly on this expedition; but the place was not taken with the same facility^b. The duke of York and general Talbot relieved the place five several times, and many of the nobility began to quit the army, their time of service being expired^c. The king withdrew to Plessy, where hearing that the people of Paris made very free with his character, he returned suddenly before the place, and order'd a general assault to be given on the 19th of September, in which he mounted the breach in person, enter'd the town at the head of his troops, and carried it by storm. This adventure once more established his reputation, and shew'd, what his grandfather was too wise a man ever to shew, that it was not for want of courage he sometimes declined action, but because he thought he had about him better officers than himself. The dauphin was there also, and behaved as became him, for he was now all submission; and as his great talent was dissimulation, he perform'd his part perfectly well, and the king, who was honest and brave, never suspected the deceit.

Charles distinguishes himself in reducing Pontoise.

A. D. 1441.

^a Annales de France, Hist. de Charles VII. par J. Chart. J. de Serres, Mezer. P. Daniel. ^b Journal de ce qui est arrive a Paris, Chalons, Le Gend. ^c Pr. Henault.

New troubles excited in the kingdom by the dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, and Bretagne.

The king marched next spring into Poitou, being absolutely bent upon reducing the governors of cities and fortresses in those parts to an exact discipline, in which design the duke of Orleans, who had great estates thereabouts concurred, and the king received this mark of submission with great civility, though he knew very well the correspondence he held, and the steps he was taking. On his arrival at Limoges, the whole scheme broke out, and he received deputies from the princes and great lords who were disposed to think that he managed public affairs very ill, and that it was impossible he should manage them otherwise, till he conformed in all things to their advice. The dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, and Bretagne, excited these complaints, and were seconded by the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, with the whole body of the ancient malecontents. Charles, by the mouth of the bishop of Clermont, condescended to enter into the whole detail of the grievances which they produced, and proved plainly, that many of them did not subsist; that others flowed either from themselves or their creatures; and that he was very willing to redress the rest, as soon as it should be in his power^d. He conducted himself, upon this occasion, with great temper and moderation, but, at the same time, with dignity and firmness. After he had given his answer, he added, that he was much obliged to the duke of Orleans for the great concern he had for the public, and was very sensible of the hardships he must have suffered in twenty-five years captivity; and, therefore, setting all disputes aside, if he would come and share the amusements of the Whitsun-holidays with him at Limoges, he should have no cause to repent of his journey.

The king, by taking off the duke of Orleans, dissolves the league of the malecontents.

This message brought the duke, whom the king received very graciously, gave him one hundred and forty thousand franks towards his ransom, and settled a handsome pension on him, out of respect to his patriotism^e. Orleans immediately acquainted the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne that they were quite misinformed as to the king, who was the wisest and best prince in the world: and thus the old malecontents were once more left to his mercy. The king, after having dissipated this storm, prosecuted his march into Languedoc, in order to save the town of Fortas, which belonged to the lord of Albret,

^d Monst. Abrege Chronologique. Chalons. Le Gend.

^e Hist.

toire de Charles VII, par Chart. P. Daniel.

and had capitulated with the general of the English army in Gujenne, in case the French king did not come to its relief by a day assigned. The sieur de Albret had served Charles with the utmost fidelity, in his lowest fortunes; the king, who was the most grateful prince of his age, was bent upon this expedition, which the malecontents had made it a point to prevent. He carried it however with a high hand, kept the day, and offered the English battle, who, being much inferior in number, declined it; but very honourably released the son of the sieur de Albret, whom his father had given in hostage for the performance of this agreement^f. The king's steadiness did him a great deal of service, and attached to him the lords in that neighbourhood extremely, the fear of which attachment was one great motive that influenced the malecontents.

A.D. 1442.

The English having turned the siege of Harfleur into a blockade, pressed it so closely, that it was in great danger of being lost. The king had sent the count of Dunois to relieve it, which he had done more than once; but the English having built a redoubt before it, the inhabitants found themselves distressed to the last degree. At length the king sent the dauphin with a strong detachment from his own army, who invested the redoubt, attacked, and carried it sword in hand, by which exploit he gained great credit^g. Charles was so far from being displeased with the rising character of his son, that he sent him into Gascony, where he himself had raised a kind of civil war by an act of justice, in setting the old countess of Cominges at liberty, whom her husband had confined twenty years; and the old lady dying soon after, left her county to the king. The count of Armagnac, the count of Foix, and the husband of the deceased countess, who had determined to share it amongst them, took up arms; and the count of Armagnac carried his resentment so far as to promise his daughter to Henry the Sixth of England, in order to obtain his assistance. The dauphin, charged with the management of this war, prosecuted it with so much courage and conduct, that he not only recovered the county of Cominges, and broke the confederacy, but compelled the count of Armagnac to renounce his treaty with England, and to demand the king's mercy^h.

The dauphin relieves Harfleur, and then reduces the count de Armagnac, who had revolted.

A D. 1443.

^f Histoire de Charles VII. par Chart. Monst. Polyd. Virgil. Hist. Angl. Hall. Holinsh. Le Gend. ^g P. Daniel. ^h Abrege Chronologique. Mezer. Pr. Henault.

*A truce
with Eng-
land, and
the armies
in France
disbanded
according
to the king's
plan.*

The desire of peace continued still equally strong, because the necessity of it was equally felt by both parties; and, therefore, to satisfy their subjects, the two kings, Charles and Henry, consented to a kind of congress at Tours, where, after many altercations, a truce was concluded, to commence the middle of May this year, and to end on the first of April in the next¹. At the same time a marriage treaty was adjusted between king Henry and the princess Margaret, daughter to Rene the titular king of Naples, duke of Lorraine and Bar. This truce, as the French historians say, was a great stroke in politics on the side of the English ministers; but in England it was considered in a very different light; and the authors of it were looked upon, and some of them at least suffered in the end, as traitors. Be this as it may, both parties then boasted of their moderation, and both were equally at a loss what to do with the troops they had on foot, that they might not be tempted to make war for themselves when no longer employed by the two crowns. Charles thought this a point of such consequence, that he consented his son should lead a numerous army for the service of the house of Austria, against the Switzers; and the English, who apprehended the same inconvenience, took this opportunity to send a body of six or eight thousand under his command². The king, at the head of another army, marched to besiege the city of Metz, in the quarrel of Rene of Anjou, duke of Lorraine. The dauphin made himself master of Montbelliard by composition, and defeated a body of Swiss troops near Basil; but, at the request of the council that was still sitting, he entered into a negociation with the cantons, and concluded the first treaty that was ever made between them and the crown of France¹. On the other side, the king, finding a much more obstinate resistance than he expected from the citizens of Metz, came at length to a composition. He agreed to accept of a very large sum of money for the expences of the war; and procured, at the same time, the release of a large debt that was due from his brother-in-law the duke of Lorraine to that city. On the return of these armies into France, the king, with the assistance of the dauphin, the princes of the blood, and the great lords,

¹ Matthieu de Conic. Histoire de Charles VII. Du Tillet.

² Abrege Chronologique. Histoire de Charles VII. par Chart. Dupleix. Polyd. Virgil. Mezer Le Gend. ¹ Monst. P. Daniel.

carried into execution his great scheme of discipline. Having gratified the principal officers with employments and pensions, he obliged the greatest part of the private men to disband, and betake themselves either to agriculture, to the several trades to which they had been bred, or to some other honest employment. At the same time, he made use of the best of the troops, now divided into regular corps, and a proper fund settled for their assistance, to scour the roads, and to keep the country clear of thieves and vagabonds; by which the public tranquillity was sooner and more effectually restored than, after so long and bloody a war, could have been easily imagined.

As the whole of this scheme was contrived, so the most difficult part in the execution was personally performed by the king. After a general review, he signified to the troops that were to be disbanded, his resolution to treat as rebels such as should continue in arms, should assemble together in bands, or should, in any manner, trouble the peace of the kingdom. Charles has been represented as an indolent prince immersed in pleasures; but he never was found deficient in spirit and activity, when a favourable opportunity offered of exerting himself; and he was often censured for negligence and pusillanimity, when he deserved praise for his moderation and forbearance^m. At this period, he acted with proper temper, and a just regard to the state of his own affairs, and those of his neighbours, when he declined entering into a formal war with the state of Genoa, which, after having, in express terms, demanded his protection, and received his assistance, excluded his troops, and refused to comply with their engagements; but he kept Final, which they had put into his hands, and referred their chastisement to a more convenient timeⁿ. In the like manner he let slip the claim of the duke of Orleans to the duchy of Milan, which, by the assistance of the power of France, he might possibly have made good. But Charles, who had his own quiet and the good of his subjects in view, did not care to plunge himself into a new war on the other side the Alps, before his people had recovered themselves from the miseries and misfortunes to which they were exposed during the weak reign of his unfortunate father. Henry the Sixth having stipulated to restore the city of Mons and its

A.D. 1444.

Charles resolves to improve this interval of peace to restore his domestic affairs.

^m D'Argent. Histoire de Bretagne. Abrege Chronologique. Du Tillet. P. Daniel. ⁿ Montrel. Histoire de Charles VII. par Chart. P. Æmil. Mezer. Le Gend.

A.D. 1443.

dependencies to his consort's uncle, and the French king's brother-in-law, Charles count of Maine, which restitution, out of fear of his own subjects, he had hitherto delayed; this monarch made no scruple of causing it to be invested by a competent body of troops, while, with a more potent army, commanded by himself in person, he carried on the siege; and, by this stroke of vigour, recovered a place that was of more importance to him than to the prince whose title he seemed to espouse°. The place being taken by capitulation, he ordered his troops to return into their quarters, insisting that, by this measure he had not at all infringed the truce. As the situation of Henry's affairs made the renewing of the war very inconvenient to him, he chose to receive in good part an apology that would have been looked upon as an insult, while the dukes, either of Bedford or of York, were intrusted with the management of his concerns in that kingdom.

The English unaccountably break the truce when their concerns were in great confusion.

The care that Charles had taken to improve these few years of peace, had been attended with all the success he could expect, so that the face of the country was quite changed, and all the great cities were suddenly, and, in a manner, imperceptibly repeopled. On the other hand, he had omitted nothing that might raise his reputation abroad, having, with great prudence and policy, composed that schism which had so long disturbed the church; he had likewise renewed his treaty with James the Second, king of Scots, on very honourable terms for that prince, notwithstanding the demise of the dauphiness his sister; and, from the same degree of foresight, had renewed his engagements with the crown of Castile; so that his concerns were in as good a condition as he could desire for renewing the war, which, however, it is probable, he would have deferred for some time longer, if the unaccountable infatuation of the English had not put it out of his power. The duke of Somerset had been, by the queen's faction, sent over to replace the duke of York, whom she both hated and feared; and he suffered Sir Francis Surienne, knight of the Garter, but an Arragonese by birth, to surprise Fougères, a rich town on the frontiers of Bretagne, two months before the truce expired^p. The duke of Bretagne complained of this violence to both kings, insisting on restitution from the one, and demanding assist-

° Abregé Chronologique. J. De Serres. Dupleix. Du Tillet. P. Daniel. ^p Histoire de J. Chart. Math. De Conj. Histoire de Charles VII. Le Gené.

ance from the other. Charles, according to his accustomed manner, declined proceeding with vigour, and consented to conference after conference, but, in the mean time, provided silently and speedily for the war he meditated. After providing for a diversion on the side of Scotland, the assistance of a Spanish fleet, and an offensive and defensive alliance with the duke of Bretagne, he first began as his auxiliary, and, as soon as every thing was disposed for the execution of his scheme, declared in his own name, and followed that declaration by entering Normandy, with four armies at once, the strongest of which he commanded in person⁹. The duke of Somerset and general Talbot exerted themselves in putting garrisons into the strongest places; a precaution which, however, disabled them from taking the field, and scarce left them troops sufficient for the defence of Rouen.

The French armies were so numerous, and so well supplied, that, in a few weeks, they made many conquests: and, in the month of October, the count of Dunois appeared with his troops in order of battle before Rouen, in hopes of exciting a revolt, but without effect. Upon his retreat, however, some of the townsmen sent to let him know, that, if he would advance again into their neighbourhood, they would give his troops an opportunity to scale the town, a promise which they performed; but, being surpris'd by general Talbot, when a few only had entered, he cut them, and the citizens who had joined them, to pieces, and threw their ladders over the wall^r. This unsuccessful attempt had an event very different from what both parties expected; for, though hitherto the inhabitants had been divided into parties, yet the next day, from very different motives, they unanimously agreed to compel their governor to surrender the town. Accordingly, having extorted his consent, they sent their deputies to treat with king Charles, who consented to all their demands, which were, an act of oblivion, the confirmation of their privileges, and leave for such as desired it, to retire to England. The duke of Somerset, however, and general Talbot, having seized the bridge, the old palace, and the castle, resolved to defend them to the last extremity: but Charles gave them no opportunity of shew-

Charles seizes this opportunity and reduces Rouen, and great part of Normandy.

A.D. 1449.

⁹ Matth. de Cauci. Dupleix. Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. Hall. Hollinsh. J. de Serres. Mezer. † Hist. de J. Chart. Du Tillet. P. Daniel.

ing their valour, but kept them blocked up till the appearance of famine obliged them to treat. The duke demanded leave to retire, which the king granted, provided they rendered Honfleur, Harfleur, and the rest of the places they possessed at the mouth of the Seine. To these conditions, at length (Harfleur excepted) Somerset agreed; and, with infinite regret, was forced to give general Talbot as a hostage for the performance of articles. The king made his entry into Rouen, with great splendor, on the 10th of November; and, though it was so late in the season, and his troops were so much fatigued, he caused Harfleur to be invested, which was reduced before the end of the year; an event which put him in possession of all Normandy on that side the Seine^s.

*Completes
the conquest
of that
duchy in the
beginning
of the year
ensuing.*

The fair opportunity the French now had of completing the conquest of Normandy, banished all distinctions of seasons. Some domestic troubles, however, hindered the king from prosecuting the war, as he intended, without interruption, and gave time to the English general Kyreil, who landed with a body of three thousand men, to reduce Valogne; but the young count of Clermont, eldest son to the duke of Bourbon, marching against him, the two armies engaged near the village of Fourmigni, and the French, being fortunately joined by the constable with some fresh troops, and some of the officers on the other side misbehaving, Sir Thomas Kyreil was defeated and taken prisoner, with the loss of about five thousand men.

This action, which happened on the 15th of April, was decisive as to the fate of Normandy; for at least one half of these English troops being drawn out of the garrisons, left them so much weaker, a circumstance of which the king did not fail to profit; for he immediately caused Caen to be invested, into which the duke of Somerset had retired with about four thousand men. The place was strong, and well fortified, so that when the constable came before it on the 5th of June, it was believed it would make a long defence. Upon the king's arrival in the camp, he caused the outworks to be attacked; and, though repulsed with loss, made another attempt the next day, in which he succeeded: he then sprung a mine with such success as obliged the duke to capitulate, and the garrison marched

^s Abrege Chronologique. Histoire de J. Chart. Hall, Hollinsh. Du Tillet.

out with all the honours of war on the 1st of July; but the king caused him and his garrison to be transported to England^u, at his own expence; and presently after ordered Falaise and Domfront to be invested. This last place being within land, the king left it to be taken at leisure, but directed Cherbourg to be pushed with all the vigour imaginable, so that it surrendered on the 12th of August, by which all Normandy was recovered in something more than a year^w. Before the end of the year, some progress was made in the reduction of Guienne; but it is now time to speak of those intrigues that embittered all these prosperities, and filled Charles with chagrin, while his kingdom resounded with acclamations for his victories.

The dauphin, after his famous expedition into Guienne, and reduction of the count of Armagnac, demanded the king's leave to return into Dauphiné, which, after some deliberation, was granted. Charles was somewhat doubtful of his son's disposition, though from the time of his submission he had behaved with the most exact obedience. The king, that his retreat from court might wear the better appearance, left some disputes that he had with the duke of Savoy to the dauphin's determination, who performed therein all that the king could possibly expect, and sent the treaty he had negotiated to him for his approbation: but this was all artifice; for the dauphin still continued to hate his father, and every body about him, in proportion as they stood in his favour. At the head of these was Pierre de Brese, seneschal of Poitou, a man of high quality and great merit: him he charged with crimes of all sorts, against the crown, the public welfare, and the king's person, demanding that he should be divested of power, and left to a fair trial. The king immediately complied, removed him from his seat in council, from all his employments, and from his presence; and then ordered his process to be formed. From having the fairest, he had the souleest character in France; all the world abandoned him, and many became his accusers; they had every advantage given them; but, upon a full trial, there could be nothing proved: the king gave him immediately the government of Rouen, and restored him, if possible, to more credit than he had before, which of consequence recalled

Lewis dauphin retires into Guienne, and asserts an independency of his father.

^u Histoire de J. Chart. Polyd. Vir. Hall. Holinsh. Dupleix. P. Dan. ^w Matth. de Couci. Abrege Chronologique. Du Tillet. Le Gendre. Pr. Henault.

his friends *. The dauphin's resentment, however, was more fatal to the king's mistress, Agnes de Sorel, by some called the Lovely Agnes, and the Demoiselle de Beauté, from the royal castle of Beauté, which the king had given her. She had followed the king into the neighbourhood of Rouen, to acquaint him with a discovery she had made of a design against his person, which the king at first judged to be ridiculous, but found afterwards was not entirely groundless; but she did not survive this journey, being seized with a distemper which hurried her to her grave in a few days † (A). Such as are for attributing all the successes

A.D. 1456.

* Histoire de J. Chart. Dupleix. Du Tillet. Mez. † Matth. De Couci. P. Dan.

(A) It is very certain, that one of the great causes of the misunderstanding between the king and his son the dauphin, was the aversion of the latter to Agnes Sorel, to whom it is said, he once gave a blow on the cheek, which might probably draw upon him great suspicions when that lady came to die, as it was commonly conceived by poison. By her will James Cœur, the king's goldsmith, that is, the person intrusted with the management of his finances, was named one of her executors; and yet he was accused of being the instrument of her death; and this proved three years afterwards, one of the principal causes of his disgrace, though, upon a strict examination, he was acquitted of that charge. James Cœur was the son of a merchant of Bourges, came early to court, and being intrusted in money affairs, acquitted himself with great honour and reputation. It is very difficult to know which he did best, the king's

business or his own; for he was the richest subject of that age in Europe. The chemists have from thence taken occasion to put him into the list of their adepts; but his philosophers' stone was commerce, which he carried on to all parts of the then known world. It is true, that, for the support of it, he made use both of the king's money and credit; but, on the other hand, whenever it was necessary, the king had likewise the use of his (1). It was this James Cœur who put his affairs in order, enabled him to carry into action his project for disciplining the army; he devised the method of maintaining the new militia, and managed the public treasure so carefully, that in the midst of his misfortunes his master never oppressed either clergy or laity by new or extraordinary imposition. On the contrary, when the service required it, he was always ready to furnish money out of his private fortune, which if he had not done, the

(1) Borel, Antiquites Gauloises, Histoire de Charles VII. Jean Chatier, Matthieu de Coucy, Gaguini Hist. P. Daniel, Le Gendre.

cases of this reign to fortune, tell us, that Charles was in nothing more happy than in the choice of this mistress, who frequently admonished him, that his duty as a king was inconsistent with his assiduity as a lover; and affirmed that it was to her persuasion France owed some of the greatest actions of his reign, which the historians, in succeeding times, were not inclined should be attributed to the king, though he performed them.

The count de Dunois, whom the king for his past services had created count de Longueville, rendered him such as were still more important in Guienne, where he prosecuted the war with such vigour and success, that, in the short interval between May and August, he reduced all that country, which had been so long in the hands of the English, and which was remarkably well affected to them^a. It is true that Bourdeaux submitted on a capitulation, under which all the adjacent district was comprehended, by which the king precluded himself from ever imposing on the inhabitants any greater taxes than those to which they were subject at this time, and promised to establish a parliament, or sovereign court of judicature, at Bourdeaux, where all things relative to that province were to be finally determined^b. Bayonne was the only place that defended

The count de Dunois, now count de Longueville, reduces Guienne in the space of one campaign.

^a Abrege Chronologique. Poyd. Virg. P. Dau. Chart. Mezeray.

Dupleix. Du Tillet. Le Gend. ^b Matth. De Couci. Histoire de J.

conquest of Normandy could not have been effected. He was also intrusted with some important negociations in Italy, which were likewise expensive; and yet all these great things could not preserve him; for being accused of a variety of crimes, rather through envy of his power and wealth, than from any real cause, he was sentenced to pay a fine of four hundred thousand crowns, to forfeit his estate, and to suffer perpetual banishment; but, upon a revision not long after, the parliament declared him innocent, and restored him to his honours and estate. At the time his misfortunes fell

upon him, his factors in foreign countries lent him sixty thousand crowns, with which he retired into Cyprus, married a second wife, by whom he had children, for whom he procured various solid establishments, and became through his industry and integrity, more opulent than ever. He was indeed, in all respects, one of the ablest and most extraordinary men of his time; and his ill usage is, by all historians represented as the greatest blemish of this reign. The sieur Dammartin was the great author of this violence, and felt the weight of a like persecution in the next reign.

itself

itself after the submission of Bourdeaux; but the place being invested, and something appearing in the heavens which the inhabitants thought a white cross, which was then the cognizance of France, in opposition to the red cross of St. George, they took occasion from thence to capitulate on the best terms they could obtain. The count of Longueville, having reduced all Guienne, with the title of the king's lieutenant-general, left, by the king's orders, the command to the count de Clermont, whom he established his governor in those parts.

A.D. 1451.

Charles makes a sudden peace with the duke of Savoy, in order to recover Bourdeaux.

The dauphin, who governed his own country as a sovereign, held an intercourse with, and made himself respected by all the princes in Europe, maintaining a proper behaviour towards every one, except his father. He did not, however, treat him with any exterior marks of disrespect; those were only bestowed upon his ministers; but he negotiated on every side, and took his measures as if he had not been either the son or the subject of Charles. At length Lewis carried this conduct so far as to conclude a treaty of marriage between himself and the princess Charlotte, daughter to the duke of Savoy, not only without the king's consent, but in direct breach of his command; upon which Charles came to Bourges, and, without mentioning any particular cause, declared war against the duke; but before any hostilities were committed, the cardinal d'Estouteville came to the king from the duke, and so pacified him that a peace was concluded at Feurs in Forez, one article of which was, that the duke's son should marry the princess Joland, or Violante, the king's daughter^c. This sudden turn was not the effect of weakness or mutability in the king, but of an event which he could not either foresee or avoid. His desire to ease his new subjects in Guienne induced him to leave as few troops there as possible; this opportunity tempted the people, who were still English in their hearts, to invite their former masters to return. Charles, that he might obtain Cherbourg the sooner, had been content to make that place the price of general Talbot's liberty, who, from a hostage, became a prisoner of war, on the governor of Honfleur's refusing to surrender that place in obedience to the duke of Somerset's orders. This general, thus at liberty, landed with five thousand English troops, was admitted by the inhabitants into Bourdeaux, surpris'd the French garrison, and, being supported by a fleet and army from England, quick-

A.D. 1452.

^c Guichenon Hist. de Savoye.

ly over-ran a great part of the province. It was this reverse of affairs that engaged the king to act as he did, that he might be at liberty to stifle effectually that flame which had been once put out already; and which, if at all neglected, might quickly grow too strong for the forces he had on foot ^d.

He began the campaign in Guienne early next year; and, in the first place that was taken, caused about eighty persons to be beheaded as traitors. On the 17th of July, general Talbot, contrary to his own sentiments, and purely to gratify the people of Bourdeaux, attacked the French army before Castillon, in their entrenchments: though at first he was successful, yet his horse being killed by a cannon shot, and himself immediately after by a wound in the throat, his forces were defeated; and, though the loss was not very great in the action, yet, in its consequences, it proved the loss of Guienne. Castillon immediately surrendered at discretion, and many other places followed this example. The king proceeded very cautiously with respect to Bourdeaux, in which there was a garrison of four thousand English, and as many Gascons. He formed the blockade by land and sea, as fast as possible; but he proceeded very slowly to the siege, and kept the same measure during the time it continued. Had he persisted in this method, the place must soon have surrendered at discretion; but diseases beginning to spread in his army, he consented to a capitulation, which was signed on the 17th of October, by which the inhabitants obtained an amnesty for themselves, twenty only excepted, who were to be banished, but at the expence of all their privileges; and the English were permitted to retire ^e. This year the king renewed with great solemnity, his treaty with the Swiss cantons. In the next he took the same step, with respect to his alliance with the king of Castile. The baron Lesparre, a nobleman of Gascony, who had been pardoned for the last revolt, engaging in new intrigues, lost his head. The count de Charolois, eldest son to the duke of Burgundy, espoused, with the king's consent, Isabell, daughter to the duke of Bourbon. The count d'Eu made an attempt upon the small remains of the English territory in France, and proceeding with that temerity which success commonly inspires,

Earl of Shrewsbury slain in the battle of Castillon, which decides the fate of Guienne.

A.D. 1453.

A.D. 1454.

^d Matth. De Couci. Abrege Chronologique. Histoire de J. Chart. Du Tillet. ^e Dupleix. Polyd. Virg. Hall. Hollinshed. Stowe.

received so severe a check, that he lost all inclination to attempt any thing farther. It was the disorder at home which was the bane of the English abroad, and not any misbehaviour in their troops ^f.

The dauphin having in vain attempted an insurrection, demands the duke of Burgundy's protection.

All this time the dauphin was, in appearance, a quiet spectator of his father's good fortune, who, with all his wisdom, knew not how to act towards his son. At certain times, when his orders quadrated with his own views, the dauphin was exactly obedient; but when he received commands of another kind, he understood these to proceed from the ministers, and paid no regard to them at all. He interfered in the wars of Italy, to the prejudice of his father-in-law, the duke of Savoy; and, upon that prince's presuming to dislike this interposition, he declared war against him, and resolved to make himself master of the marquisate of Saluces; but the duke of Burgundy and the Swiss cantons interposing, he found it expedient to make peace ^g. The king, who had an eye upon all his actions, who had now borne with him ten years, and often summoned him to court, at length determined to make him sensible of his duty; and, under colour of a tour into Auvergne, disposed every thing for seizing him in Dauphiné: Anthony de Chabannes, lord of Dammartin, being charged with the command of the troops that were to be employed in this enterprize, no sooner began to move, than the dauphin applied to the duke of Savoy, and demanded assistance both in money and forces. To prevent this, Chabannes received the king's orders to go himself to the duke's court, where he had the strongest assurances from that prince, that the dauphin should receive no support from him ^h. This answer was no sooner given, than it was communicated to the dauphin by his spies. Lewis, upon this intimation, taking with him the Sieur de Montauban, and John de Lescun, commonly called the Bastard of Armagnac, traversed the county of Burgundy, and retired into Brabant ⁱ. As soon as the duke of Burgundy received advice of his arrival, he ordered the count de Charolois to wait upon the dauphin, and to pay him all possible respect; but refused to see him till he knew how this measure would be relished by the king, to whom he transmitted an account of it directly, desiring to know

A. D. 1455.

^f Recueil des Traités par Leonard, tom. iv. Histoire de J. Chart. Matth. De Couci. Dupleix. Le Gend. ^g Guichenon Hist. de Savoye. Du Tillet. P. Dan. ^h Mez. ⁱ Histoire du Héraut de Berri. Matthieu du Couci.

how he was to act ^k. Charles returned him for answer, that he should treat the dauphin in the manner he would expect to be treated himself, in case any unforeseen accident obliged him to retire into France ^l. Upon this declaration, the duke shewed all possible respect to this illustrious exile; and the dauphin thereupon demanded troops only to compel his father, as he phrased it, to change his ministers. "Sir," answered the duke, "against any other person, my forces and my finances are at your devotion; but it is not either you or I who have a right to prescribe to the king; and indeed I do not see a wiser measure for us both to take in the management of our affairs, than to refer them to the good pleasure of a prince, alike remarkable for his prudence and his moderation ^m." The dauphin, finding he could do no better, made choice of Genep, on the frontiers of Hainault, for the place of his residence, and accepted of a pension of three thousand florins a month for his subsistence, which, as some writers inform us, was afterwards advanced to double that sum.

A.D. 1456.

The duke of Burgundy, who was a very wise prince, easily foresaw, that, sooner or later, this affair must occasion a misunderstanding between him and the crown of France, either in the person of Charles or of Lewis; he sent, therefore, two of his chamberlains, John de Croi and Simon de Lalain, to endeavour to reconcile the dauphin to his father; and to propose, that, till this reconciliation could be effected, the dauphin might be permitted to put himself at the head of an army, and to act against the Turks, who were growing every day more and more formidable to the Christian powers. The king testified his satisfaction as to the duke's conduct in the whole affair; but did not at all approve the expedient of putting his son at the head of an army, alleging, it would be more agreeable to his interest, as well as his duty, to return into France, and occupy that place in his father's councils, to which nature, both by his birth and his capacity, had given him so fair a title ⁿ. Upon the receipt of this answer, the dauphin sent for his consort, whom he had never yet seen; and the duke of Burgundy caused her to be conducted into the Low Countries, with all the respect and magnificence due to her own rank, and that of the prince she had espoused; in the mean time the king met

^k Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche, liv. i. chap. 33. ^l Histoire de J. Chart. Duplex. Du Tillet. ^m P. Daniel.
ⁿ Meyer Annal. Flandr.

A conspiracy by the duke of Alençon to bring the English over again into Normandy.

with a new mortification, through the discovery of the treason of the duke of Alençon. This prince, at a time when he was distressed for money, had sold the town of Fougères to the duke of Bretagne, at a low price. His affairs being now in better order, he was desirous of having it again, upon repayment of the same money, which the duke of Bretagne having refused to accept, he applied for redress to the king, who, on one side, having no reason to be satisfied with this duke's conduct, and, on the other, having great reason to manage the duke of Bretagne, took little notice of this application^o. The duke of Alençon, provoked at this indifference, applied to the king of England, laid open to him the state of affairs in France, made a treaty for the marriage of his daughter with the son of the duke of York, and concerted measures for putting the English once more in possession of Normandy. When this scheme was ripe for execution, he chose a mean person to go over with letters to king Henry, which he put up in a hollow staff, who carried them directly to king Charles. When this monarch was thus unexpectedly apprised of the duke's treachery, he could not help exclaiming, "In whom can I now put any trust, when the very princes of my own blood conspire against me." He immediately dispatched his old faithful servant, the count de Longueville, in order to arrest the duke of Alençon, whom he resolved to bring, by an open and public trial, to justice^p.

A D. 1457.

The duke of Alençon convicted, but not executed.

After he had been detained a long time in prison, and the king had caused a strict enquiry to be made into the privileges and prerogatives of the peers of France, and the duke of Burgundy, as the first peer, to be summoned, he held a parliament at Vendôme, where the duke of Alençon had all the advantages allowed him that the formalities of law could give; but the messenger entrusted with his letters, the letters themselves, and the duke's own confession, leaving no room to doubt of his guilt, he was convicted, and condemned to suffer death^q. The duke of Burgundy, though he refused to assist at his trial, sent ambassadors to intercede for him; a circumstance the more extraordinary, as it was strongly suspected he himself and the dauphin were far from being ignorant of his intrigues; but the king thought proper to declare these suspicions

^o Histoire de J. Chart. Dupleix. Du Tillet. Mez. ^p Matthieu De Couci. Polyd. Virg. P. Dan. Pr. Henault. ^q Procès du Duc d'Alençon publié par M. Dupuy. Le Gend.

groundless, though he did not give any direct answer to the duke's application for mercy^r. He shewed more respect to that of the constable, Arthur, duke of Bretagne, who had just acquired that dignity by the death of his nephew, and, at his request, converted the sentence into perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Loches^s; from whence, as we shall see, he was delivered in the succeeding reign. In order to find some employment for the English at home, and to prevent their disturbing his dominions, the king sent Peter de Breze, seneschal of Normandy, to insult their coasts. Accordingly, making a descent, he burnt and plundered the town of Sandwich, in which expedition, as the French historians own, the king acted in concert with queen Margaret of England, who had but too much power over her husband, and became thereby the source of his misfortunes and those of his subjects. At the same time the king renewed his treaties with Denmark and Spain, that, in case of a revolution in England, which might be accompanied with a revival of the war, he might not be without allies. He took the same precaution with respect to the emperor and several princes of Germany, that the duke of Burgundy might see he would not be found unprepared, if that prince, at the persuasion of his son, should undertake any thing to his prejudice^t. Towards the close of this year died Arthur duke of Bretagne, who, notwithstanding his accession to that sovereignty, still retained the post of constable of France, because he would honour in his old age that dignity, from which he had received honour in his youth^u.

A.D. 1458.

The death of the duke of Bretagne.

The prosperous situation of the king's affairs induced the Genoese, or at least one of the factions in Genoa, to propose putting the republic again under the protection of France; a proposal which the king received with a good grace; and sent John duke of Calabria, the eldest son of Rene, king of Naples, to govern that city in his name. Charles, though attentive to affairs abroad, was still more so to what respected his own territories; and therefore he resolved to bring Dauphiné into the same situation it was in before he had put it into the hands of his son, who still affected to govern it by some of his officers in the same manner as when he resided on the spot. We find his and his father's conduct so differently treated by dif-

Charles reduces the government in Dauphiné back again to its ancient form.

^r Histoire de J. Chartier, P. Dan.

^s Histoire de Artus III.

Mez.
tom. i.

^t Matth. de Couci, Recueil de Traités par Leonard,

^u D'Argentre, Histoire de Bretagne.

ferent historians, that it is difficult to understand, and consequently to reconcile them. Some say, that the dauphin had governed there so wisely, as to make himself esteemed as much as most sovereigns; so that he was highly admired by his subjects: others allege, that he ruined and oppressed them, so that they complained of him in the strongest terms to his father. The former assert, that the king met with great opposition from the states, who remonstrated on the oath they had taken to his son, and seemed unwilling to put themselves again under the rule of the father; in all which reports there is a mixture of truth and of falshood. The dauphin certainly did not want abilities for government; nor did he fail to give proofs of them in Dauphiné; where, during the whole time of his residence, he affected in all things a perfect independence, coined money, made laws, created a parliament, and acted in every other respect as a sovereign prince, which, for a time, flattered the natives exceedingly. But then, to support all this independency, he levied great sums, was perpetually soliciting free gifts, and took many other methods of filling his coffers, with which they were, and had reason to be exceedingly displeased, more especially during the latter part of his government, when his pension being stopt, he had no way to support the dignity of a prince, but with the revenues of that county. The king, in resuming the government, suppressed these imposts, a measure which was very pleasing; but he suppressed likewise many of those marks of independency, which his son had established, and this step was disliked^o.

A.D. 1469.

Charles, however, did not regard either their clamours or the complaints of Lewis; he reduced things into their old form; and, if he mortified the people's vanity, he made their circumstances easy. From hence we may easily discern how historians might represent the same facts differently, according to their respective systems.

The king exceedingly grieved by the dauphin's conduct.

The duke of Burgundy growing daily more and more apprehensive of Charles's resentment, and perceiving how much he was courted by all the neighbouring princes, who were proud of entering into his alliance, sent fresh envoys to the court of France, with a long memorial of his griefs; the king answered this memorial, article by article, with great strength of reason, and at the same time with great dignity; and whereas the duke had sug-

^o Hist. de J. Chart. Matth. de Couci, Duplex, Du Tillet, Metz.

gested a secret article in the marriage treaty between Henry the Sixth and Margaret of Anjou, to his prejudice, the king affirmed it was a mere fiction, adding, that when such things entered the duke's mind, his best way would have been to communicate them to the king, who would always avow the truth. In speaking of the dauphin, the king observed that he could not do too much honour to the son of his sovereign, and that he would always consider the respect paid to his person as paid to himself, while he took no part in the quarrel^x. The dauphiness being delivered of a son, Lewis sent one of his household to acquaint the king with it, who immediately caused public rejoicings to be made, and wrote him a letter of felicitation with his own hand^y. Upon another occasion the dauphin having complained that some who were about his father did not pay a proper regard to his requests, the king acquainted him that he had no need to apply to any, since he was himself always ready to receive, and willing to grant them, with which declaration, notwithstanding the stubbornness of his temper, the dauphin was so much affected, that he wrote him a very humble letter of thanks^z. Some writers suggest that the king had thoughts of disinheriting him, but without foundation; for the quarrel was entirely on the dauphin's side, who, being upwards of thirty, was impatient to govern, and could not bear living in his father's court as a subject; whereas Charles was very desirous to have him at court, pressed him continually to return, and hinted that he had many things to communicate, which could not be committed to paper. These circumstances are directly opposite to the supposed intention of defeating his succession; but the whole of their dispute lay in this particular, that the father would be a king while he lived, and the son, with all possible professions of duty in words, could not bring himself to confirm those professions by his actions^a.

A.D. 1460.

In the mean time the disagreement between the king and the duke of Burgundy was growing still wider, and would have probably ended in a rupture, but that both of them were princes of great prudence, and who had sincerely at heart the good of their subjects; besides, the duke was not more fortunate in a son than the king; the count de Charolois was of a most violent and turbulent

Charles dies through want of sustenance, for fear of poisoning.

^x Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche. ^y Matth de Couci, P. Dan. ^z Hist. de J. Chart. Duplex, Du Till. ^a Hist. Louis XI. par M. Du Clos.

temper, and the duke did not spare him at all, but made him sensible upon every occasion of the weight of his authority. He was also angry with his father's ministers, and particularly with the house of Croy. As therefore the king was unwilling to proceed to extremities, for fear the dauphin should retire into England; so the duke's forbearance proceeded from an apprehension that the count de Charolois might demand the king's protection^b. Some overtures of this kind were indeed made; for Charles having an inclination to support his old competitor, Henry VI. in the day of his distress, the count de Charolois made an offer to command his forces, which at first the king was willing to accept; but, having an intimation that the count de Charolois meditated some other design, and was inclined to commit some act of violence on his father's ministers, he wrote to him in his last sickness, a letter, in which was this remarkable sentence: "For two such kingdoms as my own, I would not have the least participation in an unworthy action^c." His last sickness was of a very strange kind: one of his old servants intimated to him, that he would do well to be cautious, since he suspected that there was a design to poison him, a hint which affected the king to such a degree, that he absolutely refused all sustenance for several days; and being at length persuaded to eat, it proved too late, for his bowels being collapsed, nothing would pass: in this condition he died, at Meun in Berry, on the 22d of July, in the sixtieth year of his age, and in the thirty-ninth of his reign^d. He was surnamed the Victorious, or as others say, the Well-served, from which last appellation, in all probability, modern historians have derived their opinion, that the great successes of his reign were wholly owing to his ministers and his generals; whereas contemporary writers, and even those who flourished in his son's days, ascribe these great actions to the king himself, and particularly remark, that the high prosperity of his arms commenced at a time when he took the resolution of commanding in person. It has been even matter of doubt, whether his indolence and little regard to business in the beginning of his reign, were not the effects of a refined policy, which induced him to affect a character, that, though seemingly unworthy of a king, was, notwithstand-

A. D. 1461.

^b Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche. P. Dan. Mezeray.
^c Hist. Louis XI. par M. Du Clos. ^d Monst. Histoire de
 J. Chart. Matth. de Couci.

ing, very suitable to his circumstances; since, in the middle and latter part of his life, those who lived in his court, and had a share in the management of affairs, assure us, that he was a prince of assiduous or perpetual application, perfectly acquainted with every branch of the administration, and remarkably tender of the persons and properties of his subjects (B).

LEWIS

(B) The concerns of Charles were in so low a situation at his first accession to the throne, that he had not money to pay for a new pair of boots; and he was so little feared, that the tradesman who brought them, being told so, carried them away. He had good officers; many of the nobility adhered to him; but most of them had their particular views, in which, if he had crossed them, they would have been lost. It is no wonder, therefore, that he bore many things which no other king would have done. At his coronation there was not one lay peer; but, for the sake of preserving state, he nominated six lords, who represented them. Through the whole course of his reign, every incident, every conjuncture, was turned to his advantage; at first by his ministers, and, in process of time, by himself. For this reason he drew as much profit from his adversity as from his prosperity. Under the former he laid aside his great courts, because they were too expensive; he prohibited the currency of any money in his dominions but his own; in a word, he availed himself of necessity, while his territory was very small, to bring in those alterations which he thought for the advantage of the crown; and he made use of

his power, in proportion as it became more extended, to establish these new usages through the whole kingdom. The coin was never so much debased as in his time; and yet under him it was no great evil; for, by raising the nominal value beyond any thing that had been attempted, he drew money into the countries that owned his authority, which, but for that expedient, had never been seen; and, when this was no longer necessary, he very wisely laid it aside. The length of the war gave him a fair opportunity to interdict private quarrels; that is, deciding them by the sword. When they afterwards attempted to turn this upon him, by alleging, that the war had so reduced them, that they were in no condition to raise troops for his service; he took them at their words, and not only dispensed with their raising troops as the constitution required for the present, but for the future; so that, without his permission, they could never raise troops at all. Instead of these troops he brought in regular forces, for the payment of which he introduced the taille; and, by promising to put his coin on a right footing, and keep it so, he levied this with the good will of his subjects, but without the consent
of

L E W I S XI.

THE news of his father's death was immediately sent to the new king by his uncle Charles of Anjou; and, though dissimulation

of his states. It was the gentle use of his prerogative that established it; he made likewise some necessary alterations in the manner of administering justice; but he did every thing with such an apparent view to the public good, and was so very tender of the lives and properties of his people, that though he altered or acted against all law, he was never considered as a tyrant. The clergy were more attached to him than to the pope; for he took nothing of them himself, and defended them from being stripped by the pontiff. He was, in general, very grateful; and, though the case of James Cœur is said to be an exception to this character, yet, upon reading the record of his conviction, as we may call it, the reader may probably hold the king excused; since, whether he was guilty or not, the appearances against him were strong, and the clamour of the people great; one of the charges against him being this, that to extend his own commerce, he had scarce left another merchant in the kingdom, and had acquired most of his wealth by applying the public cash and credit to his own profit. Excellently served by the men, Charles was yet more fortunate in the other sex. His consort, Mary of Anjou, loved him tenderly: she gave him little trouble in his amours, and great

assistance in his business, in which the king always consulted her. Yet her mildness and modesty were so conspicuous, that it appeared she rather courted his favour than acted from any motives of ambition. By her he had Lewis his successor; Charles, duke of Berry; Violante, the wife of Amadeus, duke of Savoy; Catharine who espoused Charles the Hardy, duke of Burgundy; Joan who married John duke of Bourbon; and Magdalen who espoused Gascon, count of Foix. By Agnes de Sorel he had three daughters: Charlotte, who married James de Brezé, count of Maulevrier, poniarded by her husband, who caught her in the act of adultery; Margaret, espoused to Oliver de Coëtivi; and Jane, married to Anthony de Bueil, count of Sancerre. The remains of this monarch were deposited in the royal abbey of St. Denis; but in a manner which seemed to demonstrate, that the same good fortune that attended him through his life, was attached even to his breathless corpse; for the butterflies of the court, crowding all together for Flanders, in order to enjoy the sunshine of the royal presence, Tanne-gui du Chastel, the first favourite Charles had, took care of the funeral solemnity, which he performed very nobly at his own expence; and then retired to the court of Bretagne, being
born

diffimulation was his principal character, it is said he concealed his joy but very indifferently^a. His first concern was possession; his next, coronation. He had surmised, in his own mind, that there might be an opposition to both; to prevent which, he desired the company of the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Charolois, who at his request attended him to Rheims, where he was crowned on the 15th of August. In the midst of the ceremony, he drew his sword, and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by the duke of Burgundy, at his request^b. The duke then did him homage, not only in the amplest, but even in an unusual form, which had in it more of friendship than policy. Some days after, they made their public entry into Paris, escorted by a great body of horse, though there did not appear the slightest foundation for the suspicions the king had, that an opposition would be formed to his succession^c. He received very graciously the good advice given him by the duke of Burgundy, and his interposition in favour of his father's ministers, but without suffering it to make the least impresson; for he immediately turned out the chancellor, William Juvenal des Ursins, the admiral, one of the marshals of France, and a great part of the parliament^d. He discharged the duke of Alençon from the castle of Loches, and pardoned him, not from clemency, but because he had conspired against his father. As a mark of his gratitude and affection for the count of Charolois, he declared him his lieutenant-general in Normandy, with a pension of twelve thousand crowns a year; but at the same time, he ratified the treaty which his father had made with the people of Liege, though he knew it was made in resentment of the protection afforded to himself by the duke of Burgundy, and had promised in the most solemn manner, that he would declare that

The accession of Lewis XI. his coronation, and extraordinary proceedings at the beginning of his reign, contrary to the duke of Burgundy's advice.

^a Chroniques de Monst. Meyer Chronic. Flandr. lib. xvi.
^b Matth. Histoire de Louis XI. J. de Serres. Dupleix. Du Tillet.
^c Memoires de Phil. de Commines. Du Clos. Hist. de Louis XI. P. Dan. Mez.
^d P. Æmil.

born a subject to that duke. famous monarch Charles the
 On the monument of this king, Seventh, the Victorious and
 there is a short inscription to the Well-served. (1).
 this effect: Here lies the thrice

(1) Lannel, Recueil de plusieurs Harangues, Remonstrances, &c. Borel Antiquites Gauloises. Philosophie Hermetique. Monstrelet, Jean Chartier, Scrip. Dupleix. P. Daniel, Le Gendre, C. de Boulanvilliers. Mezeray, Pr. Henault.

alliance

alliance void, and even join with the duke against them. At Tours he received the homage of Francis the Second, duke of Bretagne; but not satisfied with that, he made a journey into the duchy, under colour of a pilgrimage, that he might better judge of its strength and condition; and, as some say, with an intent to steal the princess of Bretagne for the duke of Savoy, in which scheme he was disappointed by a sudden frost, and thought proper thereupon to release her. But while he was thus employed, an insurrection happened at Rheims, where the people would not submit to the taxes, which was quickly reduced, and near fourscore citizens were punished with death, in hopes of strengthening his authority. He had already framed in his mind the project of restoring his kinsman John, duke of Calabria, to the kingdom of Naples, and, to gain the assistance of pope Pius the Second, which was absolutely necessary, he cancelled the famous pragmatic sanction made by his father. This step was vehemently opposed in parliament by his attorney-general, and that assembly absolutely refused their consent; upon which he turned out his attorney with disgrace, and sent the original instrument to Rome, where it was dragged through the streets to gratify the populace. But underhand he gave his attorney a sum of money, which was of greater value than his office, and allowed the parliament to maintain in execution, as a fundamental law, the very pragmatic sanction he had abolished^c. His other project was to humble the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, though the former had defended him in his distress, and the predecessor of the latter had fixed his father on the throne. Such were the first exploits of this famous politician! Such the dictates of that genius, which has been considered as worthy of dictating to kings.

A.D. 1461.

His ascendancy over other powers, not owing to his policy but his good fortune.

The affairs of England were at this time in the most distressed condition. Margaret, the consort of Henry the Sixth, had obtained from him a small body of troops, under the command of the famous Peter de Breze, not so much with a view to serve her, as to be rid of him for the present, and to have a fair chance of being rid of him for ever. He was defeated, lost his forces, and with some difficulty saved himself; the queen retired again to her father René, duke of Lorraine, and the king once more lent her twenty thousand livres, by way of mortgage upon Ca-

^c Memoires de Phil. de Commines. Chroniques de Monst. J. de Serres. P. Dan.

lais, for which he was to pay forty thousand crowns more when she should be able to put it into his hands ^f. About the same time he undertook to assist John, king of Arragon, against his subjects, who had taken arms to revenge the death of his son, the prince of Viana, poisoned by his mother-in-law, in favour of her own son Ferdinand, surnamed afterwards the Catholic, as we have shewn at large in its proper place. The French succours commanded by James de Armagnac, duke of Nemours, saved both the mother and the son; and Lewis likewise lent the monarch of Arragon three hundred thousand crowns, but took care to have the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne yielded to him, subject however to a clause of redemption ^g. The general situation of things was very favourable for him, and it was this that enabled him to give law to his neighbours, whose countries were in a distressed and distracted condition, to which, through the arts of his refined policy, Lewis in a short time reduced his own; whereas a government like his father's had filled it with wealth and people.

A.D. 1462.

The king of Castile having also some disputes with the monarch of Arragon, Lewis undertook to mediate between them, in consequence of which undertaking he was first present at the conferences held at Bayonne, and afterwards had an interview with the Castilian monarch, on the banks of the river Bidasoa, which some have thought gave birth to the implacable hatred between the two nations; for the Spanish king and his courtiers being most magnificently dressed, and, on the contrary, Lewis with his attendants dressed very meanly, the former treated the latter with scorn, while the latter looked upon them with contempt. The decree made by Lewis offended the Castilians highly, and yet gave the court of Arragon no content; but Lewis gave himself little trouble about either, having corrupted the ministers of both ^h. This was his general expedient, from whence we may see the true reason why he acted, generally speaking, according to his own notions; for knowing by experience that many had betrayed their trusts to him, he judged the only way to secure his own secrets was, to trust them to none. He was very desirous of recovering the towns upon the Somme

^f Hall. Holinshed. Stowe. Polyd. Virg. Du Tillet. ^g Recueil de Traites par Leonard. ^h Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto de Alonso de Palencia. Memoires de Phil. de Commines. J. de Serres. Dupleix. Du Tillet, P. Dan.

*Redeems
the towns
upon the
river
Somme,
from the
duke of
Burgundy.*

out of the hands of the duke of Burgundy, to which he had a right, even by the treaty of Arras, on the payment of four hundred thousand crowns; and in this design he succeeded, by the assistance of John de Croy, and other gentlemen of that family; who having the ear of the duke, and being extremely hated by the count de Charolois, foresaw they might one day stand in need of the king's protection. Lewis had an interview with the duke upon this occasion at Hedin, in which, according to custom, he deceived him; for finding that he could not have the towns, unless he engaged to continue the governors the duke had appointed, he acquiesced; but turned them out as soon as he came into possession. But, to qualify this breach of faith, he put in others that were as agreeable to the duke, by which he kept things quiet^l. All this time he was treating with Francis duke of Bretagne, whom he hated for his power, and for whose parts he had a great contempt; but that prince, though no profound politician himself, had very able ministers, and the king, when he least suspected it, found, that a weak man, well advised, might be too many for a prince of parts^k. The duke of Savoy, being expelled his dominions by the intrigues of his younger son Philip, had recourse to Lewis for protection, who received him very graciously, and then sent for his son, that he might reconcile them. Prince Philip demanded a safe-conduct, which was sent him; notwithstanding which Lewis shut him up in the castle of Loches, and sent his father home to govern his dominions in quiet^l. A stroke of justice, upon which he valued himself exceedingly.

A D. 1463.

*Attempts to
seize the
persons of
the duke
and the
count de
Charolois,
but mis-
carries.*

The facility with which he had hitherto executed his designs, and the persuasion he had of the superiority of his own talents, induced the king to form new projects of still a bolder nature. He had caused the restitution of the three towns granted to Philip the Hardy, in favour of his marriage with Margaret of Flanders, to be mentioned to the duke of Burgundy, who rejected it with great heat; at which the king pretended much concern, and seemed desirous of discussing this and some other points in a new conference at Hedin. But the real design of this interview was of a very different nature^m. He understood that the count de Charolois was at the Hague, from whence he

^l Matth. Histoire de Louis XI. P. Æmil. ^k D'Argent. Hist. de Bretagne. Memoires de la Marche. P. Æmil. J. de Serres. ^l Chroniq. de Monst. Memoires de Phil. de Commines. Dupleix. Du Tillet. ^m Matthieu Histoire de Louis XI. P. Daniel.

was to make a tour to the sea coast: upon which he ordered the Bastard de Rubempré, a debauched determined bravo, to embark on board one of his frigates, and sail with forty or fifty desperate men like himself; to land with as many of these as he thought proper, and to secure his person, of which, as soon as he should have received advice, his next design was to post to Hedin, with a body of troops, in order to make sure of the duke of Burgundy's person. This plan miscarried through the imprudence of Rubempré; who, being seen and known in a public house, was arrested on his general character: upon which, the vessel he commanded sailing abruptly, gave a strong suspicion of his errand: with this suspicion the count de Charolois having acquainted his father, he retired precipitately from Hedin. Lewis, exceedingly vexed at his disappointment, sent a solemn embassy to the duke, to demand that Rubempré should be set at liberty; that satisfaction should be given him for the insolent reflections made upon his conduct in the Low Countries; and that Olivier de la Marche, and a preacher, who had been the chief reporters of these things, should be delivered upⁿ. The duke justified his son's conduct, and would comply with none of them^o. The count de Charolois answered with great warmth the reflections made upon his conduct, and bid the archbishop of Narbonne, one of the ambassadors, tell the king, that indeed his chancellor had rattled him soundly, but that he would give him good cause to repent it before the year came about; which declaration was certainly a much stronger mark of his vivacity than of his prudence.

A.D. 1464.

The king, having heard the archbishop's report, very easily apprehended that some mischief was brewing, but, with all his spies, and all his suspicions, he was not able to find out where^p. The duke of Bretagne had entered early into close connections with the count of Charolois, and had also negotiated with Edward the Fourth of England, a circumstance which the king knew, and it was this that so much raised his resentments against them both. But they, knowing well enough that they could not assemble forces sufficient to look the king in the face, began to cabal with the nobility, to aggravate the losses they had sustained, to alarm their fears, and to make them conceive Bretagne and Burgundy were the bulwarks of the

The manner in which the confederacy for the public good was conducted.

ⁿ Memoires de Phil. de Commin. Memoires de la Marche. Dupleix. P. Daniel. ^o Chroniques de Monst. J. de Serres. Mezeray. ^p Du Clos. Histoire de Louis XI.

French noblesse, which once subverted, all the lords in the kingdom must lie at the king's mercy, which, by the way, they had good reason to believe they should not experience in any great degree. The great men who had been turned out upon his accession, felt the smart of that wound; the faithful servants of his father saw themselves distinguished only by marks of his displeasure, and his chief ministers were not only new men, but men of low birth and bad characters. Cardinal Balue, his prime minister, resembled his master; he relied upon his own arts, which he practised so much and so often that nobody relied upon him. There were malecontents of all ranks; the duke of Bretagne, or rather the duke's ministers, knew how to unite them; and his emissaries, in the habits of monks of different orders, met, conferred with, and engaged them in a confederacy for the public good^q, which every one of them understood to be the fixing himself where he desired. There were two things in the conduct of this business very remarkable: the first, that upwards of five hundred engaged in it without betraying each other; the other, that they conferred commonly in public places, mostly in the church of Notre Dame: so that the king's spies, who were hunting for cabals and private meetings, were absolutely defeated^r. The king, in the meantime, was pushing the duke of Bretagne with violence, not perceiving that he had any support; the duke sent a minister to gain time for him; the king laboured to corrupt that minister; he seemed to give way, advised the king to advance towards the frontiers of Bretagne, while he was seducing his brother, the duke of Berry, who, by accompanying the king in this journey, found means to make his escape^s. So that, with all his intelligence, the first sense of his danger arose from hearing that the duke's minister and his brother were withdrawn together; and thus he discerned the storm, just as it began to break over his head.

*Battle of
Montl'heri,
in which
both par-
ties have
the skill to
get them-
selves
beaten.*

As soon as the duke of Berry found himself in safety, he published, or rather he suffered to be published in his name, a manifesto, containing a severe censure on the king's administration; declaring the confederates had nothing in view but reviving the spirit of the laws, relieving the people, and restoring good government, whence they denominated their cause the *Bien Public*, and styled their

^q Memoires de la Marche. Memoires de Commin. J. de Serres. Du Tillet. ^r Du Clos. Histoire de Louis XI. Dupleix. P. Daniel. ^s Matth. Histoire de Louis XI.

enterprize, the war of the public good ^t. The duke of Calabria his nephew, the duke of Bourbon his cousin, and the duke of Bretagne, and the count of Charolois, princes of his blood, the old count de Longueville his father's faithful servant, nay, the count de Armagnac, whom he had pardoned, and, in short, all the great nobility, declared for this league against the king, and placed his brother, the presumptive heir of the crown, at their head ^u. They armed on both sides: the king had at first the better, and might have had some of them at his mercy, if they had not made use of his own arts, treated with him, and, as soon as their friends made a diversion in their favour, declared again for the league ^v. While the king was engaged in the provinces, the count de Charolois advanced directly to Paris, in hopes of surprising it; but the inhabitants stood on their defence. He expected to have been joined by the Bretons, but they did not come up in time, and this delay gave the king an opportunity of marching to the castle of Montl'heri, about eight leagues from Paris; neither party intended to fight, and yet, on the 16th of July, a battle ensued. The king having demanded of Peter de Breze, who commanded his vanguard, whether he had not some intelligence with the confederates, he, to convince him of the contrary, engaged without orders ^x. The battle lasted five hours, and may be truly said to have ended in the defeat of both armies; that is, each looked upon itself as defeated, and, in their first consternation, a great part of both armies fled above one hundred miles. After this terror was over, both sides claimed a victory, to which neither had any title. Yet the chiefs on both sides behaved well. The count de Charolois, like a gallant soldier, the king like a great captain, who, though his troops were routed, rallied them in good time, and marched away to Paris.

The count de Charolois marched to Estampes, where he was joined by all the confederates; and the duke of Calabria, amongst his troops, had five hundred Swifs, which were the first ever seen in France ^y. The confederates had now an army of upwards of one hundred thousand men, so that they were clearly strong enough to have carried all things at their pleasure, but their weakness arose from their strength; for their generals were so nu-

*War for the
public good
ended.*

^t Gaguini Hist. ^u Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche.
^v P. de Commin. Histoire Louis XI. P. Daniel. ^x Gaguin.
Hist. Memoires de la Marche. Memoires de P. de Commin. Du
Tillet. Chalons. Le Gend. ^y Commin. J. de Serres.
P. Daniel.

merous, that their army was under no command. The king, who had once thoughts of retiring into Switzerland, or the duchy of Milan, had recourse to negotiation; and, finding that go on slowly, demanded a conference with the count of Charolois. When they met, he cried out, "Brother, am I safe?" and, upon his bare assurance that he was so, risked his person by putting it in his power^a. He began his discourse with an odd compliment; "I find, fir," said he, "that you are a prince of my blood, and a man of honour; I received your message by the archbishop; you have kept your word, and that some months within your time; so that I shall treat you without fear of being deceived." By the advice of the duke of Milan, who sent his son with a corps to his assistance, the king dispatched the treaty as soon as he could; and, by a stroke of his own policy, instead of one made two. The first at Conflans, with the count of Charolois, dated the 5th of October, and the second at St. Maur, with the rest of the confederates, dated the 29th of the same month^a. In these the public good was the form, while the substance of the treaties tended only to private advantage. The king's business was to make an end of the war, and to contrive afterwards how to avoid executing a peace, in which he granted to the confederates all they thought fit to desire, and left himself as much below the rank of a king, as his passion for arbitrary power had set him, while unopposed, above it.

A D. 1465.

Lewis by his arts, recovers almost all he had been by force obliged to yield.

At the very time of his concluding these treaties, Lewis protested, before some of the officers of the parliament, whom he could trust, against their validity, as being equally contrary to the interest of the crown and to his intentions. He took care to detach the duke of Bourbon from the league, by owning frankly, that he had shewn too little regard for him, and promising to make him amends. He was the ablest and most moderate of the confederates, and therefore the king studied to gain him^b. He next made a treaty at Caen with the duke of Bretagne, who had got possession of some places in Normandy, which, he foresaw would embarrass him with his brother^c. The king marched into that province with a considerable army, and, sometimes under one pretence, and sometimes under another, reduced almost all the great towns, some by fair means,

^a Vide auct. supra citat.

Memoires de Commin. Dupleix.

^b Le Gend.

^a Memoires d'Oliv. de la Marche.

Du Clos. Histoire de Louis XI.

^c P. Daniel.

and some by force, the count de Charolois being, in the mean time, engaged in a war against the people of Dinant. These, during the late war, had made a diversion in favour of Lewis, and being now abandoned by him, and by the people of Liege, were given up to the resentment of the house of Burgundy, who pushed it to so extravagant a length, that they massacred the inhabitants and destroyed the city. But, being thus employed, they abandoned the unfortunate Charles, who was forced to fly to the court of the duke of Bretagne, where he was obliged to sell his plate for his subsistence; and, being neither duke of Berry nor Normandy, was stiled simply Monsieur, as the king's brother. Lewis, knowing the distress of the duke of Calabria, which his family were in no condition to relieve, as if he had forgot what was passed, sent him a large sum of money; but, at the same time, he punished the count du Maine, who had hitherto maintained a high place in his favour, for having held private intelligence with the confederates^d. He was very assiduous in executing that part of the late treaty which was least thought of, the naming a special commission for enquiring into, and redressing grievances; but he had taken care to make so strict an enquiry into the conduct of some of the great lords of the league, and their dependents, and to procure such clear evidence of whatever he charged them with, that he converted his tribunal into an inquisition against his enemies: thus, long before the end of the next year, the king had freed himself from the most inconvenient clauses of the treaties of Conflans and St. Maur, and was in a fair way of freeing himself from the rest, relying not a little on the count of St. Pol, of the imperial house of Luxembourg, on whom, after giving him the constable's staff of France, he had also bestowed the sister of his queen in marriage, that he might effectually detach him from the interests of the house of Burgundy^e.

A.D. 1466

The king, pursuing his own measures, took into his favour many of those he had formerly disgraced; amongst the rest the lord of Dammartin, whom he had even kept some time in prison: what was very wonderful, he affected to treat him and the rest with unusual confidence; employed them in affairs of the greatest importance; and, by rewarding them bountifully, really attached some of them to his service^f. In like manner he gained the famous earl

Death of Philip the Good, D. of Burgundy, is succeeded by Charles the Hardy, or the Terrible.

^d Memoires de Commin. Du Clos. Histoire de Louis XI. Du Tillet. ^e Memoires de la Marche. Duplex. ^f J. de Serres. P. Daniel. Hist. de Louis XI.

of Warwick, who had acquired the singular surname of King-maker: he was at this time upon bad terms with Edward the Fourth, and, coming over to Normandy, Lewis went to meet him, entertained him at Rouen as if he had been a sovereign prince, and sent him back in such a disposition, that his country never enjoyed peace till he lost the power of disturbing it, together with his life^a. The death of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, gave the king no small chagrin^b. He knew that his successor, Charles the Hardy, hated him; and understood him better than other man in Europe. He stirred up the people of Liege to renew the war, and, at the same time, sent the cardinal Balue, and the constable St. Pol to soothe that prince; and, if that would not do, to try whether, if the king abandoned the Liegeois, the duke might not be prevailed upon to give up his ally, the duke of Bretagne. But they miscarried in both; the duke defeated the people of Liege, and forced them to submit, while the duke of Bretagne, in virtue of a treaty with the duke of Alençon, invaded and made a progress in Normandy. This did not hinder Lewis from pursuing his scheme, which was to enter Picardy with a large army, at the same time that the admiral, by his orders, invaded Bretagne with one as powerful^c. He caused likewise a review to be made of the citizens of Paris, on whom he affected to rely very much, though in reality he had a meaner opinion of them in their military capacity than they deserved; the whole force of their militia amounted at this time to eighty thousand men, and of these about thirty thousand were in a condition to bear arms. His minister made a fresh attempt to engage the parliament of Paris to approve the king's edict for abolishing the pragmatic sanction^k, but without effect; and the king, to conciliate the minds of his subjects, published a declaration, importing that, for the future, he would dispose of no place, till it became actually vacant by death, resignation, or forfeiture.

In order to pacify the troubles of the state, and to secure the assistance of his subjects, Lewis called an assembly of the states at Tours, in which he gave very convincing proofs of his great talents for government; he laid before them the consequences that must inevitably attend the alienation

^a Hall. Holinsh.

^b Gaguin. Histoire. P. Æmil. Meze-
ray.

ⁱ Nouvelle Hist. de Bretagne. Du Clos. Histoire de

Louis XI.

^k La Chronique Scanda'euse. J. de Serres. Du

Tillet. P. Daniel.

of Normandy, in favour of his brother; and expressed at the same time an earnest desire of executing the late treaties, as far as they tended to the public good; by which declaration he turned that pretence upon his enemies. He pointed out the dangers to which the kingdom was exposed from the ambition of the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, pressed the states to appoint commissioners for redressing grievances, and assured them that the best way of making their court to him was by relieving his people^l. This behaviour had all the good effects he could desire; the states declared the province of Normandy inseparable from the crown; assured the king of their inviolable duty, and their willingness to support him against all his enemies; and appointed such a committee for the redress of grievances as he desired^m. It is amazing that a prince, who understood his own interest so well; who was so capable of pursuing them in a right way; and whose endeavours, when he took this way, were attended with so much success, should, notwithstanding, act so strange a part as he sometimes did, and thereby bring himself into greater distress and danger, with greater detriment also to his reputation, than even the weakest of his predecessors underwent. The source of this conduct was his want of probity; for right measures can never be taken for wrong ends; and the prince who deceives others, sets a precedent for deceiving himself. At this very time he proceeded with great severity against some who had stood highest in his favour, and who were not more in fault than those who retained it: as for instance, he had given to Charles de Melun, great master of his household, and governor of Paris during the late war, the confiscation of Dammartin's estates; but, this last being now in the king's good graces, set on foot a prosecution against Charles de Melun, and being joined in it by cardinal de Balue, the unfortunate Melun was condemned and executed, and Dammartin retrieved his estates; neither was this the only severity of the kindⁿ; but we cannot multiply instances here, because they would rise of themselves to a volume.

The king having taken these precautions, confiding in the excellent intelligence he had, and the superiority of his forces, caused the duke of Bretagne to be attacked with so much vigour, while he in person covered his frontiers against the duke of Burgundy, that the first mentioned

The assembly of Tours, in which the king turns the specious phrase of the Public Good on his enemies.

^l Memoires de Ph. de Commin. ^m Dupleix. ⁿ Memoires de Commin. Gaguini Histoire. P. Æmil.

*He reduces
the duke of
Bretagne
to a necessity
of making
a new
treaty on
his terms.*

duke, perceiving most of the places he had taken in Normandy lost, and that the duke of Calabria, who commanded the king's forces, was equally capable and inclined to push his conquests, found it necessary to treat: having, with some difficulty, obtained a truce for twelve days, in that space a treaty was concluded at Ancenis^o, by which it was stipulated that the king should grant his brother an annuity of thirty-six thousand livres, till a proper appenage should be settled by the constable and the duke of Calabria; and the king, to make the full use of his superiority, insisted that his brother and the duke should notify the conclusion of this treaty to the duke of Burgundy, with whom he was then treating, in hopes that it would influence him; but it produced quite a contrary effect; he gave so little credit to the news, that he was on the point of hanging the herald^p that brought it: and when he was satisfied that it was true, he began to assemble forces with such diligence, that the king to prevent things from coming to extremities, was content to pay him twenty-six thousand crowns^q. Dammartin remonstrated to the king, that he had a force sufficient to humble him as he had done the other duke; and that the shortest way was to attack him before he had assembled his whole strength. But cardinal Balue, who held an intelligence with the duke of Burgundy and with the other princes, did not care to see things decided by the sword: he therefore persuaded Lewis, that, having so superior a talent in negotiation, he should engage the duke to give him an interview, in which it was impossible he could avoid coming to the king's terms^r. This proposition so flattered the king's vanity, that, though not without some difficulty, he engaged the duke to name Peronne, in Picardy, for the place of their meeting. Thither accordingly he went, with a few only of his domestic officers, that the duke, being struck by this act of confidence, might be the less able to defend himself in their conferences^s. As another means of influencing his resolution, he commanded some of his ablest emissaries to enter Liege, and to persuade the inhabitants to give the duke an alarm on that side, on which he had ever found him most apprehensive. Thus, full of confidence in his own arts, he

^o Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne.
P. Daniel.

^p J. de Serres, Dupleix,
Memoires de Ph. de Commin. Du Tillet,
Mezeray.

^r D'Argent. Hist. de Bretagne, Matth. Histoire
de-Louis XI. P. Daniel.

^s Memoires de Commin.

rushed almost headlong into destruction^t, in a manner scarce excusable in the weakest prince that ever lived.

The duke received him with all possible marks of regard and respect, caused him to be lodged very conveniently in the town, and appeared as Lewis expected, highly pleased with this signal mark of confidence. While the negotiations were going on, prince Philip of Savoy, and some of the French exiles who had followed the fortunes of prince Charles, came to Peronne, to pay their court to the duke; and, being most of them soldiers of fortune, brought abundance of gens d'arms along with them. The king, being alarmed at their arrival, instead of quitting the town as he might have done, demanded of the duke to go and reside in the castle, a request which was very readily granted. He was scarce well fixed there, before the duke

Throws himself into the hands of the duke of Burgundy who treats him in the same manner.

A.D. 1468.

received intelligence that the people of Liege, by the persuasion of the French emissaries, had again broke out into an insurrection, surpris'd the town of Tongres, made his brother-in-law their bishop prisoner, cut the garrison to pieces, and murdered six of his canons^u. The duke, in the first transport of his resentment, ordered the castle gates to be shut, double guards to be posted, and, in short, made the king thoroughly sensible that he was a prisoner, and at his mercy^w. It is impossible to express the disconsolate condition of Lewis, whose apartments were at the very foot of the tower, in which the count of Vermandois had confined Charles the Simple. In this wretched state he continued three days, but had so much presence of mind as to cause a large sum in ready money, which he had brought with him, to be immediately distributed amongst the duke's domestics, with a promise of twice as much more. This largess answered his purpose very well; all the duke's counsellors strove to pacify him; and at length he went to the king and concluded a treaty, or rather prescribed such terms as he thought proper to a prince whose life and liberty were entirely in his power. Lewis bore all with signal patience. The duke stipulated that the king's brother should have Champagne and Brie, fixed every thing to his own satisfaction, and then obliged the king to march with him against Liege, which had revolted at his own request^x. This was undoubtedly the most mortifying incident of his whole life, and was very near being the last of

^t Du Clos, Histoire de Louis XI.
Chalons, Le Gend.

^u Dupleix, Du Tillet,
Gaguini Hist. Annales de France, Ph.

^w Du Clos, Histoire de Louis IX.

it. The duke of Burgundy was so much afraid of his making his escape, that he posted a guard of three hundred choice men between his own quarters and those of Lewis to prevent it, in case he should make any attempt. The inhabitants, guided only by despair, in the middle of a dark night, made a furious sally, in which, if it had not been for that guard, they would have made themselves masters both of the king and duke, and were at last repulsed with great difficulty. But the place was afterwards carried, partly by surprize, and partly by storm, the king being present in the attack. Having thus fulfilled, in every particular, the purpose of his vassal, he had his leave to return; and the duke had so much respect for him, as to suffer him to depart before he set fire to the town, and massacred the inhabitants. On his return, Lewis confirmed the treaty in every particular; notified its contents to the proper tribunals; and published an edict, forbidding any persons, under the severest penalties, from speaking evil of the duke of Burgundy. At the same time he ordered all the magpies and jays to be destroyed, and a note to be brought him of their master's names; which odd circumstance was owing to their being taught to cry, *Peronne! Peronne!* which the king thought he was in no danger of forgetting, without the help of these ridiculous remembrancers ^y.

The perfidious practices of cardinal Balue and the bishop of Verdun discovered.

At the time the king took leave of the duke of Burgundy, he asked him what was to be done, if his brother should not be satisfied with the appenage he had fixed for him in the counties of Champagne and Brie? The duke, who did not penetrate the king's meaning, told him, that he should not interfere any more between them; and that all he desired was that Monsieur should be satisfied. The king, building upon this declaration, proposed to his brother the duchy of Guienne ^z, with some of the adjacent lordships, being extremely unwilling to fix his brother in a kind of independent principality, between Flanders and Burgundy, by which he would have had an opportunity, in case any new disputes arose, of introducing troops into the very heart of his dominions. But, while he had this and other negotiations on his mind, an accident discovered a most dangerous and wicked correspondence, that had been long carried on by his prime minister the cardinal Balue, who had lately merited that title from the court of Rome, by

^y Du Tillet, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

^z La Chronique Scandaleuse, Matth. Histoire de Louis XI. Duplex.

betraying the interests of the nation, and holding a secret correspondence with the duke of Burgundy. He, and the bishop of Verdun, a man of as much subtlety and intrigue, and whose morals were as bad as his own, intrusted their letters to the same man, who being seized for a spy, and these letters found about him, the king had at once a convincing proof that this man, whom, from an obscure condition, suitable to the meanness of his birth, he had raised, not without violence and injustice, to the highest dignities in church and state, was laying open his most secret counsels, to the prince in the world he had the most reason to dread, and at the same time pointing out how they might be defeated, and all this merely to render himself necessary, to hold the king, as it were, in toils, and to secure himself a retreat if he should lose his favour.

Both these prelates were arrested, and convicted, partly on proofs, and partly by their own confessions; but the court of Rome interposing, the king contented himself with confining both of them in iron cases of eight feet square, the bishop in the Bastile, and the cardinal in several places, for upwards of eleven years; who was not only the less pitied, as he was guilty, but as he was inventor of that cruel kind of custody in which he was kept^a. After this period, he found his brother more tractable; inso-much, that he consented to the proposed exchange. In consequence of a kind of reconciliation, they had an interview, where the duke of Guienne made profound submissions to the king, who was so much persuaded of his sincerity, that he not only honoured him with the order of St. Michael, which he instituted about this time, but proposed also a marriage between him and the princess of Castile, which would have been a fair step to the regal dignity^b (C). He also assisted his nephew the duke of Calabria,

Both of them punished with unprecedented severity.

^a Memoires de Comma. J. de Serres. let, Mezeray, Chalons, Le Gend.

^b Dupleix, Du Til-

(C) The order of the Star, instituted by king John, being sunk into contempt, and other orders flourishing with great splendor in different countries, but more especially in England, Castile, Portugal, and Burgundy, Lewis instituted, on the 11th of August, 1469, at Amboise, that of St. Michael (1), who, it seems, was reputed, in ancient times, the protector of the realm of France, and, for that reason,

(1) Chartre de l'Erection de l'Ordre de St. Michael, dans les Memoires de Bethune, vol. cott. 845.

A. D. 1469.

bria, who, at the head of the revolted Catalans, gave king John of Arragon and Navarre so much trouble, that he was in no condition to recover the counties of Rouffillon and Cerdagne, of which, under colour of a mortgage, king Lewis had been long in possession, and was by no means desirous they should be redeemed. But this gleam of tranquility, with which the king was highly delighted, did not last long; for that spirit of intrigue which he had introduced and encouraged, proved the perpetual source of foreign and domestic troubles, during the whole course of his reign ^c.

Assembly of nobles at Tours, by whose advice the king declares war against the duke of Burgundy;

The duke of Burgundy had an only daughter, the greatest heiress in Europe, and the malecontents in France were desirous that she should have espoused Monsieur; it is believed the duke himself was not averse to this match, the consideration of which, induced him to fix the counties of Champagne and Brie, for the appenage of that prince, and made him so much displeas'd at seeing that disposition altered by the last treaty, which, however, the king had, in some measure, justified, by the advice he took from the duke at his departure from Liege ^d. Monsieur himself also had an inclination to this alliance, in preference to that of Spain, which had been negociated for him by his brother. The duke de Bretagne was likewise in this way of thinking, knowing that the king bore always in mind the desire he had of reducing his power, and he discovered this disposition by refusing the order of St. Michael, which Lewis had sent him ^e. The affairs of England took a very extraordinary turn; Margaret, queen to Henry the Sixth, again solicited the king's favour and assistance, having with her the prince of Wales her son, the famous Earl of Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth, who had married the earl's eldest daughter. Lewis, considering that the duke of Burgundy had married the sister

^c La Chronique Scandaleuse, J. de Serres, P. Daniel. ^d Annales de France. ^e Memoires de Commin. Gaguini Hist. Duplex, Du Tillet, Mezeray,

his feast was kept with great splendor and magnificence. The collar of this order was composed of scallop-shells of gold, joined one with another, fastened on small chains or males of the same metal. In the midst was annexed an oval

of gold, on which was depicted a rising hill, whereon stood St. Michael, trampling upon the dragon, all curiously enamelled. To which was adjoined this epigraph, "Immensi tremor Oceani."

of Edward, had lately accepted the order of the Garter, and was entirely in the interest of that prince, listened more readily to the queen's solicitations than he had formerly done, and furnished the lords of her party with such succours, as enabled them to return to England, where they defeated Edward, replaced Henry upon the throne, and forced the former to retire for shelter to his brother the duke of Burgundy^f. The king thought there could not be a more favourable opportunity than this to recover the cities and towns in Picardy; but, in all probability, he would not have ventured into an open war with the duke of Burgundy, if he had not been solicited to it by some of those who had been formerly in close correspondence with that prince, particularly the constable de St. Pol, and the readiness expressed by the dukes of Guienne and Bretagne to take arms in his quarrel. He judged it, however, expedient, to give the better colour to this proceeding, that he should seem solicited to it by his subjects, and therefore he called an assembly of the princes and great lords at Tours, where they proceeded with great warmth against the duke of Burgundy; and, upon the complaint of the count d'Eu, ordered him to be summoned as a peer of France, to answer in parliament. It was foreseen he would act as he really did upon this occasion; that is, treat the summons with contempt, and send the usher who brought it to prison: therefore care was taken that the army should be ready to act immediately, with which the constable presently made himself master of St. Quintin, before the duke could well bring an army into the field^g: what astonished him more than the loss of the town, was the retreat of his natural brother Baldwin, whom Lewis had found means to corrupt; and the Flemish writers assert, that a plot was likewise laid for poisoning the duke^h, which, from what the reader will hereafter see, cannot appear at all improbable.

At the time of the loss of St. Quintin, the duke of Burgundy was at Dourlens, with five hundred horse, but, as soon as he heard that the people of Amiens had opened their gates to the king, and that Roie and Mondidier had likewise admitted French troops, he retired to Arras, and began there to assemble forces with great diligenceⁱ. He was less surpris'd at the events of the war than at the con-

who, finding himself hard pushed, demands a peace.

^f Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. Memoires de Commin. Hall. Holinsh. Stowe. ^g Annales de France. ^h Gaguini Hist. ⁱ Memoires de Commin. Gaguini Hist. Du Till. Mezer. P. Dan.

A D. 1471.

duct of those who made it, more especially of the duke of Guienne and the constable, to whom, therefore, he sent to put them in mind of their old connections. They soon explained the secret of their new behaviour, by letting him know that he had nothing to do but to give his daughter to the duke of Guienne, and that he should soon see the best part of the king's troops on his side. The duke of Bretagne not only used the same language, but added likewise, that the longer he hesitated about taking this step, the worse his affairs were like to go, since the king had great intelligence even in the heart of his dominions^k. As great politicians as these princes were, they did not at all foresee the consequences of this manner of acting; the duke had no conception of submitting to the king, much less to them. He formed therefore a numerous army, passed the Somme, and encamped before Amiens, from whence he wrote a very humble letter to the king, desiring a peace, which ended with these words: "If you had known the inside of things, you would not have declared war against me^l." Lewis, who had his reasons also to be weary of this state of things, and who began to suspect the loyalty of those who were fondest of the war, concluded a truce for a year, in spite of all they could say to prevent it. In the mean time things had again changed their face in England; the duke of Burgundy, rather through interest than affection, had supplied his brother Edward of England with money and a few ships, and, as slender as these succours were, yet, having had always the affection of the people, they enabled him to succeed; so that, after having defeated the forces of Henry in two successive battles, he was quietly re-seated on the throne^m. The duke of Burgundy, in consequence of the truce, altered his language to the French malecontents, though not his sentiments, and seemed to resume the marriage of his daughter, as if he had been more in earnest than ever; nay, he carried the refinement of his policy so far, that he sent the bishop of Montauban to Rome to solicit, or to pretend to solicit, a dispensation. These proceedings were attended with very singular eventsⁿ. Lewis was so much alarmed, that he sent the fleur de Bouchage to his brother, to let him know that he was not ignorant of his intrigues, and that he ought to remember what he had sworn to him on the cross of St. Lo;

^k La Chronique de Scandaleuse, P. Æmil.^l Dupleix.^m Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl.ⁿ Instructions données par Louis XI. au Sieur de Bouchage, Memoires de Bethune.

implying an imprecation that whoever broke their oaths should die miserably, within a year: he likewise proposed to him the inconveniencies of that match, and the advantages that would attend his adhering strictly to his duty. The duke gave the king's minister fair words, and took his own measures; nevertheless, the king heard what his brother had promised, and is said to have taken his measures likewise. Edward the Fourth was no less alarmed at this match than Lewis the Eleventh, and ordered his ministers to declare as much to the duke of Burgundy, who, perceiving that Lewis was disposed to negotiate upon reasonable terms, turned the truce, at the end of the year, into a peace, which was styled the peace of Crotoi°. By this, on the restitution of St. Quintin and Amiens, which was stipulated by the king, the duke abandoned Monsieur and the duke of Bretagne to the king's vengeance, and the king left the count de Nevers and the count de St. Pol to the duke's mercy: such was the usage of these times.

All possible appearances were in favour of the peace of Crotoi, which the wisest men of those times thought would have been final. But, on the contrary, this, in the end, proved no peace at all; the king, who had shewn himself very sincere through the negotiation, refusing absolutely to ratify it. The duke of Guienne, who had given the king his brother such cruel and such constant anxieties, was dead of a lingering disease. It was reported, and believed in those days, that the chaplain of this prince, who was abbot of St. John d'Angeli, dividing a large and beautiful peach between madame de Monforeau, who was the duke's mistress, and the duke, poisoned them both, of which the unfortunate woman died immediately; but the duke, though he languished for half a year, never recovered his colour or strength°. The sieur de Lescun, who was the duke's favourite, seized the monk, and sent him prisoner to the duke of Bretagne, where it was intended to proceed against him; but he was found, not long afterwards, in the tower, where he was confined, dead of a stroke of thunder, or at least of some stroke of other; which did not at all displease the king°.

The duke of Burgundy, who continued armed, finding the king resolute in rejecting the peace, declared war, under pretence of revenging his friend the duke of Guienne's

Death of the duke of Guienne, and the rejection of the peace with the duke of Burgundy;

° Memoires de Commin. La Chronique Scandaleuse, P. Æmil.
 ° Bouchet Annales d'Aquitaine, La Chronique Scandaleuse.
 ° D'Argent. Histoire de Bretagne, Bouch. Annales D'Aquitaine, Gaguini Hist.

*who there-
upon pub-
lishes a ma-
nifesto
against the
king,
and vigo-
rously re-
news the
war.*

A.D. 1472.

death, and committed great cruelties. Yet some say the king was not in the wrong. He had insisted, prior to the ratification, that Charles should send a gentleman with a letter to the dukes of Guienne and Bretagne, to signify to them that they were no longer to expect his protection. This notice he actually gave; but at the same time acquainted the duke of Bretagne, by a private letter, that he had no intention to abandon them; that he made this treaty purely to get the towns of St. Quintin and Amiens restored; as the king had taken them without any regard to the treaties of Conflans and Peronne, he should, when he had those places once in his hands, pay as little regard to the treaty of Crotoi^s. The moment his brother was dead, the king seized the duchy of Guienne, reconquered the county of Armagnac; and, having gained the sieur de Lescun, who had the confidence of the duke of Bretagne, engaged that prince to accommodate matters with him. At the same time he drew over the famous Philip de Commines, one of the completest courtiers of his time, and the principal minister of the duke of Burgundy: but what his true motive was for quitting the service of that prince, he, who was acquainted with so many secrets, has thought fit to conceal; and time, which reveals so many things, has left us in the dark as to this particular.

*Being dis-
appointed
in his
views,
concludes a
truce, and
discovers
the constable's trea-
son to the
king.*

At the time the king was engaged in Guienne, the duke of Burgundy having failed in retaking the towns upon the Somme, made an irruption into Normandy, but with no great success. Lewis, upon his return from Guienne, was inclined to conclude a truce. Several conferences were held, which ended in what the king desired; and, upon this occasion, the duke, who had hitherto concealed it, and probably would have concealed it longer, if he had not been provoked by the constable's burning his country, contrary to the rules of war, laid open all his treachery to the king, and thereby explained the meaning of that dark passage in his letter which has been before mentioned^t. Lewis was so much moved at this explanation, that if the constable had been in his power, he would have certainly felt the full weight of his resentment; but his county and other estates lying between the dominions of the king and duke of Burgundy, his keeping St. Quintin in his hands, and having, during the war, four hundred gens d'arms, though in the king's pay, yet at his devotion, with a considerable body of troops besides, Lewis always apprehended

^s Memoires de Commin. P. Æmil. Dupleix.

^t La Chronique Scandaleuse, Memoires de Commin. Gaguini Hist.

he would make his peace with the duke of Burgundy, by changing sides; and therefore finding him universally odious, began to treat with the duke to concur with him in his vengeance, and to divide his spoils^u. Charles, who never forgave him the insolence of prescribing to him how he should dispose of his only daughter, received the overture favourably enough, but deferred it for the present, as being engaged in the expedition of Gueldres, of which country he was heir by the testament of the last prince. He had also another and a greater design in his head, which was to assume the title of king, and to get his territories released from the homage due to France and to the empire, in order to unite them in one independent sovereignty, under the title of the realm of Burgundy^v. He had even a project of extending them by marrying his heirs to the young duke of Calabria, whose father lived at Barcelona, and who, on the demise of his grandfather, would inherit Lorraine.

A.D. 1473

The business of the constable was brought almost to a conclusion in the conferences at Bovines, where it was agreed he should be delivered up to justice, and that, upon his conviction for high treason, his forfeitures should be shared between the two princes: but the constable having, some way or other, gained intelligence of what was doing, applied to the king, and made him believe he received his accounts from the duke of Burgundy, who was desirous to attach him entirely to his own service. This intimation Lewis believed; and, to disappoint the duke, consented to a conference with the constable, in which all things, for the present, were adjusted; yet, notwithstanding this accommodation, a truce was concluded between the king and the duke for a year^x. A man was detected and executed for attempting to bribe one of the king's cooks to poison him: the fact seems to be true, but even tortures did not force the criminal to discover any person of note, and for this reason it was placed to the account of the duke of Burgundy, as the prince who, at this juncture, was most likely to be served by it^y. The duke of Alençon also, whom the king had freely pardoned at the beginning of his reign, was again found plotting to retire to the duke of Burgundy, and to sell him whatever he possessed in France. He had likewise

The duke of Burgundy is diverted from France by making war in the empire.

^u P. Æmit. & al.
^x Gaguini Hist. & al.
Serres. Dupleix.

^v Du Clos. Histoire de Louis XI.
^y La Chronique Scandaleuse. J. de

been tampering with England, of which intrigue being convicted, he had judgment of death, with a saving to the king's mercy, who again changed the sentence into imprisonment for life^z. The duke of Burgundy was, all this time, embarked in some disputes in Germany, where he sometimes courted the emperor's favour, and offered his daughter for his son, as he had done to many other princes; and at other times took such steps as engaged them in a war against each other, as happened in this year by his besieging Nuys^a. Some of the shrewdest persons in the king's council represented this as the most favourable opportunity he could desire for crushing the duke, by entering into an alliance with the emperor, as to which some overtures were made, but with very little sincerity; for the king, who commonly followed his own notions, had no opinion of this alliance, but judged it more for his interest to let the duke proceed in his own way, and gradually waste his force; to facilitate which end, he raised him up two new enemies, the one Rene duke of Lorraine, grandson to Rene of Anjou, king of Sicily, and the other the Swiss cantons, with whom Lewis entered into a strict and very useful alliance. He laid asleep, by the same arts, his disputes with the king of Arragon, which we have mentioned in another place, and which, this year, had given him a great deal of trouble, and had involved him in various negotiations.

A.D. 1474.

Edward IV. in consequence of several alliances with the Duke of Burgundy, invades France.

Next year the king changed his plan of proceeding; for finding that the duke of Burgundy made difficulties of renewing the truce, he ordered the duke of Bourbon to invade Burgundy, and, at the same time, caused him to be attacked on the Somme. He proposed also to the emperor the division of the duke of Burgundy's territories between them; to which proposal that prince answered by the famous apologue of dividing the bear's skin before they had stripped him. The obstinacy of the duke of Burgundy got the better of the Germans, who, though they held him besieged in his camp while he besieged Nuys, were, notwithstanding, content to terminate things by a treaty, which, if not advantageous, was at least honourable; and now, if his impetuosity would have permitted him, the duke had it in his power either to bring the king to his own terms, or to distress him more severely than when he

^z Memoires de Commin. P. Æmil.
Clos. Histoire de Louis XI.
min. Annales de France.

P. Æmil.

^a Gaguini Hist. Du

† P. Æmil. Memoires de Com-

had him in his hands at Liege^b. Edward IV. of England, under pretence of revenging the assistance which Lewis had given to the house of Lancaster, but, in reality, that he might obtain a large supply from the house of commons, and a benevolence from his subjects, determined to invade France. With this view he had made six distinct treaties with the duke of Burgundy, who was to assist him in person with all his forces, to acknowledge and do him homage as king of France, and to receive from him the duchy of Bar, the counties of Champagne, Nevers, Retel, Eu, and Guise, with other places^c. Edward, as soon as he was ready to embark his forces, dispatched a herald to Lewis to summon him to deliver up the kingdom. The king, who knew how much his actions would be observed on such an occasion, received the herald with an air of gaiety; but taking him into a place that was out of every body's hearing, told him his matter was come upon an idle errand; that his confederates the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and the constable, would certainly deceive him; and that it would be much better for him to make a peace upon good terms with him, and restore a thorough harmony between the two crowns, which might be equally beneficial to both nations. The herald seeming to treat this proposition in a manner as if he did not believe it at all impracticable, the king gave him three hundred pieces of gold with great secrecy, and then ordered Commines to conduct him out of the court; to take care that he conversed with no body; and, when he dismissed him, to give him publicly a piece of crimson velvet, as a testimony that the king was not displeas'd with his message.

Edward landed, in the neighbourhood of Calais, as fine an army as any of his predecessors had brought into France, and was, without question, as capable of directing its operations as they were; but he found his affairs in a strange situation^d. The duke of Burgundy was making war in Lorraine, to revenge the insolence, as he styled it, of the duke, who, at the instance of Lewis, had declared war against him; the duke of Bretagne declined stirring till the armies should be in action; and as for the king of France, he seemed to expect, with great tranquillity, what turn the war would take^e. The duke of Burgundy went to the

Finding himself deceived by his allies, concludes a treaty with Lewis.

^b P. Æmil. Memoires de Commin. Annales de France.

^c Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. ^d Hall. Holinsh. Stowe. ^e Memoires de Commin. P. Æmil. Gsg. Hist.

English camp, to compliment the king: he assured him, that he held a correspondence with the constable, and that, upon directing their march towards Amiens and St. Quintin, he would deliver those places into their hands, and declare himself, as others of the French nobility would certainly do^s: but when Edward advanced with his army to make the experiment, the constable fired upon them; and yet continued to assure the duke of Burgundy, that, at a proper time, he would fulfil his engagements: the king, who could not by any means relish this conduct, and who apprehended a rebellion at home, if he did not carry on the war with success, or at least procure a good peace, caused some overtures to be made to Lewis, who very readily entered into a negociation. This ended in several treaties, which were concluded at Amiens, on the 20th of August; but from their being ratified by the two kings at an interview they had at the bridge of that village, were stiled the treaties of Pequigni^b. Instead of separate articles, there were five distinct instruments: by the first, the two kings consented to leave all their disputes to arbitration, naming the arbitrators; king Edward consented to quit the French territories upon the receipt of twenty-five thousand crowns, without committing any hostilities, and delivered the lord Howard and Sir John Cheyney for hostages: by the second, they concluded a seven years truce for themselves and allies: the third was a fraternal alliance between the two kings, to be cemented by the marriage of the dauphin with the princess Elizabeth: the fourth consisted of letters patent, by which Lewis undertook to pay Edward an annuity of fifty thousand crowns, during their lives, which the English writers unanimously style tribute: and, lastly, Edward agreed to release queen Margaret for a ransom of fifty thousand crowns, to be paid within the space of five years, a condition which was punctually executed on both sides¹.

The duke of Burgundy, though much offended with this step, makes soon after a like treaty.

The duke of Burgundy came to the English camp before things were concluded, and endeavoured to make Edward break off, but to no purpose: the king telling him that he meant to include him as his ally; the duke answered haughtily, "That he desired no such favour; and that he would not conclude either peace or truce till the king had been three months in England^k." After this inter-

^s Polyd. Virg. Public. tom. xii. pleix.

^b Annales de France. ¹ Aft. ^k Gaguini Histoire. J. De Serres. Du-

view, Lewis received the English lords, knights, gentlemen, and even the soldiers that came to visit the court at Amiens, with a frankness that surprised them, ordering tables to be set in the streets with victuals and wine. According to his usual custom, he corrupted the whole English council; and, besides immediate presents, granted pensions amongst them to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns a year^l. Edward executed his engagements punctually, and delivered the constable's letters, in which himself and king Lewis were very insolently treated. After his return the duke of Burgundy signed, on the 13th of September, a truce for nine years; and upon this occasion the king abandoned Rene duke of Lorraine, while the duke gave up the constable: he also concluded a treaty with the duke of Bretagne; hearing that the constable had quitted St. Quintin, and retired to Mons, he demanded him; and the duke, though with some reluctance, gave him up^m. He was brought to Paris, tried, and condemned to death by the parliament, which he suffered on the 19th of December, with great intrepidity and composure of mindⁿ. The duke of Burgundy had his whole confiscation, which did not balance the reproach of having delivered him to the king.

A.D. 1475.

The king now had leisure and opportunity to concert measure's for the duke of Burgundy's destruction, which it is probable he might have done without regard to the truce; but perceiving that the duke himself was sufficiently bent upon his own ruin, he very prudently gave him no disturbance, but left him to push his rash enterprizes in what manner he thought fit; and, without question, he could not have taken a surer method. The duke, having taken Nancy, and ruined Lorraine, made war, almost without any cause, upon the Switzers, though they offered him any satisfaction, even to renounce their treaty with France: he was totally defeated, through his own fault; and, persisting in the same wild measures, set on foot another army, with which he besieged Morat. The Swifs sent for Rene duke of Lorraine, whom he had driven out of his dominions, and gave him the command of their army, and it was chiefly through his courage and conduct that the duke of Burgundy was defeated a second time, after which action Rene recovered his capital: but Charles, having set a new army on foot, obliged him to retire,

He runs himself headlong into a war, by which his treasures are exhausted and his force broken.

^l P. Æmil. Du Till. P. Daniel.

^m Memoires de Com-

min. & al. ⁿ La Chronique Scandaleuse, & al.

leaving a garrison in the place, which he presently besieged^o. Lewis, in the mean time, prosecuted his uncle the old unfortunate king of Naples, for holding a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy and his enemies, and forced him to an abject submission. He declined giving any assistance to Don Alonso of Portugal, who came in person to demand it; he constrained the duke of Bretagne to renounce all his engagements with the duke of Burgundy; and, taking advantage of the declining state of that prince's affairs, punished the infidelity of several of his own subjects, and obliged most of his neighbours to compensate past neglects, by entering into such engagements as he thought fit to dictate; for he was now in the zenith of his power, and gave law at his pleasure both at home and abroad^p. The duke of Burgundy, in an unaccountable fit of violence, had seized the duchess of Savoy, the king's sister, with whom, though Lewis had never lived with her on good terms, he now entered into an amicable correspondence, and, by his interposition, procured her liberty; for, though the duke still hated him as much as ever, insomuch that he broke an interview concerted between them, yet his circumstances did not allow him to give the king so fair an opportunity of breaking the truce, and anticipating that destruction to which his affairs were hastening, by his own precipitate conduct, and contempt even of the king's admonition^q.

A.D. 1476.

The defeat and death of the duke gives

Lewis an opportunity to seize Burgundy.

Amongst the soldiers of fortune in the duke of Burgundy's army, with which he besieged Nancy, was the count de Campobasso: he commanded a corps of Italians, and, in revenge of a blow given him by that prince, had long entertained a design of compassing his destruction. He offered his service on every side, and amongst the rest to Lewis, who, from generosity or policy, gave the duke notice of it; but he was so far from making a right use of it, that he confided in him more than ever. This man betrayed him in all shapes; protracted the siege of Nancy; corresponded with the enemy; and, upon the approach of the duke of Lorraine with an army of fourteen thousand men, raised chiefly with the king's money, deserted him, and retired to a post, where, if the army should be defeated, he might cut off their retreat. He left behind him some officers who were embarked in the

^o Marian. Turquet. Fer. Gaguini Hist. P. Æmil. ^p Du Till. Mezeray. P. Daniel.

^q Memoire de Commin. La

Chronique Scandaleuse.

conspiracy, who, as soon as the battle began, on Sunday January the 5th, gave way, and threw the army into disorder; others, posted about his person, dispatched the duke, in the heat of the engagement, and threw his body into a ditch; after which incident all was slaughter and confusion^r. Lewis no sooner received the news than he disposed every thing to turn this event as much as possible to his own advantage (D). He gave out that he intended to marry the young duchess of Burgundy, who was in the twenty-first year of her age, to the dauphin, who was just entered the seventh. He seized Burgundy and the county of Artois, and raised such disturbances in Flanders, that the people put to death their young mistress's most faithful counsellors, on account of letters which the king put into their hands. He made use of the prince of Orange for some time, and then threw him off; he found means to hinder the king of England from interfering in favour of the house of Burgundy^s. At length he suffered the marriage of Maximilian of Austria with that rich heiress to take place, rather than that of the count d'Angouleme, as being more afraid of a prince of his own blood than of

^r Gaguini Histoire. P. Æmil. La Chronique Scandaleuse.
^s P. Æmil. J. de Serres. Duplex.

(D) The king was excessively uneasy about the issue of this campaign. He had a custom of giving magnificent presents to such as brought him good news; Commynes and Bouchage had received each of them two hundred marks for bringing him an account of the duke's former defeats. Du Lude sat up all night, in order to watch for the courier, who came about break of day, with the news of this fatal defeat of Nancy, but he could say nothing particular as to the duke's death. The king, however, was so overjoyed, that he told the news to all the great men at court, and invited them to dine with him. In the life of Angelo Cotta, archbishop of Vienne, at whose re-

quest Philip de Commines wrote his memoirs, it is said that Lewis was hearing mass in the cathedral of St. Martin at Tours, at the very instant the battle of Nancy was fought; and that, when this prelate, according to custom, presented the pix for the king to kiss, he said, "Sire, God gives you peace and repose, you may enjoy them if you please, quia consummatum est: your enemy, the duke of Burgundy, is at this instant slain, and his army entirely overthrown." But, if we consider that this is told us by an anonymous writer, and that there is not the least mention of it in Commynes, or any other historian of credit, we can scarce yield our assent.

a stranger^t. This year was also fatal to James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, whom the king had caused to be arrested, and convicted of high treason. He was a man so covered with crimes, that he died unpitied; and yet his conviction was brought about in so indecent a manner, and his death was accompanied with such circumstances of severity, as drew great imputations of cruelty upon Lewis. He was brought on horseback to a scaffold, where he was beheaded, and his blood, running through, fell upon his children, which was such a strain of barbarity, as never had been heard of before^u. He distributed his confiscations amongst his creatures, many of whom were low people, particularly Oliver le Dain, who had been his barber; and published an edict, requiring all persons who had the most distant knowledge of treasons to reveal them, on pain of being treated as accomplices: a law that, after remaining long dormant, was awakened, to gratify the resentment of cardinal Richlieu, in the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth.

A.D. 1477.

He manages his negotiations with all his neighbours with equal dexterity and success.

Hostilities having again commenced between the king and the archduke Maximilian, who could not bear to see a great part of his wife's dominions torn from her by a prince, whom he thought of all princes the most unjust, laboured all he could to recover them out of the king's hands; and the prince of Orange having quitted his service, became a powerful instrument in the hands of the archduke, till such time as the king sent the sieur de Chaulmont to command in Burgundy, who very speedily reduced the far greatest part of it, and even the city of Besançon, which was then esteemed an imperial town^w. Upon this loss, the archduke altered his measures, and was disposed to conclude a truce, that he might have some degree of leisure to settle himself in his new dominions, and to acquire a thorough knowledge of their force. Lewis had precisely the very same reasons, with regard to his conquests, both in Artois and Burgundy, so that a truce was concluded for a year at Arras^x. The king then made a journey into Touraine, under colour of a religious pilgrimage, which was frequent enough with him, when he had a mind to visit this or that part of his dominions, for political purposes. He had then a multitude of negocia-

^t Gaguini Hist. Matth. Histoire de Louis XI.

^u La Chronique Scandaleuse. Du Till.
Memoires de la Marche. Gaguini Hist.

^w Memoires de Commin.
^x P. Æmil. La Chronique Scandaleuse. Du Till.

tions upon his hands, and he managed them all with great dexterity. His sister, the duchess of Savoy, was dead; he provided for the safety of her family, and the security of their dominions. He took the family of Medicis under his protection, and sent Commynes into Italy, to treat with pope Sixtus the Fourth, who was the capital enemy of that house. He dismissed Don Alonso of Portugal, who had been long soliciting succours, and told him plainly, that his interest made it requisite for him to acknowledge Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, with whom it was in vain any longer to dispute. He made an alliance with them accordingly, which was very convenient for his affairs, as it hindered them from entering into alliance with the emperor and his son the archduke; and he continued to feed the king of England and his ministers with sums of money, which while they consumed in the pleasures of a luxurious court, he was left to pursue his projects at leisure, notwithstanding the indefatigable endeavours of the duchess-dowager of Burgundy, and of the duke of Bretagne, to excite the ambition or the jealousy of Edward, and thereby engage him to revive the old pretensions of his family to the crown of France, or at least to the duchies of Normandy and Guienne *v*.

The new treaty, which had been so long negotiating in England, was at length concluded and signed in the month of February, and seems to have consisted of two parts. By the first Lewis stipulates for himself and successors, that they shall continue to pay the pension of fifty thousand livres to the king during his life, and to his heirs and successors for one hundred years to come. The second, of the same date, was for prolonging the truce, friendship, and good understanding, between the two kings during their lives, and between their successors for the space of one hundred years, with promise of mutual assistance against their rebellious subjects. The other articles imported, that, if one of the two princes were driven out of his kingdom, the other should be obliged to receive, and assist him with all his forces; that they should make no alliance without a mutual consent; that the king of France should ratify this treaty, and cause it to be confirmed and ratified by the states; and that Edward should likewise procure the parliament's approbation. Lastly, that the dauphin's marriage with the princess Elizabeth should be accomplished according to the agreement at

A D 1478.

Concludes a new treaty with the king of England.

v Polyd. Virg. Hist. Angl. Hale. Holinsh. Stowe.

T 4

Amiens;

Amiens; and this new treaty not to be derogatory to the former^z.

A.D. 1479.

Gains great advantages in the Low Countries, makes an alteration in the militia, and inherits the succession of the house of Anjou.

The archduke, before the end of the truce, had begun hostilities again in Burgundy, and in the Low Countries. In the month of August he laid siege, with a numerous army, to Terouane; the sieur d'Esguerdes, who commanded in Picardy, marched to the relief of the place, with an army stronger in horse, but weaker in infantry, than that of the Flemings: the archduke raised the siege, in order to give him battle^a. The French cavalry charged with great impetuosity, and soon defeated the archduke's horse, upon which the French infantry fell to pillaging; but the archduke dismounting, with some lords that were about him, and putting himself at the head of the Flemish foot, attacked the French, already in disorder, and defeated them. On the whole, however, neither party had any great reason to boast of their success in the battle of Guinegate^b. The archduke seems to have lost most, from his not returning to the siege: it is true he took a small castle afterwards, put the remains of the garrison to the sword, and, three days after, hanged the officer who commanded in it. Lewis was so much incensed at this cruelty, that he ordered fifty of the principal prisoners, taken in the beginning of the battle, to be hanged in different places; amongst these was a son of the king of Poland, who served as a volunteer in the Flemish army, and for whom a reprieve came, just as he was going to die^c. The king gained a greater advantage at sea; for one Coulou, a privateer of Normandy, with some of his associates, took fourscore sail of Flemish ships in the northern seas; which blow affected the inhabitants of the Low Countries so much, that they carried on the war but very languidly the next summer, and, towards the end of it, concluded a truce^d. Pope Sixtus, being very desirous of putting an end to this war, sent the cardinal de la Rovene, to persuade both the king and the archduke to leave their differences to his mediation; in which aim, though he did not altogether succeed, yet he had no reason to repent his coming into France; for, besides renewing the truce for another year, he prevailed upon Lewis to set car-

A.D. 1480.

^z Gaguini Hist. La Chronique Scandaleuse. Du Tillet. ^a P. Æmil. Memoires de Commin. Duplex. ^b La Chronique Scandaleuse. J. de Serres. ^c Memoires de la Marche. Memoires de Commin. Du Clos Histoire de Louis XI. ^d Frederic Leonard, tom. i. p. 217.

dinal Baluc at liberty, and suffer him to retire to Rome^e. The king was so little satisfied with the behaviour of the militia called franc-archers at the last battle, that he resolved to employ them no more. These men were raised and paid by the villages. In their stead, the king brought in Swiss troops, whom he hired, and added to them ten thousand French foot, to whom he gave regular pay. Charles du Maine, count of Provence, the last of the house of Anjou, dying without issue, left his estates to the king^f.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, Lewis had an attack of an apoplexy, which is, with great probability, ascribed to his indefatigable application to business. As soon as he was a little recovered, he went into Normandy, and caused a strong camp to be formed there of the new troops, for his diversion; that he might examine at leisure many things that regarded military affairs with his own eyes, and be, for the future, less liable to impositions^g. He removed from thence to Tours, where he had another stroke of an apoplexy, but less violent. He shewed that his parts were still sound, by his prudent management of the affairs of Savoy, where he did many things for the interest of the young prince Philibert, his nephew, by playing the great men in the country one against another, by which finesse he limited the power of all. In the spring of the succeeding year, the duke, who was about seventeen, came to meet him at Grenoble, and went with him from thence to Lyons, where, being seized with a fever, he died. His brethren Charles and John, being educated in France, the king declared himself tutor to the former, and sent him to take possession of his dominions^h. It was there he received an account of the death of the duchess of Burgundy, by a fall from her horse, which is said to have given him new spiritsⁱ. He had been for some time carrying on an underhand negotiation with the people of Ghent, which he managed with so much address, that by their assistance he compelled the archduke to consent to the marriage of his daughter Margaret with the dauphin, which treaty was signed on the 23d of December: the news of this had such an effect on Edward the Fourth of England, that he determined to

Death of the duchess of Burgundy, the dauphin contracted to her daughter, and the death of Edward IV.

A.D. 1481.

^e P. Æmil. Gaguini Histoire. Matth. Histoire de Louis XI.
^f Boulanv. ^g Gaguini Hist. P. Æmil. Du Clos Hist de Louis XI.
^h Memoires de Commin. Gaguini Hist. Matth. Histoire de Louis XI.
ⁱ P. Æmil. J. de Serres. Du Tillot. P. Dan. Boulanv.

break with Lewis as a false and perfidious prince^k; but, before he was able to express his resentment otherwise than by words, an apoplexy, or some other sudden disease, removed him out of the world, and delivered Lewis from the last enemy that he had to fear. A circumstance highly favourable to him, as it left the house of Burgundy totally without resource.

Lewis retires to his palace of Plessis near Tours, in a low and languishing condition.

It may be truly said, that Lewis only wanted health to taste the pleasure of seeing his affairs in a much better situation than they had ever been in during his reign. At home he had gradually increased his power at the expence of the nobility, and he could not well make a worse use of it than some of them did^l. Abroad he had nothing to fear. Ferdinand and Isabella were very desirous of cultivating that friendship which he professed for them; and though he still held Roussillon and Cerdagne, he had nothing to fear from them as possessors of Arragon, the crown of Navarre being under his protection. The king of Portugal was his ally, and had an interest in being so. If he was not esteemed, he was at least respected in Italy, where they were as little in a condition to deceive as to disturb him. In England fresh disturbances broke out on the death of king Edward. The power of the archduke was much circumscribed, and his force not a little broken by the king's conquests. He had many allies in the empire; and the Swifs were as much bound to his interests, and served him much more cordially than if they had been his subjects^m. As a monarch, he might be truly said to have gained his ends, and to have been successful in his politics: let us see what resulted from it with regard to himself. He retired to his country palace at Plessis, near Tours, which was walled and guarded, not as a fortress but as a prison, to which his jealous humour confined him, and there he tormented himself as much as he had tormented othersⁿ. Few of the princes of the blood and great lords had access to him; and, when they had, they entered singly, with scarce any attendance. His strength decayed daily, death stared him in the face, and he never appeared more dreadful to the meanest malefactor. As he had dissembled other fears, he took every method to conceal this; he wore gay apparel, he had concerts of

^k Hall. Holinshed. Stowe. Polyd. Virg.
Histoire de Louis XI. ^m Dupleix.
La Chronique Scandaleuse. Du Tillet.

^l Du Clos
ⁿ Gaguini Hist.

music, and diversions that were some of them wild and ridiculous, such as the hunting of rats, and other whims of the same kind^o. He ordered reliques to be brought him from all parts, and sent for Francis de Pauli, a reputed saint, out of Calabria, to pray for him. He had ambassadors in every court of Europe, who were continually entering upon new negociations; spies to manage private intrigues; and merchants to buy horses, dogs, rich furniture, and curiosities, purely to discredit the rumours of his weak and dying condition^p.

His son, the dauphin, was bred up at Amboise, under the care of Peter de Bourbon, count of Beaujeu, with equal severity and privacy. He was at this time turned of thirteen, and the king had scarce seen him for several years. He sent for him, however, when very weak, and repeated to him the advices which he had formerly given, and caused them to be registered by the parliament of Burgundy, and the chamber of accounts at Paris. His counsels were those of a wise and worthy prince, and consisted chiefly in dissuading him from following his example, more especially in the beginning of his reign, when he frankly acknowledged his errors had brought him within a hair's breadth of destruction. He conjured him to make use of those whose capacity and fidelity he recommended from experience; to love peace, and to live upon good terms with his neighbours; and lastly, to treat his subjects with justice and lenity^q. He suffered a third stroke of an apoplexy which he survived just a week. As soon as he recovered his senses a little, he ordered the chancellor to carry the seal to his son, whom from this time he called the king; he grew more composed and resigned, and gave some marks of compunction for those actions which dishonoured his reign, and will render his memory odious^r. He expired on the 30th of August, in the sixty-first year of his age, and twenty third of his reign. He united to the crown of Burgundy by force of arms, Anjou, Maine, Bar, and Provence, as heir to Charles count du Maine; the best part of the county of Artois, and some great towns in Picardy, were the spoils of the house of Burgundy; the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne under pretence of a mortgage; and the county of Boulogne by

A.D. 1483.

His death and character, with the situation of his successor at the time of his decease.

^o P. Æmil.
^q Boulanv.

^p Memoires de Commin. P. Daniel.
^r J. de Serres. Dupleix.

purchase^s (E). He first used the title of Most Christian King constantly, which has since passed to his successors; and he seems likewise to have been the first French mo-

^s Mezeray. P. Dan. Chalons,

(E) This prince was born in the archiepiscopal palace at Bourges, Saturday July the 3d, 1423. The bishop of Laon baptized, and the duke of Alençon answered for him at the font. He was contracted at five years old to the princess Margaret of Scotland, whom he espoused at Tours on the 25th of June, 1436. About three years after, he first openly departed from his duty to his father; but he had been an ill husband almost from the time he was married. He married next Charlotte, daughter to Lewis duke of Savoy, for the sake of money, and when she was a child: he had never seen her, when he retired into Burgundy. He sent for her thither, and had a son, Joachim, born at Genep near Brussels. This prince died young, at which event, his father was so much afflicted, that he made a vow to have no commerce with any other woman than his wife, which he is said to have kept. He had by his queen, Charles, who succeeded him; Francis duke of Berry, who died under a year old; Louisa, who died young; Anne, who married Peter, lord of Beaujeu, who became afterwards duke of Bourbon. She was a princess of a high spirit and fine parts, governed France with great success and prudence, during the

minority of her brother; but is said to have had an inclination for Lewis duke of Orleans, which turned afterwards to a mortal hatred, that proved highly detrimental to the kingdom. The youngest of his children was Joan, who married the duke of Orleans, and was divorced from him after he became king. As for the queen Charlotte of Savoy, after enduring the contempt, the humours, outrages, and infidelities of her husband all his life, and being condemned by him to exile on his death-bed, she did not live long enough to discern how her daughter would distinguish between the unjust command of a dying king, and the duty she owed to a good and pious mother, dying at Amboise, the place of her banishment, December the 1st, 1483, when but thirty-eight years of age. Besides these Lewis had several natural children by different mothers. He directed, in the most explicit manner, that his corpse should be interred at Our Lady of Cleri, for whom, as we have heard from Brantome, he had a very high veneration. A stately tomb was erected there to his memory, which was destroyed by the Hugonots, in 1562, who caused the remains of his body to be burnt, and the ashes to be scattered in the air (1).

(1) Memoires de Phelippe de Commines. Brantome, P. Daniel. Scrip. Dupleix, Matthieu. Du Tillet. Le Gendre, Fr. Henault.

narch treated with the title of Majesty^s, in addresses to him from foreigners, as well as his own subjects.

Charles VIII. in whom ended the direct Line of Philip de Valois.

THE new king Charles the Eighth was in law of age, as having entered his fourteenth year, but in reality a minor, having been bred up amongst the low and inferior people about the court, not only without the advantages of learning, but of instructions of any kind, even those of conversation. This circumstance may seem to reflect on Peter de Bourbon, and the dame de Beaujeu, so the French historians call her, and so shall we for the future, more especially since she was his sister. But in reality, his father only was in fault; for it was in obedience to his orders that he was thus educated, or rather, had no education^t. The young king was, besides, deformed in his body, very infirm in his health; and, except in the vivacity of his eyes, had nothing princely or majestic about him. It was absolutely necessary that somebody should assist him in holding the reins of government, though the law would not permit that person to bear the style of regent^u. The great difficulty was to settle who this person should be. The deceased monarch, who was certainly the best judge, had named his daughter Anne of France, dame de Beaujeu, and not her husband, though he intended he should have an equal share of the government, because he foresaw that the princes of the blood, nearer the throne, might endeavour to dispossess him; whereas the dame de Beaujeu, being the king's sister, exempted her from any disputes of that kind, at least in his opinion^x. But the last honours were hardly paid to Lewis, before two princes of the blood formed pretensions to the administration; these were Lewis, duke of Orleans, active, affable, and amiable in all respects, but not above twenty-three years of age; and the duke of Bourbon, elder brother to the lord of Beaujeu, a prudent, grave, and much esteemed prince, of sixty years of age. The dame de Beaujeu foresaw the disorders this competition might occasion, and therefore proposed an expedient that could not be rejected, that of leaving this point to be settled by an assembly

Accession of Charles VIII. the government secured to the dame de Beaujeu.

^t Gaguini Hist. Le Gendre.

^u P. Æmil. Duplex.

Brantome.

^x Memoires de Commin. Gaguini Histoire.

^x J. de Serres. P. Dan.

of the states. In the mean time all parties agreed to deliver up, if not the most criminal, at least the most odious, of the late king's ministers to the public resentment. These were Oliver le Daim, count of Meulan, once the king's barber, and at the time of his death his great confident; and John Doiac, who had been also an instrument of vengeance and oppression; the former was hanged for adultery and murder; the latter was scourged through the streets of Paris, and then had his right ear cut off, afterwards transferred into Auvergne, of which province he had been governor, and, at the village of Monferrand, the place of his nativity, he was scourged again, and lost his left ear: but he kept his wealth, because it could not be discovered. James Coctier, or Cottier, Lewis's insolent physician, paid a large fine as a small atonement for his manifold offences, and was suffered to possess his immense fortune in obscurity ^v.

The states assembled at Tours settle the administration, and give the king a large subsidy.

The duke of Bretagne, who was entirely governed by his minister Peter Landais, was now much declined through age, which inspired the prince of Orange and marshal Rieux with the design of seizing, and perhaps of putting to death Landais, that they might govern in his room. But they missed their blow; for though the minister was hated, the duke was beloved, and they were constrained to retire out of Bretagne ^z. Peter Landais found it necessary to have recourse to France for support. He first solicited the dame de Beaujeu without effect; he then turned his eyes upon the duke of Orleans, who, upon his invitation, made a tour into Bretagne, accompanied by John count of Dunois and Longueville, the son of that great captain who had so effectually served the king's grandfather, and who was himself a person of great merit and abilities. He it was who inspired the duke with the thoughts of marrying Anne, sole daughter and heiress of the duke of Bretagne. When he came to see her, inclination supplanted interest, so much that he became her passionate admirer ^a. The court took umbrage at the duke's retreat, and summoned him to attend the assembly¹ of the states at Tours; to which, not without difficulty, the count of Dunois engaged him to repair. When he went thither he found that the dame de Beaujeu had been much too hard for him. She saw, that if any of the two parties joined against the third, they must prevail. She had already

^y Mez. Chalons.

^z Annales de France. Mezeray.

^a Argentre Hist. de Bretagne. J. de Serres. Duplex,

made some overtures to the duke, to no purpose; she then turned her eyes to the duke of Bourbon, knowing that the constable's sword was the great object of his ambition; and, therefore, she insinuated to him, that if he prevailed in obtaining the direction of affairs, he could not, with any decency, assume it of himself; but in joining his party to her's, he might obtain it with honour^b. This compromise disappointed the duke of Orleans; her authority was confirmed by the states, in conjunction with a council, which they named; and every thing having passed with the utmost regularity, the states broke up, after giving the king two millions and a half, with an additional present of three hundred thousand livres for the expences of his coronation. So that the face of public affairs was entirely changed for the better, through the sagacity of this wise princess^c.

The coronation was solemnized with all proper magnificence, about nine months after the king's accession. The duke of Orleans, finding nothing was to be done by intrigues, betook himself to arms, and many of the nobility and princes of the blood, particularly René duke of Alençon, who with his father's title inherited too much of his temper, and the duke of Bourbon, adhered to him. His chief dependence, however, was upon the duke of Bretagne, and he, or rather his minister, was as well disposed in his behalf as he could desire^d. The dame de Beaujeu suspected this disposition, and, which was more, found that the king himself was inclined to him. She managed things, however, with so much dexterity, as secured her success. She sent a person of a bold enterprising disposition to the duke of Bretagne, in the name of the duke of Orleans, to desire he would not march his troops into France till he demanded them, and thus disconcerted the duke of Orleans, who could not act for want of them; and removing at once from the king's person all who were in the interest of the duke, she put an escape out of his power, to which he was otherwise inclined^e. The duke of Orleans went to Paris, and endeavoured to gain the parliament, but failed; neither had he any greater success in his endeavour to seize Orleans, upon which disappointment he was obliged to make the best terms he could with the court; the hardest of which was, the banishment

An insurrection raised by the duke of Orleans, quelled by the prudence of the duke de Beaujeu.

A.D. 1434.

^b Memoires de Commin. P. Dan. ^c Du Tillet. ^d Mez. Chalons. Le Gend. ^e Argentre Hist. de Bretagne. P. Danjel.

of the count of Dunois, who generously advised him to consent to it, as a thing necessary to his interest ^f. Peter Landais having first supported, intended afterwards to have sold the earl of Richmond to king Richard the Third of England; but the earl, having had timely notice, escaped, took refuge in France, and was enabled by the court to make that expedition which seated him on the English throne, by the title of Henry the Seventh ^g.

The consequences of those maxims which had prevailed in the late reign, were the sources of that fraud, violence, and disloyalty, which distressed the present. The governess, except her husband, had nobody to depend upon, farther than as she gratified them. René, duke of Lorraine, was amongst the first and the loudest of the malecontents. His pretensions ran very high, for he claimed no less than the whole succession of the house of Anjou. He was restored to the duchy of Bar, had a good pension given him, and a promise that his claim to the duchy of Provence should be examined and decided in four years ^h. This gratification brought him so thoroughly into the interests of the court, that before the war broke out, when the duke of Orleans gave the dame de Beaujeu the lie at the council table, the duke of Lorraine struck him on the face ⁱ. By his advice chiefly the war had been managed, and to this circumstance, in a great measure, was owing its success. Yet it was hardly over, before he grew out of humour again, and the constable de Bourbon was exactly in the same disposition; that is to say, after he had received what he asked he thought it too little, and began to look for something more. This conduct in the great, had an influence also upon persons of less consideration, who valued their services very high, and, if not paid to their wish forgot former favours, and even their duty ^k. The dame de Beaujeu knew all this, but seemed to know nothing. The duke of Orleans was about the court, and, in appearance, easy and quiet. The truce with Henry the Seventh of England was ratified, and the intrigues in the Low Countries, of which the late king had made so good use, were still kept on foot, and answered the purposes of his daughter in the like manner. In a word, there was a general appearance of tranquility, but nothing like it at bottom, all parties were contriving to revive the disturb-

A D. 1485.

^f J. de Serres. Du Tillet. ^g Stowe. Rapin. ^h Mémoires de Commin. P. Æmil. ⁱ J. de Serres. Du Tillet, Pr. Henault. ^k Gaguini Hist. Mémoires de Commin.

bances so lately suppressed, and it was not long before the smothered fire broke out.

In Brétagne the enemies of the minister brought their designs to bear, and put Peter Landais to an infamous death, in spite of the duke, who at length suffered himself to be governed by the sieur de Lescun and the prince of Orange, who were in a close correspondence with the court of France, not only till they thought it their interest to enter into the measures of the malecontents, but even afterwards pretending to discover those contrivances, in which they had as deep a concern as any; but the true value of their discoveries was well understood at court, and they only amused themselves, while they thought they were amusing others^l. The duke of Orleans, when he had formed a new league, and had recalled the count of Dunois into France, retired into Bretagne, not doubting that he should now accomplish with ease those schemes in which he had been baffled before. The archduke, Maximilian, was actually in arms; the duke of Lorraine had entered into the league; the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Angoulesme, and several other great lords, were actually engaged; and they had, in appearance, the whole force of Bretagne at their command^m. It quickly appeared, however, that these signals of success were but fallacious. The king fell with an army into Guienne, and stripped many of the malecontents of their employments and their estates. The count of Angoulesme went to pay his respects to the king at Bourges, and submitted. The court taking some steps as if they had intended the restitution of Provence, the duke of Lorraine from being violent became neuter. The duke of Bourbon being convinced by his brother that he was not only acting against his duty, but the interest of his house, in adhering to the malecontents, quitted themⁿ. The king marching his forces into Anjou, the nobility of Bretagne were alarmed, and a great part of them entered into a secret treaty with the court of France, to prevent their country from becoming the seat of war. Maximilian, become king of the Romans, made an irruption into the French territories with no great advantage, the king marching against him with a powerful army, while the troubles in Bretagne hindered the malecontents from taking any advantage of his absence^o. The

The duke of Orleans retires into Bretagne and plunges the kingdom into a civil and foreign war.

A. D. 1486.

^l Brantome Eloge de Charles VIII.
Jaligni Histoire de Charles VIII.
Charles VIII.

• Le Gendre.

^m Annales de France.

ⁿ Brantome Eloge de

court was now so secure of the duke of Bourbon, that with his consent they arrested two of his friends, the lord Culant, and the famous Philip de Commines, who being convicted by his own letters of having held a correspondence with the duke of Orleans, was obliged to pass eight months in one of those iron cages which were of the late king's erection ^p.

The king invades Bretagne and brings the duke on to great danger and distress.

The lord of Albret was of the number of those who had signed the league, and he had a considerable force at his command; but he was in his own domains, which lay at so great a distance, and had so many provinces to traverse, that it seemed unreasonable, even to the malecontents, to press him ^q. Their own necessities, however, silenced all scruples; and, that he might raise none, they made him believe that he should marry the duke's eldest daughter upon his arrival; for the duke of Bretagne was now in the same circumstances that the duke of Burgundy had been in; that is, he placed all his dependence in an army of sons-in-law. But the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange, who made these overtures to Albret, were most culpable; for the former, though married to the late king Lewis's daughter, aimed at this match for himself; and the prince was secretly negotiating for the king of the Romans ^r. The lord of Albret was so much struck with this proposal, that he not only undertook to march in spite of all the obstacles that lay in his way, but also to bring over the corps which he had in the king's army, and actually in his pay. While he was labouring this point, Charles VIII. advanced, in the month of May, into Bretagne, and supposing that the necessity of his affairs released him from the letter of the treaty he had made with the lords of Bretagne, instead of an army of four hundred lances, and four thousand infantry, as had been stipulated, he entered with three, or, some say, four bodies of troops, each of them of greater strength ^s. The first took Ploermell, the second Vannes, out of which the old duke, Francis II. luckily made his escape; for though he had at first an army of eighteen thousand good troops, yet the best part of them were taken from him by an artifice; for Maurice du Menes, a Breton by birth, who had been formerly in the service of France, gave out that the quarrel between the

A.D. 1487.

^p Gaguini Hist. P. Daniel. ^q Memoires de Commin. J. de Serres. ^r Dupleix. Du Tillet. Mez. ^s Argentre Histoire de Bretagne. Gaguini Hist. Jaligni Histoire de Charles VIII.

princes and the king was a farce concerted between them; and that the French in the duke's army meant to deliver him up to their master. Upon hearing this tale, three-fourths of the army deserted. The third army reduced Dinant; and the fourth, which was indeed composed by the conjunction of the other three, besieged Nantes. The duke, in this distress, sent the count Dunois to solicit relief from king Henry of England; but being three or four times put back by contrary winds, he was so alarmed at the danger of the duke and of the princes with him, that he raised the militia of Lower Bretagne, to the number of sixty thousand men, and conducted his affairs so ably, that he first relieved the city, and afterwards obliged the French to raise the siege. The king, notwithstanding, put his troops into winter-quarters in Bretagne. He had the like success in Guienne, where the lord of Albret was forced to disarm and submit; and in Picardy, where the troops of the king of the Romans were defeated, and the town of St. Omer's taken. The lords of Bretagne, who had closed with France, seeing the danger that the duke and his dominions were in, reconciled themselves to their sovereign, and at the same time began a pretended negociation with the dame de Beaujeu, who saw through it, and cheated them who intended to cheat her; for being aware of their real intentions, she gave them such answers as misled them extremely.

The necessary preparations were made for opening the campaign very early, when the plenipotentiaries imagined the court, upon their fallacious propositions, would have opened conferences: finding their mistake, the count de Comminges, who was at the head of the embassy, took his leave, and marshal Rieux, who had attended the king on behalf of the lords of his party in Bretagne, withdrew privately, put himself at the head of the troops of his old master, and recovered several places that had been taken by the French. The lord of Albret also, whom the king had pardoned, arrived in Bretagne by sea, and brought with him four thousand men. His company of gens d'arms, also in the king's army, revolted, and joined them. But these little successes were much qualified by other events: the king's troops under la Trimouille were in the field before they expected them, and the duke of Orleans, the counts of Dunois and Comminges, Philip de Commines, and several others, were cited to appear before the parliament; by which measure it was evident the king intended to treat them as rebels. The French army be-

The French gain the victory of St. Aubin, in which the duke of Orleans and prince of Orange are made prisoners.

gan with the siege of Fougères, a very strong place, well provided, with a good garrison, which it was imagined would make a long defence; but the French artillery reduced it in a week. This loss was followed by that of the fortress of St. Aubin du Cormier, upon which the Bretons and the malecontents took a resolution to fight. This decisive engagement happened on Monday, the 28th of July. The first line was commanded by the marshal de Rieux and the lord of Albret; in the second there was a small corps under the command of lord Scales, with twelve hundred Bretons under the red cross of St. George, that they might be taken for English. There was also a body of German auxiliaries sent to the king of the Romans. As the whole army had entertained great jealousy of them, the prince of Orange put himself at the head of the Breton infantry, and the duke of Orleans acted at the head of the Germans, both on foot. The armies were very near equal, each about twelve thousand strong^t. The French were superior in horse; and the Breton cavalry behaved ill; their foot fought gallantly, till, being attacked in flank and rear, they were broke; five thousand five hundred men were killed on the spot; the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were taken; and the victory was as complete in all respects as could be desired^u. The two princes were carried to St. Aubin, where the general La Tremouille invited them to supper, which passed very well, but had an untoward desert; for just as it was over, came in two Cordeliers, who told the general, that, according to his orders, they were come to confess the prisoners. The duke and the prince looked upon each other, supposing they had not long to live. The general relieved them, by saying, that he should expect the orders of the court in regard to them; but that he had, by his own authority, ordered some gentlemen, who were taken in arms against the king, to be beheaded^v. The duke of Bretagne was so humbled by this defeat, that he was forced to have recourse to submission, and to make such a treaty as the king was pleased to admit, which was concluded on the 28th of August, at Sable; and, on the 9th of September, this unfortunate prince died of a fall from his horse, leaving his two daughters, Anne and Isabel, to the care of the marshal de Rieux and the count de Comminges, by his will, charging them to be guided by the advice of the count

^t Mémoires de Commin. Brant. Eloge de Charles VIII.

^u Annales de France. Le Gend.

^v Du Tillet.

of Dunois. A civil war had broke out in the Low Countries, in which the people of Ghent, by the assistance of the French, had taken the king of the Romans prisoner, and did not release him, but upon hard terms, and in consideration of a high ransom. The duke of Bourbon being dead, his brother, the lord of Beaujeu, succeeded to that title; and, therefore, for the future we are to style his consort duchess of Bourbon.

A.D. 1488.

The affairs of Bretagne were now in such confusion, that there was no way left to preserve the whole country from being conquered, but to apply to Henry the Seventh of England. He was indeed deeply interested in the preservation of that important sovereignty; but his politics were so refined, that he did not see the full extent of its danger. The people of England did, and how much it imported them to save it; and, therefore, they forced the king to conclude a treaty with the young duchess, and to send over six thousand men to her assistance*. But the main point of all was the marriage. Her father had made very strong promises to the lord of Albret, who commanded at Nantes with a great corps of troops, and the marshal Ricux, who took upon him to act as her guardian, was, in earnest, desirous that it should take place. The chancellor of Bretagne, who was against it, had her confidence; and, besides the princess, who was but in her thirteenth year, had the utmost repugnance to a marriage with a man of forty-five, of a very indifferent person, hasty in his temper, whose estates were not very considerable, and who had three sons and four daughters by a former wife†. This was not all, the father had likewise, from a principle before mentioned, concluded with the prince of Orange a marriage for his daughter with Maximilian, king of the Romans, in whose interest the chancellor was. There was a great disproportion in their age, but the king had a good person, and was reported to be of an easy temper; but withal he was very indolent, and his finances were in great disorder: king Charles was looked upon as his son-in-law, the princess Margaret being bred up in France, agreeable to the treaty concluded with the king his father, and it was upon this that Henry of England chiefly depended‡. Charles encouraged these notions, when, after treating with Maximilian at Francfort, he offered to submit to him the disputes in Bretagne,

Henry VII.
interposes,
but to little
purpose, in
the affairs
of Bre-
tagne.

A.D. 1489.

* Memoires de Commin. Hall.
Bretagne, Annales de France.

† Nouvelle Histoire de
‡ P. Daniel.

provided the duchess would do the like: thus a kind of treaty of pacification was concluded, by which the English were obliged to return, and the king to restore the greatest part of his conquests. All parties seemed pleased with this treaty, which none of them intended to keep, because it kept things quiet for the present, and gained time, which they all of them wanted^a. Each conceived that his view was a secret to the other party, and took his measures, while the calm lasted, for the storm which was to ensue.

Charles, by the advice of the duke and duchess of Bourbon, released John de Chalons, prince of Orange, and sent him back into Bretagne, where he had a great interest, and where, out of gratitude, he did the king much service. The young duchess, in her perplexed circumstances, trusting to the advice of her chancellor, and being dazzled with the sounding titles of Maximilian, consented to espouse him; and sent over the prince of Orange, with other ambassadors, to press king Henry to act with vigour in support of a princess, whose father had protected him when in yet deeper distress^b. The lord of Albret, perceiving that he had no hopes left, by an unaccountable mixture of resentment and loyalty, reconciled himself to the king, and contributed to put the rich city of Nantes into his hands^c. In the mean time Henry acted in a very ambiguous manner; for the Flemings having again broke out in rebellion against Maximilian, and being supported by the French, he sent assistance to the king of the Romans, and entered into an alliance with him, with the emperor his father, and with Ferdinand king of Castile and Arragon, against France; but at the same time he treated with Charles, demanding first the kingdom of France, next the duchies of Guienne and Normandy, and lastly, the arrears of the pension due by the treaty of Pequigny, which amounted to a very considerable sum, and which was his real object^d.

The king, perceiving now in what manner Henry might be pacified, having little fear of the king of the Romans, and believing the acquisition of Bretagne was worth running some hazard, resolved to push things to the utmost. With this view he directed the count de Dunois and the prince of Orange to negotiate his marriage with the duchess of Bretagne, at the same time that his troops be-

^a Dupleix, Mez.

^b Jaligni, P. Daniel.

^c Annal. de

France.

^d Bacon's Hist. of Henry VII. Mariana, Ferreras,

J. Daniel,

The king releases the prince of Orange.

A.D. 1490.

Goes in person to Bourges to release the duke of Orleans.

sieged her in the city of Rennes. The king's agents in vain represented to the duchess, that the king was young, a great prince, and who had plausible pretensions to her whole dominions, grounded on the cessions made to his father by the last heirs of the count of Penthièvre, to whom, in case of the failure of heirs male, the duchy was to descend; his claim of forfeiture, upon the charge of felony, depending in parliament against her father; and the right he might pretend to Bretagne, as a fief reverting to the crown on the extinction of the male line. To this the duchess opposed her marriage to Maximilian, which had been notified to her allies, had been publicly proclaimed, and his name joined with her's in acts of government: she added, that Charles himself was contracted to the princess Margaret, daughter to her husband Maximilian, a treaty which had been as publicly acknowledged; so that these seemed insuperable bars to a marriage, which must, in other respects, be very contrary to her inclinations, since she had been always bred up in an aversion to France, and had no reasons whatever to combat that aversion in favour of this monarch^e. To this remonstrance it was replied, that Maximilian had himself deserted her, at a time when he ought to have hazarded all things for her service; and that, probably, he might make his peace at her expence. That the king's contract was no marriage; and that, being made purely upon reasons of state, it might, from the like reasons, be dissolved, and a dispensation for that purpose be procured from Rome^f. The duchess not yielding to these arguments, the king was advised to set the duke of Orleans at liberty, and to make use of his interest; but to this expedient, though the match was of her own proposing, the duchess of Bourbon would by no means consent. The sieur de Miolans, the king's favourite, told him, that he was now of an age to govern by himself; that his own age and the peace of his dominions depended upon his thorough reconciliation with the duke of Orleans; and that he might secure this by making that prince's grace depend solely on himself^g. Charles, wrought upon by these solicitations, went to the tower of Bourges, where the duke of Orleans was confined, and, after a short conference with him, set him at liberty, and sent him into Bretagne, where he very quickly performed all that was expected from him. Though he

^e Dupleix, Mez. *Memoires de Commin.*

^f *Nouv. Histoire de Bretagne*, Jaligni,
^g *Argent. Brant. P. Dan.*

had been the best received of all the pretenders to the duchess, he prevailed upon her to lay aside all her scruples, and to consent to the marriage, which was entirely regulated by the middle of the month of December, at Langeais, in Touraine, and celebrated the same day the contract was signed ^b.

Concludes treaties with all his neighbours, in order to his expedition into Italy.

A.D. 1492.

This marriage astonished all Europe, and seemed to excite such a jealousy in its principal potentates against Charles, as was like to prove fatal to France. Maximilian exclaimed against the ambition and falshood of a prince, who had quitted his own wife to seize the wife of his father-in-law. Henry, who saw himself outwitted, was really angry, and shewed his resentment so plainly, that he obtained a great supply from his parliament, and great sums from his people, for the invasion of France. Ferdinand the Catholic repeated his claim to Roussillon and Cerdagne, and at the same time assembled troops on the frontiers of Arragon. Charles continued at Tours with a considerable army about him, but without discovering any great emotion, or making any extraordinary preparations for repelling the confederates. The archduke Philip had demanded his sister, but the king refused to part with her. Maximilian found means to surprize St. Omers and Arras, and his troops found a passage into Amiens; but, by the spirit and fidelity of the inhabitants, were driven out again. In the operations of this campaign, the king of the Romans was assisted by an English fleet ⁱ. In the autumn Henry landed in France one of the finest and best appointed armies that was ever transported from England, and, on the 15th of October, invested Boulogne; he knew very well that Maximilian could not, and that Ferdinand would not execute the treaties they had made with him for invading France; and he foresaw this at the time he made them. He conducted this siege in such a manner as to make it very fatiguing to his troops; and all the time was treating with Charles, with whom he concluded the famous treaty of Estaples, which may be esteemed a master-piece of policy in both kings ^k. Having finished the war he returned well satisfied into England, and left Charles very well pleased. Maximilian, unable to continue the war, and unwilling to conclude a peace, suffered his son, the archduke Philip, to make a truce for a year ^l.

^b Chal. Fr. Henault, Le Gend.

Hist. of Henry VII. Mez.

Hall, Holinshed, Speed.

ⁱ Jaligni, Mariana, Bacon's

Hist. of Henry VII. Mez. ^k Memoires de Commin. P. Æmil.

^l Dupleix, Du Tillet.

It is generally reported by the French writers, that Ferdinand over-reached Charles in settling their dispute. His agent at the court of France was a Cordelier, who is said to have influenced Oliver Majillard, the king's confessor, and John Mauleon, who acted in the same capacity to the dukes of Bourbon, both monks of his own order, by presents of Spanish wine of a very rich flavour; that is, considerable sums of ready gold put up in casks^m. These reverend fathers, thus instructed, persuaded the king and the dukes, that nothing troubled their father Lewis so much on his death-bed, as the great injustice he had committed in retaining the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne; and that, dying in a disposition to restore them, his soul suffered incredible pains till this was accomplished; in consequence of this representation the king consented to the restitution of those two counties, on the repayment of three hundred thousand crowns; and afterwards freely remitted that sum on the faith of Ferdinand's promise not to make war on France, or to support any of his allies with whom France should be at war; in all probability this promise was the great object the king had in view, in a generosity for which he is universally condemned by all political historiansⁿ.

After so many treaties concluded, on purpose to leave France without enemies from old quarrels when she was about to embark in new, it is no wonder that Charles inclined to adjust his disputes with the house of Austria, and he accordingly effected this aim by the treaty of Senlis, concluded with the archduke Philip; by which it was agreed, that the princess Margaret should be restored to her family, with all her fortune and jewels; and that the counties of Burgundy, Artois, and Auxerre, a few places only excepted, should be likewise restored, as they were yielded to France in consideration of her marriage. Henry the Seventh of England was, at his own desire, included as the ally of both parties^o. The view of all these negotiations was to put it in the young king's power to vindicate his title to the crown of Naples, supposed to descend to him from the second house of Anjou, which ended in Charles count of Maine, in virtue of whose will the county of Provence had been annexed to the crown^p. This claim had been long in the king's mind, though he

Upon what motives Charles embarked in the war of Naples.

^m Annales de France, Le Gend, Ferreras. ⁿ Memoires de Commin. ^o Leonard. Jaligni, P. Dan. Marizana. ^p Annales de France, Gaguini Hist. Mez.

sometimes disguised it, under a pretence of making war against the Turks. It is very certain that the project was disliked by the wisest and ablest heads in the French council, who urged, that the king had not money, troops, officers, or statesmen in any degree adequate to such a design; but he had those about him who represented it as very easy, and to these he listened. They were chiefly Stephen de Vers, his valet de chambre, the son of a taylor of Dauphiné, and William Brissonnet, the son of an under officer in the revenue, who, by his own favour, had been raised to the management of the finances; men of very limited capacities, whose abilities were only known to, and confided in by the king. The true secret was, that Lewis Sforza, surnamed the Moor, aimed at the entire possession of the duchy of Milan, which he governed already in the name of his nephew John Galeas, son to his elder brother, whom he kept a kind of prisoner; but being married to the daughter of Alonso, duke of Calabria, a princess of great wisdom and spirit, he durst not depose and murder him, as he intended, till the affairs of Italy should be so embarrassed as to leave him nothing to fear from the king of Naples; and this consideration it was that induced him to call in Charles. But it is not possible to say what it was that induced this prince to engage in such an enterprize, on a right not the most clear, with few troops, less treasure, and no allies, unless Lodowick Sforza, the administrator of Milan, might be considered in that light, and he was such an ally as no other prince would trust. Alexander the Sixth then occupied the see of Rome, of whom the Italians, who speak respectfully of popes, say, that he was without faith, without mercy, and without religion. Ferdinand, king of Naples, had a bad character; the reputation of his son Alonso, duke of Calabria was but indifferent; but his grandson Ferdinand was much esteemed. The republic of Florence was governed by Peter de Medicis, whom the people hated; and that of Genoa subject to the administration of Milan, who had done homage for it to Charles himself.

The king having, by the advice of his favourites, rejected the proposition made by Ferdinand, king of Naples, who offered to do him homage for that kingdom, and to pay him a tribute of fifty thousand crowns a year, prepared for

¹ Dupleix, Le Gend.
Du Tillet, P. Dan.

² Georgii Flori de Bello Italico Histor.
³ Andre de la Vigne, Dupleix, Mez.

⁴ Jaligni, Gaguini, Arnoldi Ferroni.

war; all the honour and profit that could be hoped from which, he might have enjoyed without stirring from home. He appointed Peter, duke of Bourbon, regent, in his absence; and, setting out from Paris, proceeded in the month of July to Lyons; after some stay there, he went to Grenoble; he repaired from thence to Ast, the capital of a small country, where he staid a month, while, with incredible labour and difficulty, his artillery passed the mountains: there he fell ill of the small-pox, a circumstance which alarmed his subjects, and gave leisure and hopes to his enemies^u. The most bitter of these was the pope, who, having already applied without effect to most of the princes in Europe, at length depended on the Turkish sultan Bajazet, with whom he entered into a close alliance, receiving an annual subsidy for keeping his brother Zizime in prison, and having a promise of three hundred thousand ducats, whenever he should think proper to earn it, by putting him to death^v; and from him he expected, in virtue, as is said, of a treaty, a numerous body of troops: but, in the mean time, Andrew Palæologus, despot of Romania, the sole heir of the emperor his uncle, made a resignation at Rome of all his rights to the empire of Constantinople, but without the pope's knowledge, to Charles VIII.

As soon as the king recovered, his forces began to defile into Italy, consisting in the whole of about six thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot, one half of whom were Swiss. His naval force was commanded by the duke of Orleans, who defeated Frederick, brother to Don Alonso, king of Naples, at Rapallo; and Robert Stuart, lord of D'Aubigny, who commanded the van-guard of his forces, hindered Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, from entering Romagna^x. By that time the king arrived at Turin, he had no money, a situation which obliged him to borrow the jewels of the duchess of Savoy; and at Cassal, the marchioness of Montferrat did him the like favour; upon these he raised twenty-four thousand ducats, which enabled him to proceed to Pavia, where he found the young duke of Milan dying of poison; and there Lodovic Sforza left Charles to go and take possession of the duchy, though the young duke had left a son^y. The few wise heads in Charles's councils, advised him to punish that unnatural

Almost as soon as he joins his forces, he falls ill of the small-pox, and is constrained to stay at Ast.

He proceeds to Pavia, enters the city of Florence, and afterwards Rome in triumph.

^u Annales de France. Brantome. Le Gend. ^v Memoires de Commin. ^x Jaligni. Annales de France. Mez. ^y Gaguini Hist. Memoires de Commin. P. Dan.

D. 1494.

uncle, and to take winter-quarters in the Milanese, without pretending to traverse Italy with a handful of troops, and destitute of money^z. Stephen de Vers prevailed upon him to reject this advice, and to march into the territory of Florence, all places opening their gates, and his good fortune procuring him a loan from Peter de Medicis, of two hundred thousand crowns. On the 17th of November, he entered Florence in triumph^a. To Sienna and Pisa he restored liberty. Having prescribed such terms to the Florentines as his circumstances required, and under which their situation obliged them to acquiesce, he proceeded to Rome, and the pope having shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, the king, armed at all points, entered Rome as a conqueror, at the head of his army, by torch-light, on the last night of the year^b; and there he performed several acts of sovereignty,

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The cardinals, who had any regard for justice and religion, pressed the king to force the castle, and to depose the pope; but he was diverted from this by William de Brissonnet, now become an ecclesiastic, and bishop of St. Malo, who, for this merit, received a cardinal's hat^c. The pope, however, was compelled to make a treaty, by which he put several strong places into the king's hand; gave him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, yielded his son Cæsar Borgia as an hostage; and delivered up the Turkish prince Zizime, who is said to have been poisoned, and who certainly died soon after^d. Towards the close of January, the king began his march for Naples. Alonso had resigned the crown to his son Ferdinand, who was unable to make any opposition; so that on the 22d of February, the king entered Naples, as he had done Rome, in triumph, and some time after was there saluted emperor^e. He might have been so in effect, if the pope had not betrayed the intelligence he had in Greece to Bajazet; for which many thousand Christians lost their lives. Thus, in six weeks, he traversed Italy, and in a fortnight became master of the kingdom of Naples, Brindisi excepted. His fortune had been hitherto without example, insomuch that many looked on him as an instrument of God, raised up to dethrone and to destroy the execrable tyrants in Italy, which, if he had assumed that character, he might

^z Guicciardini. ^a Brant. J. De Serres. ^b P. Dan.
^c Georgii Flori de Bello Italico Hist. ^d Arnoldi Ferroni de
Rebus Gestis Gallorum. Jaligni. Georgii Flori de Bello Italico.
P. Dan. ^e Journal de la Conquête de Naples, par Andre de
la Vigne. Memoires de Commin,

certainly

certainly have done, and carried his glory as high as that of any hero of antiquity. His behaviour, however, was of a very different nature; for he amused himself with feasts and shews; and leaving his power in the hands of his favourites, they abandoned it to whoever would purchase titles, place, or authority, at the rates which they imposed. Gilbert, count of Montpensier, was declared viceroy; the lord D'Aubigny, constable of the kingdom; Stephen Vers had the duchy of Nola for his share, and the whole force he proposed to leave in his new acquired kingdom, consisted but of four thousand men.

But while the king was losing his time, his enemies were making the most of theirs. A league was concluded at Venice against him, into which entered the pope, the emperor Maximilian, the archduke Philip, Ferdinand the Catholic, Lodowic Sforza, and the Venetians. He had intelligence of this from Philip de Commines, his minister at Venice; but he could scarce believe it. The confederates assembled an army of forty thousand men, commanded by Francis, marquis of Mantua, and they waited for the king in the valley of Fornova, into which he descended with nine thousand men. On the 6th of July he attacked that mighty army, and defeated them, with the loss only of fourscore men, after which action he marched with great diligence to Alt^f. From thence, after some stay, he marched to disengage the duke of Orleans, who was besieged in Novara, by Lodowic Sforza, and the army of the allies; but, before he arrived, the duke had capitulated, and had leave to join the king with his half-starved garrison^g. Under these circumstances he was joined by sixteen thousand Swiss, a reinforcement which enabled him once more to give law: but, having made a treaty with Lodowic Sforza, by which he obtained Novara and the port of Spezzia, together with a large sum of money for himself, and another for the duke of Orleans, and a promise to send succours to Naples, he set out immediately for Lyons^h. Ferdinand, being assisted with Spanish troops, under the command of Gonzalez de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, recovered his kingdom almost as soon as he had lost it, notwithstanding a victory gained by the constable d'Aubignyⁱ.

A.D. 1495.

The king returns into his dominions, and defeats the whole force of Italy assembled to bar his passage.

^f Jaligni. Brant. P. Dan.
Italico Hist. ^h Dup. Du Till.

^g Georgii Flori de Bello
ⁱ Mez. Guicciardini.

Some preparations for renewing the war in Italy rendered abortive.

The king's favourite, Stephen de Vers, to whom he had given the duchy of Nola, found means to return into France, and earnestly persuaded him to resume the conquest of Naples; he shewed him that he had many friends in Italy, by whom he might be assisted with whatever he wanted, without putting his own dominions to any great expence; that the Florentines would furnish money; the Swifs, troops; that doing justice upon tyrants, and setting the great cities at liberty, would secure his passage, and facilitate his conquests. The king listened to this advice, in which there was a great deal of truth, raised forces, and made dispositions as if he intended to repass the mountains: but the cardinal of St. Malo, who had been the prime author of the first war, was against these measures, being now, as most authors say, entirely in the interest of the pope^k. The duke of Orleans refused the command of the army, perceiving that the king's health declined, and that consequently his interest lay in being near the court, a circumstance which defeated the expedition^l. The French, in the kingdom of Naples, who had shut themselves up in such fortresses as were still in their power, were gradually compelled to capitulate. The count de Montpensier was blocked up in Astella, where he was at last forced to submit to a composition upon very hard terms, and died afterwards of the plague at Puzzoli^m. The constable D'Aubigny threw himself into Gropoli, where he made a glorious defence, and surrendered at last upon honourable terms, by which he was permitted to march out with all his forces, drums beating, and colours flying; but this was the last effort; and the new king of Naples, Frederick, who had succeeded his nephew, swept the rest of the garrisons with ease. The Pisans, whom the king had restored to liberty, and who had erected his statue on the ruins of the monument framed by the Florentines, to express their dominion, on the arrival of the emperor Maximilian, overthrew the king's statue to set up his (F).

The

^k Jaligni. Georgii Flori de Bello Italico Histor. J. De Serres. Du Till. P. Dan. ^l Memoires de Commin. Dup. Mez. Le Gend. ^m Guicciardini. Arnoldi. Du Till.

(F) It was a prevailing opinion in his time, that there was something supernatural in his expedition into, and return out of Italy. The principal cause of this was the positive assertion

The king, under colour of attending the affairs of Italy, resided chiefly in the southern parts of his dominions, amusing himself with tournaments, and such kind of shews as carried with them a kind of military magnificence, and gave him, at the same time, an opportunity of paying court to the fair sex^a. His greatest weakness was his attachment to women, into which he was drawn by the bad example of some of his courtiers, and by the artifice of others, that they might govern him the more easily. This turn to pleasure was alike fatal to his affairs and to his health. When he had formed a design of passing a second time into Italy, and had advanced with that view to the very frontiers of his dominions, he made a short turn, and came back to Tours, on the score of an amour he had commenced with one of the queen's maids of honour^o. This mutability of his temper, and continual fluctuation of measures, must have been fatal to his government, if any of his neighbours had been potent enough to have turned it to their advantage. Ferdinand the Catholic, indeed, made an irruption on the side of Arragon; but his troops were repulsed with some loss, and he thought fit to enter into a negociation, by which all disputes between the two crowns were compromised^p. This monarch, Charles VIII. had once an intention to have united the parliament of Dijon, which was the supreme court of justice in Burgundy, to that of Paris; but the parliament prudently deputed sir Philip Pot to lay before him the numerous inconveniencies with which this step would be attended; upon which the king revoked the edict, and left things as he found them. His whole administration was of this nature, being easily drawn into wrong measures, but more easily set right; and, his intentions being always just, he commonly corrected his faults as soon as he discovered them^q.

The failings of Charles VIII. and their influence on the administration of the affairs of the kingdom.

^a Jaligni. Mez. P. Dan.
^p Mariana. . . . ^q Du Till.

^o Dup. Chalons. Le Gend.

assertion of friar Jerom Savonarella, who assumed the character of a prophet, Philip de Commines, who knew him well, and was himself no superstitious person, seems to have believed that he preached and spoke by inspiration, and

consulted him more than once; he was at last convicted by the inquisition, and burnt as an impostor and heretic; but his true character seems to have been that of a well meaning enthusiast.

He is struck
with an a-
poplexy, of
which he
dies.

As the king found his health decay, he changed his sentiments and his manner of acting entirely; he quitted his pleasures, and spent but a small part of his time in the most innocent amusements. He had a great affection for the castle of Amboise, in which he had been brought up, and endeavoured, by various alterations; and the addition of many ornaments, to make a stately palace of a place that had rather the air of a prison^r. He meditated an entire reformation of the state, and resolved to begin with his domestic affairs. He made some excellent regulations in regard to the administration of justice, and erected the great council which has subsisted ever since^s. He recalled several old servants that had been placed about him by the duke and duchess of Bourbon, being convinced of their integrity, and that all things had been extremely well managed while they were at the head of affairs. But he could never conquer the dislike he had conceived against the duke of Orleans, for ruining the first expedition into Italy, by endeavouring to make himself master of the duchy of Milan (to which he had a just claim), instead of marching to his assistance^t; his rendering the second expedition abortive, by refusing the command; and his appearing with a remarkable air of gaiety at court upon the death of the dauphin. The duke being sensible of this aversion, and knowing that the people of Normandy, of which province he was governor, had made complaints of him to the king, retired to Blois, where he lived in a kind of voluntary exile^u. Charles was also inclined to relieve his subjects from that multiplicity of taxes under which they laboured; to reduce the expences of his government within the revenue arising from his domain; to lessen the taille to twelve hundred thousand livres, and to levy no extraordinary impositions upon his subjects, but by consent of the states. His people lost the fruit of these admirable resolutions by his sudden death. On the 6th of April he led the queen into a gallery of the castle, to look upon some of his lords, who were exercising themselves at ball below, and struck his head with some violence against the door of the gallery, an accident which did not hinder his going in and staying some time, until being seized at once with a stroke of an apoplexy, he fell down, and being laid on a miserable couch that happened to be there, breathed his last about

A.D. 1498.

^r Jaligni. P. Dan.
Ions. Bran.
pleix. P. Dan. Pr. Henault.

^s J. de Serres. Mezeray. Cha-
t Du Till. Le Gendre.

^u Du-

eleven at night (G). Some suspicions there were of poison supposed to have been given him in Italy, while others have

(G) This prince was born in the castle of Amboise, June 30, 1470. He had nothing pleasing about his person except his eyes, and discovered no great abilities, a defect which might, however, be very well ascribed to his total want of education; for that he did not want parts is very apparent. He was much restricted by his sister, the dame de Beaujeu, who governed with great capacity in his name, though at his accession she was but twenty-two years of age. He was quickly weary of her tutelage; and, by the advice of George d'Amboise, bishop of Montauban, cardinal and prime minister in the next reign, would have made his escape, in order to have gone to the duke of Orleans; but the person entrusted with the letter, to make his own fortune, betrayed them all. He was naturally inclined to reading, especially the history of his own country, and this inclined him to business, and to gain a thorough knowledge of his own affairs; but the young people who were about him took great pains to draw him from his studies, and to render him, like themselves, attentive only to pleasure, in which they succeeded but too well. He is allowed, though the worst educated, to be the best bred king that ever sat upon the throne; inasmuch that those who knew

him best, affirm he never spoke a disobliging word in his whole reign. He was from hence surnamed the Affable and the Courteous. He married the heiress of Bretagne, in his twenty-second year, and by her had three sons and a daughter. The dauphin Charles died when he was three years and a half old, soon after the king's return out of Italy, a circumstance which affected the queen extremely; but the king is said to have bore it with the more patience, as the sprightly parts of the young prince had already awakened in his breast some sparks of jealousy, which is surely a strong token of his being the true son of Lewis XI. The other children died all in their infancy. He did some very good things for the state: he re-united the important country of Provence to the crown (1); he instituted the grand council as a sovereign court for the regulating affairs of war and the finances; he also instituted public audiences twice a week, in which he heard persons of all ranks; and though, as Commynes remarks, there were no great matters done in these audiences, yet they were of very great use, as they kept ministers in awe; for they knew that a prince, who made it a point to hear every body, was very like to hear the truth from somebody (2). The character given of

(1) *Histoire de Charles VIII.* p. 537.
Commynes.

(2) *Memoires de*

have attributed his long malady and sudden death to his harrassing a weak constitution in pursuits of pleasure, till it was wholly exhausted. He died exceedingly lamented, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and in the fifteenth of his reign; and in him ended the direct line of Philip de Valois^u.

S. E C T. IX.

The Reign of Louis XII. surnamed the Father of his People, who, from Duke of Orleans, became King, and was the only Monarch of his House.

Accession of Lewis XII. his noble and humane behaviour upon that occasion to all ranks of people.

THE right of succession was so well established, and the duke of Orleans had been so long considered as the presumptive heir of the crown, that he succeeded without any opposition, by the title of Lewis XII. to which he added, by his actions, the most glorious of all surnames, that of the Father of his People^w. He was thirty-six years of his age complete, at the time of his succession, equally esteemed by the nobility, and beloved by the peo-

^u Pr. Henault. Amelot de Houssaie. ^w Histoire de Louis XII. par St. Gelais. Vita Ludovici XII. Duplex. Le Gendre.

him by the same writer is at once very simple and very expressive. "Charles VIII. says he, was, in truth, but a little man, and of no great reach; but he was so good, that it was not possible to find a better creature." His queen passed two days upon the ground without food or sleep, weeping incessantly, and mourned for him in black, whereas the the mourning of queens had till then been white (3). He was buried with prodigious magnificence by the care and command of his successor, that

his subjects might take notice of his great respect for his predecessor (4). But there happened somewhat at his funeral, which did much more honour to his memory: one of the grooms of his chamber, and one of the archers of his guard, when they saw the body of their master deposited in St. Denis, dropped down dead with grief (5). In him ended the direct line of Valois, of which he was the seventh monarch, and after they had governed the realm of France one hundred and seventy years (6).

(3) Jean de Serres, Le Gendre.

d'Amboise.

(5) Gaguini Hist. Mezeray, P. Daniel.

(4) Vie du Cardinal

(6) J. du Tillet,

ple. He was crowned at Rheims, on the 27th of May, and immediately remitted a tenth part of all imposts. He continued all the ministers, magistrates, and officers, employed by his predecessor, to the amazement of the whole nation, and even of the individuals themselves*. When some put him in mind that Lewis de la Trimouille, had made him prisoner at the battle of St. Aubin, and was now at his mercy; he made that ever memorable answer, "That it did not become a king of France to revenge the quarrels of a duke of Orleans." It is one thing to deliver a fine maxim, and another to make it the rule of one's conduct; but Lewis did both. The duke and duchess of Bourbon looked upon themselves as disgraced, and could scarce believe him in earnest, when the king not only assured them of his pardon, but of his affection. He very soon put it out of doubt: it was provided, by their contract of marriage, that in case they died without heirs male, the vast estates of the family should be united to the crown; they had an only daughter, whom they meant to marry to Charles count of Montpensier, son to Gilbert, who died in Italy; the king frankly renounced his interest, and thereby rendered her the heiress of the first line of Bourbon. He treated the queen-dowager with all possible marks of respect, settled her jointure to her satisfaction, allowed her to return into Bretagne, and to assume the sovereignty of her own dominions†. But at the same time that he piqued himself on his clemency and good-nature, he shewed likewise his great spirit and resolution; he restored the military discipline of the army, which had been much relaxed; he obliged the magistrates and officers of the crown to do their duty; and the university and preachers at Paris having taken the liberty to censure his actions, he chastized their insolence, and made them sensible that he would be obeyed (H).

A.D. 1498.

H:

* Memoires de Commin.

† Argentre.

(H) This prince was great-grandson of Charles V. surnamed the Wise, who left two sons, Charles his successor, and Lewis, who became duke of Orleans, and was killed by the command of the duke of Burgundy. This prince by Valentina, daughter and heir-

ess of John duke of Milan, left three sons; Charles, duke of Orleans; Philip, count of Vertus, who left no issue; and John, count of Angouleme. Charles duke of Orleans, father of Lewis XII. being taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, remained many years in

X 2

England,

His marriage with Joan of France dissolved, upon which she espoused Anne of Bretagne. his predecessor's widow.

He was desirous of posterity, and he had other motives which induced him to wish the dissolution of his marriage with Joan the daughter of Lewis XI. In an affair of this nature he stood in need of the assistance of the pope. There never was one more fit for his purpose than Alexander VI. He was desirous of providing for his bastard Cæsar Borgia, who had resigned the cardinal's hat, that he might act in another sphere. He sent him into France with a bull, by which he appointed Lewis bishop of Alby and Ferdinand bishop of Ceuta commissioners, to whom he afterwards added cardinal Philip of Luxemburgh. It is generally said by the French historians, that queen Joan,

England, and, after his return to France, made an unsuccessful attempt to recover the duchy of Milan. He was thrice married, first to Isabella of France, the widow of Richard II. king of England, who died in childbed. By her he had only one daughter, Joan or Jane of Orleans, who espoused John II. duke of ALENÇON, by whom she had no issue. His second wife was Bonna, daughter of Bernard VIII. count of Armagnac, and constable of France, by whom he had no children. His third consort was Mary, the daughter of Adolph, duke of Cleves, by Mary the daughter of John the Fearless, and the sister of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, by whom he had Lewis, of whom we are to speak, and Mary, who was thrice married; first to John, viscount of Narbonne, the second son of Gaston count de Foix; secondly, John marquis of Brandenburg; thirdly, to Ferdinand of Arragon, duke of Calabria. Lewis married the younger daughter of king Lewis XI. who was deformed. In

his youth he entered into a close friendship with George d'Amboise, who, after the death of Francis count of Dunois and Longueville, became his sole confidant. He procured for him, first the archbishoprick of Narbonne, and afterwards that of Rouen, in his own government of Normandy. He quarrelled with Charles VIII. because, when he demanded a cardinal's hat for Brissonnot, bishop of St. Maloes, he did not also demand one for his favourite d'Amboise (1). He gave the king also some other causes of offence. Charles in the latter end of his life would have put him at the head of his army, and was desirous that he should have made war in his own name, for the recovery of his duchy of Milan; but this expedition he declined, supposing that, from his ill state of health, the king could not last long, which motive either Charles penetrated himself, or was told by others, and resented it highly; so that at the time of his decease, Lewis was in a kind of disgrace (2).

(1) Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise. P. Dan.

(2) Duplex.

who

who was a very pious and good princess, gave the king no opposition; but it appears from records that this is not true; she defended her marriage with all the vigour imaginable; but, when she found it to no purpose, she submitted patiently, and the king granted her the revenues of the duchy of Berry, with some additional rents, which she spent in works of charity, and led, during the remainder of her days, a quiet and exemplary life^z. Cæsar Borgia reaped the fruits of his father's condescension; the king made him duke of Valentinois, and gave him in marriage the daughter of the lord of Albret, a lady of high birth, and his own relation.

The next great point the king had in view, was to conclude a marriage with the widow of his predecessor; this negotiation of great importance was very quickly terminated, and, the necessary treaties and contracts being concluded and signed, the marriage was solemnized on the 8th of January. On their majesties making their public entry into Paris, the king added to his other titles those of the Two Sicilies and Jerusalem, together with the duchies of Milan and Bretagne. He claimed the first as heir of the house of Anjou, the second as descending to him from his grandmother, and the third in virtue of his marriage^a. The face of affairs was much changed in Italy; the pope was entirely in his interest, from the hopes of advantage; he had conciliated the friendship of the republic of Venice, by promising them a part of the Milanese; and, that he might secure to himself better success than his predecessor had met with in a like expedition, he took care to have his own dominions in perfect security and quiet. The emperor had invaded the duchy of Burgundy, where his troops had received a defeat, which did not hinder the king from concluding a truce, upon very equal terms, with the archduke Philip, who thereupon did homage to the chancellor of France, at Arras, for the counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois^b. The king renewed his treaty with Henry the Seventh of England, and his alliances with Scotland and Denmark, and, after taking these precautions, assembled his forces, and prepared, in earnest, for his Italian expedition^c. George d'Amboise,

Precautions taken by Lewis to preserve peace at home.

^z Annales de France. Proces du Divorce de Jeanne de France. Histoire de Louis XI. par du Clos, liv. xi.

^a Argent. Histoire de Bretagne. Nouvelle Hist. de Bretagne. J. de Serres. Mezeray. P. Daniel.

^b Recueil de Traites, par Leonard. Mémoires de Bethun. Duplex. Du Til. et. P. Daniel.

^c Hail. Hollinsh. Speed.

archbishop of Rouen, to whom, out of compliment to the king, the pope had given a hat, and declared him his legate in France, hindered his master from commanding in person. His forces, consisting of twenty thousand men, were commanded by Lewis of Luxemburgh count de Ligni, Robert Stuart lord d'Aubigny, and John James Trivulce, a native of Milan, who had been in the service of his predecessor ^d.

The army of France conquers the part of the duchy of Milan, while the Venetians reduce the other.

The duke of Milan had provided every thing for his defence; his places were well fortified, his troops numerous, and the success of the war might have been doubtful, but that a prince universally hated is easily defeated, when attacked by an equal force. Sforza had kept faith with none, and none kept faith with him. The Venetians, who were to have the country beyond the Adda, made themselves masters of it in a week. The French proceeded as briskly: Novara and Alexandria were quickly taken; Mortara capitulated; the keys of Pavia were obtained without a siege; and Genoa submitted in the like manner: the citizens of Milan opened their gates; and the citadel, the strongest place then in Europe, with provision for two, and ammunition for four years, was sold by Bernardin Curtio, to whom it had been intrusted by Sforza ^e: but the French nobility treated this perfidious adventurer with such contempt, that he died in ten days, of mere shame. As for the duke himself, who would have been sold too if he had staid, he very wisely withdrew to Inspruck, with the children and his treasures ^f. Lewis in person passed the mountains upon the receipt of these news, and made his entry into Milan, in the ducal habit, on the 6th of October, with the universal acclamations of the people ^g. The cardinal d'Amboise his minister, whose maxim it was, that a people, well governed, would never revolt, restored all who had been banished by Sforza; established a court of justice; remitted a fourth part of their taxes; directed small garrisons only to be left in the principal places; appointed Trivulce governor of the duchy, and gave the command of the horse to the lord d'Aubigny. These measures being taken, and a treaty concluded with the Florentines, the king, having received the compliments of all the Italian princes, except Frederick king of Naples, returned home,

^d Annales de France. Guicciard. St. Gelais. Serres. ^e Seiffell. ^f St. Gelais. Brantôme. Dupleix. ^g Annales de France. Bolcarii. Serres.

as he had entered Milan, in triumph. All this success was justly attributed to the care, circumspection, and foresight, of cardinal D'Amboise.

A great change was soon effected in the affairs of Italy, not only by the revolutions of Naples, but also by the successive deaths of the popes Alexander VI. and Pius III. which last was succeeded by Julius II. to the great mortification and disappointment of the cardinal D'Amboise.

Lewis, in resentment of the ill usage which he had met with from Ferdinand the Catholic, attacked Spain with three armies, two by land, and one that was to act by sea. The first, commanded by the lord of Albret, and the marshal de Gie, penetrated as far as Fontarabia, and then retired, without performing any thing, either through want of subsistence, or from some misunderstanding between the commanders: the remains of this army having joined that commanded by marshal Ricux, besieged Salces, in Roussillon; but the Spaniards advancing with an army to his relief, they were constrained to raise the siege^h. The fleet, after alarming the coasts of Valentia and Castile, returned to Marseilles, without performing any thing worthy of notice. In the kingdom of Naples, the Great Captain took Gaeta in three days, by a capitulation, which permitted all the French officers and soldiers to return home as they could; but as he was never famous for performing his capitulations, so he broke shamefully through this; restraining it to the natives of France, and thrusting all the Italians into dungeons. Lewis d'Ars, one of the French officers, had retired, after the defeat at Cerignoles, with a handful of men, into Venosa, a place of no great strength, where he declared that he rejected the capitulation of Gaeta, and meant to depend upon his sword. The bravest of the French, and of the Italians in the French service, resorted to him from all sides; and having given a very severe check to the Spanish troops which attacked him, he returned through the heart of Italy, drums beating and colours flying, and brought his troops, in good order, into the duchy of Milan; whereas of those who capitulated in Gaeta, very few returned into Franceⁱ. This reverse of fortune had such an effect upon the mind of Lewis, that it threw him into a fit of sickness, which was very near proving mortal. The point he had now chiefly at heart was the re-establishment of peace. A truce had

The French compelled to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and the king concludes a new treaty with Maximilian and Philip at Blois.

A.D 1504.

^h Saint Gelais, Seiffell. Marian. Fer. ⁱ Guicciard. Pauli Jovii Hist. St Gelais. Seiffell. Dupleix.

been concluded with Spain for the countries bordering on the side of the Pyrenees; but the king had so little dependence on Ferdinand, that he would not so much as suffer him to participate in this new negociation, which ended in a treaty, concluded at Blois, the 22d of September, between the emperor, the archduke, who now took the title of king of Castile and Leon on the death of queen Isabella, on one side, and the king on the other^k. By this the treaty of marriage between Charles and Claude was again renewed, the kingdom of Naples and many other dominions were confirmed to them, and the investiture of the duchy of Milan promised to the king, upon payment of a large sum of money. The space of four months was allowed to Ferdinand to accept the treaty; and here it was that the contracting parties first engaged to attack the Venetians, though, for the present, this design came to nothing.

On the marriage of Ferdinand with his niece Germain de Foix, Lewis renounces, in favour of the children of that marriage, his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples.

The king, who had a great dependence on the treaty concluded last year, and who, above all, had fixed his heart upon obtaining the investiture of the duchy of Milan, sent cardinal D'Amboise into Germany to receive it; which he did, after paying homage, and paying also a large sum of money^l. But the cardinal clearly perceived at this interview, that nothing was to be expected as to the emperor's performance of what he had stipulated of entering into Italy, in order to act against the Venetians^m, whom Ferdinand the Catholic had informed of the confederacy that was upon the carpet against themⁿ. The king falling sick, and, at the turn of his disease, being thought past recovery, the queen caused her richest furniture, her jewels, and her wealth, to be embarked on the Loire, in order to convey them to the castle of Nantes^o; but in their passage, they were stopped at Saumur, by the marshal de Gie^p, who thought that, at this time, she ought to be occupied only about the king's person. This affront, she resented so highly, as to procure him to be suspended from his employments, the most considerable of which was being governor to the count of Angoulesme, and to be forbid the court^q. But posterity rendered him justice, and have considered this as the meanest action of her's and the king's life. The views of Philip, now in right of his wife

A D. 1505.

^k Annales de France. Belcarii. Mariana. Ferr. ^l Leonard. Annales de France. Du Till. ^m Mezeray. Le Gend. ⁿ Serres. ^o Nouvelle Hist. de Bretagne. ^p Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne. ^q Saint Gelais. Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne. P. Daniel.

Joan,

Joan, king of Castile, alarmed Ferdinand, his father-in-law, so much, that, recollecting the tenderness which Lewis had expressed for his niece Germain de Foix, he sent an ecclesiastic into France, to try whether, after all their disputes, he might not recover the friendship of the king by espousing that lady; this proposition being extremely well received, he concluded a new treaty, by which the kingdom of Naples was settled on his posterity, by the new queen, in favour of whom Lewis renounced all his pretensions, except as to the expences of the war, for which he was to receive one hundred thousand ducats, for ten years together: what redounded highly to his honour, he stipulated that all the Neapolitan nobility, who were seized by the Great Captain, should be set at liberty; and that the estates of such as had been confiscated for their adherence either to him, or to the house of Anjou, should be restored, which restitution, as things were now circumstanced, Ferdinand found himself obliged to promise, and the king took care that he should be likewise obliged to perform^r.

At the time of the king's sickness, in the preceding year, the nobility of France began to entertain great apprehensions of the alliance stipulated by the treaty of Blois, by which not only the Italian dominions, but likewise the duchy of Bretagne, and other important countries, were to be given with the king's daughter to Charles of Luxemburgh, on which, having modestly represented their thoughts to the king, he appointed an assembly of the states to be held at Tours, in the month of May. There, having received their remonstrances, and another from the states of Bretagne, who were more immediately concerned, he resolved, after mature deliberation, to yield to their request^s; and thereupon contracted the princess Claude to Francis count of Angoulesme: by this measure he revenged himself sufficiently of all the slights he had received from the house of Austria; but, at the same time, shewed he could make free with treaties as well as they. In the circumstances Maximilian then stood in, he could not resent it, and death removed king Philip before he had an opportunity of expressing his sentiments: but the sincerity of his friendship to the king he had already clearly shewed, by his appointing him tutor to his son Charles, which

Marries the princess Claude to the count d'Angoulesme.

^r Guicciardini. Memoires de Beth. Marian. Fer. Nouvelle Histoire de Bretagne. Dupleix. P. Daniel.

^s Seiff.

A.D. 1506. trust he very honourably discharged^t. Ferdinand the Catholic having made a tour to Naples, executed punctually his engagements to the king. At his return, he refused to go on shore at Genoa, and, when some deputies from the city came to compliment him on board his galley, he told them that he understood there were factions amongst them, that possibly might end in a revolt, which they would find not for their interests; but that, at all events, they were to expect no assistance from him. What he predicted came to pass; the people, having drove out the nobility, chose eight tribunes, and declared Paul Nuova, a silk-dyer, their duke; expelled the French governor, and reduced a great part of the Riviera^v.

*The king
passes
again into
Italy.*

On the issue of this war depended not only the continuance of the French power in Italy, but the reputation of their monarchy in Europe. The pope, forgetting the protection given him in France during the reign of Alexander VI. and the many favours he had received from cardinal d'Amboise, was the principal author of this revolt, to which the emperor also was no stranger, and the Pisans encouraged and supported it by their troops^w. As soon as the news arrived at court, the cardinal suggested to the king the necessity of going in person into Italy, if he meant to reduce Genoa, or preserve Milan; but the queen, who had a great ascendancy over him, opposed it with all her power, not only out of tenderness to his person, but because she thought it would raise the minister's credit, and fix his authority^x. Instead of wearying and disturbing his master with repeated solicitations, the cardinal pressed the military preparations in such a manner, that, at the very opening of the campaign, he had a numerous army, well officered, and a most amazing quantity of artillery, with the best engineers that were in Europe, whom he had drawn from all quarters into the service. The expedition appeared so sure, and the glory of it so great, that Lewis could not resist the desire of commanding in person, a circumstance which added, under the title of volunteers, all the young noblemen in the kingdom^y.

The Genoese depended on the situation of their country, and on a strong fortress which they had raised to com-

^t Pet. Angl. Epist. Marian. Fer. Mezeray. P. Daniel. Châlons. Le Gend.

^u Guicciard. Saint Gelais. Seiffel.

^w D'Anton. Annales de France. Dupl. ^x Guicciard. P.

Jovit. Hist. Du Till. ^y Guicciard. Dupl. Le Gend.

mand the passage, and the great number of men which they could at any time assemble for their own defence. These advantages made them shew little or no regard to the overtures made, from time to time, by the king, who was naturally merciful, and had not the inclination of coming to extremities: but, when these could not be avoided, he committed the van-guard of the army to his most experienced officers, who quickly forced the passes, and at length came in sight of the new fort. This being very difficult of access, the Swiss, when commanded, declined the attack^z; but, when they saw the French infantry mount to the assault, their first lines, consisting entirely of officers, attempting it, they supported them very gallantly, and contributed not a little to their carrying the place. The Genoese were so disconcerted at this first exploit, that they sent deputies to demand the king's pardon, and, under colour of that treaty, endeavoured to surprise his camp^a: but they had to do with those who understood perfectly their manner of fighting, and their manner of treating. The king refused so much as to see their deputies: the cardinal told them it was too late to think of terms; and that all they could expect was to surrender at discretion; which advice, when it could be no longer avoided, they were obliged to take. The proper guards being posted, and the people entirely disarmed, the king, on the 29th of April, entered the city on horseback, at the head of his army^b. His aspect was stern, his sword drawn in his hand, but on his coat of arms was depicted a royal bee, with a swarm on every side; which device was accompanied with these words: *Non utitur aculeo rex cui parcimus*; that is, "The monarch we obey uses no sting." After a whole week's keeping them in terror, the king declared, that though, for their rebellion, they had forfeited their lives and estates, and that, having so often refused it, they had no title to his clemency, yet, in compassion to their distress, he pardoned them, their chiefs only excepted, of whom Paul Nuova and Demetrius Justiniani suffered death, and on the city he imposed a fine of three hundred thousand ducats. He afterwards had an interview with Ferdinand the Catholic at Savona, where Lewis caused the Grand Captain to dine with them at the table. On the other hand, Ferdinand conferred, for several hours alone, with cardinal d'Amboise^c. After a visit of

A D. 1507.

Has an inter-
view
with Fer-
dinand the
Catholic.

^z Saint Gelais. Serres. Mez. ^a Seiff. Dupleix. ^b P. Dan. & al. ^c Saint Gelais. D'Anton. Marian. Fer.

four days, in which many things were secretly concluded, Ferdinand took his leave, and the king returned to France. The emperor had prevailed upon the dyet to assist him with a great army, upon an assurance that the king meant nothing less than the entire conquest of Italy: but when Lewis, by dismissing his troops, demonstrated the falsehood of this suggestion, the princes of Germany grew cool, and the emperor, attempting to pass a small body of his own troops into Italy, they were repulsed with loss by the Venetians^d.

A.D. 1508.

*Enters into
the league
of Cam-
bray.*

The emperor Maximilian, being extremely provoked at the opposition given his army by the Venetians, reinforced his troops, and at length marched in person; but, in a short time, found himself so much distressed for money, that he was constrained to retire. The Venetians, who were now joined by a body of French troops, under the command of the marshal Trivulce, thought proper to ask his consent to a truce for three years, which was offered them by Maximilian. Trivulce readily offered to sign, if the truce was general, and the allies on both sides comprehended in all places: but this condition the emperor refused; and the republic, finding that truce of consequence to them, subscribed it, notwithstanding the French general's protest. The motives to his proposition was the king's having excited the duke of Guelders to arm against the house of Austria in the Low Countries; and, as he was in some danger, it was requisite to preserve him by this expedient; which, having failed, the king was much provoked. Maximilian was much more so, as his being forced to make such a truce; and, by the interposition of Margaret, governess of the Low Countries, proposed to Lewis the reviving that project, which had been approved some years before, for the destruction of this too powerful republic. The king, and his minister the cardinal, hated the Venetians; and the council in general, when this proposition came to be examined, concurred with them in opinion. Stephen Poncher, bishop of Pavia, a man of parts and probity, was the single opponent: he said the republic of Venice was the only power in Italy that was not engaged in interest to dispossess the king of the duchy of Milan; that Lewis could depend little upon the pope; that Maximilian and Ferdinand the Catholic had deceived him often, and, as soon as they found their account in it, would deceive him again: but, notwith-

^d Guicciard. Mezeray. P. Dan. Sciff. Serres. Dupleix.

standing this remonstrance, cardinal d'Amboise was sent to treat with Margaret, who had the emperor's powers; and, with her, under pretence of regulating the disputes in the Low Countries, he, after a long negociation, concluded the famous treaty of Cambray, by which the state of Venice was consigned to destruction, and the king obtained the investiture of the duchy of Milan simply for himself and his heirs^c.

This league of Cambray was one of the greatest and most singular events that Europe had ever seen, as being a league founded in resentment, and diametrically opposite to the interests of every one of the contracting powers. The republic of Venice was grown extremely potent, and not by the most direct methods; for great power in states, like great wealth amongst private men, is very rarely acquired but by fraud or oppression: but the republic of Venice was the bulwark of Italy; it prevented the pope from drawing the emperor, or the king of the Romans, as the phrase then was, into Lombardy, against the French; moderated the views of king Lewis, and hindered him from extending his conquests; kept the pope from being reduced to a state of dependency, and preserved to Ferdinand the Catholic the kingdom of Naples. All this influence resulted from their great power, however that power might be acquired; and therefore, though it might be the interest of each of these potentates, separately, to recover, if possible, what had been taken from them by the republic; yet, to oblige her to refund all her conquests, was to reduce a power of which they were all afraid, and open a source thereby of perpetual wars amongst themselves. The catholic king wanted to have Trani, Monopoli, Brindisi, Otranto, Gallipoli, and other towns on the Adriatic gulph restored to him. The Venetians had acquired some by mortgage, and had seized the rest; but it was by the held of their money, and the assistance they had given, that Naples was preserved to the house of Arragon, and had been acquired by Ferdinand. The emperor, by a mixt title, as head of the empire and of the house of Austria, formed pretensions on the patriarchate of Aquileia, some towns in Friuli, Rovero in the Trentin, and Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, beyond the Alps. What the king desired was; Cremona, Crema, Brescia, Bergamo, and the country beyond the Adda. It is true,

*Views of
the several
powers in
the famous
treaty of
Cambray.*

^c Leonard. Seiffell. Guicciard. Du Till. P. Dan. Chalons. Pr. Henault. Le Gend.

he had yielded this to them in consideration of their assisting him to conquer the rest of the Milanese, but, after all, the Milanese was not complete without them^h. Faenza and Rimini had been usurped from the church by tyrants; Cæsar Borgia had dispossessed those tyrants; from him they were taken by the Venetians, and pope Julius was willing to have them againⁱ. The allies were to be ready to act by the 1st of April, before which time the pope was to signify to the republic what restitutions he expected; upon their refusal, he was to excommunicate them, and to demand the emperor's assistance, as the protector of the church, in which quality he might act against the Venetians, without breach of his oath, in respect to the truce he had sworn to keep for a year^k. Julius, though in effect the first mover of this treaty, repented it very early; he foresaw its consequences, and endeavoured to make the state of Venice conceive them, offering to dissolve the league, if Faenza and Rimini were restored: but the republic, confident of her own strength, rejected the proposal; upon which Julius ratified the treaty, which, for some time he had delayed^l.

Cardinal d'Amboise, whose aversion to the Venetians had dictated this measure to the French court, acted with that indefatigable diligence, which was the characteristic of his ministry, in order to carry it into execution. He prepared every thing for the campaign; caused the troops to march; took the Swiss into pay, and brought every thing to bear by the time that had been fixed, though he saw all the rest of the allies backward^m. He prevailed upon his master to pass the mountains once more, in order to command his army in person, notwithstanding the intreaties and tears of his queen, for whom he had not only great tenderness, but much deference also for her counsels. The cardinal himself, though afflicted with the gout, a slow fever, and an inveterate colic, passed the Alps in a litter; for it was his maxim to leave nothing to others that it was possible for him to doⁿ. When the army came to take the field, it appeared that the confederates intended to leave the whole burthen upon the French, and to reserve for themselves whatever advantages might arise,

^h Arnoldi Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallor. Saint Gelais. Memoires de Brant. ⁱ Machiav. Histor. Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise. ^k Du Till. Mez. P. Dan. ^l Guicciard. Pet. de Angleria. Epist. Rainald.

^m Ferron. de Rebus Gestis Gallor. Memoires de Brant. St. Gelais. ⁿ Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray.

Lewis passes the mountains, to command his army in person, attended by the cardinal.

either from their victory or defeat. It was impossible that the cardinal should not discern these views, and yet he advised the king to march directly and give battle to the enemy. The marshal de Chaumont, nephew to the cardinal, and governor of Milan, had surpris'd the town of Treviglio, on the other side the Adda; the Venetians besieged it; their army consisted of three thousand men at arms, four thousand light horse, and thirty thousand foot, commanded by count Petigliani, and by Bartholomew d'Alviana, the former cool as water, the latter hot as fire. The king had two thousand three hundred men at arms, as many volunteers of the first families in his kingdom, eight thousand Swiss foot, and thirteen thousand of his own subjects, the best infantry that France had ever seen. In marching to the relief of Treviglio, the van-guard was commanded by marshal Chaumont, supported by marshal Trivulce; the king having the duke of Bourbon, La Tremouille, and many other persons of the first rank about him, commanded the main body, and the duke de Longueville conducted the rear. The Venetians had taken the place by capitulation, notwithstanding which they had burnt and plundered it. This transaction gave the king leisure to pass the Adda without opposition.

The king's design was to seize Vailla; the enemy had the same design, which brought on a battle, contrary to the intention of the Venetians, who were instructed to avoid it by all means. It was fought on the 14th of May, between Vailla and Aignadel, and the Venetians were totally defeated; they lost their cannon, baggage, colours, a vast quantity of ammunition, nine thousand men killed, and as many taken. Bartholomew de Alviana, whose warmth occasioned the battle, breathed his last on the field; and it was a fortnight before the count of Petigliana could assemble the remains of his army. Cardinal d'Amboise took care that this victory should be improved. Before the enemy's first terror was over, all the places the king demanded surrendered at discretion: Pesquera was the only one that made a defence; it was carried by assault; and the king caused the proveditor and his son, who defended it, to be hanged, and the garrison cut to pieces, because the Venetians had violated the capitulation of Treviglio. Upon this great blow the republic lost her cou-

The Venetians defeated at Aignadel.

o Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallor. St. Gelais, Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise. p Guicc. Pet. Bemb. Hist. Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray. q Memoires de Brant.

rage to such a degree, that she demanded peace from all the great powers that had embarked in the league, on their own terms; and, at the same time, gave orders to the governors of those places to withdraw their garrisons. Thus the pope and king Ferdinand acquired all they sought by the war, and the emperor might have done the same if his army had been in Italy^r. The cities which he claimed being evacuated, offered their keys to king Lewis, who, in regard to his alliance, refused them. The emperor's indolence, and the king's great moderation, saved the state of Venice; for the inhabitants of Trevisa having refused to admit the Imperial commissary, who came without troops, the republic supported them; soon after they surprised Padua, and resolved to defend it^s. Maximilian arrived at Trent in the month of June, where he was met by cardinal d'Amboise, to whom he granted the investiture of Milan; but, after appointing an interview with the king, the emperor failed, upon which Lewis entered Milan in triumph, and returned into his own dominions, having concluded a new treaty with the pope, and leaving a body of auxiliaries to act in conjunction with the emperor. Maximilian, with an army of forty thousand men, besieged Padua; but, after lying before it seventeen days, was obliged to retire. Some disputes arose between the king and the pope, in which the latter was forced to give way^t. The emperor and Ferdinand the Catholic referred their disputes about the government of Castile to the arbitration of king Lewis, of which we have shewn the issue in another place^u.

A.D. 1509.

The pope absolves the Venetians and declares against France.

Pope Julius, instead of executing his treaties, endeavoured to engage the emperor to desist from the war; and not succeeding in that scheme, gained the electors, who advised him to make peace. Maximilian persisting in his own measures, mortgaged the city and citadel of Verona to Lewis for fifty thousand ducats^w. Julius absolved the Venetians, and laboured to reconcile them to the emperor, declared openly against France, and practised every method to distress king Lewis. With this view he negotiated with Henry the Eighth, who had lately succeeded to the crown of England. He also brought over the Swiss, who, having demanded an increase of their pen-

^r Guicciard, Petr. Bemb. Hist. Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.
^s Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise. ^t Ferron. de Rebus Gestis Gallorum.
^u Marian. Mayerne Turquet, Fer. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise. ^w St. Gelais, P. Dan.

flors, and being refused by king Lewis; were highly irritated; but the king having obtained troops by the like capitulation with the Grisons and their allies, was the less concerned. The death of cardinal d'Amboise, which happened at Lyons on the 25th of May, was a great mortification to the French, as he was equally esteemed by the king, and beloved by the people^x. By the persuasion of the pope the Genoese attempted a revolt without effect; the Swiss endeavoured to invade the Milanese, and were constrained to retire, both by the incomparable prudence of the marshal de Chaumont. Julius granted the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand, and, instead of the usual tribute, accepted of a gennet, declaring at the same time, that Lewis had lost all title to the kingdom^y. The king, notwithstanding this provocation, being grown weary of the war, laboured all he could to conclude a peace, in which he was crossed by the pope, who went so far as to imprison an agent from the duke of Savoy, who proposed his master's mediation, and even put him to the torture, under colour of taking him for a spy. Lewis, finding milder methods ineffectual, appointed a general assembly of his clergy at Tours, where they decided that it was lawful to make war on the pope, and to seize his territories, when he was the aggressor; that his censures, in such a case, were null, and not to be regarded: they forbid the carrying money to Rome, and granted large subsidies, out of all the ecclesiastical revenues in France, to enable the king to defend himself against the pope^z. The emperor made a new treaty with the king, A.D. 1510.
by which he confirmed that of Cambray, and consented to the assembling a general council, in order to bring the pope to reason. Julius, to shew that he was not at all intimidated, excommunicated the duke of Ferrera, and besieged his capital; went in person to Bologna to promote the siege, where he was very near being taken by the marshal Chaumont. Being obliged to raise it, he afterwards invested Mirandola, notwithstanding several cardinals, displeas'd with his conduct, retired to Florence. In this expedition he was very near being taken by the chevalier Bayard; notwithstanding which narrow escape, and his being in a very declining state of health, he went in per-

^x Arnoldi Ferron. de Rebus Gestis Gallor. Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise, P. Dan. ^y Guicciard, Rainald, Pet Bomb. Hist.

^z St. Gelais, Acta Concil. Turon. tom. xiii. Conc. Labbæi & Costarté.

son to press the siege, lodged within cannon-shot of the place, and visited the trenches. The king, on the contrary, grew more and more tired of the war, which was become very burthensome, and which exposed his Italian dominions to great inconveniencies, the people of Genoa having conspired a second time, and the preservation of that city requiring a constant fleet in the Mediterranean.

Marshal Trivulce commands the French army, and pushes the pope and his allies.

The pope, in his new vocation of a general, had the honour of reducing Mirandola, after a siege of three months; and, to shew how much he was pleased with it, he made his entry through the breach^a. In the mean time the marshal de Chaumont died of a lingering disease, which he took to be an Italian fever, or, in plain terms, the effects of poison. He was but thirty-eight years of age, and yet was marshal and admiral of France, governor of the duchies of Milan and Normandy, and one of the ablest officers of his age. The command of the French army devolved upon the marshal Trivulce^b. But in the mean time Ferdinand the Catholic, under colour of zeal for religion, and his great respect for the pope, procured a kind of congress to be held at Mantua, in hopes of bringing about a peace, which, however, had no effect. The emperor and the king, in support of the seceding cardinals, appointed a general council to be held at Pisa, in the month of September, to which the pope was summoned. Marshal Trivulce advancing with an army into the neighbourhood of Bologna, the pope immediately retired into Ravenna; the people revolted in favour of the Bentivoglios; and the garrison was cut to pieces. The marquis soon after drawing his forces out of that city, attacked the army of the pope and the Venetians, defeated them, and might have marched to Rome, but he knew that his master was not inclined to push things to extremities. This moderation had no effect upon Julius, who, notwithstanding his being reduced to the very brink of the grave by a disease, and lying, in a manner, at the mercy of the French, lost nothing either of his spirit or his abilities. On the contrary he negotiated with Ferdinand and the Swifs; excommunicated the council at Pisa and all their adherents; and declared war against the Florentines. He also called a council himself at Rome, and his emissaries at Pisa made the council that met there so uneasy, that the members,

^a Guicciard, Hist. du Chevalier Bayard, Arnoldi Ferron. de Rebus Gestis Gallor. ^b Saint Gelais, Memoirs de Brant, Duplex.

for their own security, removed to Milan^c. All this success was chiefly owing to the irresolution of Lewis, who, since the death of cardinal d'Amboise, paid too much regard to the queen's advice, who looked upon a war against the pope as an act of impiety. It was owing to this opinion that, though the king did not desert, he never properly supported the council, which he had caused to assemble in order to awe the pope. The emperor, yet more fickle than the king, was desirous of transferring the council into his own dominions, in order to engage them not only to depose the pope, but to raise him (the emperor) to the apostolic see^d. While these monarchs acted so strange a part, Julius caused the treaty he had concluded to be proclaimed at Rome with great solemnity, and gave it the title of the Holy League.^e The Swifs attacked the duchy of Milan with their whole force; burnt fourteen or fifteen towns and villages, and then retired into their own country; a retreat which some ascribe to the conduct of Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, who harassed them continually with small parties of horse; but it is more probable they thought they had done enough, as their principal aim was not the expulsion of the French, but to oblige them to take them again into pay upon their own terms. Don Pedro de Navarra, with the title of general of the league, began to commit hostilities towards the end of the year, entered into the Ferrarese, and took several places: but the Venetians contented themselves with acting defensively^f.

A.D. 1511:

The agents of Lewis had in vain endeavoured to engage the Florentines to declare in their favour; but they were wiser, and made choice of a neutrality: cardinal John de Medicis, at the head of the troops of the pope, and the duke of Cordona, viceroy of Naples, at the head of the Spanish army, invested Bologna, but not so completely as to prevent Gaston duke of Nemours from entering it with his whole army, upon which they raised the siege, not without suffering considerable loss in their retreat^f. In the mean time the Venetians had surpris'd Brescia, the French garrison having barely time to retire into the castle. The duke of Nemours was no sooner informed of this misfortune than he marched to their relief, routed a

Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, takes Bologna, routs the Venetians, and recovers Brescia.

^c Pet. Bemb. Histor. Rainald.^d Guicc. Monita Politica,

ad S. T. R. Principes edit. de Francfort, 1609, Marian. Hist. Espana, lib. xxx. P. Daniel.

^e Ferron. de Rebus Gestis Gallor.

Pet Bemb. Hist.

^f Hist. du Chevalier Bayard.

great body of Venetian troops that attempted to hinder his passage, and, having entered the citadel in the night, sallied from thence upon the town, which he recovered, after putting to death eight thousand of the enemy^a. He had promised the pillage of the place to his soldiers, and he kept his word; and the value of the plunder is said to have amounted to three millions of ducats. These exploits, performed in the space of a fortnight, acquired him the character of the greatest, at the same time that he was the youngest general in the French service. He received soon after the king's orders to fight the enemy at any rate; for, in the midst of victories, Lewis found his cause declining^b. The king of England had dismissed his ambassador from a scruple of conscience, in holding any friendship with a prince who made war upon the pope. The Florentines were on the point of declaring for the league, and the emperor disposed to desert him; for all which evils a decisive victory was held the only remedyⁱ.

*The battle
of Ravenna.*

The duke of Nemours, in order to oblige the enemy to come to a battle, besieged Ravenna. This step had the effect he expected; the confederates marched to its relief, and he advanced to meet them. His army consisted of sixteen thousand foot, eighteen hundred men at arms, and three thousand light horse. He commanded the vanguard in person, having with him Alphonso duke of Ferrara, the main body was commanded by Mons. la Palisse, and the rear guard by Yves de Allegre. The army of the confederates was pretty near the same strength; they had two thousand men at arms, three thousand archers on horseback, and fifteen thousand foot. They were commanded by the cardinal John de Medicis, and, under him by Fabricius Colonna, the marquis of Pescara, Don Pedro de Navarra, Antonia de Leva, and Don Juan de Cordona^k. The battle was fought on Easter-day, the 11th of April: it lasted many hours, but, in the end, the confederates were defeated, and, in all probability, this victory would have answered the king's hopes, if, after having gained it like an experienced general, the duke of Nemours had not thrown himself away like a young soldier. A corps of four thousand Spaniards retired in good order, he attacked them with thirty gens d'arms, and, not being

^a Ferron. de Rebus Gestis Gallor. Memoires de Brant. ^b Arnoldi Ferron. de Rebus Gestis Gallorum, Memoires de Brant, Guicciard. ⁱ Histoire du Chevalier Bayard. Memoires de Brant. ^k Pet. Bemb. Histor. Rainald.

supported in time, perished; in all other respects the victory was complete, for, except that corps of Spaniards, all the rest were either killed or taken; amongst the prisoners was the cardinal legate, the marquis of Pescara, Pedro de Navarra, Fabricius Colonna, and Juan de Cordona. But the death of the duke of Nemours, in the twenty-third year of his age, more than balanced this advantage, and the taking of Ravenna. The army, for want of pay, dispersed, so that monsieur la Palisse scarce conducted four thousand men to Milan. The Swifs poured twenty thousand men into that duchy, and declared Maximilian Sforza duke of it, his father Ludovic being dead. The Genoese revolted, expelled the French, and declared Janus Fregoza their duke. Henry the Eighth declared for the league; Ferdinand the Catholic expelled the king of Navarre; the pope laid the kingdom of France under an interdict, and offered Henry the title of the Most Christian King, and even the realm of France, if he would attempt the conquest of it^l. In this situation, when all was going to wreck, la Palisse shewed himself a politician, for he rendered most of the great towns to such of the allies as had the least title to, and could reap the least benefit from them, in hopes that this measure would divide them amongst themselves, as it actually did, though not time enough to be of any great service to the French^m.

A.D. 1512.

The pope, now in the zenith of his glory, undertook to reconcile the Venetians to the emperor; that is, to engage the republic, now they had recovered their losses, to fulfil the offers they had made, when on the point of being undone. But they chose rather to declare themselves neuter; a circumstance which Julius took so much to heart, that it killed himⁿ. Cardinal de Medicis succeeded him, by the title of Leo the Tenth, and was crowned pope on the anniversary of the battle of Ravenna, in which he was taken prisoner^o. He proceeded on his predecessor's plan, and the confederates resolved the destruction of France, in the very manner that the ruin of the Venetians had been contrived by the league of Cambray. The pope was to send an army into Dauphiné; the emperor to make an irruption into Champagne; the Swifs to invade Burgundy; Henry of England to march

The French recover the duchy of Milan, and lose it again in a few weeks.

^l Guicciard, Rainald, Polyd. Virg. ^m Hist. du Chevalier de Bayard, Memoires de Brant, Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.
ⁿ Pet. Bemb. Histor. ^o Arnaldi Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallorum.

into Picardy; and Ferdinand the Catholic was to attack Guienne and Languedoc. Lewis, in the mean time, had regained the Venetians, in hopes, by their assistance, to recover the duchy of Milan; and, by agreeing to abandon Navarre, he quieted Ferdinand, and had leisure to act on that side. Lewis de la Tremouille, the ablest officer in his service, marched at the head of sixteen thousand foot, two thousand men at arms, and six thousand light horse, to relieve the citadel of Milan, a service which he performed, and in a short time recovered the whole duchy, excepting only Novara and Como. Into the first of these places Francis Sforza, the brother and successor of Maximilian, entered, with a body of six thousand Swiss. It appeared the shortest way to end the war to besiege this place, which Tremouille accordingly invested with all his forces. The place was on the point of surrendering, when a numerous army of Swiss marched to its relief. The French generals, after mature deliberation, resolved that, as the adjacent country was flat, la Tremouille should remain in his lines with his infantry, and marshal Trivulce, at the head of the cavalry, should march to stop the progress of the enemy^p. The measure was right; but as Trivulce did not give into it, he drew his horse into a morass; a motion which gave the Swiss both within and without the town an opportunity of putting the French foot between two fires, and, in the sight of their horse, who could not stir to their assistance, cutting them to pieces. In the space of a week Francis Sforza recovered the whole duchy; the French were completely expelled out of Milan^q, and soon found so much employment at home, as, for the present, prevented all thoughts of return.

*Henry VIII.
invades
France,
takes Te-
rouenne
and Tour-
nay, and
returns in-
to England.*

The concerns of France were, in a manner, become desperate of a sudden; for if the allies had executed their engagements, pursuant to the treaty they concluded at Mechlin, Lewis the Twelfth would have found himself in a very distressed situation, as may be easily gathered from the risks to which his affairs were exposed, even from the different manner in which they were executed^r. As for Leo the Tenth, he had ambition, and he was not strait-laced in point of religion; but he had no malice to the

^p Pet. Bem. Hist. Guicciard. Hist. du Chevalier Bayard.
^q Memoires de Marechal de Fleuranges. Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray. ^r Arnold. Ferron. de Regibus Gestis Gallor. Pet. de Angleria Epist. Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

French nation, nor any prejudice to the person of the king; and therefore, upon his abandoning the council of Pisa, now transferred to Lyons, and some few other concessions of less consequence, the pope consented to a reconciliation, which was highly acceptable to the queen, who had ever been in terrors about this war^a. Julius the Second, amongst other threats, had given out that he would cancel her marriage, and very probably would have done it, if the queen had not been always on his side. This accommodation with Rome put an end to all apprehensions on the side of Dauphiné, which, in truth, were not very great^b. The emperor Maximilian had received a subsidy from England of one hundred thousand crowns, for an invasion, which, probably, he never intended to make. Henry the Eighth, who had little or no cause for entering into the war, and who, notwithstanding, was at almost the whole expence of it, prepared to fulfil his engagements both by land and sea^c. He landed in the month of July at Calais, and very speedily formed an army of thirty thousand men. He was joined by the emperor with a good corps of horse, and some foot; but his business was only to excuse his not having executed what he undertook to execute by his treaty of subsidy, for here he did not pretend to serve as the ally or auxiliary, but as the mercenary, of Henry, who assigned him his quarters, and allowed him an hundred ducats a day for his table: a circumstance which sufficiently explains the vanity of one of those princes, and the sordid temper of the other^d. The first enterprize they undertook, was the siege of Terrouenne, which they invested with an army of upwards of fifty thousand men. The place was strong and well defended, so that when the enemy had lain before it some time, the duke de Longueville marched to its relief with a numerous army, and succeeded in the attempt; but, being unfortunately attacked in his retreat, the cavalry fell into a precipitate flight, the duke and a few of his principal officers excepted, who were made prisoners. This action happened on the 18th of August, and was styled by the French La Journée des Eperons, or, *the Battle of the Spurs*^e. On the 24th the place surrendered,

^a Memoires de Brant. ^b Rainald. ^c Polyd. Virg. Hall. Holingsh. Arnoldi Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallorum. ^d Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. Huberti Velley ad Gaguin. Append.

^e Ferron, de Rebus Gestis Gallor.

after two months siege, and the allies, not agreeing who should keep it, it was dismantled and burnt. Henry then marched, at the emperor's request, into the Low Countries, and besieged Tournay, a place of large extent, which might have made a good defence, but the inhabitants, confident of their own strength, refused a garrison, and yet thought fit to surrender in a few days. This city, though less convenient for him than Ferouenne, Henry resolved to keep: having directed some additional fortifications, and left in it a strong garrison, he put an end to the campaign, and returned into his own dominions in triumph.

*Burgundy
invaded by
the Swiss,
Venetians
beaten by
the Spaniards,
king of
Scots killed.*

The king was the less in a condition to defend his territories against the English, as the Swiss, elevated by the victory they had gained at Novara, made an irruption into Burgundy with twenty-five thousand men, and were joined, on the part of the emperor, by Ulrich duke of Wirtemberg, who brought with him the gentry of Franche Comté, and some artillery^r. These new invaders besieged Dijon, the capital of the province, into which Lewis de la Tremouille had thrown himself with three or four thousand men. The place being but indifferently fortified, must have been infallibly taken, and then the passage would have been open to Paris, of which danger some of the richer citizens were so sensible, that they began to retire. At the beginning of the siege la Tremouille made a brisk sally with almost his whole force, which was thought very imprudent; but having taken some Swiss officers prisoners, he entertained them at his own table, treated them kindly, and enquired what were the sources of this enmity between nations, whose interest it was to be constantly allied. This discourse produced a negotiation, in which the Swiss claimed four hundred thousand livres, as the arrears of their pensions; insisted on the king's renouncing all claim to the duchy of Milan, and also upon submitting the king's title to Burgundy to the determination of experienced lawyers. All this la Tremouille admitted to be reasonable, and undertook should be complied with; giving his own nephew, one of his principal officers, and four of the best citizens of Dijon, as hostages, and twenty thousand crowns by way of earnest; upon

A.D. 1513.

^r Arnoldi Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallor. Huberti Val. ad Gaguin. Append. Memoires de Brant.

which

which they raised the siege and retired. The king disavowed the treaty as dishonourable, and refused to perform it: but, nevertheless, it was universally acknowledged, that la Tremouille had saved France, and the hostages were afterwards disengaged for a considerable sum. The English and French fleets had two engagements at sea; in the last Sir Edward Howard, high admiral of England, was blown up, and Prosmoguer, a native of Bretagne, who commanded the French fleet, was likewise slain; but the latter had the advantage, as appeared by their making a descent on the coast of Suffex. The allies of France, in the course of this year, were as unfortunate as the French. The Venetians were defeated by the Spaniards with great loss, and James the Fourth of Scotland, who invaded England with a potent army, was defeated and killed by the earl of Surrey, in the fatal battle of Flodden, which was considered as a grievous misfortune in France, as no farther diversion was to be hoped for on that side, during the war^z.

In the beginning of the year, the queen died, equally regretted by the king her husband and by her subjects^a; and yet her death proved an advantage to the state. The pope, who had vast designs for his own family, was equally desirous of excluding the French and Spaniards from Italy, and with this view laboured to reconcile the emperor to the Venetians, and king Lewis with the Swiss, which he knew could not be done but by renouncing his claim to the duchy of Milan: but the king, though much inclined to peace, had other views, and knew how to negotiate so as to obtain them. He began with offering Ferdinand the Catholic his second daughter for either of his grandsons Charles or Ferdinand, and to renounce, in favour of that marriage, his claims on Milan and Genoa. This proposal was approved, the truce renewed for another year, and the emperor included^b. The king then married his eldest daughter to his presumptive heir, Francis count of Angoulesme, to whom she had long been contracted, and soon after put him in possession of the duchy of Bretagne, though this step seemed to be a little dangerous, considering the trouble he had given to his

On the death of his queen, Lewis makes peace with England, and marries the sister of Henry VIII.

^z Polyd. Virg. Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. ^a Annales de France. Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallorum. Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. ^b Mariana,

predecessor, when he was only protected by a duke of Bretagne ^c. The news of these negotiations was not well received at Rome, and much less so at London, where Henry made no scruple of declaring how little he was pleased with the conduct of the emperor, and how much he resented the double dealing of his father-in-law Ferdinand. But that which piqued him most was, that his sister Mary, for whom he had a real affection, was slighted by Charles of Austria, for a younger daughter of France. The duke of Longueville, then prisoner in England, but at the same time well received at court, took advantage of the temper the king was in to suggest that the king his master was a widower, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and that the princess might be as well married to him as to a prince of Spain. Henry entertained the motion, which was not disapproved by Lewis. A suspension of arms immediately followed, and a treaty was quickly concluded, by which Tournay was left to the English; Henry was to have a million of crowns; and Lewis was left at liberty to prosecute his intentions in Italy, even against the allies of England, without prejudice to the peace, which was at the same time an alliance offensive and defensive between the two crowns. This treaty was signed on the 7th of August, and ratified by both monarchs on the 20th of the same month ^d.

Queen Mary arrives in France, is received with all possible magnificence.

It is hinted by some historians, and not without great appearance of truth, that one of the principal motives which determined Henry to this peace was to be rid of Richard de la Pole duke of Suffolk, who, with a body of twelve thousand German mercenaries, was on the point of making a descent in England ^e. Richard the Third had declared this family heirs to the crown. Henry the Seventh left the elder brother of Richard prisoner in the Tower of London; whom at the time he made his last expedition, Henry the Eighth caused to be put to death: a circumstance which shews that he was apprehensive that the warm affection the English nation had for the house of York was far from being extinguished ^f. At least it is certain that Lewis made another use of the German troops that

^c Memoires de Brant. Belcar.
of Henry VIII. Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallor. Hist. de la Ligue de Cambrai.
Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append.
P. Daniel. Memoires de Brant.

^d Lord Herbert's History
of the Ligue de Cambrai.
^e Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges.
^f Hall. Holinsh. Speed.

were to have been employed in the invasion; and advised Richard de la Pole to retire to Metz, where he gave him an annual pension of six thousand livres. The princess Mary passed the seas with all possible pomp and splendor, and, on the 9th of October, the marriage was celebrated at Abbeville. On the 6th of November following, their majesties made their public entry into Paris, amidst the universal acclamations of their subjects. In the midst of the pompous diversions which were made for the reception of the new queen, the king was far from neglecting public affairs. Charles duke of Bourbon, at the head of a numerous body of gens d'arms, advanced to the frontiers towards Italy, and was to be followed by sixteen thousand German foot, which the king had taken into his pay^a. But in the mean time the castle of the lanthorn at Genoa, the only place France retained of all her conquests in Italy, was obliged to surrender, the garrison being absolutely destitute of provisions; and the Genoese were no sooner in possession of it, than they demolished it to its very foundation. The king was very desirous of engaging the pope in his interest, and, on the other hand, Leo made use of every art to hide his true design, which was to preserve the duchy of Milan for the family of Sforza; to maintain his own family in Tuscany; and to procure for them, if possible, the kingdom of Naples; so that none but Italian princes should rule in Italy. These schemes of his were conducted with all the secrecy and address imaginable, and he omitted nothing that was requisite to keep fair with both crowns, who, notwithstanding, had their suspicions of what was his true design^b.

Lewis, after having extricated himself from so many difficulties, and brought his affairs into so good order, whilst he meditated yet greater things, found his infirmities increase, and his health decay. His constitution was much broken by the gout, against which his only preservative was a very regular manner of living. He thought himself obliged to depart from this, in complaisance to his young queen; and his affection for the most sprightly and the most beautiful young princess in Europe, hastened him to his grave^c. He died in the night following, the

*Death and
character
of Lewis
XII.*

^a Guicciard. Histoire du Chevalier Bayard.

^b Guicciard.

Pet. Bemb. Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray.

^c Ferroni de Rebus

Gestis Gallor. Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Lord Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII. Histoire du Chevalier Bayard.

first of January, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventeenth year of his reign (B). Perfection is not to be found in mortals, and those are justly esteemed flatterers who ascribe it to kings; but the French historians unanimously agree, that more royal virtues, with fewer defects, were never more conspicuous in any of their princes than in Lewis the Twelfth. France, say they, was never more happy, more rich, more quiet, or more submissive, than under his reign. Justice was never better administered; wiser laws were never made, and hardly ever so well executed. Military discipline was never so exact, or so severe, but, at the same time, the troops were punctually paid. In succeeding times the quartering of them in provinces was esteemed a grievance, but, in the time of Lewis, it was considered as an advantage, and the provinces solicited it in that light^k. His family

^k Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallor. Belcar.

(B) His first consort Joan of France, when her marriage was declared null, December 22d, 1498, retired to Bourges, where she lived in the exercise of strict devotion, and where she founded the monastery of Annunciades, or Celestes. She died February 4th, 1505. Anne of Bretagne had two sons, who died in their cradle, and two daughters, Claude, who espoused his successor, Renée, promised at the age of five years to Charles of Austria, demanded in marriage by the king of England, offered to the marquis of Brandenburg, and at length married, in 1527, to Hercules d'Este, duke of Ferrara, by whom she had a numerous posterity. She was one of the most amiable, virtuous, prudent, learned, and generous princesses France ever produced. After the decease of the duke her husband, she kept her court at Montargis,

and became a Protestant, and died June 12th, 1575, at the age of sixty-six. The third queen of Lewis was Mary daughter to Henry the Seventh, and sister to Henry the Eighth of England, who survived him eighteen years. His corpse lies interred in the monastery of St. Denis, near that of his beloved wife Anne of Bretagne, where a noble tomb has been erected to both their memories. He gave for his device a porcupine, with these words, *Cominus & eminus*, that is, *Near and afar off*; meaning, probably, that he would vindicate his rights at home and abroad. The porcupine was also painted sometimes with this verse under or round it, *Spicula sunt humili pax hæc, sed bella superbo*:

“These darts the gentle have
no cause to fear,
But to the foe they speedy
vengeance bear.”¹

and

and his court, the populace and the nobility, equally admired him, and unanimously called him their Father, the title with which he was most pleased, and which he made it the study of his life to deserve. He began his reign with abolishing impositions; and at the time of his death he had diminished above half of them. He was obliged sometimes to raise extraordinary taxes; but when he signed edicts for that purpose, he did it with tears^l. His very misfortunes endeared him to his subjects; for he might have maintained his conquests in Italy, if he would have raised large sums upon his people; but he thought any loss light when compared with that of their affections. He was thought a little too saving; and, in the beginning of his reign, his subjects took the liberty of expressing this in satires, and even of ridiculing it on the stage. The king knew it very well, and, which was singular, it gave him no offence: he said, upon that occasion, what ought to be ever remembered, "I had much rather my subjects should laugh at my parsimony, than weep at their own distress^m." The custom in France then was for the criers to proclaim the demise of persons of all ranks, as they did his in these words; "The good king Lewis, the father of his people, is deadⁿ:" at once the most artless and the most finished panegyric.

^l Dupleix. Mez. P. Dan.

^m Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin.

Append. -Memoires de Brant. Ferroni de Rebus Gettis Gallorum.

ⁿ Memoires du Marechal de Fleuranges.

S E C T. X.

The Reign of Francis I. Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. in whom the Branch of Valois was entirely extinguished.

Francis I. surnamed the Patron of Learning.

*Accession of
the count
of Angou-
lesme.*

THE widow of the deceased king having declared that she was not pregnant, Francis count of Angoulesme, duke of Bretagne and Valois, succeeded, without dispute or delay. He was crowned at Rheims on the 25th of January; and his accession appeared highly acceptable to all ranks of people; but to the nobility more especially, who, having lived with him in great familiarity, expected to share deeply in his favours. The two first offices in the state were vacant, those of chancellor and constable; he bestowed the former upon Anthony du Prat, and the latter on Charles duke of Bourbon^a. He took great pains to renew the treaties then subsisting, particularly with the Venetians and the crown of England. He made also a new treaty with the archduke Charles king of Castile, with whom he affected to contract a strict and inviolable friendship^b. By this treaty the marriage between that prince and the younger daughter of the deceased king was again confirmed, though without any intention of performing it, but merely to prevent the reviving any propositions in respect to the queen-dowager of France; and it may be, that, to free himself effectually from all fears of this kind; the king promoted her marriage with Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk^c. Arthur de Gouffier, whom he made great master of his household, and his secretary Florimond de Robertet, had a great share in the government; he communicated to them chiefly his designs, though he was not very apt to take counsel of any. He was, from his accession, determined to pursue his predecessor's scheme for the recovery of Milan; which, belonging to the house of Orleans, as descendants from the duchess Valentine, they had always more at heart than any other part of their dominions: but he kept his secret

^a Memoires du Bellay. Serres. P. Dan. Lord Herb. Hist. Henry VIII. Fer. de Savoye. Dupleix. Du Till.

^b Guicciard. ^c Memoires de Louisa

well; so that it was not disclosed till he was on the point of carrying it into execution (A). This design requiring immense sums of money, and his coffers being absolutely empty, he had recourse to du Prat, who was his oracle upon such occasions. The chancellor told him that his predecessor had sold offices, and advised him to use the same means; upon which he added a chamber to the parliament of Paris, and to each of the other parliaments, which was one of the first and one of the worst strokes of this ministry's policy^d. In the beginning of his reign, Lewis the Twelfth had sold some offices, but none that were judicial, and purely with a view to avoid loading his people with taxes; whereas Francis had already raised them as high as his predecessor had found them. Besides, as soon as it was in his power, Lewis repurchased and suppressed those offices; and, rather than have recourse to this expedient again, alienated part of his domain, which sufficiently shews the disposition of a minister who could mention this as a precedent.

This treasure, thus supplied, was very speedily expended. The new duke of Genoa, Fregosa, was prevailed upon to depose himself, and to accept the title of perpetual governor, under the crown of France. Don Pedro Novara, who was made prisoner in the battle of Ravenna, piqued at the little notice that had been taken of him, entered into the service of France, and found means to raise ten thousand Biscaneers and Gascons. The duke of Guelders brought many thousands of Landsquenets out of

Passes the Alps into Italy with a potent army.

^d Memoires Du Bellay. Belcar. Serres. P. Dan. Le Gend.

(A) The descent of the house of Angoulesme was very clear, being a branch of that of Orleans. John count of Angoulesme was the fifth son of Lewis of France, who was assassinated by order of the duke of Burgundy. This John was surnamed the Good, and lived near thirty years in England, where he was a hostage. He espoused Margaret, daughter to Alain count of Rohan, by whom he had Lewis, who died in his infancy, Charles who succeeded

him, and Joan, who married the prince of Mortagne. He espoused Louisa of Savoy, the eldest daughter of Philip count of Bresse, and afterwards duke of Savoy. This princess was extremely beautiful, and had infinite wit; but, at the same time, had most of the foibles of her sex. She was gallant, vindictive, cunning, profuse, and vain. He had by her only two children, Francis, who succeeded to the crown, and his sister Margaret.

Germany;

Germany; so that, when the army was assembled, in order to pass the Alps, it was the most numerous that France had ever raised in this quarrel, consisting of forty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The king having raised his own county of Angoulesme into a duchy, bestowed it upon his mother Louisa of Savoy, and declared her regent^c in his absence: and this princess was the first to whom the French gave the title of Madame. All things being ready by the beginning of August, the troops began to attempt the passage of the Alps, by a new road, made with incredible labour, and at a vast expence, at Roque-Perriere, the Swifs having secured all that they thought practicable. The vanguard was commanded by the constable, the main body by the king in person, who had with him, besides several princes of the blood, the dukes of Gueldres, Lorrain, and Savoy; the duke of Alençon commanded the rear^f. The first stroke of importance was surprizing Prosper Colonna, the pope's general, with three hundred men at arms; upon which Leo immediately sent one of his ministers, with full powers to treat of an accommodation; and the Swifs, perceiving it to no purpose to guard them longer, abandoned the pass^g. They continued, however, to march close by the king's army, fully resolved to attack it the first fair opportunity. Yet, by the interposition of the duke of Savoy, they were brought to a negotiation; and by a treaty concluded at Guilletres it was stipulated, that the king should give them seven hundred thousand crowns, in full satisfaction of all their demands. To raise which enormous sum, Francis was constrained to borrow not only all the money but all the plate also belonging to the princes and great officers. Such was the terror they had at this time, and not without reason, of the Swifs troops^h; and so desirous were the king and his general to recover their favour.

*Defeats
the Swifs
at Marignano.*

But the Swifs, receiving at this juncture a considerable reinforcement, under the command of captain Ross, and being persuaded by the vehement harangues of the cardinal of Sion, resolved to attack the king in his camp, though they were forsaken by the pope's troops, and were without artillery. Accordingly, on the 13th of Septem-

^c Guicciard. Memoires de Louisa de Savoye. Dupleix. Du Till.

^f Memoires Du Bellay. Belc. P. Dan.

^g Histoire du

Chevalier Bayard. Memoires de Marechal de Fleuranges. Mez.

^h Memoires Du Bellay. Guicciard. Dupleix. Du Till.

ber, about four in the afternoon, they attacked the French camp at Marignano, within a quarter of a league of Milan, with amazing intrepidity. The action lasted for several hours after sun-set, and ended then because both parties were so fatigued that they were unable to maintain the fight. The king himself slept an hour upon the carriage of a cannon, in the midst of the enemy; and as soon as he waked, gave orders for posting his artillery, and making all the necessary dispositions for renewing the fight^l. Accordingly, as soon as day broke, the Swiss returned to the charge, with greater fury than the day before, but were so extremely galled by the cannon, and so miserably broken by the gens d'arms, who charged through them, that about nine they began their retreat, leaving near one half of their army, which consisted of twenty-five thousand men, upon the field. This retreat gained them more reputation than all their victories, for they made it slowly and in good order, and repulsed a corps of Venetian troops, which ventured to pursue them. Marshal Trivulze said, that eighteen battles, in which he served before, were but children's play in comparison of this, which he styled the fight of the giants. But the victory, glorious as it was, cost the French four thousand of their best troops, and several persons of distinction. Don Pedro Navarro reduced Novara; the city of Milan opened her gates; the constable besieged the citadel, and took it by capitulation; Francis Sforza resigned his dukedom to the king, in consideration of a pension of sixty thousand ducats, and the promise of a cardinal's hat, thinking himself happy in being delivered from the heavy yoke of the Germans, the surly humours of the Swiss, and the crafty contrivances of the Spaniards^k. The king made a triumphal entry into Milan; established a parliament there after the model of that of Paris; appointed the constable governor of the city and duchy, and left with him a corps of ten thousand men^l. The pope having accepted a peace on such terms as the king prescribed, Francis had an interview with him at Bologna, where, to prevent a schism, he consented to the concordat; and, having thus gloriously terminated his affairs in Italy, returned into his own dominions, after refusing the title of emperor of the

D. A. 1515.

^l Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Memoires de Fleuranges.^k Memoires Du Bellay. Hub. Val ad Gaguin. Append. Dupleix.^l Memoires de Louisa de Savoye. Mezeray. P. Dan.

East, which the pope offered him, in order to engage him to turn his arms against the Turks ^m.

The constable of Bourbon, after expelling the emperor out of Milan, is himself recalled.

At Lyons the king met his mother and his queen, and the court resumed all that splendour and magnificence, which, while it delighted the eyes of the vulgar, occasioned infinite oppression at home, and at the same time excited the jealousy and hatred of foreign princes ⁿ. Amongst these the emperor Maximilian was ever the most forward. Assisted openly by the Swifs, and secretly by the pope, he made an irruption into Italy with thirty thousand men, and pushed the constable so vigorously, that he was almost on the point of abandoning Milan, the suburbs of which he burnt, by the malicious advice of the Venetians. King Francis having concluded a treaty with the Swifs (five cantons excepted), and having paid them six hundred thousand crowns, they sent twelve thousand men to the relief of the constable ^o. Upon the arrival of this Maximilian, the best part of whose army also consisted of Swifs, retired hastily, from an apprehension that his person might be in danger; and soon after his army disbanded. The king recalled the constable of Bourbon, to gratify the spleen of his mother, who hated him because he had slighted her advances in the way of gallantry, and sent Odet de Foix, viscount de Lautrec, to command in Milan, because he was the brother of his mistress. This new governor took Brescia, which he restored to the Venetians; but he was constrained to raise the siege of Verona. The death of Ferdinand the Catholic gave the king an opportunity of assisting the house of Albret with an army for the recovery of the kingdom of Navarre, which was speedily, and with great spirit performed, and as imprudently lost. Cardinal Ximenes, by demolishing all the fortresses, and rendering the country almost a desert, made any future attempt of that kind less practicable ^p. Charles

A.D. 1516.

of Austria being about to pass into Spain, concluded the treaty of Nojon, upon terms so very advantageous to France, that the performance was not to be expected. He undertook to marry the princess Louisa, the king's daughter, who was but a year old, and to allow a hundred thousand crowns a year for her support; he promis-

^m Guicciard. *Memoires du Bellay. Dupleix. Du Tillet. P. Dan.*
ⁿ *Memoires de Louisa de Savoye. Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Dupleix.*
^o *Memoires Du Bellay. Mez.*
^p *Memoires Du Bellay. Hub. Vall. ad Gaguin. Append. Mariana. Fer. Dupleix.*

ed to render Navarre in six months, and consented, in case he failed, that the king should assist the house of Albret with an army. The true motive to this treaty was his concern for the security of the Low Countries^a. The emperor Maximilian acceded to it: for the sum of two hundred thousand crowns in ready money, and the discharge of three hundred thousand more, which he had borrowed of the late king, he promised to deliver up Verona, and to grant the king the investiture of the duchy of Milan^r. The five protesting cantons now acceded to the treaty of Friburgh, since that time styled the perpetual alliance, having subsisted ever since between the two nations, and proved reciprocally advantageous to both.

In pursuance of the treaty lately concluded, Maximilian rendered Verona into the hands of the Spaniards, by whom it was yielded to the viscount de Lautrec, who restored it to the Venetians; so that the republic was now pretty near in the same situation as before the league of Cambray. With respect to the investiture, Maximilian took time to consider, which was his manner of refusing. The duchy of Urbino was conquered for Laurence de Medicis, who, being in France, confirmed the alliance with his uncle Leo the Tenth^s. About the same time Francis renewed the ancient treaties between France and Scotland, and sent over the duke of Albany to administer the government in the name of the young king, or, in other words, to render that country a province of France, a step which was highly displeasing to Henry the Eighth, the young king's uncle, who had very kind intentions towards that prince^t. The parliaments and the universities of France were unanimous in their opposition to the concordat; but the king, to gain the favour of the pope, caused it to be introduced and executed by force^u; sacrificing to the pleasure of a foreign prince the laws of his country, and the affections of his subjects. This was another effect of the new maxims of his chancellor, who was already a creature of the court of Rome, and who, for

Methods taken by Francis to increase his allies, and to secure his regal dominions.

^a Recueil de Traités par Leonard. Mezeray. P. Daniel.

^r Francesco Guicciard.

^s Memoires Du Bellay. Mez.

^t Polyd. Virgil. Holinshed. Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

^u Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction & des Concordats qui est à la Fin du Volume des Commentaires de Pithon, sur les Libertés d'Eglise Gallicane. Dupleix. P. Daniel.

D. 1517. this and other subsequent services, received the usual gratification of a hat (B).

The birth of a dauphin gave great pleasure to the king and to his subjects. The pope promised to answer for the young prince at the font, and accordingly Laurence de Medicis performed that ceremony in his name, which was one of the arts he used to preserve the good opinion of the king, while he was secretly doing him ill offices, and concerting, or at least endeavouring to concert, a league for depriving him of his duchy of Milan. On the other hand, Francis still persisted in his desire of reviving his claim to the kingdom of Naples, which induced him to heap favours upon the pope, in hopes that he might gradually win and fix him to his interest. With this view, as he had already very unjustly settled Laurence de Medicis in the duchy of Urbino, so he next gave him in marriage Magdalen of Bologne, niece to the duke of Vendosme, a great heiress^v. From this marriage sprung Catherine de Medicis, of whom we shall have much to say hereafter. He was still very dissident of England, and with reason; for he stood at that time upon ill terms with cardinal Wolfey (who, with the title of his minister, governed Henry the Eighth as absolutely as if he had been his pupil), though he was in some measure indebted to him for his hat. Wolfey had influenced Henry to shew such marks of jealousy, as obliged the French monarch to leave Italy sooner than he intended; he had likewise prevailed upon him to furnish the emperor with money for his late Italian expedition: but perceiving that, as things were then circumstanced, it would be impossible to raise a war in Europe, he made some advances towards a reconciliation with Francis, who, being perfectly acquainted with his character, made him very rich presents, and consulted him upon points of great importance^x. The point on

^v Memoires Du Bellay. Dupleix. ^x Polyd. Virg. Hall. Hoinsth. Lord Herbert's History of Henry the Eighth. P. Dan.

(B) The two principal points in this famous agreement were the granting the king the nomination to the benefices in his dominions, under certain restrictions, and the allowing the pope his annates, that is, a year's revenue clear out of every benefice to which the king named; and thus the right of election was taken from the chapters and convents, and the king and the pope jointly shared the spoils of the church. Francis, at his return, laboured all that he could to oblige his parliament to receive the concordat.

which

which they had differed, was in respect to the see of Tournay, of which he had the administration and revenue, but was desirous likewise of having the title, which the king had not only refused, but had also solicited the pope to restore the administration to the deprived bishop, who was his subject. But now he treated with Wolfey for the restitution of the city, with a promise to indemnify him amply for the particular loss which he might sustain. The point being once settled with the minister, the admiral of France, with other persons of great distinction, came over as ambassadors to settle it with the king. The cardinal managed this affair with great address: he sold the town at a very high price; but, that his new client might have no reason to complain, he stipulated a marriage between the dauphin, just born, and the king's only daughter Mary, to whom he assigned a large portion, and consented that it should be abated out of the purchase *r*. On the signing of this treaty on the 14th of October, king Francis, by his letters patent, granted the cardinal an annuity of fourteen thousand livres. The king was so well pleased with this bargain, that he proposed dealing for Calais, and Wolfey entertained the motion, and in all probability would have brought it to bear; but Charles, king of Castile, interposed, and made him sensible that he was well inclined to repurchase his good graces, an intimation which stopped that bargain *z*. The princess Louisa being dead, Charles, king of Castile, still inclined to soothe the monarch of France, renewed the treaty of Nonjon, and promised to espouse the princess Charlotte, who was just born, and, having the same intentions as to both, it was of little consequence.

A. D. 15

In pursuance of the late treaty with England, monsieur Colligni took possession of Tournay, which, exclusive of the presents and pensions to cardinal Wolfey, cost king Francis at least four hundred thousand crowns. However, the two kings were still upon so good terms, that Henry was godfather to the king's second son, and gave him his own name *a*. The death of the emperor Maximilian operated strongly on the affairs of Europe. In the latter part of his life he had practised on Henry continually, by pretending that he would resign in his favour, or that he would engage the electors to chuse him his successor. But this profession was only with a view to ob-

Charles I. carries the imperial crown from Francis, after which those princes become irreconcilable enemies.

r Aët. Pub. Mez. bert. Duplex. Du Tillet.

z Polyd. Virg. P. Dan.

a Her-

tain money ; for his real intention was in favour of his younger grandson Ferdinand, till, upon more mature deliberation, he thought it more expedient to prefer Charles ; and, on his behalf, therefore, he was labouring with the electors at the very time he died. Francis, though he had refused the title of emperor of the East, was not so indifferent as to the empire of Germany ; but, on the contrary, very ambitious of restoring that title to the monarchs of France ; and, as he was very generous, or rather profuse, he found it no difficult matter to obtain promises from the electors ^b. The pope pretended sometimes to be neuter ; at other times he affected to favour France ; but, in reality, he was not desirous that either Charles or Francis should be chosen, he would have prevailed to the exclusion of both, if the duke of Saxony would have accepted the imperial crown. But he refusing it, the electors, after much consideration, bestowed it on Charles ^c. As one great reason of their preferring him to Francis, was, their apprehension of seeing themselves reduced from the rank of princes to that of nobility, like those of France, they resolved to limit the power of their new master, and with this view settled the capitulation, which he was to accept, at the same time he was admitted to the imperial dignity. A circumstance to which, in all probability, he would not have submitted, but from the apprehension of being supplanted by Francis. This controversy was carried on with all the exterior marks of politeness possible between the competitors ; but, notwithstanding, Francis was so much piqued at this disappointment, that it was the real source of that inveterate aversion, which, however disguised upon particular occasions, those monarchs bore to each other ever after. It immediately revived the old project of recovering the kingdom of Naples, which seemed to be facilitated by the opinion, that it was incompatible with the imperial dignity.

A.D. 1579.

*Interview
between
Francis
and Henry.*

Francis, before he undertook any thing, held it expedient to be sure of England ; and therefore dispatched admiral Bonnavet to press king Henry to an interview, an aim which was easily effected, for the monarch loved shews, and his minister presents. The two kings and their queens met between Ardres and Guines : there had scarce any thing been seen of equal magnificence in Europe, and it was long after memorable by the title of le

^b Belcar. Guicciardini.
Epist. Sandoval. Guicciardini.

^c Belcar. Petrus de Angler.

Camp de Drap d'Or, or, *the Camp of Gold Cloth*; it lasted ten or twelve days, exhausted the treasures of both monarchs, ruined many of their nobility, and answered no end whatever ^d. Before this interview, the new emperor, passing out of Spain to the Low Countries, had landed at Dover, and made such impressions on Wolsey, as in a great measure frustrated the aims of Francis. While Charles was receiving the ensigns of the Imperial dignity at Aix la Chapelle, and thought himself secure of the pope, who had promised to take no advantage of his accession to the imperial diadem, supposed to include the cession of that of Naples, Francis began to treat with him, as if the forfeiture of Charles's title to that crown was a point incontestible. In a little time he concluded an alliance, by which Leo undertook to refuse the investiture to Charles, and to grant it to Francis as soon as he should be in possession, not, however, in favour of himself, but of his second son Henry, upon condition that Gaeta and a large tract of country should be granted to the see of Rome; and that, during the minority of the young prince, the whole realm should be governed by an apostolic legate. Upon the faith of this treaty, Francis began to make his preparations, and to take his measures ^e.

A.D. 1520.

As the king could never have a more favourable opportunity than was afforded him by the insurrection of the commons of Castile for the recovery of Navarre, he directed a considerable body of troops to be assembled for that purpose, under the command of Andrew de Foix, sieur de Esparre, the brother of monsieur de Lautrec and the countess de Chateaubrian. As the country was entirely open, after reducing St. Jean de Pie de Port, that officer met with no farther resistance till he reached Pampeluna, which, together with the citadel, he reduced, after a short siege. It is certain, that, if he had been content with doing all that he was ordered to do, and had bent his thoughts entirely on the keeping of what he had got, the house of Austria would have been deprived of Navarre ^f. But being desirous to do more, he undid all that he had done. On his besieging Logrogno, the nobility of Castile took up arms, and obliged him to raise the siege. Yet he afterwards fought this army within a league of Pampeluna, without staying for a reinforcement of six

Francis causes the kingdom of Navarre to be conquered, which is lost again soon after.

^d Huberti Vellei ad Gaguinum Append. Memoires de Louisa de Savoye. Herbert. Stowe. Hall. Holinsh. P. Daniel. ^e Guicciard. ^f Annales de France.

thousand men, which were in full march towards him; and being defeated and taken prisoner, Pampeluna and the rest of the kingdom was lost, much sooner than they were won^s. At the time that the flame of war seemed to be extinguished on this side, it was kindled again on that of the Low Countries, by a very slight occasion, which, in reality, was not so much the cause of the war, as a proof that these two great princes were determined to seize the first opportunity of employing the whole force of their extensive dominions in expressing the inveteracy of their mutual resentment.

The cause of the war between Charles and Francis, or, rather, the colour of that war.

Some years before, the sieur d'Aimeres and the prince de Chimay had a law-suit for the town of Hierge, in the Ardennes, which had been determined by the peers of the duchy of Bouillon in favour of the prince of Chimay. The sieur d'Aimeres had lent the emperor a very considerable sum of money, during the diet of Francfort, which had been very useful in the great affair of his election; and, instead of being repayed this money, he was allowed to appeal from the old sentence to the sovereign council at Brabant, who presently summoned the children of the prince of Chimay to appear before their tribunal. This citation inflamed Robert de la Marck, duke de Bouillon, who was guardian to the children of the prince of Chimay, and had married their aunt; not only for their sakes, but because it attacked the sovereignty of his duchy, which, though small, he affirmed to be as much a sovereignty, and as independent as any other. His brother Erard de la Marck, bishop of Liege, had been formerly strongly attached to France, and Robert himself had been likewise in that service; but madame d'Angoulesme, the king's mother, having disappointed the bishop of a hat, because she had received a present of fifty thousand crowns to procure it for another, both the bishop and the duke went over to the Spanish interest, and had contributed not a little to the emperor's election. This circumstance aggravated, in their opinion, the ill usage they had met with; they therefore reconciled themselves immediately to France; and Robert carried it so far, as to go in person to demand the protection of king Francis. The king, having assured him of it in strong terms, and having probably made him a considerable present, he began immediately to levy troops, having assembled between four and five thousand men, he made an irruption into the duchy of Luxemburgh, and sent a herald to declare

war against the emperor, in his own name, in the face of the dyet^b. Charles, upon this occasion, sent an ambassador to expostulate the matter with the king, and another to complain to king Henry of England, as the common umpire between them, of the high insult he had received; but these measures producing no effect, he sent an army, under the command of Henry count of Nassau, to take vengeance of Robert de la Marck.

It was this army that began the war, by reducing Meufon; but they failed of taking Mezieres, which was defended by the chevalier Bayard: on the other hand, the French took Hesdin, and some other places. King Francis marched with his army directly to Valenciennes, where the emperor lay with his, and, having passed the Schelde, offered him battle, but the emperor retired; and, if the countable of Bourbon's advice had been followed, in all probability would have suffered a defeat. But the king, prejudiced against him by his mother, rejected the proposition, and gave the command of his van-guard to the duke of Alençon, who had married his sister, a step which was not only an affront to the constable, but derogatory to the rights of his office^l. All this time the Imperial and French ministers were debating their cause before Henry at Calais, where, at length, a project of a peace was signed, satisfactory to both parties. But the news arriving that admiral Bonivet had taken Fontarabia, the Imperialists would hear of nothing unless this city was restored. If the admiral had followed his instructions, there would have been no room for any dispute, since he was directed to demolish the place as soon as he was master of it; but he was so fond of his new conquest, and had such an ascendancy over the mind of his master, that the restitution of it was rejected, which cost France a war of thirty-eight years, and such an expence of blood and treasure, as brought her to the very brink of destruction^k. Before the end of the campaign the emperor reduced Tournay^l. In Italy, all things took a wrong turn: pope Leo, after embarrassing the French by his intrigues, at length declared openly against them, and joined his troops to those of the Imperialists, in order to restore Francis Sforza to the duchy of Milan. Lautrec, the governor, who left his charge to go to court in order to solicit money, was persuaded

The long war begun with no advantage on the side of Flanders, and the loss of Milan.

A.D. 1527.

^b Memoires Du Bellay. Dupleix.
Bellay. Mez.
Virg. Hall.

^k Annales de France.

^l Memoires Du
Polyd.

into a belief that it would be sent after him. But the profusion of the king and his mother absorbed all that was produced by the funds assigned for that purpose; so that for want of pay the Swifs deserted, and the greatest part of the duchy, and even the city of Milan, fell into the hands of the enemy. The joy conceived at this extraordinary success, and the prospect of seeing the French driven out of Italy in another campaign, so hurried the spirits of Leo the Tenth, that he fell into a fever, of which he died. His death might have been of great advantage to the French in Italy, if those who commanded their forces in that country had been in a condition to improve any advantage^m. But, through the intrigues then reigning at court, this was not to be done.

The forces of the pope, the emperor, and the duke of Milan, commanded by Prosper Colonna, were by their successes become inferior to those of the viscount de Lautrec, who had been joined by a large body of Swifs, and, therefore, Prosper, to avoid a battle, had intrenched himself at Bicoque, which was an old country seat, with a park and gardens well walled and fenced. Here he entrenched himself strongly; but, in all probability, he must have been forced to surrender with his whole army, if Lautrec had been suffered to pursue his own scheme of cutting off his provisions, and preventing their retreat. But the Swifs, confiding in their numbers and courage, insisted that the French general should either give them their pay, or put an end to the campaign, by attacking the enemy in their posts. As he had no money, he was obliged to comply with the other part of the alternative. He accordingly attempted to force the enemy in their lines, which attempt, though executed with all the bravery imaginable, yet terminated in the loss of the best officers in his army, and about three thousand Swifs, who, being much dispirited, left him, and retired into their own countryⁿ. Prosper Colonna, having recovered the superiority, pushed the French so effectually, that, before the close of the campaign, the citadel of Milan, Novara, Pignatone, and the castle of Genoa, for the city was surprised, were all the French had left^o. The news of these misfortunes made a strong impression on the French court, and occasioned an enquiry into their causes. Lautrec insisted, that his not being supplied with money, ac-

^m Belcar. Thuanus. Duplex.

^o Memoires Du Bellay. Nicz.

ⁿ Belcar. P. Dan.

More misfortunes which produce inquiries, and these, instead of remedies, acts of injustice.

According to the assurances he had received, was the sole source of all this misfortune. Upon this remonstrance, De Baune Semblançai, who had the direction of the finances, was called upon to know what became of the money. He alleged, and very truly, that madame d'Angoulesme, the king's mother, had received it, and appealed to acquittances, which she had given him for it. But those acquittances were not to be found; Gentil, who was his deputy, and who had an amour with one of the duchess's ladies of honour, had stolen and delivered them up. This circumstance drew the process into a great length; but, in the end, De Baune Semblançai, an honest venerable old man, whom the king himself had not been ashamed to style Father, was hanged as a public plunderer, and a false accuser^p. Gentil, for his good service, was promoted to be president of parliament; but, in the end, met with the punishment due to his perfidy. These proceedings did not at all contribute to restore the face of affairs, which, on the contrary, grew every day worse and worse^q, through the unbounded progress of corruption.

At this time cardinal Wolfey was entirely at the devotion of the emperor Charles, who replaced the great pensions given him by Francis, and many considerable presents besides; in order to merit which, he induced his master to act a very extraordinary part. King Francis, on the first suspicion of his change, sent to king Henry, under his great seal, an exemplification of the treaty subsisting between them, a long detail of the injuries he had suffered from the emperor, and a pressing demand of the succours stipulated by the treaty: in answer to which, Henry sent a herald to declare war; and, in the month of July, landed a body of English troops at Calais, commanded by the earl of Surry^r. This invasion did not produce any great effects; for, after lying about six weeks before Hesdin, they were obliged to raise the siege, and suffered considerably in their retreat; yet, in its consequences, this diversion was extremely fatal to the affairs of France. The king found himself so exceedingly distressed for money, that, by the advice of chancellor du Prat, he had recourse to the most destructive methods of raising it, such as mortgaging his

Henry VIII. being solicited for succours, instead of granting them, declares war against France.

A D. 1522.

^p Du Tillet. *Mmoires de Louisa de Savoye.*

^q Dupleix.

^r Holinsh. *Me-*

domain, creating offices, merely to set them to sale, and many other expedients of a like nature^s. Towards the close of the year the castle of Genoa was obliged to surrender for want of provisions. The important island of Rhodes fell this year into the hands of the Turks, in consequence of the war amongst the great powers of Christendom.

The constable Bourbon leaves France and enters into the emperor's service.

The Spaniards had blocked up Fontarabia, from the time it had fallen into the hands of the French, and James Daillon sieur de Lude, had defended it with great spirit and success for near a year, till the marshal de Chabannes arrived with an army and constrained the enemy to raise the siege. This event revived the credit of the king's arms; and his affairs might have taken a more favourable turn; if his mother, the duchess of Angoulême, who had hitherto persecuted the constable, by drawing on him continual mortifications, had not changed her battery, and commenced a suit against him for his whole estate, which was, in all respects, the most considerable that any subject possessed in France^t. The constable was a person of great abilities, determined courage, of a high spirit, strong resentment, and had very great connections. When, therefore, he saw his ruin determined, he entered into a correspondence with the emperor, the king of England, and the rest of the confederates; and finding this discovered, retired privately, and went into the emperor's service^u (C). The desertion

^s P. Dan Polyd. Virg.

^t Histoire de Francis I. Belcar.

^u Mez. P. Daniel. Stowe. Holinshed.

(C) The death of Susanna, duchess of Bourbon, April, 28, 1521, at the age of thirty, opened the way to those troubles, which compelled, or at least induced the constable to quit his country, and to enter into the service of the emperor; an affair of such consequence to the French history, that it deserves to be particularly considered. Madame, the king's mother, was about the age of forty-five, and was still, at least in her own

opinion, handsome; the constable was about two-and-thirty. She caused it to be insinuated, on the one hand, to Bourbon, what mighty advantages he would reap from the marriage, in case he consented to it; and on the other hand, she gave her son to understand, that she had his interest greatly in view, since, as there was no appearance of issue by this marriage, the vast estates of the house of Bourbon, on the death of the constable,

desertion of such a person occasioned a general consternation; and though there did not immediately happen any

constable, would revert to the crown. Francis, either seeing the thing in this light, or out of an earnest desire of obliging his mother, pressed the constable all he could to forget the many mortifications he had received, and to espouse Madame. The constable not only rejected absolutely all these offers, but likewise gave some disobliging reasons for his distaste, which the king took highly amiss. The duchess of Angoulesme being provoked beyond all measure, and ascribing the constable's aversion to the insinuations of Anne, - duchess dowager of Bourbon, his mother-in-law, who, notwithstanding, the death of her daughter, without leaving any child living, had confirmed, as far as it was in her power, all the cessions made in favour of the marriage, resolved to attack the family-settlements, and strip the constable of his vast estates. These consisted chiefly in the duchies of Bourbonnois and Auvergne, and the counties of Montpensier, Clermont, and Fores. Some of which, it was pretended, reverted to the crown upon the death of Peter, duke of Bourbon, the last heir of the eldest line; and the rest, in virtue of old family-settlements, ought to descend to Madame, as the cousin and heiress of the late duchess Susanna. At the accession of Lewis the Twelfth, this matter had been agitated; the du-

chess Anne was inclined to marry her daughter to the duke of Alençon; and, though she had no great reason to expect that monarch's favour, whom she had imprisoned while duke of Orleans, yet, knowing that the best part of her husband's estates would revert to him, she requested a new grant in favour of that marriage; but the king told her, that Charles, count of Montpensier, was the heir male of the family; and that, in prudence as well as justice, she ought to give her daughter to him; in which case, he was ready to do all that she desired. Upon this, Susanna was given to the constable, then count of Montpensier, and, by the marriage contract, they made reciprocal renunciations of their respective rights in favour of each other, and to the longer liver: it was the cession of Lewis the Twelfth that was attacked as prejudicial to the crown, and this marriage contract as inconsistent with the old family-settlements. All writers agree, that the duchess of Angoulesme's pretensions were unfounded; however, after a long process, her influence was so great, that she obtained from the parliament a sequestration of the lands in question, by which the constable was to be turned out of possession; this injury, with the death of his mother-in-law, the duchess Anne, daughter to Lewis the Eleventh,

any insurrection, as was generally expected, yet it had a very bad influence on affairs, and excited such jealousies, that, for the present, the king was forced to suspend the sending succours, as he designed, into Italy. This delay cost him the few places that were yet held, the commanders of which thought it very excusable to surrender upon tolerable terms, and before they were reduced to such distress as should put it out of their power to expect any terms at all. At length, when it was in a manner too late, the king resolved to send a numerous army into Italy, though by this very step he exposed the rest of his dominions to the most imminent peril, and his subjects to distress and danger, even in his capital *.

* Dupleix. Du Tillet.

Eleventh, threw him into despair, and induced him to send Adrian de Croi, count de Rieux, to offer his services to the emperor, who accepted them with great joy, and sent immediately his secretary Beauvain to the constable, to whom he offered his sister Eleonora, queen-dowager of Portugal, with a portion of two hundred thousand crowns, and to declare her sole heiress of the house of Austria, in case he himself and his brother the archduke Ferdinand should die without issue. He farther offered to receive him into the league concluded with the king of England, and directed that it should be communicated to him. In the mean time, the king had intelligence in general terms of the intrigue, upon which he took Moulins, where the constable was in his way on his march into Italy. He found him in bed, for he pretended sickness, to avoid attending the king in that expe-

dition; and, having frankly told him what informations he had received, added, that he supposed the law-suit had rendered him a malecontent, and he did not wonder at it; but assured him, that, if the cause was determined against him, he would restore him his estates. The constable made no difficulty of owning that he had treated with the emperor, thanked the king for his kindness, and promised to follow him to Lyons, and began his journey accordingly in a litter, but turned off upon the road; and, by the assistance of Pomperant, made his escape, but with great difficulty, to Trent, of which, as soon as Charles the Fifth had notice, he declared him his lieutenant-general in Italy. The discovery of his intrigues hindered Francis from going that year, in person, into that country, and threw the command into the hands of the admiral Bonivet.

Cardinal

Cardinal Wolsey was exceedingly displeas'd with the emperor, upon the election of Adrian VI. to the papacy; and could not believe that he, who had been the emperor's preceptor, and at the very time of his election at the head of the administration in Spain, could be chosen, as Charles pretended, without his interposition or assistance; however, as he was very old, and the emperor still continued his pensions and assurances, the cardinal persisted in his plan, entered into the intrigue with the constable, and concerted a new invasion of France, in conjunction with Charles, in both capacities of emperor and king of Spain; and this was so well concerted, that it seem'd scarce possible their design should miscarry^g. As emperor, Charles sent a corps of troops through the Franche Compte into Burgundy, where they appear'd very unexpectedly, and did a great deal of mischief; but they were at length compelled to retire, by the prudent conduct of the count de Guise, and by their disappointment in not meeting with the assistance they expected from the constable, who, if he could have remained in France till his schemes had been ripe, without question, would have reduced the monarchy as low as it had ever been, even in the days of Charles VII. An English army of about fifteen thousand men, under the command of the duke of Suffolk, landed at Calais, and was quickly join'd by the count de Bure, with the like number of the emperor's troops, in quality of duke of Burgundy. The French having no army to oppose them, they made themselves masters of Bray sur Somme, took Mondidier, burnt Roze, and advanced within eleven leagues of Paris; but by that time Francis had sent a good body of troops from Lyons, under the command of the duke of Vendosme, upon which the allies retired; and, by the address of monsieur la Tremouille, were oblig'd to abandon their design of taking up winter-quarters in France. The emperor came, in person, into the kingdom of Navarre, and caus'd his troops to invest Fontarabia; but suddenly, as if he had chang'd his design, though, in truth, he had only conceal'd it, order'd his forces to pass the mountains, and besieg'd Bayonne, into which Lautrec had thrown himself with a small body of troops. The Spaniards attack'd it both by land and sea, for four days successively, but without effect; so that, after ravaging the adjacent country, they rais'd the siege and retir'd^h. It is true, that the enemies of France were

While France is attacked on every side, the king sends a new army into Italy.

A.D. 1523.

^g Hall. Holinsh. Herbert. Mez.

^h Mez. Hall.

every where disappointed; but it is no less true, that France was insulted one very side, the country ravaged, and the people ruined. The admiral Bonivet, with fifteen hundred men at arms, six thousand French foot, as many Lanquenets, and fifteen thousand Swiss, entered Italy, recovered so much of the Milanese as lies on this side the Tesfin, relieved Cremona, that is, the castle, the only place that held for them, which, all the officers being dead, was defended by eight private menⁱ. By this success, an establishment was again made, the king's hopes were raised, and thereby a new fund settled for producing fresh miseries to that kingdom, which had already suffered so often and so deeply by these Italian expeditions.

Cardinal de
Medicis
succeeds A-
drian VI.
and assumes
the title of
Clement
VII.

The desire as well as the need the emperor had of recovering Fontarabia, induced him to send the constable of Castile and the prince of Orange to make an attempt upon it, though they had very little hopes of succeeding. The name of the governor was Fraugct; he had a good garrison, every thing requisite for the defence of the place, and the example of Mr. du Lude, who had defended the place for more than a year without any of these advantages; but being tempted by the offer of good terms, and being a man of no great abilities, for as to his courage it was never suspected, he surrendered the place, for which he was called to an account, and sentenced to be degraded^k. In Italy, admiral Bonivet was constrained to act on the defensive, a part which he performed for some time; but at length, finding himself disappointed of the succours he expected, seeing most of the places taken into which he had put garrisons, and being constrained to make the best retreat he could, his army suffered extremely: amongst those who fell was Peter du Ferrail, more famous by the title of the chevalier de Bayard, to whom the whole French nation in his life-time, and all historians since his decease, added the epithet, "Sans Peur et sans Reproche," that is, *without fear and without reproach*. He was one of the worthiest, as well as one of the bravest men of his age, and the ablest officer in France; yet he never rose higher than to be captain of a troop of gens d'arms, a circumstance which is ascribed to his great probity, and his despising the arts of a court. By the end of April the French army had repassed the mountains, without being able to preserve so much as a single castle in the Mila-

ⁱ Guicciard.

^k Dupleix. Petrus de Angler. Epist.

nese¹. Adrian VI. being dead, cardinal de Medicis was advanced to the see of Rome^m, by the title of Clement VII. and would have laid hold of this opportunity to conclude a peace: with that view he sent his legate into England, where he might have succeeded, if it had not been for Wolsey, who yet did not oppose it because he disliked the measure, or thought the conjuncture improper, but because he was resolved the pope should have nothing to do in it, and that he himself should have the merit of it with king Francis, and the reputation with all Europe.

However, he represented for the present to his master, that he had a favourable opportunity of humbling France for ever, by dividing it into two kingdoms, and having, at least, one of the princes for his feudatory. A treaty accordingly was concluded on this plan, in favour of the constable of Bourbon, to whom the king furnished money, the emperor troops, and himself the hopes of a great revolt, as soon as he should appear with a force sufficient to protect his adherents. His own scheme was to march directly to Lyons, and thence into the provinces where his estates lay, fully persuaded that most of his vassals would join him. But the emperor, who furnished him both with an army and a fleet, insisted that he should enter Provence and besiege Marseilles, which he at length consented to do, because he could not do otherwiseⁿ. He passed the mountains in the midst of summer, reduced Antibes, Frejus, Grasse, without a stroke, Brignolles after a short resistance, upon which Aix and Toulon submitted. By the middle of August he appeared before Marseilles, and besieged it forty days; but when he had made a breach, and commanded the troops to make an assault, they refused to obey, chiefly through the jealousy of the marquis of Pescara; after all, hearing that the king was in full march to its relief, he was constrained to raise the siege, and to retire into Italy^o. If Francis had been content with his good fortune, he might have repaired his past disgraces, and have made an honourable peace. But, being at the head of between thirty and forty thousand men, and having most of the princes of his blood and the great lords about him, he proposed, by the advice of admiral Bonivet, that they should pass the mountains

The king's affairs take a prosperous turn, upon which he makes a new expedition into Italy.

A. D. 1524.

¹ Histoire du Chevalier Bayard. Memoires du Bellay. Capella de Rebus Gestis in Italia. P. Dan. ^m Guicciard. Herbert. Holinsh. ⁿ Acta Publica. Dupleix. Mez. ^o Petrus de Angler. Epist.

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them with all possible care, the generals of the emperor's army resolved to attack, sure, if they gained a victory, to relieve Pavia, and recover the duchy of Milan; and as sure, if they did not make this attempt, their army would crumble and drop to pieces of itself.

The battle of Pavia, in which Francis was defeated and taken prisoner.

On the 24th of February, the feast of St. Matthias, and the emperor's birth-day, they attacked the castle and park of Merabel, in which the king's rear guard was posted, under the command of the duke of Alençon, which they thought themselves secure of carrying, in case the king should not advance to its relief; and if he did, they knew he must lose the advantage of those works which both he and they considered as impregnable. The armies were pretty equal, and made together near fifty thousand men. What they expected came to pass, the king no sooner saw his brother attacked and in danger than he marched to his assistance^a. At the beginning the advantage was on the side of the French, arising chiefly from the severe fire of their artillery, well posted and well served; the Spanish infantry, unable to sustain it, began to give way. The king, to improve this good fortune, marched to attack them through a hollow way, but, being between them and his batteries, he lost the benefit of his artillery; and the viceroy marching with his gens d'arms, and a good body of foot to sustain them, he was himself very soon in great distress. His own horse failed in their duty; the Swiss, contrary to custom, gave way^b. The king behaved with great intrepidity. Francis of Lorraine, brother to the duke, and Richard de la Pole, the last of the house of Suffolk, who had brought up the Lansquenets to his assistance, were killed by his side; the admiral de Bonivet had the same fate, and was not at all regretted; Galeas de St. Severin, master of the horse, and another of the same name, great master of the household, were slain at the same time and in the same place, where fell also the great Lewis de la Tremouille, at the age of seventy-five; the marshal de Foix, and the Bastard of Savoy, covered with wounds, were taken prisoners, and died in a few days^c. The count de St. Pol fell at the king's feet, and was taken up for dead by a Spaniard, who had a mind to a ring upon his finger, which attempting to cut off, he revived, and afterwards recovered. The king having killed five with his own hand before he fell from his horse, and two after he rose from the ground, surrendered himself at length to

^a *Annales de France.*

^b *J. de Serres.*

^c *P. Dan.*

the viceroy Lannoy. The French lost between nine and ten thousand men in the field, and amongst them a multitude of persons of distinction, besides those before mentioned; the king of Navarre, and many others of the first rank were taken ^w.

We must now turn our eyes to France, in order to see what passed there after this misfortune, the news of which was sent through that kingdom to Spain by the viceroy of Naples; the person charged with the dispatches having a safe-conduct from king Francis: he wrote also to the regent by the same conveyance; and, as under such circumstances the reader may be desirous to see what the king wrote, we will transcribe his epistle, which contained only these words; "Madam, our honour excepted, we have lost all ^x." The duchess of Angoulesme found herself excessively embarrassed on all sides, the kingdom being without a monarch, without forces, without officers, without resources, without allies, and surrounded by enemies on every side. The Flemish troops were making continual inroads. Many thousand boors, inspired by an unaccountable enthusiasm, were assembling in Alsace in order to make an irruption; so much the more to be apprehended, as it was equally impossible to find means to prevent or to repel it. Henry the Eighth had assembled a great army, and seemed to be on the point of embarking them for an invasion; and, as if all this had not been enough to distract and overwhelm her, there was a party in the kingdom who had formed a design of dispossessing her of the regency, in order to confer it upon the duke of Vendosme ^y. It happened very fortunately for her and for France, that this prince, who, after the constable, was the head of the house of Bourbon, was so generous as to forget not only the injuries that had been done his family, but his own interests. He went himself to Lyons, to assure the regent that he had no views but for her service and that of his country; upon which she formed a council of the ablest heads in the kingdom, and of this she made him president ^z. The famous Andrew Doria sailed with the French galleys, to take on board the poor remains of of the French troops, under the duke of Alva, whom he landed safely in France. Those who escaped out of the Milanese found also their way back as soon and as well as they could; the duke of Alençon broke his heart, on ac-

*The sad
condition
of France.*

^w Sandoval, Mez.
^y Mémoires du Bellay.

^x Antonio de Vera Hist. de Charles V.
^z J. de Serres.

count of the reproaches cast upon him for his behaviour at the battle of Pavia; the marquis of Saluces, though he lost his country, preserved his credit and his troops entire^a. Henry the Eighth, under the influence of Wolsey, acted a very singular part; he resolved not to oppress the oppressed; assured the regent that she had nothing to fear from him, and at the same time advised her to consent to no treaty by which France was to be dismembered; but he used another language to the emperor; he gave him to understand, that the time was now come when this puissant monarch lay at their mercy, and therefore insisted that so fair an opportunity should not be let slip; that, for his part, he would content himself with Normandy, Guienne, and Gascony, and hoped the empire would make no scruple of owning him for king of France, adding, he expected the emperor should make a right use of his victory, by entering Guienne in person, with a numerous army, in which case he was ready to bear half the expences of the war. He foresaw what fell out; the emperor was alarmed at these conditions. He did not care to have him for a neighbour, and therefore agreed to a truce with the regent for six months; and to shew how little solicitous he was about the friendship of England, he negociated a marriage for himself with the king of Portugal's sister, notwithstanding he was bound by treaties to marry the princess Mary, Henry's daughter^b. This measure gave the English king the occasion he wanted, and, on the 30th of August, he signed three treaties with the French plenipotentiaries (D). In Picardy the Flemings were repulsed; and the

^a Guicciard, Dupleix.
Bellay, Holinsh. Herbert.

^b Leonard. Du Till. Memoires de

(D) The first contained a defensive league between France and England; and Henry engaged to use his best endeavours to procure the liberty of Francis. The second treaty concerned the payment of the sums due to Henry from the king of France, amounting to about two millions of crowns, to be liquidated in forty half yearly paymets. To secure the performance of the treaty, the regent was to swear to it

solemnly before the English ambassadors, and Francis the First was to ratify and swear to it immediately after his return into France. Besides, Henry had for security the cardinal of Bourbon, the dukes of Vendosme and Longueville, the earls of St. Paul, Maulevrier, and Bienne; the lords of Montmorency, Lautrec, and Breze, the cities of Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, Amiens, Bourdeaux, Tours, and Rheims.

the count de Guise, with the duke of Lorraine, had the good fortune, with a handful of troops, to defeat and cut to pieces the German peasants. Let us now return to king Francis in his confinement.

That prince was no sooner taken than the great officers of the emperor's army began to make their court to him, and were well received. The duke of Bourbon, indeed, found some difficulty; but at length the king saw and conversed, and, some writers say, was reconciled to him^c. Amongst them all the marquis de Pescara was the best received; instead of going as the rest did, in great splendor, he appeared in mourning, affected so deep a concern, and treated the king with such profound respect, that Francis could not refuse his good graces to this lord, esteemed one of the greatest captains, one of the ablest statesmen, but withal the most artful man in the world^d. While in the castle of Pisfigitone, Francis had proposed to the emperor, that, to purchase his liberty, he would renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, and to the duchy of Milan; relinquish the homage due to him for the counties of Artois and Flanders; concur in reducing under his obedience whatever Charles claimed in Italy; furnish an army and a fleet as often as the emperor should go in that quality into that country; and lastly, as he was now a widower, would espouse the queen-dowager of Portugal, Charles's elder sister, accepting the duchy of Burgundy as her dowry, which should pass to the children of that marriage^e. These propositions were scornfully rejected by the emperor, who treated the titles to Milan and Naples with contempt; insinuated that he stood in no need of the king's assistance; and insisted that he could not consider as a ransom, yielding those things to which he had an incontestible right. On the other hand, the terms he proposed were, that Francis should make a cession of the duchy of Burgundy, purely and simply; give Dauphiné, Provence, and the Lyonnois to the duke of Bourbon, without the reservation of any homage, to be erected

King Francis makes propositions which are rejected, and others proposed which he rejects.

^c Du Tillet. Mez. P. Daniel.

^d Memoires de Brantome, tom. i.

^e Ferr.

Rheims. By a third treaty, the regent engaged to pay to Mary, Henry's sister, queen-dowager of France, all the arrears of her dowry at several payments; namely, five thou-

sand crowns within forty days after the date of the treaty, and a like sum every six months till the whole was discharged.

into a kingdom, and make satisfaction to the English; to which Francis answered, he would first die in a prison ^f. In the mean time there appeared no small difficulty in keeping him there. The princes of Italy began to cabal for his deliverance; and if the pope had not been frightened into paying the Imperialists money, but, on the contrary, had employed it in levying Swiss troops, the face of affairs would have been quickly changed. To carry him from Genoa to Naples by sea was unsafe, because of the French fleet; to carry him by land more difficult, since the princes of Italy might easily have rescued him: but the viceroy Lannoy removed all these obstacles, by persuading them to make it his own choice to go to Spain on board his own galleys, manned by Spaniards, on a supposition that, when he came to treat directly with the emperor, face to face, all difficulties would be removed. This was done in the midst of June; but at his arrival in Spain he found himself miserably deceived, in being confined in the castle of Madrid, without so much as seeing the emperor; at length, falling sick of grief, the emperor fearing to lose all by his death, went to visit and to comfort him ^g. His beloved sister, the duchess of Alençon, who was in all respects one of the most amiable women of that age, came to console, and at the same time to counsel him. She, in a short time, had so many lovers and so many creatures in the emperor's court, that he knew not how to act: by her advice the king seemed to give up all, instructing her, at her return, to cause the dauphin to be proclaimed king, and to abandon him, rather than his people, to distress and misery. But, under all this appearance, were couched a variety of intrigues, for the king's escape, reviving the war in Italy, and depriving Charles of his own kingdom, and giving it to his own general, the marquis de Pescara; contrivances which so amazed the emperor, that he took a resolution of causing her to be arrested the very day her safe-conduct expired, which design, when she had defeated by travelling night and day, and he heard of the king of Navarre's escape out of the castle of Pavia, he determined to make an end of the treaty, by obliging Francis to purchase his liberty upon as high terms as possible ^h. On this occasion he acted contrary to the advice of the wisest of his council, who foresaw that all the advantages would be defeated, and the resentment remain.

A D. 1525.

^f Sandoval, Antonio de Vera.
Guicciard.

^h Sandoval.

^g Memoires de Bellay,

*Signs the
treaty of
Madrid.*

At the beginning of the year this great affair was adjusted, the treaty bearing date at Madrid, on the 14th of January; it was in all respects as advantageous to the emperor, as disastrous to the king, and as prejudicial to the French nation as it well could be (E). Those who say that the king's patience was tired out, and that he was determined to gain his liberty at any rate, which he might have done upon much easier terms, if he could have brought himself to bear his captivity with patience, do much more credit to him and to those who advised him, than such as pretend not barely to excuse, but to vindicate his conduct, which certainly was very irregular as well as extraordinary. He protested before certain notaries and witnesses, whom he could trust, before he signed it, that what he did was against his will, and under constraint; therefore null and void. A month after signing the treaty, during all which time he remained as close a prisoner as before, the viceroi of Naples came into his chamber just as an ague fit left him, and told him he was come to espouse him, as proxy for the queen-dowager Eleanor, though that princess was then within a few miles of Ma-

(E) The principal articles of this treaty, so much exclaimed against, were these: that the king of France should marry queen Leonora, the emperor's sister, and have with her two hundred thousand crowns of gold. That Francis should be released on the 10th of March, and the same day should deliver to the emperor his two sons in hostage. That he should resign to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy, in full sovereignty. That he should desist from the homage the emperor owed him for Flanders and Artois. That he should renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Asti, Tournay, Lisle, Hesdin, &c. That he should persuade Henry d'Albret to resign the kingdom of Navarre to the emperor, or at least should give him no assistance. That within forty days he should restore the duke of

Bourbon and all his party to their estates. That he should restore Philibert de Chalons, prince of Orange, and Michael Antonio de Saluzzo, to their principalities. That he should give no sort of assistance to the duke of Gueldres, and, after that prince's death, should use his best endeavours to cause his towns to fall into the emperor's hands. That he should pay the king of England five hundred thousand crowns which the emperor owed him. That when the emperor went to Italy to receive the imperial crown, he should lend him twelve galleys, four large ships, and a land army; or two hundred thousand crowns instead of the army. Lastly, he promised, upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all these articles; or, in case of non-performance, to return prisoner into Spain.

drid;

drid; the emperor afterwards conducted him to see his future spouse; and, after the visit, sent him back to his prisonⁱ. On the 21st of February, after exacting from his own mouth the strongest assurances that he would adhere literally to the treaty, under pretence of conducting him a little way on the road, the emperor took leave of him, and sent him under a strong guard to the frontiers; there he was exchanged against his two eldest sons, who were put into the hands of the Spaniards without their being suffered to take leave of their father^k. The viscount de Lautrec received him; and as soon as he set foot into his own dominions, he mounted a fleet Turkish horse, and rode full gallop to St. John de Luz; there taking a little refreshment, he proceeded with all possible dispatch to Bayonne, where he found the regent and the whole court everjoyed at his return^l.

The measures taken by him to avoid complying with this treaty, and to recover his sons.

He immediately signed the bonds stipulated by the treaty, which the regent had made with Henry the Eighth, and at the same time wrote in the strongest terms to thank that monarch for the share he had in his deliverance^m. He was strongly solicited by the Spaniards to ratify the treaty of Madrid; but he kept aloof, alleging, that many things were contained therein which regarded his subjects, and it was requisite for him to know their sentiments, and how far it would be in his power to comply with them before he entered into any fresh engagements. Within the space of two months he entered into the holy league, which was calculated to reduce the emperors's power, to settle the quiet of Italy, and to annul the harshest part of the treaty of Madridⁿ. In the month of June he publicly received remonstrances from the states of Burgundy, in which they told him, without ceremony, that he had done what he had no right to do, in breach of the laws, and of his coronation oath; adding, that if he persisted in his resolution of throwing them under a foreign yoke, they must appeal to the general states of the kingdom. He received these remonstrances in a public audience, the viceroy of Naples and other Spanish ministers being present, who, perceiving the end aimed at, expostulated with him in pretty warm terms. At length the viceroy told him, that he had now nothing left but to keep his royal word in returning to the castle of Madrid^o, as his predecessor king

ⁱ Antonio de Vera.
France.

^k P. Daniel.

^l Annales de

^m Memoires Du Bellay. P. Dan.
Serres. Dupleix. Du Till. Le Gendre.

ⁿ J. de
^o Annales de

France.

John had done in a like case. Francis replied, that king John did well and right; that he returned to a king, who had used him like a king, and treated with him as a king; but that at Madrid he had received such usage as would have been unbecoming to a gentleman; that he had often declared to the emperor's ministers, that the terms they extorted from him were unjust and impracticable; but that he was still willing to do all that was fit and reasonable, and to ransom his sons at the rate of two millions of gold, in lieu of the duchy of Burgundy ^p.

Hitherto the treaty for the tranquility of Italy had been kept secret, in hopes the emperor would have consented to some mitigation of that of Madrid; but now, the reason of the thing lying the other way, it was judged most expedient to proclaim it, though the viceroy of Naples and the Spanish lords were still at the French court. It was styled the Holy League, because the pope was at the head of it; the king, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, were the contracting parties ^q. Henry of England was admitted in the superior title of Protector; it was wholly defensive, and the emperor was at liberty to enter into it, provided he accepted the king's offer of two millions for the release of his children, and left the duke of Milan, and the rest of the princes of Italy, in quiet possession of their dominions ^r. The king's great point was to obtain his children upon the terms he had proposed; and he was desirous of knowing what hopes there were of succeeding in that point, before he acted against the monarch who had them in his power. By this procrastination the duke of Milan and pope Clement were sacrificed. The former was obliged to surrender to the duke of Bourbon; and the latter was surpris'd by the Colonnas, both of which disasters would have been prevented if French succours had entered Italy in time ^s.

The league for preserving the tranquility of Italy publicly proclaimed.

A.D. 1526.

Margaret duchess-dowager of Alençon, the king's sister, espoused Henry the Second, king of Navarre; and king Francis gave his brother hopes of affording him powerful assistance for the recovery of his dominions ^t. In the spring the king sent a splendid embassy, composed of the bishop of Tarbes, the viscount de Turenne, and the president de Viste, to London, where they concluded a new treaty ^u. But while these negotiations were carrying on, the duke

Odet de de Foix. marshal Lautrec, reduces Genoa, and a great part of the Milanese.

^p Guicciard. ^q Recueil de Traités, par Leon. ^r Mémoires Du Bellay. Du Tillet. ^s Guicciard. P. Daniel.
^t J. de Serres. Mez. ^u Act Public.

of Bourbon sacked Rome, and though he was killed in mounting the breach, his army, under the command of the prince of Orange, became masters of the place, and of the person of the pope. It is by no means clear, that Bourbon had the emperor's orders for this expedition; on the contrary, it seems to have been dictated to him by necessity, his army being become what the Companies were in the days of king John; and some have suggested, that, if he had survived this enterprize, he would have marched into the kingdom of Naples, and have either seized it for himself, or have made his peace, by restoring it to the king his master ^w. Be that as it will, the news made way for another treaty between the kings of France and England, by which they engaged to send thirty thousand foot, and a thousand gens d'arms, into Italy ^x. But before the pope received any advantage from these stipulations, he was forced to deliver up almost every place of any consequence that was in his possession, agree to pay a ransom of four hundred thousand crowns, and to remain a prisoner till this treaty was executed. At length, in the beginning of the month of August, marshal Lautrec arrived in the Milanese, with a numerous army; the king, about the same time, concluded a third treaty with Henry ^y. Genoa surrendered and declared once more for France; the best part of the Milanese was conquered by marshal Lautrec, and fairly given up to the duke ^z. In September there was a fourth treaty concluded with Henry. The arms of the confederates prevailed in Italy, where, on the 2d of October, marshal Lautrec took Pavia by assault; and, in the first transports of their fury, the French revenged themselves cruelly on that place, for the defeat which they had suffered before it ^a. He afterwards passed the Po, upon which the duke of Ferrara and the marquis of Mantua quitted the party of the emperor, and embraced that of the allies. In consequence of this change of affairs, the pope recovered his liberty, not by treaty, but by stealing out of the castle of St. Angelo ^b. This year the princess Renee was contracted to Hercules de Este; and the parliament, after several letters of jussion, registered the letters patent, by which the county of Guise was erected into a dukedom and peerage, in favour of Claude de Lorraine, brother to the duke of that title ^c.

^w Sandoval. Dupleix.

VIII. ^y P. Daniel. Hall.

dini. Memoires de Brantome.

Belcarius.

^b Mezeray.

^x Lord Werbert's Hist. of Henry

Hollinsh.

^z Guicciar-

^a Memoires Du Bellay.

^c Dupleix.

According

According to the agreement between the two kings, Francis and Henry, their ambassadors went into Spain, attended each of them by a herald, in order to summon the emperor to accept the terms which had been offered him; and, in case of refusal, to declare war. It seems the emperor's answer was foreseen at the court of France; and therefore king Francis had previously called together an assembly of the Notables, that is, persons of the several ranks of his people, upon whom he could depend, and in whom he could confide; he proposed to them the great question, whether he was bound to perform the treaty of Madrid, or whether, if he did not perform it, he was obliged in honour to return to Spain^d. That assembly pronounced in favour of the negative on both points; they said that Burgundy was united to the crown of France, and that he could not separate it by his own authority; that his person also was the property of the public, of which, therefore, he could not dispose; but for the two millions, which they looked upon as a just equivalent, they undertook it should be raised for his service^e. When the ambassadors had communicated their proposition, and the heralds had declared their message to the emperor publicly, Charles treated the English herald with respect, and the herald from France with contempt, intimating, that Francis had broke his word, and that, as he had been before given to understand, there was but one way of ending such disputes between men of honour^f.

When this declaration was reported to the king, he was extremely angry, sent a challenge to the emperor, conceived in very coarse terms; and when an answer was returned by Charles's herald, he refused to hear it, alleging, that his safe-conduct was limited to the proposal of a proper field, where they might terminate this quarrel, and, therefore he would hear him speak to that, and nothing else: if both these princes had not, upon other occasions, given indisputable proofs of their personal courage, the conduct of both, upon this occasion, would have done no great honour to their characters^g. In Italy, Odet de Foix, marshal de Lautrec, reduced all the kingdom of Naples, except Gaeta and the capital, while Phillippin Doria defeated and killed the imperial viceroy Moncada at sea; so that all things seemed to go prosperously; but the

*New turn
of affairs in
Italy.*

^d Arnoldi Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallorum.
Serres.

^f Sandoval. P. Daniel.

^e J. de

^g Commentaires

de Montluc.

face of events quickly changed. An epidemic sickness prevailed in the French army that blocked up Naples; and, from twenty-five thousand foot, and eight hundred men at arms, reduced them to one hundred men at arms, and four thousand foot ^b. Marshal Lautrec himself died, rather of chagrin than any other disease; he was never fortunate, nor had a high opinion of his own merit, and had taken this command against his will; for the king of England and the state of Venice had refused their concurrence to this expedition, unless he should be invested with the command. His grief proceeded from his being ill supplied, and very indifferently supported by the Venetians; the marquis of Saluces, who took the command upon his death, raised the blockade of Naples, and retired to Averso, where, to save the handful of troops he had left, he rendered himself prisoner to the prince of Orange ⁱ.

A. D. 1528.

Another misfortune happened about the same time. Andrew Doria, one of the greatest captains, and one of the worthiest men this age had produced, offered king Francis two hundred thousand crowns in gold to have the disposal of the government of Genoa, and for the town and port of Savona. It was not through interest or ambition that he made this proposal, but out of a generous design of restoring liberty to his native country, and putting into her hands a placé that was like to become her rival ^k: there was no reason the king should not have done this in return for the great services rendered him by Doria, but he had given the customs of the port of Savona to his favourite Anne de Montmorency; and the chancellor du Prat, to make his court to the favourite, represented this proposal as impertinent and seditious, advising that the command of the galleys should be taken from Doria, and his person secured: monsieur de Barbesieux was sent to Genoa for this purpose, to whom Doria delivered the king's galleys, but carried his own into the service of the emperor, and quickly recovered both Genoa and Savona ^l. The count de St. Pol coming, however, with a fresh body of troops into the Milanese, recovered several places from the Imperialists, and revived a little the drooping hopes of the allies, who saw that a peace, made under such circumstances, would be their ruin ^m.

All the French writers concur in giving Francis the character of an open, generous, and candid prince; but at the

^b Memoires Du Bellay.
moires Du Bellay.
Daniel.

ⁱ Guicciard.
^l Memoires de Brant. Mez.

^k Me.
^m P.

same time, they record facts which are not very consistent with these praises. The king instructed his ministers to press the allies to make their utmost efforts, which they could not do without his making at the same time promises of great succours, and giving them also assurances that he would act with vigourⁿ. He sent, in all probability, the like instructions to his generals; so that thus far all was of a piece; but at the same time, all that was meant by it was, obtaining better terms by the conclusion of a peace than on the carpet. The use, therefore, this great king made of his allies, was, to mislead them into measures that might turn to his profit at their expence. In consequence of these orders, the few forces he had left in Calabria acted very chearfully, in conjunction with the Venetians, as the count de St. Pol did with the troops of the same state, under the command of the duke of Urbino, and with the duke of Milan in the Milanese, till his army was entirely routed, and himself, chiefly by his own fault, taken by Don Antonio Leva, at the battle of Landriano, on the 22d of June^o. This event contributed to the conclusion of the treaty at Cambray. This has been styled, with propriety enough, the Ladies Peace, since it was entirely negociated by the princess Margaret of Savoy, governess of the Low Countries, on the behalf of the emperor, and Madame, the French king's mother^p. In this treaty, the emperor, instead of the possession, contented himself with reserving his rights on the duchy of Burgundy, and the two millions of crowns that had been so often mentioned; of these he was to receive one million two hundred thousand in ready money, upon delivering the princes' lands in Flanders, belonging to the house of Bourbon, computed at four hundred thousand; and the other four hundred thousand was to be paid by Francis, in discharge of the emperor's debt to the king of England. Francis was likewise to discharge the penalty of five hundred thousand crowns, which the emperor had incurred by not marrying his niece, the princess Mary of England, and to release the rich fleur de lys, many years before pawned by the house of Burgundy for fifty thousand crowns^q. The town and castle of Hesdin was also yielded; together with the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and all the king's pretensions in Italy.

The cruel as well as double dealing of Francis, with his allies to the peace of Cambray.

ⁿ Hall. Holinsh. Stowe.
moires de Brant,

^o Guicciardini.

^p Me-

^q Act Public.

The generous conduct of Henry VIII. towards Francis, in respect to this treaty.

As for the allies of France, they were abandoned to the emperor's mercy, without the least stipulation in their favour, and, which was more extraordinary, the bishop of Tarbes was actually soliciting the republic of Venice to prosecute the war, when the senate received advice of this peace. But to be consistent or rather inconsistent in every thing, Francis protested against the validity of this treaty before he ratified it, as his attorney-general did, before it was registered in parliament; but both with the greatest privacy imaginable ^r. Henry of England received the news coldly, and might probably have expressed his dislike in stronger terms; but at the same time the news were communicated, the French ambassador added, that his master had a great influence over his universities, and would very gladly employ it to gratify his brother Henry. His majesty of England took this hint so kindly, that he remitted the emperor's penalty of half a million of crowns; and, as a farther instance of his generosity, sent the famous fleur de lys as a present to Henry duke of Orleans, his godson ^s. It happened very luckily for the Italians, that great troubles broke out about this time in Germany, and the Turks invaded Hungary, a circumstance which induced the emperor to deal justly with them, and to leave Sforza in possession of the duchy of Milan, which, otherwise, there is the strongest probability he would not have done.

A.D. 1529.

The children of Francis delivered, and his queen brought into France.

At this time the marshal de Montmorency, being in the zenith of his favour, was chosen by the king to carry the money, which was to be paid to the emperor, and to receive his children and his consort. The king repaired to Bourdeaux, while the marshal went to Fontarabia, where he settled all things with the constable of Castile; and towards the end of the month of June, the exchange was made at the same place, and with the same ceremony used at the deliverance of the king about four years before ^t. Francis went to meet his children and his queen, and, after the marriage ceremonies were performed, made a public entry with her into Bourdeaux. She was at this time about thirty, no great beauty, but she had good sense, and, by distinguishing the marshal de Montmorency, who was the king's favourite, she had an influence in the court, which she would not otherwise have had as queen ^u. The

^r Mezeray. P. Daniel.
de Brant, P. Daniel.

^s Du Till.
^u J. de Seres.

^t Memoires

return of peace gave the king an opportunity of distinguishing himself in a way that did him great honour. Though business and amusements had left him little or no time to make himself a scholar, yet he had a general knowledge in, and a true taste for the sciences. William Budé, one of the greatest lawyers of that age, and a very able statesman, John de Bellay bishop of Paris, and afterwards cardinal, and Peter du Chastel who became bishop of Mâcon, had acquired and maintained themselves in the king's good graces by assisting him in his studies. The king gave them, from time to time, heads of what he desired to understand; and it was their business to instruct him by succinct, methodical, and clear discourses, which were commonly read to him at or after his meals. John Lascaris, a Greek, of a most noble family, by procuring him many valuable manuscripts, laid the foundation of a royal library, to which a printing-house was added. By the advice of these great men, he erected chairs for Hebrew and Greek professors, in the university of Paris, which were first filled by Francis Vatable and Peter Danés. By these and other acts of the same nature, he obtained the glorious title of Father and Restorer of Letters ^w.

The coronation of the queen, and her public entry into Paris, having gratified the people with shews and feasts, the king thought it expedient for his honour and their safety, to appoint judges by a special commission, who were to travel through the kingdom, and hold what the French call *les grands jours*, which is pretty near the same with our assises, wherein they judged all causes without appeal, and redressed innumerable grievances which had crept in during the king's imprisonment, and other disorders in the government ^x. In the month of September died Madame, the king's mother, to whom the historian of Savoy ^y gives as high a character as words can well express; but the French writers, who consider that, by her piques against the constable of Bourbon and the viscount de Lautrec, she lost the duchy of Milan twice; that, by her intrigues, Semblançai, one of the wisest and most virtuous ministers France ever had, was brought to an unjust and ignominious death; and that she was the great support of chancellor du Prat, whose character was of another cast, they are not quite so lavish in her praises ^z; however, they acknowledge that, during the king's imprisonment,

Death of the duchess of Angoulême.

A.D. 1532

^w Duplex. Du Tillet.

^x Memoires de Brant.

^y Gui-

chenon. ^z P. Daniel.

she governed well, and that they were indebted to her for the peace of Cambray, of which the nation stood in great need.

Francis is very desirous of uniting the noble duchy of Bretagne for ever to the crown.

The king had been long desirous of uniting the duchy of Bretagne to his crown, in some more effectual manner than by all the cessions that had hitherto been made. He consulted upon this, as upon every affair of state, his oracle du Prat, who studied the point diligently; and though expedients were his talent, yet he found this business so perplexed, that he knew not well what method to advise. The king directed him to confer with Lewis des Deserts, president of the parliament of Bretagne, a man of great parts and probity. The chancellor entered freely into a long detail of the enquiries he had made, and of the projects he had formed. The president heard him patiently, and disapproved them in the gross. He told him there was but one way of doing this business, which was, to engage the states of the duchy to demand this union of themselves. The chancellor shewed his great abilities in putting up all his papers, and declaring that he would leave the management of this arduous affair to a man who had convinced him, by a few words, that he understood it so much better than he ^a.

He succeeds in this by the prudent management of the president of the parliament of Bretagne.

By the advice of the president, the king made a tour into Bretagne, where he corrected whatever was amiss, did many popular acts, caressed the leading members of the states, and, by honours, gifts, and places, gained them to his party. But, notwithstanding all these precautions, when the proposal was opened, debates ran very high in the assembly of the states, more especially amongst the commons. The deputy from Nantz particularly inveighed bitterly against the proposal, as tending to invade and destroy their liberties, to make them, of a free state, a mere province, and to deprive them of all they had left, which was the hope of being, some time or other, what they once were, a free and separate principality; but he declaimed still more violently against the method in which this was to be done, which he represented as forging their own chains, renouncing their birthrights, and, instead of being forced, desiring this as a favour, which they ought to consider as the highest injury. The president, who expected this storm, obliged the friends of the court to be passive, and let the deputies vent their resentments freely. But when their first fury was over, he sent for the deputy

^a Argentre Hist. de Bretagne.

of Nantz, and for such as had manifested parts as well as zeal in the debate; and represented to them calmly, that they entirely mistook the matter and their own interest. He admitted, that the privileges, the independency, and the prerogatives of the duchy of Bretagne, were extremely valuable to its inhabitants, and what it ought to be their perpetual study to preserve; he shewed them that they had been often in danger under their dukes; that their country suffered frequently by being the seat of war; and that, if it ever came to be separated again from the crown of France, it would be sooner or later conquered, lose its privileges, and become indeed a province. He added, that by being annexed in this manner, they gained all they could wish, and more than they could expect in another way; that by having the monarch of France not for their king, but their duke, they secured the protection of that crown, without losing their independency. In respect to the manner of doing it by their own demand, he proved that this was so far from being injurious, that it was both honourable and advantageous; it was a proof of their freedom, an obligation conferred on their sovereign, and a treaty of union between one state and another. The deputies submitted, their heats subsided gradually; and thus, by a prudent application of lucrative motives, to those whom nothing else could move, and by opening the true state of things to those whose ears were not deaf to argument, he carried his point, and that in such a manner, that the parliament of Paris protested against the condescension which the king shewed in this matter, being ashamed to see that, through the wisdom and weight of one man, the liberties of Bretagne were fixed upon so much better a basis than their own^b.

In the month of October the king had a conference with Henry the Eighth at Calais, in which that friendship which had subsisted for some time between them was much strengthened; they complained mutually of the double dealing of the pope, and of the too great power and ambition of the emperor; but, as things then stood, they agreed on nothing but a declaration of their readiness to arm a body of eighty thousand men to act against the Turks, by which they sought to amuse Charles, and to gain a reputation with the rest of the European powers; for it does not appear that either of these monarchs was much in earnest in this affair; but rather gave it out for

A D. 1532.

*Francis
and Henry
continue
firmly
united.*

^b Memoires de Brant.

the purposes before mentioned, and that they might, if they thought it convenient, arm by sea or land in their own dominions, under this pretence, and without giving umbrage to other princes^c. The emperor, on his side, amused them likewise, his affairs being so perplexed in Germany that he knew not well how to act, and the Turkish sultan being on the point of making an irruption into his brother Ferdinand's dominions with the whole force of his empire. In the management of these affairs, he made use chiefly of the mediation of the queen his sister, whose overtures Francis received with great testimonies of kindness and civility, but without suffering them to make any impression. These frivolous intercourses of mere policy answered the end of both parties, by keeping things quiet, and affording them leisure to take their own measures, till a favourable opportunity should offer for explaining their true sentiments.

*e causes
s second
n Henry,
ke of Or-
ans, to
douse Ca-
erine de
edicis.*

The king had many good reasons to suppose the peace would not last long. He was himself not much better satisfied with the treaty of Cambray, than he had been with that of Madrid; he was still as much persuaded as ever of his rights to the kingdom of Naples and duchy of Milan, and extremely chagrined at the loss of his superiority over Flanders, which he had been obliged to renounce; besides these, the emperor had taken precautions for his own security, which gave Francis fresh disquiet. He had compelled the princes of Italy to enter into a defensive alliance, which was, in effect, an alliance against France. He had taken infinite pains to detach the duke of Savoy from the party of Francis, and had sold him the county of Aste, or Asti, very convenient indeed for that duke, but which had been the ancient patrimony of the house of Orleans. But what gave him most pain of all was, that by the help of the duke of Savoy, who had a great influence over the Swiss, Charles was labouring to detach both them and the Grisons from their alliance with France. The king determined to use his utmost endeavours to prevent this blow, but at the same time very wisely considering, that a kingdom must be very insecure, while the principal strength of its armies consisted in mercenaries, he took a resolution to put an end to that evil, by establishing a national infantry; and as, in all probability, this thought occurred to him from his conversations

^c Belcarius. Hall. Holinsh. P. Dan.

with

with his learned friends, he directed those corps to be formed in the manner, and bestowed on them the name, of Legions^d. In order to gain once more an opening into Italy, he negotiated a marriage, between his son Henry, duke of Orleans, and Catherine de Medicis, styled duchess of Urbino, niece to the pope. The emperor Charles had proposed a marriage between this young princess and the duke of Milan; but when pope Clement mentioned the overture that had been made him from France, the emperor himself advised him to prefer it, thinking it impossible the king should be in earnest, or ever intend to sink so low as such an alliance^e. In this opinion, however, he found himself mistaken; and though the duke of Savoy, to oblige him, rendered an interview at Nice impracticable, yet the pope, embarking at Genoa, landed at Marseilles on the fourth of October^f. The marriage was celebrated there with all the magnificence for which this prince was famous^g. He laboured likewise to engage the pope to give his ally, the king of England, satisfaction^h. He could not indeed prevail on him to suspend his excommunication of Henry on his marriage with Anna Bullen; but he persuaded him to keep it secret, and sent John du Bellay, bishop of Paris, to negotiate with Henry, which he did so effectually, as to prevent his separating immediately from communion with the church of Rome; though in the depth of winter, he went in person to carry these news to the pope, with whom he concerted the means of adjusting this perplexed affair of the divorce, and procured the publication of the sentence to be put off to a day certain, that it might be known whether or not Henry would accept the terms. No answer coming, Bellay pressed for a farther suspension for six days only, which was refused, and the sentence publishedⁱ. Two days after arrived the king's submission, but it was then too late^j. This circumstance, however, shews the sincerity of Francis and his agent.

All this time the king had in view a breach with the emperor, when a proper opportunity should offer, and to this point all his endeavours were directed. Charles, who was by no means ignorant of his sentiments, took all possible methods to let the world into the secret, that, whenever a war happened, the blame of it might fall up

Measures taken by the emperor.

^d Annales de France.

^e Guicciardini, Ferr. P. Daniel.

^f Memoires Du Bellay.
^g Chalons. P. Dan.
^h Bur-

ⁱ Herbert.

on Francis. He had demanded assistance both in men and money for his war against the Turks, in a manner which he knew must produce a refusal: this he magnified to the dyet, and upon all occasions represented the king to the princes of Germany as his irreconcilable enemy. In this conduct, his politics were too refined, for the princes of Germany took from thence occasion to negotiate with the king for his assistance, in the support of their liberties, than which nothing could be more disagreeable to Charles^k. But while they were thus employed in secret leagues and negotiations, an event happened, which at once produced a war: the king had sent Merveille, a Milanese gentleman, who had acquired a great fortune in France, who was uncle to the chancellor of Milan, as his ambassador to the duke, who being afraid to receive him openly, desired that his credentials should be only communicated to himself^l.

The king's minister is put to death by the duke of Milan, on which follows a war.

But the emperor suspecting the truth, gave the duke to understand, that unless he had satisfaction on the head of this French minister, he was not to expect his niece, the princess of Denmark, for a wife; the poor duke sent him king Francis's letters, in which he recommended him only as a gentleman who had a mind to make a tour into his own country, to settle his family concerns. Merveille having at this juncture a quarrel with one of the family of Castiglione, and this man coming with several persons armed to insult him in his house, was killed by his domestics. Francis Sforza, upon this outrage, committed him to prison, and being apprehensive he might declare his public character, caused him to be beheaded without form or process^m. This execution was resented by the king in the warmest manner; he even complained of it at the court of the emperor, who answered coolly, that the duke of Milan had a right to punish his own subject for the murder; on which the French ambassador produced the clearest proofs that Merveille had been sent to, and owned by the duke of Milan, as the king's ambassador; a circumstance that afforded great satisfaction to Charles, who discovered at once the deceit of Sforza, and that he was now embarrassed beyond reconciliation with the court of Franceⁿ. It is true he sent his chancellor to offer excuses, though he was the nephew of the gentleman who had been so hardly treated, a step which

^k Paradin. Annales de France.

^m Annales de France. P. Dan.

^l Memoires Du Bellay.

ⁿ Belcasius.

rather inflamed than abated the quarrel. Before the end of the year, an event happened, which was far from being acceptable to the French court; this was the death of pope Clement, who had promised to give his niece Modena, Pisa, Leghorn, Parma, and Placentia, and to unite his forces with those of the king, for the conquest of Urbino°. But Francis, who knew his ambition and his attachment to his family, to which he had more than once sacrificed his dignity, his safety, and his conscience, relied very much upon his aid in the expedition he was about to undertake; and there is no doubt that, after procuring his nephew to be raised by the emperor to the sovereignty of Florence, he would have been equally pleased to see his niece placed on the ducal throne of Milan, by the arms of France. The disappointment was great, and it would have been happy for his subjects, if the king had thought it so great as to desist from the intended war, of which, in losing him, he certainly lost his chief support.

The war with Milan was, notwithstanding, resolved upon, and the king made vast preparations for it; but, in order to reach the dominions of that prince, he was under a necessity of demanding a passage through those of the duke of Savoy; and this necessity produced a previous war with that duke, which did not at all displease Francis, who had many reasons to be offended with him, and who resolved to take this opportunity of chastising him severely. But before he began the war, he took a very extraordinary step with regard to religion. His beloved sister Margaret, queen of Navarre, was inclined to favour the new opinions; that is, was disposed to become a Protestant; and she had such an influence on her brother, that he had once taken a resolution of inviting Melancthon to his court; but he was diverted from that step by the cardinal de Tournon. Taking occasion from some papers that had been fixed against the Louvre, containing arguments against the doctrines of transubstantiation, he caused six persons to be burnt with extraordinary cruelty. Nay, he made a wild declaration, that if he thought the blood in his arm was tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would cause it to be cut off; and that he would not spare even his own children, if they entertained sentiments contrary to those of the Catholic church^p. This zeal was strangely

The king enters into a war with the duke of Savoy.

° Guicciard. Chalons. Le Gend. p Florimond de Remond
Histoire de la Naissance & Progres de l'Herésie, liv. vii.

A.D. 1535.

absurd, in a monarch, who had, at this very time, a minister at his court from the Turk, and made afterwards no scruple of acting in conjunction with the infidels, both by sea and land. After this barbarous execution, he set out for Lyons, and sent admiral Chaubaut with a numerous army into Savoy, the best part of which he speedily reduced⁹. But while he was thus employed, an event happened, that once more changed the face of affairs; this was the death of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, upon which the emperor sent the famous Granvelle to offer the king the investiture of the duchy of Milan, for his third son the duke de Angoulême, which offer produced a long negociation, with strong professions of sincerity on both sides, and with very little of reality in it on either¹. The duke of Savoy, to whom the king had made some propositions of peace, rejected them, notwithstanding the distress he was in, and made an offer to the emperor of exchanging the county of Nice, and all his territories on this side the Alps, for lands in Italy, which, if Charles had accepted, would have opened him a passage into the heart of France, and this proposal irritated the king still more than all the injuries he had sustained from the duke already².

Amused by Charles V. while he meditates and prepares for an enterprise of great importance.

The emperor Charles the Fifth was now in the zenith of his glory, just returned in triumph from his African expedition, and having a numerous army and many great captains about him in the kingdom of Naples, he framed vast designs, in order to the execution of which he found it necessary to amuse Francis, a task that he performed with great success³. Then he proceeded to Rome, where, in the presence of pope Paul the Third, of the house of Farnese, and his cardinals, he inveighed bitterly, in a Spanish oration, against Francis, talking of fighting him hand to hand, in an island, on a bridge, or in the midst of a river on board a bark; but when the French ambassadors demanded a copy of this speech, and desired to know whether he intended it as a defiance to their master, or pretended to impeach his honour, he refused it, and qualified all he had said, by alleging, that in the heat of his discourse he had mentioned a single combat as a means of preventing the effusion of Christian blood, which, knowing the generosity and bravery of Francis, he conceived he would not refuse⁴. All this was mere art, as appeared

⁹ P. Dan.
France. P. Daniel.

¹ Mariana. Dupleix.
² Memoires de Langei.

³ Annales de
⁴ Mariana.

by the emperor's causing copies of his harangue to be dispersed in Germany, of different tenors, according to the temper and dispositions of those they were to move^w. At the same time his partizans gave out that Francis had solicited the Turks to invade Hungary, and ascribed to French emissaries the fires that had happened in different parts of the empire, by which such a spirit was raised, that William du Bellay, lord of Langei, whom the king sent into Germany to negotiate, durst not appear in public^z. But in a little time, through the address of that minister, those schemes were dissipated, and, like all others of that kind, turned upon their authors, and proved highly prejudicial to the emperor's affairs, who really intended no more than to hinder his antagonist from levying troops in the empire, to ruin his credit with the German princes, and to facilitate his own enterprize^y.

In the course of these negotiations the emperor affected to make the king believe that he was very desirous of having the peace concluded and signed by the admiral, Philip Chabot, lord of Brion; whereas his view was only to prevent Francis from vesting Philip with the command of the army destined to make the conquest of Piedmont. The king at last perceived his drift, and sent the admiral with orders to reduce Piedmont, but not to commit any hostilities against the emperor. The admiral quickly became master of Turin, Fossan, and Coni; forced the duke of Savoy to shut himself up in Verceil, and would have made himself master also of that fortrefs, if he had not been awed by the emperor's army in that neighbourhood, commanded by Antonio de Leva^z. However, when the king received positive intelligence that the emperor's true design was to invade France with that numerous army of veteran troops, which he thought invincible, he ordered all his forces, a small number excepted, to leave Piedmont, and repass the mountains, declaring the marquis de Saluces, who had been bred up with him, and for whom he had a great affection, his lieutenant in Italy, directing him to put Turin, Fossan, and Coni, into the best posture of defence possible^a, and to distribute his troops amongst them. The marquis believing, from the posture of affairs, that the French would never more be able to enter Italy, went over to the emperor, betrayed Coni, and

The admiral Brion reduces a great part of Piedmont.

^w Antonio de Vera.

^z Memoires de Langei.
Gallogum.

^x Dupleix. Mez.

^y Chalons.

^a Arnoldi Ferroni de Rebus Gestis

would have given up the other places, but Montpefat, who commanded in Foffan, defended it fo gallantly, that he kept the enemy before it a month, and at laft obtained honourably conditions. Claude d'Annebaut had a good garrifon in Turin, and appeared fo little inclined to part with it, that the emperor, being afraid of lofing the feafon, contented himfelf with caufing it to be blocked up by a good corps of troops; and directing his march through the county of Nice, entered France in July, with an army of fifty thoufand men, the marquis del Vafco acting as general of foot, Ferdinand Gonzaga as general of the light horfe, and the duke of Alba at the head of the gens d'arms, Antonio de Leva having the chief command under the emperor^b. The king gave the command of his army to his favourite the marfhal of Montmorency, with inftructions to lay the whole country wafte from the Alps to Marseilles, and from the fea to the frontiers of Dauphiné; to encamp with his army under Avignon, covered by the Rhofne and the Durance; and not to hazard a battle upon any terms^c.

Charles invades France, befeiges Marseilles, and is forced to make a miserable retreat.

The emperor quickly found the effects of this difpofition: being extremely ftraiteded for provifions, his army diminished daily; and, after attempting to draw the marfhal out of his lines, and having brought his army before Arles, at length he befeiged Marseilles. While he was thus employed, the dauphin Francis died at Tournon, on the 12th of Auguft, of poifon, which was charged, by the perfon who adminiftered it, when he came to be executed, upon Ferdinand Gonzaga and Antonio de Leva; whence a great, though probably undeserved, blemifh was thrown upon the emperor's reputation^d. On the 25th of September, Charles raifed the fiege, after having loft more than half his army by ficknefs and skirmifhes. He was fo haraffed in his paffage, that he had not ten thoufand men in a condition to ferve when he entered Piedmont, where he found his affairs in a very bad fituation, Annebaut having forced his troops to raife the fiege of Turin, and having a good army in the field. The count de Naffau, who had entered Picardy from the Low Countries, had met with no better fortune; for the marquis de Fleuranges, afterwards marfhal de la Marck, defended Peronne fo obftinately, that after two affaults he was conftained to raife the fiege^e. Thus, by three places well

^b Antonio de Vera.
 riques de Camufat.

^e Belcarius.
 c Annales de France.

^d Melanges Hiftoriques de Camufat.
 P. Dan.

defended,

defended, the king weathered this storm, which it was believed would have overwhelmed him and his dominions; and the emperor lost Antonio de Leva, with many other brave captains, and, of both his armies, not less than forty thousand men: he felt this loss so sensibly, that, after a short stay in Piedmont, he went to Genoa, and embarked for Spain.

On the first report of the great preparations made by the emperor to invade France, James V. king of Scotland, assembled a considerable body of troops, and having embarked them on board his fleet, endeavoured to transport them to the opposite coast; and though this scheme was prevented by contrary winds, yet that monarch landed in person at Dieppe, and repaired to the French camp, where the king then was with the dauphin Henry. This was esteemed so generous an action, that, upon the Scotch king's demanding the princess Magdalen in marriage, Francis thought himself obliged in honour to grant it, though he was very apprehensive of its altering the good understanding between himself and Henry of England, which had been so beneficial to both crowns; and therefore he sent a minister to England, to obtain Henry's consent to the marriage of his nephew, or at least to excuse it; but the king was so angry, that he would not hear it mentioned^f. It took place, however, on the first day of the new year, and the king returned soon after with his new queen to Scotland, where she did not survive many months^g.

The success of the last campaign elevated Francis so much, that he acted the very same part Charles had done the year before in Italy. He ordered the emperor to be proceeded against before the parliament of Paris; and that assembly declared, that, by violating the treaty of Cambray, he had forfeited all title to the advantages derived therefrom, and that consequently the king entered into his ancient rights of sovereignty over the counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois. Upon this declaration, he was summoned, by sound of trumpet, by the name of Charles of Austria, vassal to the crown of France, to answer before that tribunal, where, being condemned of felony and contumacy, in taking up arms and not appearing, those counties were declared confiscated, and united to the crown^h. After this strange and useless parade, the king entered Artois with an army, where he took Hesdin, and some other places. Afterwards the Imperial army, under

A. D. 1536.

*James V.
king of
Scots, goes
to the as-
sistance of
Francis,
and mar-
ries his
daughter.*

*The king
causes
Charles to
be sum-
moned be-
fore the
parliament
of Paris.*

^f Duplex. Mez.
Ferr.

^g P. Dau.

^h Memoires de Langei.

the command of the count de Burenez, covered most of them, and besieged Terouenne, which was succoured by Claude d'Annebaut, who, in his retreat, was defeated and taken prisoner^l. The dauphin then marched with an army to relieve the place, but, by the interposition of the queen of France, and her sister Mary, governess of the Netherlands, a truce was concluded for that frontier, for a few months^k. This afforded the king leisure to fulfil, in some measure, the treaty he had made with Solyman, emperor of the Turks. He sent the dauphin and marshal Montmorency before him into Piedmont, who forced the pass of Suza, and relieved Turin. The king followed them; but, at the persuasion of the pope, consented, in the month of November, to a truce, during which both parties were to keep what was in their hands, which mortified the duke of Savoy extremely, who saw his subjects and his dominions suffer alike from his allies and from his enemies^l: but Solyman, who had made an irruption into Hungary, and sent a great fleet into the Mediterranean to join the French, was no less disappointed and provoked.

A.D. 1537.

Two interviews between the king and the emperor.

The king, to reward the services he had received from the marshal de Montmorency, who, since the death of the chancellor du Prat, was become his first minister, bestowed on him the constable's sword, that he might command his armies with greater dignity, and made Montejan and Annebaut marshals of France^m. One would have concluded from hence, that he intended to carry on the war with greater vigour than ever; but, by the persuasion of pope Paul III. he agreed to an interview with the emperor and that pontiff, at Nice, the only place the duke of Savoy had left, who was with great difficulty brought to this agreement. The emperor remained at Villa Franca, the pope at a monastery near Nice, and the king a quarter of a league from thence; so that the two princes did not see each other, but communicated their sentiments to the pope, who conferred with them alternatelyⁿ. The queen of France went to make her brother a visit by sea, which had like to have been fatal to them both; for a bridge made in haste being thrown from the shore to her galley, which was about fifty paces, and the emperor going to receive her as she came out of the vessel, the bridge gave way, and they fell both together into the sea, but were happily taken up without hurt. After all, the pope

^l Memoires de Martin.
^m J. de Serres.

^k Annales de France.
ⁿ Memoires Du Bellay.

^l Guich,

finding it impossible to adjust things so between the two monarchs as to establish a peace, contented himself with doing his own business effectually, by marrying Octavio Farnese to Margaret of Austria, and prolonging the truce between Charles and Francis for ten years, during which space the king was to keep that part of Piedmont which he had conquered, and the emperor, for his own security, retained the rest^o. These points being settled, the king returned, towards the end of June, into his own dominions, and the emperor embarked for Spain; but being driven on the coast of France, he sent one of the officers of his household to Avignon, where the king was, to let him know that he was very desirous of conferring with him. Francis, struck with this mark of civility and confidence, set out for Aigues Mortes, where he received and entertained the emperor on shore with great magnificence, and was in return feasted by him on board his galley, where they had a very long conference on the state of their affairs, and parted with great marks of esteem and cordiality^p on both sides; but it does not appear that they concluded any thing of importance, or that this singular interview had any other effect than that of alarming Henry VIII. of England, who could not be well pleased with a reconciliation between these two princes, more especially as it was brought about by the pope, whom he considered as his capital enemy. The king making his public entry into Leon, the crowd was so great, that the chancellor, Anthony du Bourg, who rode near him, according to the custom of those times, upon a mule, was thrown down and trampled to death. He was succeeded by William Poget, whose great abilities might have enabled him to discharge, with honour, that high trust which he acquired by his agreeable conversation; a circumstance that had rendered him very acceptable to the king his master^q.

A.D. 1535.

In the beginning of the year, a new treaty was concluded at Toledo, between the emperor and the king, of a very singular nature, since it imported no more than that neither party should enter into any engagement, or contract any marriage with England, without communicating it to the other^r. The truce for ten years was soon after confirmed. The dauphin Henry did homage to his father, in quality of duke of Bretagne. About this time the people of Ghent, conceiving themselves oppressed, and

Charles, on the revolt of the inhabitants of Ghent, passes through the kingdom of France into the Low Countries.

* Dupleix. Mez. p Memoires de Langei. Annales de France. q Mez. P. Daniel. r J. de Serres.

their

their privileges invaded by Mary queen of Hungary, sister to the emperor, and governess of the Low Countries, revolted, expelled the emperor's officers, and by a solemn deputation, demanded the redress of their grievances from Francis, as their lawful sovereign^s. This was the fairest opportunity that could have offered of resuming what he had lost by the treaty of Cambray: but the king, upon this occasion, laid aside the politician, rejected their proposals, and gave advice to the emperor of all that had happened. Charles found himself extremely embarrassed, notwithstanding the king's generous proceeding; for judging his own presence absolutely necessary to extinguish this unexpected flame, he knew not how to pass into the Low Countries with ease and safety. By sea he was apprehensive of the Turkish fleets, which rendered the passage dangerous; and the religious disturbances in Germany rendered his route that way equally difficult and disagreeable. The shortest way was through France; and, with the king's consent, he knew it would be safest. In order to procure this, he addressed himself to the bishop of Tarbes, the French minister at his own court, and to the constable, the king's prime minister and favourite, suggesting, that he was willing to grant the investiture of the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans, and hoped the king would not insist upon his entering into any treaties.

He avails himself of his superior policy.

This point was disputed in the king's council; the cardinal de Tournon insisted that the emperor should make his proposition in writing; but the constable Montmorency was against this demand: he said, that a promise in writing was not either more binding or more effectual than an unwritten promise, which, in a matter so concise, might be easily authenticated; and that the investiture being the return of a favour, the best way to secure it was to heighten the favour as much as possible in the manner of doing it. This opinion being most agreeable to the king's own temper, was accepted; and the dauphin and his brother the duke of Orleans were sent to meet the emperor at Bayonne, where they offered to remain hostages in Spain, till Charles was safely arrived in the Low Countries; but the emperor very politely refused it, and declared, that he would rely on his brother Francis's word^t. The king himself, though but just recovered from a dangerous fit of sickness, went to meet him as far as Chastelleraud.

A.D. 1539.

^s Antonio de Vera. Duplex.
France. Antonio de Vera. Fer.

^t Belcar. Annales de

All possible honours were paid him in his passage, and during his short stay at Paris. At his departure the king accompanied him as far as St. Quintin, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans attended him to Valenciennes^o. It was now thought good policy, and no breach of decorum, to desire an explicit promise from the emperor of the investiture, as the most solid proof of his friendship, and the surest means of establishing a lasting peace: but the emperor began by making a restriction, afterwards offered the Low Countries, with his daughter, to the duke of Orleans as an equivalent, and at length threw so many obstacles in the way, that the king found himself deceived. If the French writers are to be believed, it was not barely in this point; they allege, that the emperor gained such an ascendancy, by his address, over their monarch, that he drew from him all that had passed between him and Henry VIII; and, while he yet held him in hopes of the investiture, prevailed on him to send an embassy to Venice, to dissuade the republic from making a separate peace with the Turk, which having no effect; lessened his credit with the Italian princes, and ruined him for the present with Solyman^w, who imputed to ingratitude what was owing to incapacity.

This transaction had terrible consequences in respect to the court and the king's favourites. Francis, from the most easy, open, and generous man living, became angry, vindictive, and suspicious. The constable was the first victim: finding himself disgraced, he retired to the castle of Chantilly, where he resided during the remainder of this reign. The admiral, who was next in favour, was next also in disgrace. The king, one day out of humour, told him, that possibly some researches might be made into his conduct: the admiral told him, in return, that his conduct would bear any researches he could make. Francis caused him to be arrested, and sent prisoner to Melun^x. The chancellor Poget most unworthily undertook to be the instrument of the king's vengeance, picked out commissioners to enquire into his behaviour, and put himself at the head of them; and, partly by promises, but chiefly through menaces, prevailed upon them, in consequence of very equivocal proofs of his causing some duties to be levied as admiral, to which he had not a very clear right, to pronounce a sentence, by which he was deprived of his

The constable, admiral, and chancellor, are all disgraced.

^o J. de Serres. Dupleix. Du Til. Sandoval. Marian. ^w Mezeray. P. Daniel. ^x Memoires de Brant. Dupleix,

A D. 1540.

employments, and condemned to banishment. He had assured the king, that the admiral had been guilty of many flagrant, and some capital offences: when, therefore, he brought him this sentence, he laughed at it; and, having pardoned the admiral, sent for him again to court. The first time he appeared in his presence, the king said, "You see, my lord, it is not quite so safe to set me at defiance." "True, sire (returned the admiral, with his usual steadiness), but they did not find the slightest instance of my want of care or fidelity in your service." "No (replied the king) we will look into that." The process was referred to the parliament to examine, and they declared him entirely free from blame, on which he was restored to all his employments, a reparation which did not hinder his dying of chagrin^y. The chancellor met with a worse fate: the family of the admiral attacked his conduct, against which a multitude of informations were produced; and upon these, after four years imprisonment, he was condemned in parliament to lose his office, pay a fine of one hundred thousand livres, and to suffer five years imprisonment^z. He suffered the two first, but the last was remitted; and, being old and poor, he was forced to get his bread by giving opinions, for his knowlege was respected, while his person was despised.

The king's ministers to Venice, and the grand signor, are murdered in the Milanese.

All the king's old favourites being either dead or disgraced, the marshal d'Annebaut, who, without the title, executed the office of constable, came into the prime direction of affairs, William du Bellay, lord of Langei, succeeding him in the government of Piedmont^a. The principal object the king had in view was to prepare for a war; and in these preparations innumerable obstacles were to be overcome, the emperor's power being as great as ever, and the king's reputation much sunk with foreign powers. In the first place, it was thought expedient to make a treaty with Christian III. king of Denmark, and Gustavus king of Sweden, who had the strongest interest in opposing Charles^b. The king took the duke of Cleves next under his protection, whose title to Gueldres was questioned by the emperor, and whose alliance, by marrying his daughter with Henry VIII. of England, flattered Francis with the hopes of regaining that monarch, though

^y Serrès. Du Till. Mez. Chalons. Pr. Henault. Le Gerd.

^z Memoires de Langei. Estienne Pasquier Recherches de la France.

^a Annales de France. Mez. P. Dan. ^b Memoires de Lang. Belcar. Dupl. Du Til. Recueil des Traités par Leonard.

these

these proved vain. However, the alliance of this prince was thought of such consequence, that the king gave him in marriage Joan of Albret, heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, in order to widen the breach between him and the emperor, as well as to attach him more immediately to his own interests; but, the princess being but eleven years of age, the marriage was never consummated. In order to dissipate the suspicions which the emperor's emissaries had infused at Venice and Constantinople, the king sent Cæsar Fregosa and Antonio Rincon, first to the seigniory, and, when they had finished their negotiation with that republic, they were to proceed to the Porte. The marquis del Vasto, governor for the emperor of the duchy of Milan, and the countries depending upon it, having intelligence of their passage, and some hint also of their business, caused their vessel to be attacked by a party from the garrison of Pavia, and both the ministers were killed. Some who were with them escaped, and gave an account of the whole affair to M. de Langei, who commanded in Piedmont, and, as soon as the king was acquainted with it, he published it to all Europe, as a most flagrant insult upon the law of nations, as well as a direct breach of the truce. The governor of Milan, however, steadily disavowed the fact; the emperor disclaimed its being done by his orders; and the king, finding that no satisfaction was to be obtained in the way of negotiation, resolved to seek it by the sword.

A D. 1541.

In the spring of the year the crowns of France and Denmark declared war against the emperor, who, contrary to the pope's advice, had made a second expedition into Africa, in hopes of ruining Algiers, and, instead of that, had ruined his own fleet and army. At the beginning of summer the French army, consisting of about forty or fifty thousand men, commanded by the duke of Orleans, and under him by the duke of Guise, entered the duchy of Luxemburgh, took Damvilliers, and afterwards Yvoi, which was a place of strength; Arlon surrendered next, and then the army invested Luxemburgh, which, though strong and well fortified, and provided with a good garrison, surrendered in a few days; Viréton and Montmedi had the same fate; and, if the young prince could have been prevailed upon to follow the duke of Guise's advice, the whole country would have been reduced, as the duke of Cleves ravaged Brabant to the very

*The French
army ravages
Luxemburgh and
Brabant.*

gates of Louvain and Antwerp^c; but, on a sudden, he dismissed his army, and went to his father at Montpellier. Rene de Nassau, prince of Orange, recovered Luxemburgh, and some other places, and would have recovered all if it had not been for the duke of Guise, who defended Yvoi, and afterwards recovered Montmedi; while the prince of Orange, entering the duchy of Juliers, revenged upon that poor country the mischief which the duke of Cleves had done in Brabant. The dauphin's army, which was stronger than that of his brother, having with them

A.D. 1542. M. de Montpesat, marched into Roussillon, and besieged Perpignan^d. The king expected that the emperor would have marched to its relief with an army, and, in that case, he would have put himself at the head of his own troops, in order to have given him battle: but the duke of Alba saved him the trouble; he threw himself into the place with some bands of old Spanish foot, and finding the artillery, ammunition, and stores, that remained after the Algerine expedition, defended the place so well, that, after a siege of three months, the king having sent Annebaut, now admiral of France, and the count de St. Paul, to see how things stood, they advised him to desist from this enterprize; accordingly, towards the end of October, by the king's command, the siege was raised^e. The admiral then marched with part of the troops into Piedmont, where the French were this year on the defensive.

The emperor served by English auxiliaries.

In the beginning of the month of March the army of the duke of Cleves, commanded by Martin du Rossen, defeated the emperor's forces, under the command of the duke of Arscot, killed four thousand upon the spot, took five thousand prisoners, and all their baggage and artillery. This action hastened the king into the field, who marched towards Cambray, and having taken the little town of Landrecy, ordered it to be fortified, and left in it a good garrison. The duke of Orleans and the admiral Annebaut reduced the best part of the duchy of Luxemburgh; but, in the mean time, the duke of Cleves being oppressed with the whole weight of the emperor's force, found himself under the necessity of making the best terms he could, and was able to obtain no better, than that he should renounce his alliance with France, send back Joan of Al-

^c Haroëus in Annal. Brabant. Dupl. Annales de France, Du Tillet. ^d Belcar. J. de Serres. ^e Memoires de Brant, Memoires de Lang. P. Dan.

bret, and put part of his troops, under the command of his general before mentioned, into the emperor's service ^f. This was a severe blow to the French interest; but the alliance of Henry the Eighth with the emperor, which was the pure effect of the king's own imprudence, was a much greater, as it was immediately followed by the descent of ten thousand men in the Low Countries, which having joined the emperor's army, induced him to lay siege to Landrecy, though the king was yet in the field, and consequently in a condition to march to its relief. He had the good luck to relieve it twice by surprize, so that the emperor was forced to retire both from before this place and Guise, instead of marching to Paris, which he had threatened, after the junction of the English forces ^g.

Captain Paulin, one of the king's agents, found means to dissipate at the Porte the impressions which the emperor Solyman had received of king Francis; and the grand signior promised to send a fleet into the Mediterranean, in the proper season, on board which captain Paulin himself was to embark ^h. The French historians are very much embarrassed in speaking of the treaties between their monarch and the soltan, and inveigh bitterly against Charles the Fifth, for exposing the king at the dyet as being closely connected with infidels; nor are they less angry at the same monarch's taking care to let Solyman understand, that, by the help of a little condescension, he could have drawn this good ally of his, without receiving the least provocation from him, to have entered into an alliance for attacking, with all his forces, the Ottoman empire ⁱ. The truth is, Francis, if he could have gained the emperor, would have acted against the Turk; but, as he could not, he demanded the assistance of the Turk against the emperor, and received it. Solyman in person entered Hungary, and sent the famous Barbarossa, with a fleet of one hundred and thirty gallies, into the Mediterranean, where he put the city of Ostia, and all the sea-coast of the pope's territory, under terrible apprehensions, but without doing them any hurt, upon captain Paulin's declaring that they were under his master's protection ^k. In the beginning of July this fleet arrived on the coast of Provence, and were joined there by twenty-two French

The castle of Nice attacked by the French and Turkish fleets.

^f Belcar. Annales de France. Du Tillet, Le Gend. ^g Memoires de Langei, Hall. Hollinsb. Herb. Dupl. P. Dan. ^h Guichenon Hist. de Savoye, Serres, Mezeray. ⁱ Memoires de Montluc, Memoires de Langei, P. Dan. ^k Guich. Sleidan Commentar. Dupl. Mez.

gallies, commanded by Francis, count of Anguien, or Enghien, the son of Charles, and brother of Anthony, duke of Vendosme, and then sailed to the coast of Nice, where they reduced the city of that name, but were not able to take the castle, though they besieged it two months. Barbarossa shewed an equal contempt for the French fleet and its commander; the former was so ill equipped, that they were forced to borrow bullets, ammunition, and naval stores from the Turks; and the count being but in his twenty-third year, Barbarossa looked upon and treated him as a child; treatment which the count shewed his judgment in bearing, and soon after made it evident, that old men, and even great men, might be mistaken. After this unsuccessful expedition, the Turkish fleet came and wintered at Toulon, where Barbarossa is said to have exercised his trade of piracy, without paying much respect even to the French flag; and, in the spring, demanding the king's leave to depart, very readily received it¹. In Piedmont, after the departure of the Turkish and French gallies, the duke of Savoy and the marquis du Guast took Mandovi, and, in breach of their capitulation, cut to pieces a great part of the Swiss garrison, and plundered their baggage. Towards the close of the year Bouillieres, who commanded for the French, took St. Germain, and was on the point of taking Yvrée, which was a place of consequence; but finding himself superseded, and the command given to the count d'Anguien, upon his sending to him for an escort, Bouillieres marched to meet him with the whole army, and so abandoned the siege, rather than allow his successor to have the honour of taking the place^m.

The views of Francis and Charles in this war were very different; and those of the former, in comparison of the latter, might be styled insignificant. What he aimed at was the duchy of Milan, which, had he once acquired, he would have sat down contented; but Charles aimed at an ascendancy over all the powers of Europe, and to obtain this by the destruction of France. Francis took his measures but indifferently for the gaining his little end; whereas Charles took his measures so well, that he was very near carrying his point; so that it may be truly said, that Francis staked his kingdom against a duchy. At the dyet of Spire the emperor prevailed on the princes and states of Germany, Protestants as well as Papists, to declare the king an enemy to the empire, and to furnish him

¹ Belcar.

^m Guigh. Memoires de Langei, Belcar.

with

with an army of twenty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse, to carry on the war against him. At the same time he solicited the pope to declare him an enemy to Christendom, and the Swifs to relinquish their alliance: if he had succeeded in these points, the king would have been undone; as it was, he was very near itⁿ. Henry the Eighth agreed with the emperor to attack France on one side with fifty thousand men, while he, with a like number, entered it on the other, and, the two armies joining, were to march directly to Paris^o. Francis was not ignorant of this design; and yet, to gratify the ardour of the count of Anguien, who besieged Carignan, for the relieving of which the marquis du Guast was assembling a great army, consented that he should give him battle. He did this against the advice of his council, who represented, that the safety of France would be risked by that engagement; since he had with him the flower of the French troops, and the king was under the greatest necessity of employing them in another place. Yet, weighty as these arguments were, they urged them in vain; the young general had the king's consent, and on the 14th of April he fought the battle of Cerizolles, in which he gained a complete victory against a superior army, killed ten thousand men upon the spot, made three thousand prisoners, and took the enemy's artillery, ammunition, and baggage. If this victory had been improved, the whole duchy of Milan might have been easily conquered. It was not, indeed it could not be improved, for the king was obliged to recall the best part of the army to defend his frontiers, and even his capital. - What was in the power of the count d'Anguien he did; he took Carignan, Moncalles, St. Damien, Vigon, Pont Pierre, and, which was still more, he put it out of the power of the Imperialists to attempt the invasion of France on this side^p; the only signal advantage that arose from the victory.

Count William of Furstenberg, who had quitted the king's service upon some disgust, besieged Luxemburgh on behalf of the emperor, and took it in a fortnight. Commerci surrendered as soon as a breach was made. Ligny in Barrois was carried by assault, and then the emperor, with his army, invested St. Dizier, a place of no great strength, but which was defended by M. la Lende and

*The gallant
defence of
St. Dizier
ruins the
emperor's
army and
saves
France.*

ⁿ Sleid. Commentar. Dupl. Mez. P. Dan.
History of Henry VIII. Hall. Holinsh.
Luc, Mez. P. Dan.

^o Lord Herbert's
Memoires de Mont-

M. du Bueil, count de Sancerre, who preserved it for six weeks, and obtained a good capitulation at last⁹. Henry had landed at Calais in the month of May, but finding the emperor intent on taking towns, he followed his example, and invested Montreuil and Boulogne at the same time^r. If they had held to their first proposal, and had joined their two armies before Paris, which would have consisted of eighty thousand foot, and twenty-two thousand horse, Francis must have abandoned his capital, and all the country on this side the Loire; nay, if the emperor, after the taking of Luxemburgh, had marched to Paris, there was nothing to oppose him; for the king, depending upon the defence that fortrefs should have made, had not hastened the Swifs, so that it was the defence of St. Dizier that, in this critical conjuncture, saved France. As soon as this place was taken the emperor summoned Henry to march to Paris; but the king refused to stir till he had taken Boulogne and Montreuil^s. The emperor then advanced with his army, which was much reduced, so far into Champagne, that he was in great danger of being defeated by the dauphin, or reduced to great distress for want of provisions, if Epernai and Chateau Therrie, where the king's magazines were, had not been betrayed into his hands; and this event again threw the inhabitants of the city of Paris into such a consternation, that they fled on every side. But the emperor, instead of advancing towards that city, turned off to Soissons, and entered into a treaty, to which he invited Henry, who refused to treat at all^t.

In order to understand this transaction, we must observe, that the French court was divided into two factions; that of the dauphin, and that of his brother the duke of Orleans. The latter was his father's favourite, and the favourite also of Anne de Puiffleu, duchess of Estampes, the king's mistress, who had an inveterate hatred to Diana of Poitiers, the mistress of the dauphin. Charles the Fifth made that duchess believe that he had a great affection for the duke of Orleans, and was very desirous of seeing him married to his daughter. This pretended inclination the dauphin treated as mere artifice; and, believing the danger over, and himself in a condition to make the emperor repent his invasion, was not at all inclined to peace; of

⁹ Belcar. Arnoldi Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallorum, Annales de France, Dupl. ^r Herb. Hall. Holinsh. ^s Memoires de Langie. ^t Dupl. Du Till. P. Dan,

which the duchess seeing no hopes if the emperor was defeated, contrived things so as to let the king's magazines fall into his hands. This event brought on the treaty of Crepi, by which the emperor promised to give the duke of Orleans his own daughter, or his brother's daughter, and either the duchy of Milan or the Low Countries, with the counties of Burgundy and Charolois, and all the places taken since the treaty of Nice, were to be restored". The king was the more easily induced to sign this treaty, by the news of the loss of Boulogne, a place strong, well fortified, supplied with all things necessary, and which had a numerous garrison, commanded by Vervines, a young man, who, for his misconduct on this occasion, lost his head in the next reign. ^w As for Montreuil, which was old, ill fortified, and had but a small garrison, the marshal de Biez preserved it; for half the duke of Norfolk's army that besieged it being composed of the emperor's troops, who quitted him upon the signing the treaty, he was obliged to retire ^x. Henry returned to England as soon as Boulogne surrendered. The dauphin understanding that the breaches were not repaired, made a bold attempt, recovered the lower town, and, if his troops had not fallen to plundering the English baggage, would have actually carried the place.

A.D. 1544.

The dauphin was so much displeas'd with the peace of Crepi, that he protest'd against it privately, as did the parliament of Thoulouse, as contrary to the dignity and unalienable rights of the crown of France. Some remains of the ancient Vaudois being settled in the villages of Merindol and Cabrieres, the former under the jurisdiction of the legate of Avignon, and the latter in the king's territories, certain zealots, making an ill use of their power, fell upon the poor people, and cut the throats of about six thousand; for which barbarous deed some of the principal authors were deservedly punished in the succeeding reign ^y. The king being very desirous of recovering Boulogne, resolv'd to employ for that purpose the whole forces of his kingdom by sea and land. Having taken into his service a considerable number of ships from the Italian states, he appointed the admiral Annebaut commander in chief of this puissant navy, with a large number of land forces on board; but, before they sail'd, the king intended to give the ladies of his court a great feast on

*Francis
equips a
fleet to in-
vade Eng-
land.*

ⁿ Belcar. Leonard.

^w Memoires de Langie, Hall, & al.

^x Mezeray.

^y Dupl. P. Dan.

board the admiral, which carried a hundred guns; but, by some accident or other, in making preparations for this feast, the ship took fire, and, with most of the people on board her, perished². The admiral, notwithstanding this accident, sailed with his fleet, consisting of one hundred and twenty large ships, and twenty-five gallees: their design was to attack an English squadron which lay at Portsmouth, in which their gallees gave them a great advantage; but they found them so securely posted, that, after a little cannonading, they declined attacking them. They next landed three different corps to ravage the Isle of Wight, and held a council of war to deliberate whether they should fortify themselves there, which was at length determined in the negative. Leaving the Isle of Wight, they made some descents upon the coast, with little advantage, and then returned home². The land army, under the command of the marshal de Biez, was not more fortunate; he was ordered to build a large fort that might command the entry of the harbour of Boulogne: but he built it where it was of no use, and so small that it was forced to be pulled down. He forced, however, the lines of Oye, but did not prosecute this success with effect. The king, who had brought his son the duke of Orleans into Picardy, with an intent to be present at the siege of Boulogne, had the mortification to find the season so much advanced, and his army in so bad a condition, that it was impracticable. An epidemic distemper reigning at this time, the young prince was seized with it, and died on the 8th of September, not without great suspicion of poison, to the inexpressible grief of his father. The council of Trent was opened this year, to which the king sent ambassadors, who were received and treated with great respect; but this did not console him for the loss of his son, and his disappointments in the war, which had cost him immense sums of money, levied in such a manner as grievously distressed his subjects.

A.D. 1545.

*A peace
concluded
between
France
and Eng-
land.*

The two kings were, by this time, tired of the war, and with equal reason; it had answered the purposes of neither, and was a heavy burthen on both. Henry's health was declining, and Francis also felt himself daily decay: their subjects equally wished and needed a peace: but nevertheless, the overtures that had been hitherto made for the conclusion of it, had met with great difficulties. Francis insisted on the restitution of Boulogne, and that

² *Memoirs du Bell.*

² *Hall. Holinsh.*

the Scots should be included as his allies; but Henry would not listen to either of these conditions. At length expedients were found, with respect to the first, and Henry consented to the latter, with this qualification, that the Scots should give him no fresh provocations. The two admirals of France and England were the principal plenipotentiaries, and the peace was at length concluded, in the beginning of June, on terms which were hard enough upon Francis^a. He confirmed former treaties; recognized the validity of ancient obligations, which he promised to perform; contracted a new debt of eight hundred thousand crowns, for the restitution and fortification of Boulogne, which was to be discharged by annual payments in eight years, and the place to remain till that time in the hands of the English. Francis was as well pleased with this as with the treaty of Crepi; they were neither of them favourable or honourable, but they were both necessary. The king was very desirous to leave his dominions in safety and in peace: he was sensible of former miscarriages, and intended to repair them as far as was in his power. It was with this view that he visited his frontiers, and directed several fortresses to be repaired, especially on the side of Germany, because, under pretence of chastising the Protestants, the emperor was assembling a great army. When the admiral Annebaut demanded of him, after the death of the duke of Orleans, what his intentions were with regard to the duchy of Milan and the peace, he told him very roundly, that, as to the former, he looked upon himself to be under no obligation; and that he would observe the latter, unless he was provoked: which the king understood to be, when he found himself in a condition to break it with advantage. In this situation Francis might have availed himself, as his successors afterwards did, by a close alliance with the Protestants in Germany; but from this expedient, he was dissuaded by cardinal Tournon, who likewise prevailed upon him to revive religious persecutions in his own dominions, which rendered him unquiet at home, and ruined his reputation abroad; at the same time that it diverted him from what he had once designed, the reformation of the numerous abuses, that, through his own indolence, his frequent necessities, and the advice of bad ministers, had been introduced during his reign.

A.D. 1546.

^a Arnoldi Ferroni de Rebus Gestis Gallor. Belcar. Du Til. Stowe, & al.

*Death of
Henry VIII.
which is
quickly fol-
lowed by
that of
Francis.*

At the beginning of the ensuing year, being at St. Germain en Laye, he received the news of the death of Henry VIII. his grief for which, some writers say, was the cause of his own^b; for, notwithstanding their frequent quarrels, these two monarchs had a great affection for each other, as well as great resemblance, being nearly of a height, having the same air, the same tone of voice, and the same inclinations: Henry was, of the two, somewhat older. Francis had reckoned much upon his assistance, in case of being attacked by the emperor, and upon his death, altered his sentiments with regard to the Protestants in Germany, with whom he saw it absolutely necessary for him to unite: but, before he could proceed far in these or any other of his schemes, he found himself attacked by a slow fever, occasioned by a malady brought upon him by his pleasures. He sought relief from exercise and change of place, but in vain; and as he went from one country palace to another, he found himself so ill at Rambouillet, that he began to prepare for death, which he received with great composure of mind, advising his son to imitate him in his good qualities, if he had any, and to avoid his vices and foibles, which were but too numerous and too apparent^c. He recommended to him the admiral in very strong terms, and dissuaded him from recalling the constable. These injunctions had little effect; for they were forgot before he was well in his coffin. He deceased on the last day of March^d, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign, and, with all his faults, was universally regretted by his subjects (G). We need the less wonder at this when we reflect,

^b Memoires de Langie. Dupleix.
Gestis Gallor.

^c Ferroni de Rebus

^d Jacobi Thuani Histor. sui Temporis.

(G) This monarch was tall and tolerably well-shaped, had an high open forehead, brisk eyes, a long nose, a fine complexion, and black hair. He was very expert in his exercises, very brave, and took great pleasure in feats of arms. At the second marriage of Lewis XII. he gained great honour

in a tournament. At the beginning of his reign, in some diversions of this sort, Montgomery lord of Lorges, tossing a firebrand, it fell upon the king's head, by which he was so burnt, that he was forced to be shaved, and ever after wore his hair short, and his beard long. (1). In the battle of

(1) Memoires du Bellay. Dupleix.

reflect, that almost all men of letters in Europe received pensions from him.

HENRY

Pavia he slew with his own hand the last heir male of the famous Scanderbeg (2). He had great natural parts, as appears from several pieces of poetry of his composing, which are yet extant. At his meals, in his recreations, and at night, before he went to sleep, he had persons who read to him, and it was by these means that he gained so general an acquaintance with the sciences (3). He was magnificent in every thing, and not only introduced the belles lettres, but a taste for the fine arts. He built many royal palaces, such as Fontainebleau, St. Germain en Laye, Chambard, the castle of Madrid in the wood of Boulogne, and he laid the foundation of the Louvre (4). In the first part of his life he was profuse, but however it was in a noble way; his palaces were richly furnished; he had as fine jewels and finer pictures than most of the princes of his time. There was not an able officer, or an accomplished scholar, of whom he had any knowledge, but he either gave, or at least offered, him a pension. After he became infirm, he applied himself with more assiduity to his affairs, and grew so good an œconomist, that at the time of his death, he had disengaged his whole domain; had four hundred thousand

crowns in his coffers, and a quarter's revenue untouched, which his successor received (5). His first consort, Claude of France, died at the castle of Blois, July 20th, 1524, at the age of twenty-five (6). By her he had the dauphin Francis, who was poisoned at the age of nineteen; Henry, who succeeded him; and Charles duke of Orleans, who is said to have died as his elder brother did, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. He had also four princesses by the same queen, of whom Louisa and Charlotte died young; Magdalen married James V. of Scotland, with whom she lived only seven months; and Margaret, who, after his death, married Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy; she was styled the Pallas of France, and died at Turin, in the fifty-eighth year of her age, universally beloved, esteemed, and admired. By his second queen, Elcânora, sister to the emperor Charles V. and the widow of the famous Don Emmanuel king of Portugal, he had no issue. Amongst all the foibles of Francis, his love of women was the greatest: he was extremely smitten with Mary of England, the wife of his predecessor, and chancellor du Prat is said to have owed his fortune to the good advice he gave him, not

(2) Belcarius. Du Tillet. P. Daniel.
roni. Scip. Dupleix. (4) Dupleix. Mezeray.
moires de Brantome. Le Gendre.

(3) Arnoldi Fer-
(5) Me-
(6) Dupleix. Meze-
ray.

H E N R Y II.

*Henry II.
breaks
through all
his father's
injunctions.*

HENRY II. acceded to the throne the very day that he became twenty-nine years of age, with great expectations of the whole French nation: it is said that his father exhorted him in his last moments to consider the admiral Annebaut as one of his ablest and most faithful servants; to withdraw his confidence from the constable, whom he suspected of holding a correspondence with Charles V. and to keep a strict eye over the princes of the house of Lorraine^e. Henry, to gratify his own inclinations, or to shew that he was a king, broke every one of these injunctions. He disgraced Annebaut, and deprived him of his employments, without so much as assigning a cause; he recalled the constable immediately, and he took the duke of Guise and his children into his council^f. His coronation was celebrated at Rheims, on the 26th of July, where the six ancient peers were represented by six of the new, and the duke of Guise had precedence of the duke

^e Memoires du Bellay. P. Dan. ^f Thomæ Cormerii Alençonii Rerum Gestarum Henrici II. Regis Gallix, Libri quinque. Annales de France.

to suffer his passion to defeat his succession. In his youth he had a mistress whose name was Cureau, by whom he was thought to have been the father of Stephen Dolet, who suffered an infamous death for impiety. By another lady, whose name is not mentioned, he had a son, who took the name of Vilecouvin. His amour with Frances de Foix, countess of Chateaubriant, made a great noise. He had another gallantry which was equally fatal to himself and his mistress; she was a married woman, and the husband's resentment induced him to give her a disease, of which she di-

ed miserably, and the king, after languishing for many years, owed his death to the same cause. His last mistress was Anne de Pisseleu, who, at her coming to court, was styled mademoiselle d'Helli. She had a prodigious ascendancy over Francis, though he would have made the world believe that nothing criminal ever passed between them. She married John de Bretagne, who, for her sake, was created duke d'Estampes. Francis was buried with great pomp at St. Denis, and the bodies of his two sons were also interred with his, near that of their mother queen Claude (7).

(7) Memoires du Billay. Duplex. Du Tillet. P. Dan. Mezery. Memoires de Brantome. Le Gendre.

de Montpensier, as the elder peer, though the latter was of the blood ^z. This prince either delighted in change, or yielded implicitly to those who did. The duchess of Estampes, finding herself neglected and despised, retired to her castle in the country, and became a zealous Protestant; but Diana of Poitiers, the widow of Lewis de Breze, whom the king created duchess of Valentinois ^b, directed all at her will, and was the principal cause of so many changes. The chancellor was disgraced, though he could not be deprived, and the seals, in process of time, were given to John Bertrandi. The cardinal de Tournon was turned out of the council, to make way for the duke of Aumale, son to the duke of Guise. The two secretaries of state were dismissed, and many others ⁱ. The king, though he is represented as a good-natured prince, made some examples likewise. Edward du Biez, marshal of France, was not only disgraced, but, by a sentence pronounced upon him for his want of conduct, or rather for his want of success, in the late reign, was degraded from his office and imprisoned. His son-in-law Jaques de Couci, lord of Vervines, lost his head for surrendering Boulogne to the English, when the succours were almost in sight; but this sentence was not executed till two years after, the process being so long depending ^k.

The new king, after his coronation, made the tour of his frontiers, and, at his return, permitted a duel on a private quarrel, occasioned by their amours, between Guy Chabot, lord of Jarnac, and Francis de Vivonne, lord of Chasteneraye: the former was but just recovered from a fit of sickness; the latter was an active vigorous man, for whom the king had a great affection. The court was present, as was some time the custom on such occasions, when, contrary to all expectation, Vivonne was borne to the ground by Jarnac, and so much enraged at his disgrace, that, obstinately refusing to have his wounds dressed, he died in despair; at which event the king was so much troubled, that he is said to have made a vow never to permit any thing of this kind again ^l. The queen-dowager being desirous to retire into the dominions of her brother, the king made no difficulty of giving his consent, and, at the same time, settled to her satisfaction her join-

Permits a duel in his presence, and renews his alliance with the cantons.

^z Belcar. Memoires de Francis de Rabutin. ^h Thom. Corm. Hist. Duplex. ⁱ Jacob. Thuan. Du Tillet. ^k Memoires de Francois de Rabutin. P. Dan. ^l Annales de France. Jacob. Thuan.

ture, which consisted of the revenues of Touraine and Poitou. The ministers, apprehending that the residence of twelve cardinals at court might be prejudicial to their interests, and bring too many ecclesiastics into the council, the king, under colour of doing honour to pope Paul III. sent no less than seven of them to Rome, where they were directed to use all possible methods to promote the king's interest, and to thwart the views of the emperor^m. The delivery of the queen being expected towards the close of the year, the king directed his ambassadors to intreat the Swiss cantons, as a mark of their kindness and friendship, to assist, in quality of sponsors, at the baptism of his child; to which proposal they readily assented, and named ambassadors to give their attendance at this ceremony, which they did in the month of December, when the young princess, who was named Claude after her grandmother, was carried to church by one of the ambassadors. This step was intended to signify to the world the close conjunction there was between the crown of France and the Swiss cantons, and to make way for renewing the alliance upon such terms as were most convenient for the king's designs; a project which was also, though at some distance of time, brought aboutⁿ; only the cantons of Zurich and Berne absolutely refused to be included in this new alliance, on account of the great severities that were daily exercised in France against their brethren the Protestants.

Sends succour to the Scots, and, during his absence in Piedmont, an insurrection breaks out in Guienne.

The king, as a fresh mark of his favour, made Francis duke of Aumale a peer of France; and it was ascribed to the influence of that family, as well as to the politics of those times, that the king determined to send a fleet, with six thousand good troops on board, under the command of the lord d'Este, to the relief of the Scots. The queen-dowager was the daughter of the duke of Guise, and the sister of the duke of Aumale; she had vigorously promoted the views of France, in hindering the marriage of her infant daughter with king Edward of England, and had, by these means, embarked the nation in a war, which had brought them to the brink of ruin. The sending this succour, whatever it might do to the Scots, clearly answered the king's intention, as it enabled the French party in Scotland to execute what they had long intended, the sending over their queen Mary, a child of six years old, to be

^m Thom. Corm. Jacobi Thuan. P. Dan. Chron. Bernens. Serres.

ⁿ Stettler

educated

educated at the court of France °, a circumstance which lost her the love of her subjects, and was the true source of all her misfortunes. The king made another progress this summer through Piccardy, Champagne, Burgundy, Savoy, and at length passed into Piedmont. His design was to see that all his frontier places were in a good state of defence, his forces complete, and to give countenance to his friends in Italy, where he was very desirous of reviving his pretensions to several countries. Besides his jealousy of Charles V. now at the very summit of his greatness, his personal resentment was stronger against him than that of his father, on account of some ill usage he had received when he was a hostage at Madrid. In the course of this progress, he caused the marriage of the heiress of Navarre to be celebrated at Moulins, where Anthony duke of Vendosme espoused the princess Joan of Albret, whom Francis I. had given in marriage to the duke of Cleves, and who, through the terror of the emperor's arms, had been forced to send her back p. While the king was thus employed, and had his thoughts chiefly occupied with foreign affairs, there broke out, very unexpectedly, a kind of civil war at home. It first appeared at Saintonge, and in the Angoumois, but quickly spread itself through all Guienne, and was owing to the impatience of the people in regard to the salt-tax q; for salt being the natural product of their own country, and considered as the peculiar blessing of Providence, derived to them without labour, by the influence of the sun upon the sea, they thought the tax very oppressive; but it was the insolence of the officers which rendered it intolerable. In this revolt the clergy and nobility had little share; the grievance did not fall upon them, and the people, as is commonly the case, though their cause was in itself worthy of compassion, rendered themselves, by their conduct, inexcusable, committing the most horrid acts of barbarity, and treating as enemies all who declined taking their method of expressing their resentment. At length the flame of sedition caught the city of Bourdeaux, where, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken by the magistrates, and in spite of the remonstrances of the parliament, the populace first besieged the king's lieutenant M. de Monems, in the citadel, and, when they had drawn him forth upon the public faith, that all pos-

A. D. 1548.

° *Annales de France.* Hall, & al. p Jacobi Thuani. P. Dan. q *Thomæ Corm. Hist. Memoires de Francois de Rabut.* Dupl.

sible respect should be paid to his person, they massacred him and another gentleman, who attempted to defend him, in the streets^r. The king, at his return, ordered two corps of troops, one commanded by the constable, the other by the duke of Aumale, to reduce the revolted provinces to their duty. The duke took the higher road, and passing through Saintonge, with fair words, and making a very few examples, brought every thing into perfect order^s. The constable took his route by the sea-side; and though the city of Bourdeaux opened her gates, and sent deputies to meet him, he would not enter otherwise than by a breach made in their walls, posted his troops in all parts, as if the place had been taken by storm, with cannon pointed at the head of every street; and, after a short process, declared the citizens had forfeited all their privileges, which he caused to be burned. He seized their bells, as well as their records; declared all their privileges forfeited; hanged up one hundred substantial tradesmen; disarmed the rest; fined them in two hundred thousand livres; and finished the process by suspending the parliament from the exercise of their functions^t. Some say his resentment was sharpened on account of Monems, who was his near relation; and indeed there is some appearance of it, for he caused the town-house to be demolished, and a chapel to be erected over it, where a solemn service was to be said annually for the soul of the deceased; the magistrates, with a hundred of the principal inhabitants, were obliged to dig his body out of the grave with their nails, which was then carried in great pomp to the church of St. Andrew, and there interred, upwards of five thousand citizens attending the ceremony with torches. The king remitted a great part of these penalties; but the different conduct of his officers had a strange effect: the constable remained ever afterwards odious to the people; the family of Guise began from that moment to reign in their hearts. The king caused the edicts against the Protestants to be executed with the utmost severity; and erected a chamber on purpose, composed of members of the parliament of Paris, because he found the clergy too mild in the prosecution of heresy.

In the month of February, the king was blessed with another son, who had the name of Lewis, and the title of Orleans, bestowed on him^u. The astrologers, who were

^r Jacobi Thuan. Mem. de Francois de Rabutin. ^s J de Serres.
^t Dupl. ^u Annales de France. ^u Thom. Corm.

in those days in great vogue, promised mighty things on the behalf of this young prince; but, as he died under three years of age, they gained no great credit by these predictions. The factions in the court of England, and the popular insurrections in the country, inspired the king with the hopes of recovering Boulogne easily. He resolved to attack it by surprize, the nobility having secret orders to bring with them a great number of gens d'arms, when they came to attend the ceremony of the queen's coronation and public entry, which was fixed for the month of June. It was performed with great magnificence ^w; but the splendour of it was quickly clouded by proceedings of a different nature; for it was at this time that the lord of Ver vines suffered, and his head and quarters were placed on the French forts nearest to Boulogne. After this execution followed a solemn procession, which was closed by the burning of many Protestants. The king was himself present at this dreadful spectacle, which, however, shocked him to such a degree, that he could never forget it, but complained, as long as he lived, that, at certain times, it seemed before his eyes, and troubled his understanding ^x. About the beginning of August, all things being ready, and Strozzi, with the French fleet, having attacked the English near Guernsey, with some advantage, the French forces attacked and carried all the advanced posts of the English about Boulogne; notwithstanding which success, and the presence of the king, the constable, the dukes of Vendosme and Aumale, the place was so gallantly defended, that they were constrained to change the siege into a blockade ^y, after war had been proclaimed against England, as a sort of justification of this enterprize. At the close of the year died Margaret queen of Navarre, the king's aunt, whose engaging manners and great abilities had rendered her admired throughout Europe. She had shewn so much zeal for the new opinions, as occasioned their spreading in France, and, as far as she could, protected their professors.

The king proceeds severely against the protestants, and fails in his attempt on Boulogne.

A.D. 1549.

On the humble application of the people of Bourdeaux, the king restored them to his favour, and the parliament to its functions: they were likewise permitted, upon the payment of a sum of money, to withdraw their bells from the fortresses to which they had been carried, at the time that city was punished by the constable. The blockade of

Boulogne is yielded, and a peace concluded with England.

^w Belcar. Jacob. Thuani. Memoires de Francois de Rabutin. Dupleix. Du Till. ^x Mez. P. Dan. & al. ^y Annales de France.

Boulogne, which had continued all this time, alarmed the new government of England, where John Dudley, earl of Warwick, and afterwards duke of Northumberland, had supplanted the protector Somerset. This minister not knowing how to relieve it, at the same time that money was much wanted, a treaty was set on foot for the sale of it; to which proposal king Henry readily listened: the negociation was quickly concluded, by which it was agreed, that the place should be yielded to France, upon the payment of four hundred thousand crowns, one half on the day of restitution, and the other before the middle of August following: Scotland was included, where the English restored what they had taken, and the claims of both parties were reciprocally reserved in general terms, and hostages given on both sides for the due performance of articles^z. This was the most advantageous peace that France had hitherto made with England; the vast arrears that were due from that crown being, in effect, remitted, and those pensions, which looked so like tribute, for want of being mentioned, in effect extinguished. The earl of Warwick himself was so sensible of the disgrace his nation had suffered by this scandalous bargain, that he pretended to be sick, to avoid setting his hand to the ratification. A peace being proclaimed, to shew that a thorough understanding was restored between the two courts, it was agreed to exchange their orders. Accordingly the marshal de St. André, the king's favourite, was sent with that of St. Michael to king Edward, and the Garter was sent in return to Henry^a. Claude duke of Guise, and his brother John, cardinal of Lorraine, dying, Francis duke of Aumale assumed the title of duke of Guise, and his brethren, Charles and Lewis, both cardinals, were styled, the former of Lorraine, and the latter of Guise^b. An edict was made to restrain the extravagant remittances the clergy were obliged to make to Rome, and for correcting other abuses committed by the papal notaries, with which ordinance pope Julius III. of the house of Caraffa, who had succeeded Paul, was highly displeas'd^c. Charles de Cossé, count of Brisac, one of the gallantest and handsomest men in France, was sent to command in Piedmont, in the absence of the prince of Melfi, that he might be out of the sight of the duchess of Valentinois; and the prince dying soon after, he succeeded

^z Leonard. Du Til. Hayward's Life of Edward VI. P. Dan.

^a Dupl. Holinsh. ^b Jacob. Thuan. Memoires de François de Rabut. ^c Thom. Corm. Hist.

him in the government, and in the post of marshal of France ^d. The taxes were at this time so high, that the country people resorted in crowds to Paris to avoid them, by betaking themselves to trades; and the king published an edict to restrain additional buildings, being apprehensive the city should become too large. D.A. 1550.

All things were now in that order, which the king had so much wished, for resuming the old plan of foreign affairs ^e. The scheme of pope Paul III. had been to aggrandize his family. He had first given his natural son Peter Lewis Farnese the city of Camarino, with the title of duke, which he afterwards exchanged for Parma and Placentia. This son of the pope's was one of the most profligate men in the world, and had pushed his brutality such a length, that his subjects conspired against him and killed him: upon which Ferdinand Gonzagua, who governed for the emperor in the duchy of Milan, seized Placentia. This duke left behind him three sons, Alexander the eldest, on whom his grandfather had bestowed a hat; Octavio, the second son, had married the emperor's daughter, who, notwithstanding, would not restore to him Placentia, or even consent that he should keep Parma; Horatio, the third son, had the duchy of Castro, and the king had consented that he should marry his natural daughter Diana. The pope, in order to adjust things as well as he could, had formed a plan of accommodation, by which Octavio was to quit Parma, and consent that it should be united to the dominions of the holy see, a proposal which he refused in so peremptory a manner, that, upon reading his letter, the old pontiff fell into so high a passion, as brought on a fever, which carried him to his grave ^f. Julius III. had been chosen by the French faction, and the creatures of his predecessor, with whom he acted at first, but quickly entered into schemes for the emperor, and laboured to dispossess Octavio Farnese of Parma, as well as some other Italian princes, which persecution threw them into the arms of the king, who declared his resolution to protect them. The pope then became very angry, and, under pretence that Parma was a fief belonging to the church, and that Octavio Farnese was a rebel, declared war against him, and demanded the assistance of the emperor to reduce him: the king, who had all along

The king makes war on the pope and the emperor.

^d Jacobi Thuani. P. Dan. ^e Thom. Corm. Hist. Memoires de Francois. Boivin. Du Villars. Dupleix. ^f Lettre Originale au Recueil de M. Lamoignon. Commentar. de Statu Relig. et Reip.

determined to support him, sent proper orders to the marshal de Brisac, who, upon Gonzagua's besieging Parma, gave the duke such effectual succours as saved the place ^z.

He renders himself odious by calling in the Turks.

The war being carried on in the name of the pope, and the emperor acting as his auxiliary, Julius threatened the king with the censures of the church, more especially after the Turks entered into the war, and sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, where they threatened the island of Malta, ruined that of Gozo, and made descents upon Sicily. Charles the Fifth also made loud complaints, that, for granting succours to the holy see, the French king had committed hostilities against him, and, after the example of his father, had called in the Turks. Henry vindicated himself, by shewing that the emperor had given the Turks sufficient provocation; and many of the French writers still insist upon this argument, and treat the emperor's complaints as calumnies; whereas, in truth, their own excuses are trivial, and can make no impression upon any that are not disposed to believe any thing that can be alleged in favour of the French monarch; and what they urge as the strongest proof, that Henry did not call in the infidels to his assistance, because the French ambassador on board the Turkish fleet interposed with effect, in favour of the order of Malta, is the fullest and clearest testimony to the contrary; since, if the king had not been in close alliance with the Ottoman Porte, his ambassador would not have been there, or if he had, would not have been able to prescribe to a Turkish admiral. This diversion had all the consequences that were expected from it; the emperor would not support the pope as he intended, and Julius, whose complaisance for the emperor rose entirely from the high opinion of his power, as soon as he found himself mistaken in that particular, began to lay aside his rough language, and consider how to get out of a quarrel which had already exhausted his finances ^h.

Pope Julius sues for peace.

The king no sooner determined to enter into a war with the pope than he very wisely resolved to prevent his enemies from drawing supplies out of his dominions, and, for that reason, forbid by an edict the sending of money to Rome on any pretence, which was almost as great a blow to Julius as the military operations of marshal Brisac, who made war with infinitely more prudence, better discipline, and more success, than any of the French generals had

^z Sleidan Commentar. Jacobi Thuani. Du Tillet. Pr. Henault.

^h Thomæ Corm. Hist. Dupleix. Le Gendre.

formerly

formerly displayed in this part of the world^l. To qualify this conduct, and to shew that, though he was an enemy to the pope, he was as zealous as ever for the church of Rome, the king published at Chateaubriant, a flaming edict against the Protestants^k. The barony of Montmorency was erected into a duchy and peerage, in favour of the constable, who still continued at the head of affairs. In the month of October, he negociated, by the bishop of Bayonne, a league with the Protestant princes of the empire against Charles, by which it was stipulated, that the king should pay down two hundred and forty thousand crowns for the expences of the three first months of the war, and sixty thousand crowns towards the same expences every month after the war was declared, for restoring the liberties of Germany; neither party was to treat separately; and the king was to take into his possession, by way of security for the just performance of this alliance, Cambray, or the cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and to hold them with the title of vicar of the empire^l. Pope Julius, to shew his strong desire of peace, sent, towards the close of the year, a legate to Paris; and the king, who, during his quarrel, affected to support the rights of the Gallican church, not only obliged this legate to send his powers to be recognized by the parliament, but also to signify to that illustrious body in writing, that he was content to execute them according to the restrictions made by the parliament, and not otherwise^m. The reader will discern from hence, that, as the interests of the court dictated, the parliament or the pontiff prevailed.

At the very opening of the year, the king ratified his treaty with the German princes, and levied immense sums of money upon his subjects, by a variety of oppressive measures. Maurice elector of Saxony, and the rest of the allies, having received the stipulated subsidies, were quickly in motion, and pushed their enterprize with such vigour, that they were very near seizing the person of the emperor. As soon as Henry saw them embarked, the king gave orders for his army to advance towards the Rhine, which was one of the most numerous and best provided, that, to this time, France had set on foot. The queen was appointed regent in his absence; and to give some satisfac-

A.D. 1551.

The king seizes on Toul, Verdun, and Metz, which he annexes to his kingdom.

^l Belcar. Jacob. Thuan. Dupleix. P. Daniel. Chalons.
^k Thom. Corin. Hist. Pr. Henault. ^l Sleidan Commentar.
 Le Gend. ^m Lettres Originales au Recueil de M. Lamoignon. Mezeray.

tion to the people, the admiral Annebaut, who had been lately recalled to court, was directed to assist her. At the king's entrance into Lorraine he was met by the duchess-dowager, who was the emperor's niece, whom the king treated with great civility; but on his arrival at Nancy, he told her plainly, that, as it was a point of importance to have that country in the hands of a friend, he must endeavour to secure it for the future, by sending the young duke her son to be educated at Paris, and, for the present, by putting the administration into the hands of his uncle the count de Vaudemontⁿ. The cities of Toul and Verdun opened their gates; Metz made some scruple; but the constable took them so unprepared, that the citizens could not resist^o. The truth is, the princes of the house of Lorraine settled in France, that is, Francis duke of Guise, his brother Claude, to whom he had yielded the duchy of Aumale, and the two cardinals, one of whom was bishop of Verdun, forgetting the regard due to their family and to their country, promoted to their utmost the reduction of these places, by which the empire was deprived of its barrier, and the possession of Lorraine rendered thenceforward precarious.

The princes of the empire and the Swiss oblige him to desist from his enterprize.

The king next extended his conquests into Alsace, taking every thing that had an appearance of strength between Haguenau and Wissembourgh; he made also an attempt upon Strasburgh, that he might have the command of the Rhine; but in this he failed; for the inhabitants, reflecting on the fate of Metz, had formed a garrison of nine thousand men, and were not either to be cheated or threatened out of their liberties. The confederate princes also, being desirous to stop his farther progress, intreated him to be content, and not give occasion to his and their enemies to say, that the prince whom they styled the protector, was become the oppressor of the liberties of Germany. The Swiss, who were no less apprehensive of his entering their territories, sent deputies to make him a compliment of the like nature, which he received very graciously, and took a resolution to retire, as if it had been in compliance with their requests. This was a very high stroke of policy, and founded upon very different motives; he knew that the confederate princes were treating with the emperor; he had a proper sense of the advantages already gained, which he resolved to keep; and found it necessary

ⁿ Thom. Corm. Hist. Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident. Mémoires de Boivin.

^o Jacob. Thuan. P. Daniel.

to provide for the safety of his own dominions, Mary queen of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, having sent Martin Rossem into Champagne, where he committed most dreadful depredations ^p. The king made a turn, however, through the duchy of Luxemburgh, where he took Damvilliers, Ivoy, and Montmody, and furnished Robert de la Mark with a body of forces, with which he recovered Bouillon, that had been taken from his grandfather by the emperor, thirty-one years before. But through the fatigue he suffered in this expedition, the king was seized with a fever, which almost brought him to the grave at Sedan ^q.

In Italy the flame of war was stopped; the marshal de Brisac, though his army was far from being numerous, had seized the city of Sienna, and gained so many advantages, that the pope, who had concluded a truce with him for two years, inclined rather to his side; and the emperor very wisely taking advantage of his having hitherto acted only as an auxiliary, desired to be included in that truce, which left the family of Farnese in possession of the duchy of Parma ^r. He knew that, whenever the circumstances of things in Italy would permit, he might revive this quarrel; and, being at present attentive only to the recovery of what had been taken from the empire, he was very desirous of being secure on this side, where, with the assistance of the Turks, he was apprehensive the French might make the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Henry having carried his own point in Italy, readily consented to the truce, without consulting the interest of his infidel allies. The princes of the empire acted precisely from the same motives; they had obtained all they could desire by the treaty of Passau, and therefore made no scruple of leaving their troops at the disposition of the emperor, Albert of Brandenburg only excepted. Charles, with twelve thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and a numerous train of artillery, came before Metz, towards the end of October ^s. The place was large, and so poorly fortified, that he might reasonably have hoped it would make but little resistance. The duke of Guise threw himself into it with two princes of his house, three princes of the blood, fifty noblemen of the first rank, five hundred gentlemen of quality on horseback, with their followers, and five thousand of the best infantry in France.

Charles V. besieges Metz, but is forced to raise the siege with loss.

^p Jacob. Thuani. Dupleix. Mezeray. P. Daniel. Memoires de Brant. ^q Thom. Corm. Belcar. Le Gendre. ^r Stetler Chronic. Bernemf. Dupleix. ^s Sleidan Commentar.

While the siege lasted, Albert of Brandenburgh, having adjusted things with the emperor, surpris'd a good corps of troops, under the command of the duke d'Aumale, and put great part of them to the sword; so that the garrison of Metz was equally deprived of succour, and of the hopes of any diversion in their favour^t. The count de Roeux carried the war into Picardy, with all the circumstances of rage and fury imaginable, made himself master of Noyon, Roye, Nesle, Chauny, and burnt the royal palace of Folembray. The Parisians were so alarmed that they demanded the king's leave to fortify on the side of Picardy, which he gave them, provided they did it at their own expence^u. Thus the emperor had all the leisure and all the advantages he could desire in carrying on the siege. But the advanced season of the year, perpetual sallies from the place, the indefatigable attention of the duke of Guise, and his great military abilities, rendered all his attempts vain; so that, after lying before it two months, during which his army was lessened one third, he did not judge it expedient to proceed to an assault, though there were breaches on every side; but on the contrary, finding the diseases and distresses to which his army was exposed multiply every day, he was constrained to decamp^w. The duke of Guise might have destroyed great part of his forces in their retreat; but he generously caused them to be picked up in the roads and villages, and sent to the hospitals, being ashamed, after having defeated an imperial army, to stain the glory of his arms with the blood of diseased and dying men. The city of Metz, which has remained ever since in the hands of the French, has never recovered its former splendor; for, in order to his defence, the duke of Guise found himself obliged to demolish thirty convents and churches in and about the city, in some of which were the tombs of several of the kings of the Carolingian race, whose remains were, with the formality of a solemn procession, removed.

The emperor takes and razes Terouenne and Hesdin, and the king attempts the siege of Cambray in vain.

The relief of Metz was celebrated with all possible expressions of satisfaction and joy^x, which was very natural, but ought certainly to have been accompanied with a reasonable regard to what might happen in the succeeding campaign. The emperor had been repulsed with loss; but Charles the Fifth was not a prince capable of being

^t Thom. Corm. Hist. Jacob. Thuani. Letters du sieur de Salignac. Serres. ^u Hilarion de Coste. Memoires de Brant. Mezeray. ^w Jacob. Thuani. P. Daniel. Le Gend. ^x Du Tillet. P. Dan. Chalons. Pr. Henault.

discouraged,

discouraged by any disappointment. He used incredible diligence in recruiting his army, so that the next summer the count de Roeux invested Terouenne, with numerous forces; the place was strong, but very ill provided, and the garrison small. The French army was not able to take the field, though in the month of June; but Andrew Mantalabert, lord d'Esse, who had commanded with great reputation in Scotland, and who had saved France by the defence of Landrecy in the former reign, was ordered to throw himself into it with a handful of brave men. He defended it with that intrepidity which was expected from him; and sustained a storm of many hours, till at length he was killed in the breach *v*. Francis de Montmorency, son to the constable, next assumed the command; but being surpris'd at the operation of a mine, consented to treat. While the articles of capitulation were regulating, the German and Flemish soldiers surpris'd some weak posts, and, entering the town, put not only the garrison, but the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the sword. The Spaniards, with some difficulty, saved the principal officers; but the emperor carried his resentment so far, as to destroy the city to its very foundations, so that at present there are scarce any discernible marks of its ruins *z*. The count de Roeux being dead, the command of the imperial army fell to Cæsar Poncede Lalain, lord of Biencourt; but the emperor, believing it would be more for his advantage to have his army commanded by a person of superior rank, replaced him by Emanuel Philibert, prince of Piedmont. His first enterprize was the siege of Hesdin, where the marshal de la Mark commanded, who was son-in-law to Diana de Poitiers. Horatio Farnese, duke of Castro, the solemnization of whose marriage with the king's natural daughter, Diana had employed the French court, while the emperor was forcing their barrier, threw himself into this place, with fifty persons of quality; notwithstanding which reinforcement the prince of Piedmont conducted his enterprize with so much diligence and vigour, that the marshal was forced to capitulate. While they were treating, a priest throwing a grenade at random, it fell into a mine, by which the castle was blown up, and the duke of Castro, and many other persons of distinction, were buried in the ruins. The German troops, seeing this disorder, forced their passage into the town, and put the

v Annal. de France. Belcar. Strada de Bello Belgico. Dup.
z Jacob. Thuan. Dû Tillet. Mez. P. Daniel.

garrison to the sword. Henry was marching to the relief of the place, at the head of a complete army, consisting of ten thousand excellent cavalry, and fifty-four thousand foot, with a train of a hundred pieces of cannon; yet this mighty force performed nothing worth mentioning, except defeating a corps of Flemish cavalry, making the duke of Arscot, who commanded them, with about five hundred men, prisoners, and killing about six hundred more, amongst whom was the prince of Epinoy; for prince Philibert declined a battle, and prevented the siege of Cambray, a circumstance which so chagrined the constable that he fell sick, and the French army went into winter-quarters. The people murmured exceedingly, but without shaking the credit of the favourite ^a.

The war in Italy carried on between the king and the emperor.

The truce in Italy was broke almost as soon as concluded; for the emperor thought it practicable to recover Sienna, with the assistance of the duke of Tuscany, and the prince of Salerno persuaded the French that it was very possible for them to become masters of the kingdom of Naples. These designs reciprocally defeated each other; the Turkish fleet, commanded by the corsair Dragut and Sinan Basha, came time enough on the coasts of the kingdom of Naples to oblige the Imperialists to raise the siege of Sienna, but the prince of Salerno did not reach that fleet so early as to excite a revolt in Naples ^b. Monsieur de Termes, who had defended Sienna, made, with the assistance of the Turkish and French fleet, which had defeated that of Andrew Doria, an attempt on Corsica, and reduced the whole island, except Calvi; but, some difference arising between him and Dragut, the Turkish fleet retired, and the Genoese recovered all except Fiorenzo, and the south part of the island. The marshal de Brisac took several places in Piedmont, and introduced a new method of making war, which has been but little imitated. The peasants were exempted on both sides from injuries, and people passed through the seat of war about their business, with as much security as in time of full peace ^c. Edward the Sixth of England, being in a very declining condition, and the French ministers having intelligence of the emperor's views, Anthony de Noailles was sent over to assure the duke of Northumberland of the king's assistance, which served only to animate him to an enterprize, which had

^a Jacob. Thuan. *Strada de Bello Belgico.* Du Tillet. *Mez. P. Daniel.* ^b Jacob. Thuan. *Popeliniere.* *Memoires de Montluc.* Dupleix. P. Daniel. ^c Thom. Corm. *Hist. Chalons.* Le Gendre.

its conclusion on the scaffold^d. On the 12th of December this year, the duchess of Vendosme was delivered of Henry, first king of Navarre, and then of France.

Pope Julius thought it became him to endeavour at least to effectuate a peace. But the emperor insisted on very high terms, which king Henry thought it dishonourable for him so much as to hear; so that, instead of a treaty, the pope's propositions did not so much as produce a negociation. What chiefly raised the emperor's spirits so much, was the conclusion of the marriage between his son Philip and queen Mary of England, in spite of all the endeavours of France, as well as contrary to the inclinations of the English. This, however, did not hinder Henry from sending monsieur de Noailles, who had been employed to defeat her succession, to compliment queen Mary upon her marriage^e. Cardinal Pole, in his passage through France, employed his eloquence to soften things between both princes, but to little purpose, though the king testified great esteem for his person. The remembrance of what had passed the preceding year engaged Henry not only to guard against a surprize, but to labour all that was in his power to be in the field before the emperor; and having assembled, in different places, sixty thousand men, he entered the dominions of that prince with three different armies; the first commanded, under himself, by the constable, the second by the duke of Vendosme, and the third by the marshal de St. André^f. The constable, having deceived the emperor's generals, appeared unexpectedly before Marienburgh, a new town, to which queen Mary of Hungary had given her own name, and there he was joined by the other two armies; the place being but indifferently provided, the governor and officers were made prisoners of war. The king was so much pleased with his conquest, that he was resolved to keep it; and, with this view, not only placed a garrison there, but also, to facilitate the correspondence with his own territories, fortified Rocroi. In the beginning of July, the king took Bovines by assault; and the duke de Vendosme reduced Dinant.

Henry invades the Low Countries with three armies.

A.D. 1553.

The emperor having put himself at the head of his army, the king, who was very desirous of bringing him to a battle, wasted all the country, and rased Maubeuge,

^d Du Chesne. Holin.

^e Du Chesne. Godivini Annal.

^f Lettres du sieur de Salignac, Annales de France. Jacobi Thuanii. P. Daniel.

Charles, at the head of his army, was the worst in the action before Renty.

Bavay, Binch, and Mariemont; Binch was a village surmounted by a beautiful castle, and Mariemont a pleasant country palace of the queen before mentioned, which was the reason that the king burnt the one, and beat the other to pieces, as he likewise did the castle of Roeux, in resentment of the ravages committed by the queen's order, and particularly for demolishing his favourite palace of Folembray^z. A deep-rooted antipathy prevailed between Mary and Henry, which, after venting itself in songs and lampoons, that were indecent, produced at length these inhuman acts of violence. How much soever the emperor might be displeas'd at a war carried on in this manner, he could not be brought to fight with any advantage. The king, therefore, having wasted the country about Cambray, pass'd through the country of Artois, and, towards the end of July, invest-ed the castle of Renty, from whence the emperor's subjects had made frequent excursions into the country of Boulogne^h. Charles, who had under him Philibert duke of Savoy, and Ferdinand Gonzague, advanced to its relief, and encamped so close to the French army, that there was only a narrow valley between them. On the 13th of August, there happened a smart action, in which the king distinguished himself personally at the head of the Swiss, and the duke of Guise, who is the favourite hero of the French writers, gain'd a considerable advantageⁱ. The field of battle, strew'd with two thousand dead bodies, a considerable number of standards and colours, and a few pieces of cannon, were the proofs of this victory, which, it is said, might have been more complete, if the constable had been more lively in his motions. It seems he remembered the battle of Pavia, and, with a superior army in his front, and a strong garrison in his rear, was unwilling to run any risk. What offends the French still more, he prevail'd upon the king, a few days after, to raise the siege, and to retire before the emperor. But a better judge than they thought otherwise; for when a great lord went to visit the emperor Charles in his retreat, and told him that he had adorned his gallery with the pictures of his military exploits, and particularly his last, which was the flight of the French from Renty, Charles answer'd gravely and gently, "Then you must set your

^z Jacob. Thuan. Letters du sieur de Salignac. Belcar. P. Dan.

^h Memoires de Francois de Rabut. Serres. Mez.

ⁱ Thom. Corm. Hist. Memoires de Tavennes. P. Dan.

painter to correct it; for instead of a slight it was a gallant and soldier-like retreat, in day-light, and in good order^k." After this the army went into winter-quarters, having added some places to the French territories, and much to the security of the frontiers.

On the side of Italy a new scene opened. Cosmo de Medicis, duke of Tuscany, who had acted covertly as an auxiliary, or rather as a feudatory to the emperor, perceiving clearly that he ran as great hazard, without being able to reap so great advantage, as if he declared openly against the French, and exerted his whole force, first made a good bargain with the emperor, and then did what his interest would have prompted him to, if he had made no bargain at all. He set on foot a numerous army, the command of which he gave to the marquis de Marignan, who was desirous of being thought the duke's relation^l. The point he aimed at was to reduce Sienna, where Peter Strozzi commanded, an excellent officer, but unfortunate, because he was obstinate. The marquis besieged it in vain; he changed his siege into a blockade to as little purpose. Strozzi, leaving the command of the place to Montluc, marched with nine or ten thousand men into the duke's territories, and besieged Marciano. The marquis advanced to the relief of the place, and the situation of the armies was much the same as between the French and Imperialists at Renty^m. Want of water forced Strozzi to decamp: it was much against his will, and he sent a courier to Montluc, to demand his sentiments, whether it was best to retire by night or by day. Montluc, whose bravery was as little questioned as his abilities, answered, "That is best which is safest." But, notwithstanding this advice, Strozzi had his head so full of the point of honour, that he made his retreat before a superior army, in open day, and was thoroughly defeated with the loss of four thousand men, his baggage, and artillery. It was this misfortune that induced the constable to raise the siege of Renty. The marshal Strozzi preserved, however, Sienna for this yearⁿ. Monsieur de Termes kept his ground in Corsica, and the marshal de Brisac made himself master of Joree in four days. The French ambassador at Rome protested against the investiture which the pope gave to Philip of Austria of the kingdom of Naples. At the very

The French defeated in Italy, and Sienna besieged.

^k Anton. de Vera, Vie del Carlos V.
Memoires de Montluc. P. Dan.
Dupl. Mez.

ⁿ Annales de France,

^l Jacobi Thuani
^m Memoires Brant.

A.D. 1554.

close of the year, Metz was on the point of being surpris'd by a conspiracy, which was managed by the superior of the Cordeliers, and was discovered by the vigilance and penetration of the governor, who killed about twelve hundred of the garrison of Thionville, that was charg'd with the execution of this project^o, and had advanced into the neighbourhood of Metz with that view.

The campaign in Italy warm, and attended with variety of fortune.

The city of Sienna, the siege of which was continued through the winter, was defended with great courage and constancy by Montluc, who prevail'd upon the inhabitants to resist both force and famine, and to encounter a variety of deaths, from the sole hope of preserving their liberty. But the factions in the French councils hindered any relief from being sent to marshal Strozzi; for the queen, who had afterwards too much, had now so very little power, that she could not support her relation. At length, after a siege of eight months, Sienna was surrendered^d. Montluc was consult'd in the capitulation, by which the liberty of the city was preserv'd, under the protection of the emperor, and the garrison was permitted to march out: nevertheless, Montluc refus'd to sign the capitulation. The marquis de Marignan was surpris'd; but Montluc persist'd in his resolution: adding, that the republic had made a good capitulation, and he was willing to afford them the benefit of it, by quitting their city; but that he and his garrison would owe their safety to their swords, in case they should be attacked on their march. The marquis thought so good a defence excus'd this singularity of sentiment, and suffer'd Montluc to take his own way, who, at his return to France, received the king's order, which was then a great honour, and afterwards the staff of marshal of France^o. In Piedmont, the marshal de Brisac had meditated the relief of Sienna, with the small army that he commanded; but there was a faction against him too, so that the project he sent of this expedition to court was reject'd. However, being at liberty in his government, he contriv'd and executed the surprize of Casal, on Shrove Tuesday, when the officers of the imperial army were intent on the diversions that clos'd the carnival. Their general sav'd himself in the castle, but he was oblig'd to capitulate in a few days. The duke of Alba was sent to command in his room: he

• Annales de France. Belcar. P. Dan.
Montluc. Jacob. Thuani. Mez.
Popeliniere. Duplex.

‡ Memoires de
Thomæ Corm, Hist.

took some places by storm, where he put the Italian soldiers to the sword, and sent the French to the galleys; but, the duke of Aumale arriving with a considerable reinforcement, he received several severe checks, and the campaign ended, as it began, on this side, to the advantage of the French.

In the mean time cardinal Pole set on foot a new negotiation for peace, to which the king seemed to listen with great cordiality; but this, the French writers fairly own, was owing to his apprehension of seeing the English embarked, as they afterwards were, in the Spanish quarrel. The treaty, notwithstanding, came to nothing; for, though the coffers of both monarchs were exhausted, yet neither had any real desire of making peace. Henry resolved not to part with Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and yet he could not avow that resolution, for fear of provoking the princes and states of the empire. He seemed, therefore, willing to part with them, but then he peremptorily demanded the duchy of Milan, which the emperor refused, and, in as peremptory a manner demanded Burgundy; so that Pole, seeing his good designs defeated, suffered the conferences to end, without testifying any thing more than a deep concern for the obstinacy of both princes. The campaign in the Low Countries shewed that they were not more unwilling to make peace than unable to make war. The Imperialists intended to besiege Marienburgh, or at least to blockade it; but the French found means to relieve it; and therefore, as the last effort of his military genius, Charles directed the constructing two fortresses for the security of his dominions, which were Charlemont and Philipville. On the other hand, the French were able to do nothing, not even to prevent William of Nassau, prince of Orange, from ravaging Picardy, after cutting a great part of the militia of the province to pieces. Thus ended the great operations of the year; but there happened besides several other events, of which it is absolutely necessary that we should take some notice, in order to preserve a perspicuous connection between the past and succeeding parts of this history.

The emperor, Charles the Fifth, finding his faculties extremely exhausted, thought fit to resign his regal and hereditary dominions to his son, which he did gradually, and with all the circumstances of deliberation and dig-

* Du Chesne. Mez. P. Dan.
Mez. Chalons.

* Jacobi Thuan: Dup.

The resignation of the emperor, the death of the king of Navarre, and accession of Paul IV.

mity, which were conspicuous in the great actions of his life. This was far from being a matter of indifference to France, and yet the king could not publicly take any share in it. His ministers in Germany, however, used all their skill to prevent Ferdinand king of the Romans from resigning that dignity in favour of Philip, in which their endeavours were attended with success. The death of Henry d'Albret king of Navarre was another interesting circumstance; for the king, either of his own motive, or prompted by some of his ministers, had a strong inclination to take the poor remains of that kingdom from Anthony duke of Vendosme, who had married the heiress, and to give him an equivalent in the heart of the kingdom. But Anthony, having either some intelligence or some suspicion of it, made such haste into the principality of Bearn, as secured him peaceable possession, in which the king did not think it afterwards expedient to trouble him^t. But, as a mark of his resentment, he detached Languedoc from the duke's government of Guienne, and refused that of Picardy to his brother Lewis prince of Condé. On the death of pope Julius the Third succeeded Marcellus the Second, a man of exemplary virtue and rational piety. Pontiffs of this character are seldom long-lived: he possessed this dignity twenty-five days, and was succeeded in it by John Peter Caraffa, upwards of fourscore, who took the name of Paul the Fourth, and, laying aside that great shew of austerity and sanctity of manners by which he seemed to have merited the pontificate, assumed at once not only the state of a great prince, but of the prince of princes, which was the title he affected. He had two nephews, John and Charles: the former he made general of the forces of the church, and covered the head of the latter with a cardinal's hat. Pope Paul was scarce warm in his seat, before he entered into a negotiation with the king, for the recovery, as it was styled, but in effect for the partition, of the kingdom of Naples, which proposal was well received at court, through the interest of the princes of Lorraine, the cardinal aspiring to the popedom, and the duke of Guise having a vehement desire to be viceroy of Naples, having also, as heir to the house of Anjou, a sort of title to the kingdom itself^u. The better part of the council were against this project; but their opposition was of little weight. The constable, indeed, was

^t Thomæ Corm. Jacob. Thuan. Dupl. Till.

^u Pallav. Du

also against it, and might have opposed it with effect, but he contented himself with hinting at the bad consequences that might attend it, being willing to be quit of one who had so great a share as the duke of Guise evidently had in the king's favour. The cardinal of Lorraine, therefore, was sent to Rome, to put the last hand to this treaty, and directed to carry with him the cardinal de Tournon, who was but just returned from thence, who went, indeed, in obedience to the king's orders, but very plainly and honestly declared how much he disliked the commission, which did not hinder the treaty from being concluded in the month of December^w, though, for reasons of state-respecting both parties, it was kept extremely secret, in order to screen the pope from the emperor's immediate resentment, and to give time for engaging other allies.

A.D. 1556

The absence of the cardinal of Lorraine, left the king's ear more open to free council than it had been; and some deputies of his, having conferred with some of the emperor's about the exchange of prisoners, the latter demanded if they had no instructions to agree to a truce; of which the court being informed, and cardinal Pole renewing his instances at the same time, the constable took this opportunity of procuring such instructions^x. The pope, being acquainted with this circumstance, by the cardinal de Tournon, refined a little too far upon it; for, in confidence that neither the emperor nor his son the king of Spain, would leave Piedmont, part of Tuscany, and Corsica, in the hands of France, together with her conquests in the Low Countries, for any length of time, he dissembled his dislike of this proposition, and advised the king to accept the truce, which was accordingly concluded in the beginning of the month of February, at the abbey of Vaucelles, near Cambrai, the emperor being exceedingly desirous to leave his son in peace^y. The pope was greatly displeas'd, but not disconcerted by this transaction; he resolv'd immediately to send a cardinal legate to each of the monarchs, to congratulate them on the conclusion of the truce, and to exhort them, out of pity to their subjects, and charity to the rest of Christendom, to convert this truce into a solid and lasting peace. But the true intent of sending his nephew, cardinal Caraffa, to the court of France, was to prevail upon the king to break the truce, and to revive the war in Italy im-

A truce between the emperor and the king.

^w Mez. P. Dan. par Leonard.

^x Dupleix.

^y Recueil de Traités

mediately. According to the course of nature he had not long to live, and he was desirous of seeing the house of Caraffa on a level with that of Medicis, or, at least, with that of Farnese. In the management of this negociation, cardinal Caraffa found some difficulty, for the constable exclaimed warmly against the breach of the truce, as equally inconsistent with the kingdom's interest and the king's honour^z.

It is broke and the war renewed.

It was carried, notwithstanding, by the influence of the duke of Guise, supported by that of the queen, and, which was much more powerful, the solicitation of the duchess of Valentinois. The queen was desirous to see her cousin, marshal Strozzi, once more in command; and the duke of Aumale having married a daughter of the duchess, that lady was entirely devoted to the house of Lorraine^a. But the pope, to remove all obstacles, seized the king of Spain's minister, charging him with being privy to a conspiracy against his government, and even against his person, declared his master to have forfeited his right to the kingdom of Naples, and threatened both him and his father with excommunication^b. Upon these provocations, the duke of Alva had orders to enter the Ecclesiastical State; and the pope, in consequence of these orders, exclaimed that the truce was broke, therefore he had a right to demand the support of France. The marshals Strozzi and Montluc were sent to Rome, with some forces; marshal Brisac began hostilities in Piedmont, and the duke of Guise prepared to pass the mountains with a puissant army^c. In the mean time king Philip, by offering to restore Placentia, drew over the duke of Parma, and the rest of the princes of the house of Farnese, to his party; so that, though the pope had promised for all the powers in Italy, none would enter into the league, and none remained attached to France but the duke of Ferrara^d.

A.D. 1556.

The duke of Guise enters Italy, notwithstanding which the pope is reduced to make peace on the king of Spain's terms.

At the very opening of the year, the duke of Guise entered Italy with an army of twenty thousand men; and, by the king's command, conferred with marshal de Brisac, as to the conduct of the campaign. The marshal observed, that their master had two things in view, the relief of the pope, who was extremely pressed by the duke of Alva, and the recovery of the countries upon which he had a claim in Italy. He proposed the invasion of the duchy of

^z Du Tillet.

^c Memoires de Boivin.

Memoires de François.

^d Memoires de Montluc.

^b Duplex.

Milan, as a measure which would answer both ends, since it would oblige the duke of Alva to retire out of the Ecclesiastical State, and certainly put the king's forces in possession of the best part of that duchy*. The duke of Guise could not help approving of the scheme; but as it did not agree with his instructions, he desired that the marquis de Villars might be dispatched to court with the marshal's reasons, in order to receive the king's commands; but, before he proposed this advice, he had dispatched a courier to the cardinal his brother. The marquis, at his arrival, stated the marshal's proposition to the council, where it was so strenuously supported by the constable and the marshal de St. André, that the king could not help applauding it. In the evening, however, the cardinal of Lorraine, the queen, and the duchess, so importuned the king, that they obtained express orders to the duke of Guise to march directly to Rome, and sent back his courier with them in the night. The marquis de Villars being informed of this particular, in the morning, went to the king booted and spurred, desiring his dispatch, pursuant to the resolution taken in council, a circumstance which gave Henry infinite disquiet; but he made the best excuse he could, acknowledged the marshal de Brisac's capacity and zeal for his service, and sent him a small supply of money, which otherwise he would not have obtained†. When, in pursuance of these orders, the duke of Guise advanced into the papal territories, he was quickly convinced how ill he had taken his measures; and, after being deceived over and over by cardinal Carrassa, he was plainly told, that, the pope being unable to fulfil his treaty, he must act as well as he could. But, though pope Paul could not furnish troops to his ally, he was very desirous of assisting France by his intrigues: With this view, he set on foot a negotiation with the duke of Tuscany, for the marriage of his son with Elizabeth, king Henry's eldest daughter. Cosmo de Medicis received this proposition with great respect and complaisance, on which it was published at Rome that the marriage was concluded. King Philip, who knew the consequence of this alliance, offered the duke the cession of Sienna, and its territory, which was precisely what he desired, who thereupon, excused himself as to the marriage, owning he was highly honoured in the proposition, which, however, it was unfit for so little a prince to ac-

* Jacob. Thuan.

† Memoires de Boivin. P. Dan.

cept. Thus the houses of Medicis and Farnese acquired by this war all they could desire, without being exposed either to danger or expence, while the duke of Guise found it absolutely impossible to penetrate into the kingdom of Naples; and while things were in this situation, he received the news of the total defeat of the French army at St. Quintin, with express orders to return without delay^s. The pope was now left entirely at the mercy of king Philip, who treated him with such moderation in respect to his personal interests, with such deference in regard to his political capacity, and with such profound marks of respect for his dignity, by ordering the duke of Alva to go, in person, and make his submissions to the pontiff, that he gained him entirely, insomuch that he told the duke of Guise, at his audience of leave, that in this expedition he had done little for the king, less for the interests of the holy see, and nothing for his own reputation^h. The marshal de Brisac, on the side of Piedmont, acted with the same vigilance and vivacity in this as in former campaigns, and with like success; but as the king's jealousy had sent him to this distant command, so his weakness and condescension deprived France of all the advantages which, by his great courage and conduct, he had obtained.

England declares war, Spaniards invade Picardy, beat the French at St. Quintin.

The king, though he did not take the field this year, ran no small hazard of his life in his own palace; for one day as he was going to chapel, one Caboche, who had a small place in the secretary's office, drew his sword, and advancing hastily towards his majesty, cried out, "Stop king! I have a command from God to put you to death." But the Swiss guards seized and prevented him from executing his purpose; and afterwards, by judgment of the parliament, he was hangedⁱ. In the beginning of June, the queen of England sent a herald at arms to denounce war, having at the same time given orders for embarking twelve thousand men, which were to serve in conjunction with the troops of king Philip in the Low Countries^k. This declaration alarmed the French court exceedingly, as it was a step they did not at all expect. The war in Italy had so occupied their councils, and so exhausted the king's treasures, that there were but few forces in the garrisons

^s Jacob. Thuan. Serres.

^h Jacob. Thuan.

ⁱ Recueil

des choses mémorables Avenues en France depuis 1547, jusqu'au Commencement de 1594, pag. 53. imprimé a Heden, 1603, in 8°.

^k Belcar.

of Picardy, and scarce any in the field, when, in the month of July, the king of Spain's army assembled, by the march of troops on all sides, at Givet, where, when Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, came to take upon him the command, they consisted of thirteen thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot. In his march the duke seemed resolved to besiege first Marienburgh, and afterwards Rocroi; but on a sudden, turning aside in the beginning of the month of August, he invested St. Quintin, which at this time was the strongest place on the frontier of Picardy, but, having a very weak garrison, could not have made any great resistance. Gaspar de Coligni, admiral of France and governor of Picardy, with several persons of distinction, forced a passage into it, with five hundred horse, and two hundred foot, where he disposed every thing in the best manner he could for an obstinate defence^l. The constable, his uncle, had by this time drawn together an army of twenty-five thousand men, with which he resolved to throw a considerable body of infantry into the place. It was with this view that, on the 10th of August, which is regarded by the Roman church as the feast of St. Laurence, he passed the river Somme; and, having surpris'd the enemy, Dandelot, the admiral's brother, found means to get into the place with five hundred foot. It is agreed, by all historians, that if the constable had made his retreat immediately, after the succours entered, and before the duke of Savoy had recovered his surprize, which had obliged him to quit his own quarter to retire to that of count Egmont, he might have done it with safety; but he was so slow in his motions, and count Egmont pressed so hard upon his rear, that the persons who had the care of the artillery and baggage began to fly. This confusion was so well improved by that count, that at length the duke of Savoy came up, and charged with his whole army; so that in the space of half an hour the whole French army was routed, with the loss of three thousand six hundred killed, and at least as many taken, together with all the artillery, except two pieces of cannon, and the baggage entire^m. But what was still more disastrous, as well as more dishonourable to the nation, was the number of great persons slain and taken prisoners; amongst the former was the duke d'Anguien, the viscount de Turenne, with upwards of six hundred gentlemen of note; the constable himself, the dukes of

^l *Memoires de Tavannes.*^m *Annales de France.*

Montpenfier and Longueville, the marshal de St. André, with upwards of three hundred other persons of distinction were amongst the latter ⁿ.

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The constable is exceedingly blamed for attempting such a retreat against the express advice of the marshal de St. André, for not sending away the baggage and artillery in time, and for not posting some infantry with fire arms in his rear, who might have checked the enemy's cavalry, and saved the rest of the army. On the other hand, the duke of Savoy is as loudly blamed for not marching directly to Paris, which all agree he might have done; but a Spanish writer wisely asked, could he as easily have come back? Adding, that his father persuaded Charles the Fifth to his expedition into Provence, where, at their entrance, they eat pheasants, but fed upon roots, and were glad of them when they came back ^o. Be this as it will, the duke of Savoy thought the advantage that might accrue from ravaging the flat country was not equivalent to the reduction of St. Quintin, and some other places on the frontier, from whence excursions might be made at pleasure; and king Philip acquiescing in his reasons, the duke returned to his camp before the place, to which, soon after, the king resorted in person. The admiral Coligni ^p having in the mean time received some fresh succours, laboured with incredible diligence to repair and strengthen the place; on the other hand, the enemy changed their manner of attack, and proceeded by mining, till at length, all things being prepared, they renewed their firing, and, by the effects of their batteries and mines, having made five breaches, they prepared for a general assault, which, though he had no hopes of succour, and very little of repelling, the admiral resolved to sustain. This he did with incredible valour, till, through the cowardice of one officer, the Spaniards entered the place, of which circumstance Coligni being informed, he went with a very few persons of distinction who were about him, to try whether any thing could be done, but was presently surrounded and taken prisoner. The place was then forced on every side, and the greatest part of the garrison put to the sword ^q. Many have blamed the admiral for sacrificing so many brave men by his obstinacy; a very unjust reflection, considering that the best informed writers agree, that his obstinate defence saved France, and fairly own, that if but

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ⁿ Mezeray
^q Belcar.

^o Memoires de Montluc.

^p Du Tillet

a thousand men had passed the Oyse, all its inhabitants were ready to abandon Paris; but a delay of three weeks gave people time to recover their spirits and their senses. The king went thither in person; the duke of Nevers, and the rest of the great officers who had escaped from the battle, drew together the scattered remains of the army, which was reinforced on all sides; fifty persons of quality undertook to defend each of them a town, and the great cities of the kingdom vied with each other in sending sums of money to the king, without being so much as asked; so that Henry had reason to confess the truth of the last words which his father pronounced, "Remember, son, the French are the best people in the world:" but, after all, it is very difficult to know what turn things would have taken, if it had not been for the interposition of the Swiss; for, while the king, and all his ministers and generals were labouring to assemble such a force as might prevent the progress of the duke of Savoy, they were alarmed by an unexpected invasion, upon which, in all probability, the duke of Savoy depended for the plundering of Paris^r, after the reduction of St. Quintin. There was one Nicholas de Pollweiler, a gentleman of distinction in Alsace, who pretended to raise, upon his own credit, a body of troops to march into Hungary against the Turks; but when he had increased their numbers to about ten thousand men, he suddenly passed the Rhine at Strasburgh, and, notwithstanding the neutrality established for Franche Comté, penetrated as far as Bresse, intending to proceed to Lyons, where he had some intelligence. This affair threw the kingdom into such a consternation as must have disconcerted all Henry's designs, if the cantons of Bern, Friburgh, and Soleure, had not thrown garrisons into several places, and began to march such a numerous body of troops, that Pollweiler thought fit to abandon his design, and to march precipitately into Alsace^r. The duke of Savoy, with the Spanish army, reduced, in the month of September, Catelet, Ham, Noyon, and Chauni, and probably would have proceeded farther, if the English, disgusted with the haughtiness of the great lords in the army, had not insisted upon going home. A great body of German infantry mutinying for want of pay, not only disbanded, but went the greatest part of them into the French service; so that when the duke of Guise arrived, and had received the fourteen

*Progress of
the duke of
Savoy.*

^r Annales de France. Mez.

^r Annales de France.

thousand Swifs, which the king had raised with the free gifts of his subjects, he was in a condition to stop the the duke of Savoy's progress. That he might do it the more effectually, Henry bestowed upon him the title of lieutenant-general of his armies within and without the kingdom; and it was once proposed to have given him that of viceroy. Thus the miseries of France proved the source of the glory of the house of Guise¹. At the same time that the king heaped these favours upon the duke, he did not forget his father's caution not to raise the house of Lorraine too high, though he acted directly contrary to it, for he assured the constable that he acted merely from necessity; that he would never prejudice the authority of his office; that he retained the most sincere affection for his person, and would always pay the greatest respect to his advice; and in this particular, as it afterwards appeared, the king meant to keep his word².

*The duke
of Guise
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The duke of Guise, on the other hand, studied to augment his reputation, that he might at all times preserve his power, which was already as great as could be enjoyed by a subject: fortunately for him he discovered that admiral Coligni, being governor of Picardy, had formed a design of surprising Calais in the winter; had reduced the project to writing, and employed some of the most experienced officers who served under him, to canvass every circumstance of it with the greatest care. The duke of Guise having read this paper, and examined the officers who had been trusted with the secret, saw, that notwithstanding the great appearance of difficulty, there wanted in reality nothing but a little good conduct to make this enterprize succeed; and, as things then stood, the constable and admiral being both prisoners, he had all things in his own power. He began by ordering the privateers of Normandy and Bretagne to cruize in the channel, more especially in the very streights of Calais; he then detached the duke of Nevers, with a considerable army, towards the country of Luxemburgh; a motion which drew the attention of the Spaniards that way: when all things were ready, he procured an application from the people of Boulogne, for a body of troops to secure them against the incursions of the Spaniards; he sent a strong detachment at their request, which was followed by another, under colour of supporting them, then repaired thither in person, secure that his officers would follow his instructions; and thus, on the

¹ Du Tillet, P. Dan.

² Duplex.

First day of the new year, Calais was invested. He immediately attacked fort St. Agatha, which the garrison quitted, and retired into the fort of Nieulai, which, together with the Risbank, the besiegers attacked at the same time, granted good terms to the officer who commanded in the former, but obliged the garrison of the latter to surrender prisoners of war^u. By these means he opened a communication with the sea; and having received from on board the ships an immense quantity of hurdles, his infantry, by the help of them, passed the morasses that lie round the town. He then made a false attack at the water-gate, which drew the attention of the garrison, who fatigued themselves exceedingly in making entrenchments behind the breach; but when they had finished their work, he began to fire upon the castle, where the walls were very old, and had been neglected on account of the breadth of the ditch, which was also very deep when the tide was in; but a great breach being made, the duke caused it to be attacked in the night, and during the ebb, the soldiers passing almost up to the shoulders. The place was easily carried, though the governor made three vigorous attacks before the break of day, in order to dislodge them; but the French, though they lost a considerable number of men, kept their posts^w. The governor then saw that it was impracticable to defend the place any longer, and therefore made the best terms for himself that he could obtain, which, however, were not very good; and thus, in eight days, the duke of Guise recovered a fortress which cost the victorious Edward the Third a whole year's siege, and which had been now two hundred and ten years in the possession of the English, without so much as a single attempt to retake it. There are very different accounts given of this matter. Some English historians say, that king Philip penetrated the design of the French upon this fortress, gave notice of it in England, and offered to take the defence of it upon himself; but that this, out of jealousy, was refused, it being believed to be only an artifice to get a place of such consequence into his own hands. The truth of the matter seems to be this; the strength of Calais consisted in its situation and outworks, which required a very numerous garrison; but this being attended with a very large expence, the best part of the troops had been sent to join Philip's army, so that the governor had

^u *Annales de France.*
Duplex.

^w *Mémoires de François de Rabu-*

not above five hundred men, and there were not more than two hundred and fifty of the townsmen able to bear arms. As to ammunition, artillery, and provisions, the French found there abundance, but with so slender a garrison, that it was impossible to make a better defence, and therefore, when the lord Wentworth, who was governor, and whom the French call lord Dumfort, was tried by his peers for the loss of this place, he was acquitted ^x. The castle of Guisnes surrendered also, after a short, but very sharp siege, and the garrison in that of Hames, though the situation rendered it impregnable, abandoned it; so that, by the end of January, the English had nothing left of what for so long a time they had ^y possessed in France. The duke of Guise obliged all the English inhabitants to quit Calais, and bestowed the government of it upon des Termes, who was soon after made a marshal of France ^z, in consideration of his eminent services in Scotland and Italy.

The marriage of the dauphin with Mary queen of Scots.

The king, mean while held the states, as is generally said, or, as others style them, an assembly of the notables at Paris, in which the parliament entered as a distinct body, and took place between the nobles and the people. The king demanded from this assembly three millions of livres, which were very chearfully granted ^a. The states sat but a week, and, as soon as they separated, the king went with the dauphin to visit the frontiers, and made a kind of triumphant entry into Calais. The house, or, as it began to be now styled, the faction of Lorraine, was predominant; and, to secure their authority, as well as in some measure to perpetuate it, they pressed the marriage of the dauphin with queen Mary of Scotland, which was accordingly celebrated on the 24th of April ^b; but the Scotch ambassadors, who were sent over by the states to assist at the solemnity, having refused to acknowledge the dauphin for their sovereign, are said to have paid dear for it, four of them dying with strong suspicions of poison, which threw a shade on that marriage, and verified the constable's prediction, that it would be fatal to both nations. But the cardinal of Lorraine and the duke of Guise, who were uncles to the queen, fortified their interest by it for the present. They procured, not long after, the king's permission for the duchess-dowager of Lorraine to visit her son at Peronne; she brought with her the famous Gran-

^x Holinsh.
P. Dan.

^y Annales de France.
^a Belcar.

^b Thom. Cormer.

^z Mezeray.

velle, bishop of Arras, and the cardinal of Lorraine conducted thither the young prince. What the avowed motive of this interview might be, does not very clearly appear; but it is commonly and with great probability, supposed to have been the source of all the subsequent miseries of France^c. Granvelle informed the cardinal that Dandelot, the admiral's brother, and the constable's nephew, was a zealous Protestant. The cardinal communicated this intelligence to the king at his return, who did not believe it. He questioned him, however, about it publicly, as he attended him at dinner, and asked particularly what he thought of the sacrifice of the mass? He answered firmly, that he thought it an impiety. The king, going to throw a plate at him, hurt the dauphin who stepped in between them, and immediately sent Dandelot prisoner to the castle of Melun^d. The pope, when he heard of it, was very angry that the king did not cause him to be burnt. The king deprived him of his great office of colonel-general of the infantry, notwithstanding the great services he had performed, and bestowed it upon Montluc, who was attached to the duke of Guise^e. He attended that prince at the siege of Thionville, which, though a very strong place, was taken in seventeen days; but it cost the life of marshal Strozzi, whose baton was given to monsieur des Termes^f. Orders were sent to that officer to march with a small body of troops into the enemy's country, with an assurance that he should be supported by the duke of Guise. Monsieur des Termes executed this command with all possible spirit and success; he took Dunkirk and Bergue Saint Winok, and penetrated as far as Nieuport. Hearing nothing of the duke of Guise, he was obliged to retreat, followed by count Egmont, with a superior army, who forced him to a battle on the sands near Graveline, on the 12th of July, where, being exposed to the fire of ten English men of war, his troops were soon broke, about a third killed, another third taken prisoners, with himself and many persons of distinction^g. As for the rest, they were most of them knocked on the head by the peasants. The duke of Guise came in so good time with his army to cover the frontiers, that it highly raised his glory with the populace, though there wanted not those who suspected that marshal de Termes with his forces had been sacrificed with this view. Admiral Clinton, with a body of

^c Jacob. Thuan^d Belcarius.^e Duplex, P. Dan.^f Memoires de Montluc.^g Annales de France, Belcar.

six thousand English, made a descent in Bretagne, and became masters of the town of Conquet; but they were quickly forced to reimbarc by the duke d'Estampes, who, after throwing great garrisons into Brest and St. Maloes, marched towards them with fifteen thousand foot, and seven thousand horse.

The princes of the house of Lorraine quarrel with the dukes of Valentinois.

In Italy the French affairs declined extremely. All the importunities of marshal Brisac, to obtain supplies, were fruitless; and the cardinal of Lorraine, to justify his own conduct in this manner, reported that Brisac had raised a fortune to himself, by diverting the public money to his own use. The dukes of Valentinois upon this charge abandoned the marshal, for whom she had shewn so much esteem; and it was not without some difficulty that he obtained leave to come to court in order to vindicate himself, which he did so effectually, that he not only recovered his credit with the king, but grew also into his favour, a circumstance which did not contribute to make his circumstances easier in Piedmont, since those who hated him for his abilities were now become jealous of him as their rival^b. For these reasons it was never put in his power to avail himself of the diversions made by the Turkish fleet on the coasts of Naples and Sicily, which were afterwards victualled in Provence; so that they rendered the French exceedingly odious throughout Christendom, without doing them any service. At the close of the summer, Henry and Philip put themselves at the head of their respective armies, which were encamped very near each other, as if they intended to decide all their quarrels by a battle: but, on a sudden, things changed their face; for the princes of the house of Lorraine having taken the liberty to doubt whether a woman of seventy could pique herself on beauty without being ridiculous, the dukes of Valentinois, in her turn, took the freedom of laying before the king the miseries of his subjects, and advised him to make use of the constable to set on foot a negociation for peace^c. Philip gave that nobleman leave to go to the king's camp, where he was received by his master with all possible marks of esteem and tenderness. Yet a short truce was all that followed, Philip insisting peremptorily upon the restitution of Calais, as Henry did that Navarre should be restored to its sovereignty: in the mean time, Charles V. died, and Mary of England, events which rendered Philip less positive, and made way for the conferences of Chateau

^b Jacob Thuan.

^c Memoires de Rabutin.

Cambresis, where the English and Spanish plenipotentiaries differing, they treated apart^k. At length each concluded a separate peace, notwithstanding the dauphin, by the king's command, had assumed the arms of England, as if upon the death of queen Mary he had acquired a title to that crown, in right of his consort the queen of Scots; a circumstance useless to France, and fatal to her.

The princes of the house of Lorraine, sensible that their favour was rather on the decline, pressed the marriage which had been promised between the duke, chief of their house, and the king's second daughter the princess Claude, which was accordingly celebrated in the month of February^l, while the negociations for peace were yet depending. The duke of Guise and his brother, according to the maxims of their policy, affected to blame a treaty which was so visibly disadvantageous to France, since for Hames, Catalet, and St. Quintin, they rendered one hundred and ninety-eight fortified places to their enemies: but the constable had persuaded the king, that, in order to become truly puissant, he did not stand in need of any accession of territory, but of a kingdom, where the people lived more at ease, had their lands better cultivated, and were addicted to industry and traffick. At the same time that he introduced these new maxims, he prevailed upon the king to discard two old ones, which he convinced him had been the one ruinous, and the other scandalous to his predecessor; and so long as they continued to influence his councils, could not fail of producing the same effects: the first was the claim of the house of Orleans in Italy, which served only to exhaust the wealth and the force of the nation, and to exalt a number of new families in Italy to the rank and degree of princes; the other was the close alliance with the Turks, which had indeed made the French formidable, but had, however, made them hated by all the princes in Europe. These maxims once discarded, the quitting the places that were still in their hands in Italy was a thing natural, and, in some measure political, which ought to have qualified the seeming inequality of the places rendered by the king, in comparison of those given up to France by the peace. But the true equivalent for all these places was the preserving Calais and its dependencies, and the three imperial cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which were

Consequences of the peace, the marriages in the royal family, and unfortun-ate death of the king.

^k Memoires de l'Amiral de Coligni, Memoires de Rabutin.

^l Annales de France.

of infinitely more consequence to France than all that she relinquished, more especially when it is considered, that, by restoring his territories, the king had in view also the gaining the duke of Savoy, who was to marry the king's sister. At the beginning of June, that prince came with the duke of Alba and the prince of Orange, and a train of one hundred persons of quality, to receive the princess Elizabeth for king Philip, and the princess Margâret for himself. The first of these marriages being over^m, the king held a tournament, in which he himself, with the duke of Guise, the duke of Nemours, and the prince of Ferrara, were defendants; the first day he acquitted himself with great applause, as he likewise did on the second, which was the 30th of June; but in the evening he would break a lance with the count de Montgomery, the son of monsieur de Lorges, captain of his guards, who was esteemed one of the strongest, as well as one of the ablest knights in France; the count did all he could to avoid it, and the queen pressed the king not to enter the lists again; but he persisted in his first intention, and in this encounter Montgomery broke his lance in shivers up to his hand, one of the splinters of which (the king insisting that they should tilt with their vizors up) flew with great violence into his right eye, so that reeling from his horse, he was caught by the dauphin and some other persons of qualityⁿ. Some say that he lost all sense, and the power of speech, and that he never recovered either; others affirm that he forgave the count of Montgomery, and forbid his being questioned. His surgeons, on taking off the first dressing, had very little hopes of his recovery; the duke of Savoy, who foresaw the difficulties that would attend the restitution of his dominions, in case his marriage should be deferred till the king's death, caused it to be represented to him, and it was thereupon celebrated on the 9th of July^o, some say, in the king's chamber, others, in the church of Notre Dame: on the 10th the king died, in the forty-second year of his age^p, and in the thirteenth of his reign, exceedingly regretted by his subjects; for, with many faults, he had most of the qualities that endear a monarch in France; he was brave, liberal, and polite; and though not learned himself, yet had a great affection and esteem for learned men, more especially for poets. He died very unseasonably for France, since he was dis-

^m J. de Serres. P. Dan. ⁿ Memoires de Brant. ^o Belcar
Mez. ^p Thom. Cormer.

posed to have laid aside the princes of Lorraine, to have lessened the taxes, and to have concerted other means of giving ease and satisfaction to his subjects † (H).

At

† Jacob. Thuan. Dupleix. Le Gendre.

(H) This king, to whom the French writers have given the surname of *Belliqueux*, or *Warlike*, was indeed of a martial disposition, and fortunate enough in some of his expeditions. He was magnificent in his court, rather than in his buildings; he was not very nice in his dress, though it has been remarked, as an evidence of his finery, that he wore silk stockings. He had some tincture of learning, and was a patron to men of letters, more especially poets. He is blamed for suffering his court to sink into every kind of vice and luxury, under the specious titles of gallantry and politeness. He espoused Catherine de Medicis, daughter of Laurence, duke of Florence, born at Florence, April 13th, 1519, who, at the time of her marriage, was but fourteen. Having excellent parts, and a good education, she made it her principal study to sustain her personal charms by the affability of her behaviour. Yet she never made any great impression on the king's heart, nor had much share in the management of affairs during his reign, at which, though she was exceedingly chagrined, yet she knew how to dissemble it, and spent her time chiefly in the education of her children, whose tempers she diligently studied, and acquired over them an ascendancy which she preserved to

within a few years of her death. Though she did not begin to breed till ten years after her marriage, she bore ten children; Francis, dauphin and king of Scots, in right of his wife; Lewis, duke of Orleans, who died at two years of age; Charles, who succeeded his brother Francis; Alexander, whose name at his confirmation was changed to Henry, who succeeded Charles; and Hercules, who at confirmation assumed the name of Francis, and who was successively duke of Alençon, Brabant, and Anjou, a prince whose character may be easily collected from the appellations given him by his mother and his brother Henry. The queen always called him her *fils égaré*, that is, her *wrong-headed son*; and Henry never mentioned him by any other title than *ce scelerat, that villain*, and charged the king of Navarre, who was afterwards his successor, to put him to death, a task which was not in that monarch's nature to perform. Her daughters were also five: Elizabeth or Isabella, who was intended for Edward VI. of England, demanded for the infant Don Carlos, and at length married to his father Philip II. she died in childbed. Claude, who espoused Charles II. duke of Lorraine; she was the favourite daughter of the queen. Margaret, the first wife of Henry, king

The History of Francis II.

Accession of Francis II. and the settlement of the administration in the Guises.

AT the accession of Francis the Second, he was not quite sixteen years of age, weak in his constitution, and no way remarkable for the vigour of his capacity^a. His wife, Mary queen of Scots, was also very young, but had infinitely better parts, which had been cultivated with great care by her mother and by her uncles^b. In the eye of the law the king, however young or infirm, was of age, and at liberty to chuse his own council, those who in name were to govern under him; but who, in reality, were to govern both him and his kingdom. It was the ambition of enjoying this power, that excited those intrigues which gradually occasioned troubles that were of near seventy years continuance^c (A). The princes

^a J. de Serres. Mez. P. Dan. ^b Jacob. Thuan. ^c Memoires de Michel de Castelnau. Dupleix. Mez.

king of Navarre. Victoria and Joanna, twins, who died in their infancy. Besides these, the king had several natural children. By a Scotch lady, whose name was Fleming, he had Henry d'Angoulesme, grand prior of France, and governor of Provence. By Philippa, a native of Piedmont, he had Diana d'Angoulesme, who first espoused Horatio Farnese, and afterwards Francis de Montmorency. By madame de Sevigné he had Henry de Remy. By the duchess of Valentinois he had no children. The manner of this monarch's death was so extraordinary, that an opinion very strongly prevailed of its being foretold by Luke Gauric, a famous astrologer. As this fallacious art was the grand foible of that age, even the most judicious

of the French historians has given into this tale, and report that Catherine de Medicis having caused the king's horoscope to be judged by the astrologer before mentioned, he predicted that the king would be killed in a duel by a wound received in his eye, for which he was extremely derided, till the king's misfortune verified his prediction (1). His body was interred with his ancestors at St. Denis, the constable de Montmorency having this charge left to him by those who excluded him from any share in affairs of state.

(A) The house of Guise was equally numerous and great, the duke having five brothers and two sisters. The eldest of these, Mary, had espoused first, Lewis duke of Longueville; and next, James

(1) Popeliere, Brantome. Pr. Henault. Le Gendre. Thuan. Hist. P. Daniel. Mezeray.

princes of the blood, who thought they had a right, from custom and the constitution, to be consulted in the conduct

the Fifth, king of Scotland, whose dowager she then was, regent of that kingdom, and mother to the reigning queen of France. Louisa married Charles de Croy, prince of Chimay. The duke Francis was, in the opinion of all the writers of those times, one of the most accomplished men in France, gentle, modest, affable, liberal, an excellent officer, and a finished courtier. Ambition was his only vice, and it is imagined, that, if it had not been for his brother, he would have kept this within bounds. Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, archbishop of Rheims, was a man of great natural parts, assisted by an excellent education, and an indefatigable spirit: he spoke eloquently, and wrote admirably: but his ambition was yet more boundless than his capacity; he was haughty and enterprising in prosperity; and had but a small share of that fortitude which his brother possessed in a supreme degree. He was no enemy to reformation, if it might have been effected in his own way; and it was suspected would have brought in the confession of Augsburg, in order to govern, with the title of primate, the church of France. Claude, duke of Aumale, Lewis cardinal of Guise, the grand prior of France, and the marquis of Elbeuf, acted under their brothers, and rendered the family so much the more formidable by their ad-

hering closely to each other. The princes of the blood were all of the house of Bourbon. The head of it, Anthony, king of Navarre, was a mild good-natured honest man, indolent, and much given to women. His brother Lewis, prince of Condé, did not resemble him in the least, except in his passion for women. He was a little man, and had nothing striking, either in his person or manners: his fortune was very narrow, not above six thousand livres a year; but he was brave, active, enterprising, eloquent, and equally firm in council and in action. The duke of Montpensier was a gallant man, but a zealous papist, and strongly attached to the court. His brother, the prince of Roche Guion, followed his example, and never changed sides. The constable Anne de Montmorency, was very justly reputed the wisest man in France. He remained firm in the old religion, through the persuasions of his wife, who continually put him in mind that he was the first Christian baron. He had five sons, of whom Francis the eldest was marshal of France; Henry, who took the name of Danville, was marshal likewise, and afterwards constable. His other sons were likewise powerful. Gasper de Coligni, admiral of France, was nephew to the constable, and the great rival of the duke of Guise. He was a zealous protestant; one

duct of affairs, were excluded through jealousy of their great power, as if they were like to be less dangerous when offended, than when employed. The constable, his children, and nephews, who, from their credit in the last reign, constituted of themselves a party, met with the same treatment, the king declaring that he meant to confide the management of his affairs to the Guises, the duke having the direction of whatever regarded military affairs, and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine having the management of the finances, and the domestic œconomy. Though this disposition agreed with, it was not so much the effect of the king's choice, as a project formed by the two queens. The dowager was persuaded, if the princes were admitted into a share, they would soon possess themselves of the whole administration; and, looking upon it as their right, pay her nothing more than exterior respect; and as for the constable, she hated him and his whole family. On the other hand, the Guises sought her friendship, and being the uncles of the young queen, could not be easily disgraced. Besides, she wanted support, and therefore she insisted only on one condition, namely, their abandoning the duchess of Valentinois to her resentment. To this they subscribed, without regard either to gratitude or alliance, for the duke of Aumale, had married her daughter^d. The marshal St. Andre adhered to the Guises; he was a voluptuous man, immersed in debt, able to give a fair appearance to whatever measures he pursued.

When this step was taken, it rendered many others necessary. The king was instructed to recommend repose and a retired life to the constable, who thereupon repaired

^d Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan.

of the ablest statesmen and greatest captains of his time; though very unfortunate. His second brother Dandelot, colonel general of the infantry of France, was a man of a warmer temper, but not at all less steady. The third brother Odet, cardinal de Chatillon, and bishop of Beauvais, re-

ceived the hat at seventeen, which did not hinder his becoming a zealous protestant. He married towards the end of his life, and took the title of count de Beauvais. He was naturally indolent; but, being once embarked in business, became an able negotiator (1).

(1) Thuan. Davil. Thom. Comer. Castelnau. Vie de Cogni. Brantome.

*Assembly
of male-
contents at
Vendosme;
the corona-
tion and
the retreat
of the king
of Na-
varre.*

to his noble seat at Chantilly: his office of master of the household was taken from him, and given to the duke of Guise; but, to make him some small amends, his eldest son was declared marshal of France. The prince of Condé was sent into Flanders, with a ratification of the late peace, and the collar of the king's order to the king of Spain^e. In his absence the government of Picardy, which had been intended for him by the late king, was bestowed on the marshal Brisac, who, chagrined at the ill usage of his old friend, was amazed, but at the same time obliged by this act of justice, in those from whom he had never expected any. The seals being taken from Bertrandi, now become a cardinal, were restored to the chancellor Olivier, a step which raised the reputation of the new ministry; and some other promotions were made with the like view^f. The constable, as soon as the late king was wounded, had written to Anthony, king of Navarre, first prince of the blood, to press his coming to court. In pursuance of this advice, he was come as far as Vendosme, where he was met by the admiral Coligni, his two brothers Dandelot and the cardinal de Chatillon, with several other persons of great distinction, and at length joined by the prince of Condé, on his return from Flanders. There they deliberated on the state of affairs, and the ill usage they had met with; the prince Dandelot and some others were for having recourse to arms, under pretence that the king was in the hands of strangers; but his brother the king of Navarre, and the majority of that assembly, declared for milder measures^g. The king therefore was sent to court, where he was cajoled by the queen-mother, and but indifferently treated by the ministers, who shewed so little respect to his dignity, as a king and first prince of the blood, that, when he came to St. Germain en Laye, he might have remained in the streets, if the marshal de St. André, out of pure politeness, had not offered him his apartments in the castle^h. However, he and the prince of Condé both assisted at the king's coronation on the 18th of September, at Rheims, which was performed by the cardinal of Lorraine, archbishop of that seeⁱ. After this ceremony, the king of Navarre was invited to council, where a letter was read from the king of Spain, importing, that he had intelligence of some discontents in

^e Memoires de Michel de Castelnau.^f Dupleix.^g Memoires de Boivin. Mezeray.^h Serres. Dupleix.ⁱ Belcar.

the kingdom, and offering whatever assistance could be desired for the support of the young king's authority. The queen-mother, perceiving that this wrought upon the king of Navarre, desired that he would conduct her daughter, the princess Elizabeth, to the frontiers of Spain; a charge which would afford him an opportunity of entering into a negotiation for the recovery of his dominions, in which she promised him all the assistance in her power^k. Anthony accepted this commission; and meeting with the duke of Alva on the frontiers, was so charmed with fair words and delusive promises, that he retired into Bearn, and quitted the party of the malecontents.

Popular edicts; the erecting of the Chambrés Ardentés; the execution of the count de Bourg.

The court seemed now so well settled, that they had nothing to fear; which consideration, however, did not hinder them from concerting and carrying into execution every measure possible for their security; but, though this was the real view, they took care to conceal it, and to frame the edicts published in the king's name in such a manner, that they appeared to be calculated solely for the public good. They forbid the carrying of fire arms, or wearing such dresses as might conceal them, to prevent mischief and murder in the streets. They resumed lands alienated from the royal domain; they obliged all who had two or more places, to make choice of one, and to quit the rest. By these methods they provided for their own security, and for their own creatures. They likewise made a promotion of eighteen knights of the order at once, which, though it gratified many, exposed that honour, to which the first subjects had hitherto eagerly aspired, to a degree of contempt, from which it never recovered^l. But when, by these other arts, they had thoroughly established themselves, and procured a general submission, they began to discover another kind of spirit, which at once augmented the number of their enemies, and furnished with matter of complaint multitudes, especially of military persons out of employment, most of which repaired to court, some to solicit their arrears, and others to obtain relief. The cardinal of Lorraine, vexed with their applications, and not knowing how to content them, published an edict, by which they were commanded to retire in a very short space, on pain of being hanged without process. The king going for his health to Blois, they persuaded him, that, to tread in the same path, and fulfil the will of his deceased father, he should,

A.D. 1559.

^k Davila.

^l Memoires de Castelnau. Mez.

by an edict, add a chamber to each of the parliaments in the kingdom for the prosecution of heretics; and from the fury with which they proceeded, and the punishment to which they condemned those who were convicted before them, they were stiled *Chambres Ardentes*, that is, *Burning Chambers*^m. At Paris, the president Minard, who was remarkably violent, being killed in the streets, this murder was revenged upon Anne du Bourg, nephew to the chancellor of the same name, counsellor of the parliament of Paris, a man of invincible firmness and incorruptible probity, who had been condemned in the late reign for his religion, and was now hanged and burnt on the 19th of December, at the common place of execution, where he behaved with an intrepidityⁿ worthy of his own reputation, and of the cause of truth in which he suffered.

In consequence of these acts of violence a new spirit began to manifest itself throughout the kingdom; those who had embraced the reformed religion, and were very numerous, saw that it was absolutely impossible for them to serve God in the way which they thought was most acceptable to him, without exposing themselves to imprisonment, tortures, and death. The more considerate Catholics, amongst whom were some prelates and many of the clergy, disapproved this furious conduct, and testified an inclination to conciliate mens minds by a just and reasonable reformation, under legal authority; the scandalous ignorance, and more scandalous vices of most of those ecclesiastics who drove on these furious measures, discrediting their cause, much more than the authority of the court could advance it. The admiral and his brothers were avowed Protestants; the king of Navarre, and his brother the prince of Condé, were inclined to the reformed religion. In the first general assembly held at Nantes, at which were present one hundred and fifty deputies from the reformed in all the different provinces, it was resolved to take the only measure left for their own defence, that of putting themselves in arms, with which view the prince of Condé was chosen *chef muet*, that is, *the silent or concealed chief*, and John du Barri, seigneur de la Renaudie, *chef visible*, or *the acting and avowed head of the Protestants*^o. This gentleman is on all hands allowed to have been a person of great parts and most determined re-

The assemblies of the Protestants.

^m Jacob. Thuan.
France.

ⁿ P. Daniel.

^o Annales de

solution; but is reported to have been guilty of some irregularities in his youth, which might have been fatal to him, but for the favour of the duke of Guise. Subordinate chiefs were likewise chosen to direct the intended armament in different provinces. Renaudie was sent over to England to solicit the countenance and pecuniary assistance of queen Elizabeth, in which solicitation his views were farthered by the imprudent conduct, or rather by the exorbitant ambition of the house of Guise, who, not content with the absolute direction of the two kingdoms of France and Scotland, aspiring to the like dominion over England, kept up the claim of their niece to that crown, and endeavoured to suppress the reformed in Scotland; so that Elizabeth, for her own security, resolved to assist both the Scotch and the French malcontents^p. The reformed in this kingdom, being once apprized of her sentiments, and those of the German princes in another assembly, resolved to surprize the court at Blois, to secure the persons of the king and of the Guises, or rather to rid themselves of the latter, to oblige the king to declare the prince of Condé lieutenant-general of the realm, and, in short, to change the whole face of affairs^q. They fixed the 15th of March for this enterprize, for the execution of which, their forces were to defile, with all possible secrecy, in small numbers, under chiefs already appointed from every quarter. It was conducted with such profound secrecy, that the court had not the least intelligence of it, till Renaudie, having communicated the whole of it to Peter Annelles, an advocate of Paris, with whom he lodged, this man, either through fear or from some other motive, gave intelligence of it to the court^r, where at first the thing appeared so amazing, that it was scarce credited; but upon closer enquiry it was thought requisite to lose no time in providing for the king's security and their own; for this purpose, the duke of Guise was confirmed in his post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the court removed from the castle of Amboise. Of this removal the conspirators were apprized^s; but, finding themselves so far advanced, resolved to proceed, more especially as the prince of Condé was actually with the king, and there were also many other persons about the court, of whose good intentions towards them they had, or persuaded themselves they had,

^p Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth. Belcar. P. Daniel.
^q Duplex. ^r Mezeray. ^s Serres. Le Gendre.

reason to be assured. Thus both sides seemed to agree to put the king to a trial, in a manner that must of necessity throw the whole realm into convulsions.

It was foreseen by the duke of Guise, that respect to the king's name and the influence of his own authority, would enable him to assemble troops enough to disappoint those who were embarked in this attack; and, by his great resolution, joined to his indefatigable diligence, and his superior skill in military affairs, it ended as he imagined it would. The count de Sancerre defeated the troops from Bearn; the duke de Nemours surprized the baron de Castelneau; and made him prisoner, with the greatest part of his officers; Pardaillan fell upon Renaudie in a wood; defeated the troops that still remained with him, and, in a personal engagement, ran him twice through the body; his page also shot him with a harquebuss, notwithstanding which that desperate man killed the page. His body was exposed upon a gibbet, and afterwards quartered; three of the chiefs who surrendered were tortured and put to death in the presence of the queen-dowager and of all the ladies of her court. One of them, whose name was Villemonge, having first washed his hands in the blood of one of his companions, held them up to Heaven, and cried out, "Lord, revenge our cause." Upwards of twelve hundred were beheaded, hanged, or drowned in the river; the streets of Amboise literally swam with blood. The good old chancellor Olivier, after having laboured all he could to recommend milder measures, died of regret and horror, at sight of cruelties which it was not in his power to prevent. La Bigne, secretary to la Renaudie, was grievously tortured, in order to oblige him to accuse the prince of Condé, who was confined; but all that could be drawn from him was, that he had heard it reported that the prince favoured their enterprize. The prince being admitted to speak for himself before the council, made his defence with great intrepidity and eloquence, closing his speech with observing, that, as there were only suspicions and insinuations against him, he could only offer to maintain his innocence with his sword, against any who should question it. The duke of Guise, observing the impression which his discourse had made on all the assembly, rose up, and professing a belief of what the prince had said, offered to be his

Conspiracy of Amboise defeated; cruelties thereupon, and narrow escape of the prince of Condé.

* L'Histoire du Tumulte d'Amboise.

second". This declaration was only the effect of a resolution taken to dissemble what they knew, in order to prevent the prince from putting himself immediately and openly at the head of the protestants, in case they spared his life, or of provoking the king of Navarre, with the constable, the admiral, and his brothers, to take the like step, if they put the prince of Condé to death. He very well understood their meaning; so that, notwithstanding the feigned reconciliation which followed upon the compliment paid him by the duke of Guise, he was no sooner at liberty than he retired into Bearn to his brother^w.

It required no great penetration to foresee that what had passed might, instead of appeasing, excite fresh troubles; and therefore art was to achieve what had been begun by force: a relation of what had passed at Amboise was transmitted to the constable, with the king's express orders to communicate it to the parliament of Paris, which he did, with great compliments to the duke of Guise; but he took the liberty of dropping the most material part of the relation, which was, that the conspiracy reached the king's person, because he knew it was not true. The parliament complimented the court, and particularly the duke of Guise, to whom they gave the founding title of Preserver of his Country^x. Pieces of the same kind were transmitted to all parts of the kingdom, and the king wrote particularly to the two princes in Navarre, and to admiral Coligni in Normandy, to dispel any insurrections, and to keep things quiet. The queen-mother wrote to the latter, pressing him exceedingly to perform what the king expected, and to give her his advice on the present state of affairs, which he offered with great freedom. He told her, that, to restore the public tranquillity, two things were necessary; to remove the house of Guise, and to allow liberty of conscience; after which steps, if she assumed the government entirely into her own hands, her prudence would teach her to preserve the peace which she had restored^y. Catherine saw it was impossible to take this advice, as things then stood; but, however, she did not dislike it. Michael de l'Hospital, the son of the constable de Bourbon's physician, was raised by her favour to the high post of chancellor of France; he put the seal to the famous edict of Romertin, by which the decision

^w Annales de France. Serres. Dupleix.
Jacob. Thuan.
Castelnau. Belcarius.

^x P. Daniel.

^y Belcar.
Memoires de

and declaration of heresy was left to the bishops, and power given to the subaltern judges to punish without appeal^a. It was chiefly by his advice the resolution was taken to assemble the princes, the great lords, prelates, and ministers, which is, what the French call, *Assemblée des Notables*, in the month of August, at Fontainebleau^a. In the mean time a treaty was made with queen Elizabeth, by which their majesties quitted all pretensions to England, and abandoned their attempt to suppress the reformed religion in Scotland, where the death of the queen-mother had fallen out very unseasonably for their schemes; for she was a princess of great moderation, and, though strongly attached to the old religion, very willing to take any measures, or to make any concessions that were requisite to preserve her daughter's authority^b.

Upon the departure of the court for Fontainebleau, the Guises, under colour of providing for the king's safety, really with a view to their own, assigned him a new guard of two hundred musquetaires, commanded by Anthony du Plessis Richlieu, who had many bad, and but few good qualities, exclusive of determined courage. The assembly was opened on the 21st, when the constable with his sons, and the admiral with his brothers, appeared. The king was seated on his throne, with the two queens, and the princes, his brothers, by him, and the business of the assembly was opened by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine^c. At the second sessions, the admiral presented to the king a petition in favour of the Protestants, who about this time began to be styled Hugonots. This was warmly opposed by the duke and the cardinal, but it was boldly seconded by Montluc, bishop of Valens, and Charles de Maillor, archbishop of Vienne, who inveighed bitterly against the general want of learning and of morals amongst the clergy; pressed a national council for regulating the disputes in religion; alleging, that since the flame appeared in all parts of the kingdom, it would be weakness to send for water from the Tiber to put it out, when the Seine was so near at hand. At length it was agreed that a general assembly of the states should be called in the beginning of the year, and that the prosecution of the Protestants should be stayed in the mean time^d. The reason why the court yielded to an assembly of the states,

Assemblée des Notables held without effect; an assembly of the states summoned.

^a Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. Gasteinau.
^b Duplex.

^a Davila, Memoires de Belcar.

^d J. de

was, in hopes of drawing all the chiefs of the malecontents into the same place, and consequently of surprizing them at once. It was with this view that they laboured assiduously, though with all possible secrecy, to strengthen their own hands, and instead of Meaux, which had been the place first named, declared, in the king's name, that the states should be held at Orleans. Some attempts were in this interval made by the adherents of the prince of Condé, to surprize Lyons, in which they were disappointed, by the king of Navarre's sending a countermand as soon as he was acquainted with it, for which the French blame his irresolution; whereas the truth seems to be, that he had no intent to rebel.

The prince of Condé is condemn'd, and the king of Navarre is very near suffering death.

While the nation was in this suspense, and those who had the welfare of France at heart, conceived great hopes that measures would be effectually taken in the states for procuring such a reform of abuses of all kinds, as might qualify that violent fermentation, which religious and factious disputes had occasioned, the Guises pursued inflexibly their own plan. Having disposed every thing in the best manner possible to keep the provinces in some degree of order, they brought the young king to Orleans, with his new guards, and drew, under a variety of pretences, considerable forces into the neighbourhood, and by degrees into the city. In the beginning of October, the king wrote to the king of Navarre, in very precise terms, to repair to the assembly, and to bring with him his brother the prince of Condé, to which appearance, however, neither of them were much inclined^e. The marshal de St. André was therefore sent to invite them, charged to give them the strongest assurances, and to pledge the king's royal word for their safety. The cardinal de Bourbon, an honest innocent man, was also prevailed upon to join his intreaties, and, as the memoirs of those times say, the mistresses of the king and prince were engaged by presents to join their endeavours, which at length had their effect, notwithstanding all possible pains were taken, by the true friends of the house of Navarre, to shew the king the danger into which he was on the point of plunging himself and his brother in their passage^f. They were met by the princess of Condé, who laboured to dissuade her husband from going farther; and the principal lords and gentlemen of the Hugonot party used their last efforts to engage the king of Navarre to put himself at their head,

^e Popeliniere. Memoires de Castelnau,

^f Dupleix.
offering

offering to furnish him in a short time with twenty thousand men. The princes nevertheless proceeded, but were scarce within the walls of Orleans, before they found just reason to repent trusting to the promises that had been made them^g. The prince of Condé, after having been very rudely used by the king, was sent to prison, and guards were set upon the king of Navarre^h. Commissioners were named without delay for the trial of the prince; these were, the president Christopher de Thou, Bartholomew Fayes, and James Viole, counsellors of parliament. Gilbert Bourdin, and the attorney-general, and John du Tillet, secretary to the parliament, assisted in their respective offices. The prince appealed to the king in his parliament of Paris, assisted by the peers, as his proper judges; the council declared this appeal void; the commissioners proceeded, and sentenced the prince of Condé to suffer deathⁱ. Mr. de Thou tells us, this sentence was not signed; but other writers assure us that it was, by all the privy council and knights of orders; only the chancellor and one of the counsellors of parliament desired time, and the count de Sancerre, when it was proposed to him, answered roundly, I shall not sign at all. The next point was to involve the king of Navarre. As they had no evidence, the great historian beforementioned reports, that a scheme was laid by marshal St. André, that the king should send for him, reproach him roughly with being a traitor, and, upon his answering with vehemence, as it was likely he would, certain assassins posted near him for that purpose, on a sign given, should plunge their daggers in his breast^k. He was accordingly invited to this fatal interview, in which, though he answered with great spirit, yet it was with so much decency, and with such strong demonstrations of innocence, that, without making the appointed sign, he was dismissed. Guise was so provoked at his being allowed to retire, that he was heard to say, in the corner of the room, what a weak and cowardly prince^l.

In this critical situation of things, when the continuance of the prince's life hung but by a thread, and that too as it were between the sheers, the young king having rejected rudely enough the prince's application for mercy, providence interposed. The king, rising early one morn-

They are both delivered by the sudden and unexpected death of the king.

^g Jacob. Thuan. Serres.

^h Popeliniere. Mezeray. P. Daniel.

ⁱ Chalons.

^h Memoires de Castelnau.

^k Jacob. Thuan.

ing to hunt, that he might avoid the sight of an execution, a diversity of which were the sole distinctions of his unhappy reign, fainted while they were combing his hair; and when he came to himself, complained of an intolerable pain of the head. He had a fistula in one of his ears, which his physicians had considered as the symptom of an abscess; and, therefore, they quickly pronounced him in the utmost danger, a prognostic which gave a new turn to affairs^m. The duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, very earnestly pressed the queen-mother to put the king of Navarre, as well as the prince of Condé, to death; but she answered irresolutely, and with tears. At length, being importuned for a positive answer, she demanded a few hours to consider of it, in which space she consulted her oracle the chancellor, who, laying hold of this opportunity, set the thing in a true light. He told her, that though she was a queen and the mother of kings, she was at the same time a woman and a stranger; that to put the king of Navarre to death without a trial, would be to render herself the execration of France, and at the same time make such a precedent, as, from the moment it was made, she would have the greatest reason to fear. He observed that even this step was not more dangerous than to behead the prince of Condé, and leave the king of Navarre alive, who, the moment the king expired, must be set at liberty, and who would then have, not only the Calvinists, but all the nobility of France, ready to espouse his interest and his resentment. Whereas, if she took the contrary course, the Guises, having no support but her favour, must receive her commands with submission, at the same time that the princes would adhere to her from gratitude: that the safety of the monarchy depended on a reconciliation of these jarring interests, and, that gaining this absolute ascendancy, would put that reconciliation in her powerⁿ. The queen, who saw the rectitude of this advice, pursued it with steadiness and dignity. She sent for the king of Navarre, and after affirming that she had his life, as much as his brother's, in her power, she prescribed the terms upon which they might both be saved, which consisted in his resignation of the regency in her favour, upon the ensuing minority, and a reconciliation with the Guises. The king came readily enough into the first, but shewed great reluctance as to the second; at

A.D. 1560.

^m Davila. *Memoires de Castelnau*. Serres.
Thuan. P. Dan.

ⁿ Jacob.
length,

length, however, he was forced to comply. This reconciliation was made in the chamber of the dying king, who, to facilitate it, took all upon himself, professing, that whatever had been done was by his orders, and without any instigation of the Guises, who, he affirmed, were constantly interceding for the princes^o. This was the last action of this poor prince, who expired on the 5th of December, when he wanted somewhat less than two months of eighteen years, after a reign of a year and five months^p. He was styled the king without vice, which, as Mezeray well observes, would have been a high character, if it had proceeded less from a want of capacity, than from a want of inclination. At the death of the king his father, the care of his body and his funeral had been left to the constable, the queen-mother and the Guises having other things to mind; but the body of this young prince was so totally abandoned, that if his governors, the sieurs de la Brosse and de Sanfac, had not interposed, there would have been no care taken of it at all. This extreme ingratitude in the Guises provoked somebody to throw a note upon his coffin, in which were these words, Where then is Tannegui du Chastel? But he was a Frenchman! alluding to that brave man, who, at the hazard of his life and the expence of his fortune, caused the corpse of Charles the Eighth to be magnificently interred, though he knew it would be considered as a crime by Lewis the Eleventh^q. The Hugonots considered his death as a deliverance, and the manner of it as a judgment.

C H A R L E S IX.

CHARLES, duke of Orleans, who, at his baptism received the name of Maximilian, succeeded to the throne by the death of his brother, being between ten and eleven years of age^r. The constable who, on hearing of the king's illness, set out from Chantilly, was by this time in the neighbourhood of Orleans, to whom the queen-mother wrote in the most obliging terms, intreating him to make haste to resume the functions of his office, and to rest assured that she would do nothing but by his concurrence. The constable took her advice literally: as soon as he entered Orleans, he sent for the officers of the new guards,

Accession of Charles IX. the constable recalled, who joins with the Guises and the marshal de St. André.

^o Duplex. Mezeray.
Chalons. § P. Daniel.

^p Jacob. Thuan. Serres.
^r Mezeray. Le Gendro.

told them they were in arms against their country, and that the person of the king was always safe when surrounded by his people, upon which they immediately dispersed. The queen-mother had the chief authority, and the power of regent, but without assuming the title, though given her by most historians. The king of Navarre had the title of the king's lieutenant-general, and the prince of Condé was removed to La Fere, under a guard, until he should be declared innocent^s. On the 13th of December, the states were opened^t. The speakers of the nobility and the commons inveighed bitterly against the negligence, luxury, and avarice of the clergy; the orator of the clergy, on the other hand, talked very high, demanded the abolition of the concordat, and the re-establishment of the pragmatic sanction. Some discourse there was of an enquiry into the state of the finances; king Francis the First having left near two millions in his coffers, and the crown being at this time near forty-two millions in debt. But so many of the great would have been interested in the event of this enquiry, and the Guises were so like to be little effected by it, that it was quickly stopped. Some good laws in respect to the administration of justice, a suspension of all religious persecution, the restitution of the old custom of electing bishops, and a general amnesty for what was passed, being enacted, the states were prorogued to May. The constable, duke of Guise, and marshal de St. André, entered into a close alliance, and were styled the *Triumvirate*: the queen-mother, upon this association, leaned to the side of the king of Navarre and the princes. In the month of March the prince of Condé was declared innocent by the council, and that declaration was confirmed by the parliament^u. On Easter day the triumvirate communicated together, as a mark of the sincerity of their reconciliation; and on the 15th of May the king was crowned at Rheims by the cardinal of Lorraine^w. The admiral, who was a sincere protestant, perceiving how well the king of Navarre stood with the queen, and being persuaded they had nothing to fear from the chancellor, presented a new petition in favour of the Hugonots, which was referred to the consideration of the parliament, where the king, the queen, and most of the princes of the blood, were personally present. After warm

^s Jacob. Thuan.

^u Memoires de Castelnau.
de France.

^t Annales de France. P. Dan.

^w Godefroi dans le Ceremonial

debates, it was decided by the plurality of voices, that all offences in respect to religion should be referred to the ecclesiastical tribunals; all assemblies of the protestants, though without arms, were forbidden upon pain of death, together with all preaching or celebration of the sacraments, contrary to the usage of the church of Rome. Some said that John du Tillet was guilty of a fraud, in declaring the number of voices, and this edict was so little relished in the provinces, that the queen-mother, who seemed now wholly inclined to the reformed, softened it by another edict, dated from St. Germain en Laye^a. The queen dowager returned to Scotland in the month of August; and the assembly of the states met again at Pontoise, where the clergy, to avert the storm that was rising against them, taxed themselves in a large sum to the king^b. In the month of September was held the famous colloquy, or conference, at Poissy, between the prelates and the ministers, in which the cardinal of Lorraine and Theodore Beza displayed their eloquence, notwithstanding which there was little or nothing done, except that the king of Navarre, under pretence that the ministers did not agree well amongst themselves, left the reformed, and joined the triumvirate^c.

A D. 1561.

This defection threw the queen on the prince of Condé and the admiral, though she laboured all she could to recover the king of Navarre; but the court of Spain, sometimes flattering him with the restitution of his dominions, sometimes offering the island of Sardinia as an equivalent, and the Guises, as a mark of their cordiality and respect, offering him their niece, the queen of Scots, provided he would obtain a divorce from the court of Rome, against the queen of Navarre, as an obstinate heretic, he, who had never shewed much constancy before, remained firm where he was^d. The queen, to satisfy the admiral and the prince of Condé, called a new assembly of the states at St. Germain^e, where an edict was made that gave liberty of conscience to the Hugonots, until the points in dispute should be settled by a general council: this, however, rather increased than abated the troubles, both parties making preparations for war, and reciprocally con-

The duke of Guise occasions the first civil war.

^a Memoires de Castelnau. P. Dan. ^b Serres. Mez. ^c Discours des Actes de Poissy contenant le Commencement de l'Assemblée l'entree & issue du Colloque des Prelats de France & Ministres de l'Avangile l'Ordre y gardé ensemble la Harangue du Roy Charles IX. Duplex. ^d Camden. ^e Jacob. Thuan.

senting to quit the court, as if it had been with a view to make the administration less difficult to the queen, though at the bottom they had the same design. The prince of Condé had treated with the duke of Wirtembergh for succours, in support of the protestant cause; the duke of Guise having an interview with that prince at Saverne, persuaded him that himself, his brother, and the moderate Catholics, were not averse to the Lutheran religion, but that the Hugonots in France were obstinate Calvinists, and equally enemies to both, by which insinuations he drew him into a treaty of neutrality^c. In his return to Paris, passing thro' the little town of Passy, his followers insulted the Hugonots who were at their devotion in a barn, proceeding from words to blows, tho' it is said that the duke laboured all he could to put an end to the fray, in which he was himself wounded in the face by a stone; there were about sixty of the Hugonots killed, and this fray gave a beginning to the civil war^d. The triumvirate, in conjunction with the king of Navarre, prevented the prince of Condé and the admiral in surprizing the queen-mother and the king, whom they conducted from Fontainebleau to Paris^e. The Hugonots surprized Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Aungiers, Angoulême, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and other places; and having concluded a treaty with queen Elizabeth, put the last-mentioned place into her hands, by way of deposit, in consideration of a succour in men and money^f.

The battle of Dreux, in which the constable and the prince of Condé are both made prisoners.

On the other hand, the marshal de St. André marched into Poitou with an army, and recovered Poitiers; and the king of Navarre, with the title of lieutenant-general of the realm, having under him the constable and the duke of Guise, first recovered Bourges, towards the close of the month of September, and then besieged Rouen. On the 15th of October the king of Navarre received a wound in the trenches, of which he died in thirty days; but this accident did not hinder the place from being taken by storm and plundered, or his making his entry into it through the breach in a litter^g. The loss of Rouen obliged the prince of Condé to direct his march towards Normandy, where, on the 19th of December, the two armies engaged near Dreux. That of the prince of Condé consisted of four thousand horse, and eight thousand foot; the admiral commanded the van, the prince was in the centre,

^c Popeliniere.
^e P. Dan.

^d Memoires de Brant.
^g Memoires de Castelnau.

^f Serres.

and Dandelot in the rear. The forces of the triumvirs consisted of three thousand gens d'arms, and thirteen thousand foot, the marshal St. André commanded the first line, the constable the second, and the duke of Guise and his friends, with the flower of the army, formed the third. The constable was so desirous of acquiring the sole honour of the victory, that he charged precipitately, and not being supported in time, either by the first or third line, was defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner. The Hugonots beginning to plunder, the duke of Guise, having rallied the broken troops, attacked them with such fury, that they were quickly routed, and the prince of Condé wounded and taken; the marshal de St. André, pursuing too far, was surrounded and killed by the son of one Bobigni^b, whose confiscation he had begged. The admiral retired with the cavalry, and the remains of the prince of Condé's army, in a manner that did him great honour. The triumvirs kept the field, but their loss was by much the greatest.

A.D. 1562.

The duke of Guise was now in possession of as great authority as ever he had enjoyed in the former reign; for the queen-mother, who had shewn herself partial in favour of the Hugonots, had lost much of her credit and authority, and but for the mildness of the king of Navarre's temper, might have lost her life; for she herself overheard the marshal de St. André affirm, in one of their consultations, that things would never go well till she was thrown into the river. But while this struggle for power, which in truth was the great object of the war, continued in France, the concerns of the monarchy suffered not a little. The duke of Savoy recovered almost all the places that the French still held in Piedmont; and the emperor demanded and might have regained Metz, Toul, and Verdun, if he had not suffered himself to be amused by a treaty of marriage. The duke of Guise saw this inconvenience with chagrin, and therefore resolved to put as speedy an end to the war as possible. With this view he besieged Orleans, where, on the 9th of February, he was shot in the back^c by Poltrot de Meré, who being taken and put to the torture, charged the admiral, the prince of Condé, Dandelot, Soubise, and Theodore Beza, with having excited him to this action; but he afterwards acquitted the prince, Soubise, and Dandelot. He was carried to Paris,

Siege of Orleans, death of the duke of Guise, and the first peace with the reformed.

^b Popeliniere. Jacob. Thuan.

^c Memoires de Castelnau.

and drawn to pieces by horses. The queen sent for the marshal de Brisac to continue the siege, but at the same time laboured assiduously to conclude a peace, in order to which she directed a conference to be held between the prince of Condé and the constable, and they not agreeing, she herself prescribed the terms. The Protestants were to lay down their arms, restore the places which were in their possession, and to renounce their treaty with England: in return, they had a general pardon and liberty of conscience^d. As the great point aimed at was the recovery of Havre de Grace, war was declared against England; and the prince of Condé, whom the queen had gained by promising to make him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, distinguished himself in this siege against his old allies. The place was surrendered on the 28th of July, by means of a forged letter sent to the earl of Warwick^e. The king was declared of age, at thirteen years and a day old, by the parliament of Rouen, notwithstanding the opposition given by that of Paris, which was at length forced to comply. The prince of Condé pressing the queen-mother for the performance of her promise, and the Protestants taking great liberties with her character, which was none of the most regular, she became, out of spite, a most zealous Catholic, who, but a year before, had shewn her approbation of the Protestant doctrine, in a letter to pope Pius the Fourth^f. The widow and children of the duke of Guise demanded justice against the admiral, contrary to the dying commands of the duke, who forgave all who had any concern in his death, and earnestly recommended the extinction of all animosities amongst the great men of the kingdom. The admiral protested his innocence, and the king took the cause into his own hands. On the last day of the year died the marshal de Brisac, one of the bravest men, and best officers in France^g.

A.D. 1563.

The queen-mother at the head of affairs, and embarked in the most dangerous projects.

The queen-mother had now none to oppose or controul her; but the situation of public affairs was such, as required a vast capacity to comprehend and to conduct them. The pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, sent their ambassadors into France, to solicit certain points which they had much at heart. The former was desirous

^d Serres. Du Tillet. Additions aux Memoires de Castelnau. Dupl. Mez. P. Dan.

^e Popeliniere. Le Laboureur. ^f Jacob. Thuan. Memoires de Brant.

of having the decrees of the council of Trent admitted and recognized, and for this recognition he depended much upon the cardinal of Lorrain: but, upon the review of them by the parliament, it was resolved, that, in respect to doctrine and point of faith, the council should be received, but not with respect to matters of discipline, because these were equally inconsistent with the rights of the Gallican church and the late edict of pacification. The latter laboured to engage the crown of France in a league for the utter extirpation of Protestants; but the queen, clearly perceiving that this was designed to revive the troubles in France, in which both his catholic majesty and the duke of Savoy had their separate interests at heart, she, in appearance at least, declined it. The negotiation with England still subsisted, which had been begun soon after the reduction of Havre de Grace, and at length a peace was concluded, which was equally necessary to both kingdoms^b. The queen, under pretence of visiting his dominions, carried the king from place to place, and at length into Lorrain, where she proposed to have had an interview with the emperor, which was disappointed chiefly by the intrigues of king Philip. Thence the court went into Burgundy, and afterwards to Lyons, where a citadel was directed to be built. The Catholics were restless, and desirous of having recourse again to arms, through the instigations of the emissaries of Spain and the house of Guise; but the queen affected, for in truth it was but affectation, a spirit of equity and moderation. However, being arrived at Rouffillon, a palace belonging to the counts of Tournon, in Dauphiné, she there published an edict in the king's name, restraining the Protestants from the exercise of their religion, within ten leagues of the courtⁱ. About this time likewise the date of the year was fixed at the first of January, instead of Easter; and some other things were done, in appearance, for the public good, but which, at the bottom, tended to facilitate the queen's design, which was to conduct the ruin of the Protestants in such a manner, as not to endanger her own authority. She likewise found means to renew the alliance between the crown of France and the Swiss cantons, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Phi-

A.D. 1564.

^b Memoires de Castelnau. Recueil de Traites, par Leonard. Camden's Annals of Elizabeth. ⁱ Memoires de l'Etat de la France sous Charles IX. P. la Place. D'Avita. Dupl.

lip II. to prevent it. In appearance also, she entered into a closer correspondence with England.

Conference at Bayonne, in which the ruin of the Protestants is resolved.

The king spent the winter in Provence and Languedoc, having with him the young duke of Guise, and most of the chiefs of the Catholics, who were apparently in high favour. In the mean time an accident happened at Paris, which was very near reviving the war. The cardinal of Lorraine advanced into the neighbourhood of that city, attended by a considerable body of horse, well armed; the marshal de Montmorency, who was governor of the Isle of France, sent a message desiring him to disarm his attendants, of which he took no notice, but entered Paris with this martial equipage. He was met, however, by the marshal with a body of troops, who disarmed his attendants, and killed in his presence one of his pages, who made some resistance. Both sides complained to the court, and, at the same time, made preparations of a warlike nature; but finding that the king would not decide in favour of either party, they were afraid to proceed farther^k. The court, after having visited Bourdeaux, went to Bayonne, where the queen and her son had an interview with her daughter the queen of Spain and the duke of Alva^l. All possible precautions were taken to disguise and keep secret what passed in these conferences; but even these precautions, and this air of mystery, made it evident, that the queen-mother was not sincere in her professions, but had still an inclination to enter into the league for the destruction of the Protestants, and the event fully justified these conjectures. Immediately after this interview the king went into Bearn, where the queen of Navarre was obliged to restore to the Catholics their churches, and to admit of a mixed magistracy of both communions, though the bulk of her subjects were Protestants; and the same method was pursued in other provinces, as the king returned towards Paris^m.

A.D. 1565.

Her intrigues with the court of Spain end in a new civil war.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the court summoned to Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, the deputies from the several parliaments and other sovereign courts throughout the kingdom, in order to take effectual measures for the re-establishment of justice; and accordingly the famous ordinance, bearing date from thence, was published, con-

^k Popeliniere. Memoires de Castelnau. P. Dan. ^l J. de Serres. Dupleix. Mezeray. ^m P. la Place. Jacob, Thuan. P. Dan.

sisting of fourscore and six articles ^a. This was the effect of the chancellor's policy, who, finding his councils less regarded in matters of state, applied himself assiduously to those of his own profession, and, bending his whole endeavours to the public good, procured, in these times of confusion, more salutary laws to be made than in any other reign. As he shewed the uprightnes of his heart in contriving, so his comprehensive capacity, and at the same time his learning and eloquence, are rendered conspicuous to posterity, by the elegant manner in which they are penned. The reconciliation which was attempted here between the Montmorencies and the cardinal of Lorraine, and between the admiral and the house of Guise, had a happy issue in shew, without producing any good effect; for, notwithstanding the outward ceremonies of agreement and forgiveness, all parties retained their secret animosities, and a full resolution of gratifying them the first fair occasion that should offer ^o. This spirit of dissimulation went still higher; the king of Spain laboured to possess the court of France with an opinion, that the great object of his policy was to extinguish heresy, and that his aim was to act in concert with the crown of France, though, at the same time, he laboured in Germany, in Italy, and Switzerland, to lessen the influence and credit of this crown, and to prevent the success of those negotiations which the queen was carrying on. On the other hand the queen-mother pretended to have a high jealousy of king Philip's proceedings, and spoke her sentiments of them, as it were in confidence, to the prince of Condé and the admiral; but, at the same time, she had quite other projects in her mind: and believing herself able to deal with the king of Spain in his own way, resolved to take in his assistance for the destruction of the Protestants. But as, in all great undertakings, money is the material article, she made a vast reform in the finances. Contrary to the advice of the most zealous Catholics, she disbanded great part of the troops that had been kept on foot since the late troubles, not more with a view of retrenching expence, than to deceive the prince of Condé and the Hugonots ^p. To pursue these dark politics more effectually, she sent an ecclesiastic to the court of Spain, to let king Philip into her plan, that he might not take umbrage at the advices he received from his ambassador in France,

^a Jacob. Thuan. D'Avila. J. de Serres.

^o Dupl. Mez.

^p Memoires de Castelnau. J. Thuan. P. Dan.

who could not but be alarmed at the countenance given by the queen to the prince of Condé, notwithstanding his open declarations that the measures taken by the Spaniards in Italy were to be suspected; and that an army ought to be raised to watch the motions of the duke of Alva. The constable having laboured ineffectually to resign his charge to his son the marshal de Montmorenci, gave way to a proposition made by the prince of Condé, to resign in his favour, a step which did not a little embarrass the court. However, the queen soon found an expedient to prevent this scheme from taking effect, which was by prompting her son Henry, duke of Anjou, to declare himself the prince of Condé's competitor, which he did with such airs of grandeur and superiority, that the prince was not a little mortified⁹. The admiral, and his brother Dandelot, by degrees, penetrated through all these mysteries; and gave the prince to understand, that, if he was upon ill terms with the king and his brother, he was upon much worse with the queen-mother; who, while she pretended to listen to his apprehensions of the Catholic king's designs, and in consequence of them, as he imagined, had given orders for the levying of six thousand Swiss, was in reality preparing to second that monarch's scheme, and would employ those troops in concert with him against the Protestants. The prince of Orange gave him the like intimations; and the king having discovered his resentment that the princes of Germany should interpose in favour of his Protestant subjects, and that their ministers had conferred with the prince, he was at length convinced that he had been all along the dupe of the queen, and that he himself and those of his religion had no other way to secure their safety than by putting themselves, without loss of time, in a posture of defence^r.

The march of the duke of Alva into the Low Countries seemed to alarm the court extremely, and occasioned the forming of a flying camp in Burgundy, though in truth the queen-mother was preparing to act in concert with him, and the Hugonots were every day more and more curtailed in their privileges, as if it had been designed to provoke them to take arms, and thereby afford the court an opportunity of treating them with the same severity shewn by the duke of Alva to their brethren in the Low Countries. Indeed there want not some who say,

⁹ Memoires de Brant. Dupl.
P. de la Place.

^r D'Avila. Popeliniere.

that

*A design
formed by
the prince
of Condé
and the
admiral to
surprise the
court at
Meaux.*

A.D. 1566.

that as the duke put to death the counts of Egmont and Horn, for no other crime than their inviolable attachment to the liberties of their country, so the queen-mother was firmly resolved to lay hold of the first opportunity of seizing the prince of Condé and the admiral, to confine the former as long as he lived, and bring the latter to the scaffold. It is at least certain that the prince and the admiral believed themselves in the utmost danger, and thereupon formed the bold design of surprising the whole royal family at Monceaux, in Brie. With this view, orders were given privately to the chiefs of the party to assemble as many determined men as they could bring together with privacy, and to march with all possible secrecy, at a certain day, to the little town of Rosoy, which was but a small distance from Monceaux, where the court had scarce any troops about them, though the six thousand Swiss, under the command of colonel Pfiffer, were at no great distance. This design was conducted with so much address, that, but for an unforeseen accident, it would have certainly succeeded. The count of Castelnau had been sent into Flanders to compliment the duke of Alva on the part of the king, and perhaps to concert some measures with him against the Protestants; the count was going to court to report the success of his commission, and, in his passage, fell in upon the road with some of the Hugonots, who were going to their rendezvous, and out of these he picked their design. When he came to relate this discovery at court, the constable treated it as a dream; but the queen-mother, more easily alarmed, caused such enquiry to be made, as put the fact beyond doubt. The court hurried away to Meaux, and the Swiss troops having orders to march thither, performed it in the night. On Michaelmas-day the prince of Condé, the admiral, and their associates, assembled their forces, and found themselves in a condition of besieging Meaux, to which, if they had marched directly, without suffering themselves to be amused by a negociation, they would have done their business. The court was equally afraid of being invested in Meaux, or of marching from thence to Paris without cavalry. The latter expedient was at last adopted, on the faith of colonel Pfiffer, who undertook and performed this retreat of ten leagues, through an open country, continually exposed to the enemy's horse, by whom they were

* D'Avila. Memoires de Castelnau. Serres.
Mez. " J. Thuan. Popeliniere. P. Dan.

† Dupleix.

harassed all the way, the queen-mother, with the king and the rest of her children, being in the center of the battalion, and exceedingly exposed. The Swifs had a month's pay given them for this service, as if they had gained a battle ^w.

Battle of St. Denys, in which the constable Montmerency is mortally wounded.

Thus the second civil war was begun: the prince of Condé, far from being disconcerted by this disappointment, surpris'd the town of St. Denys, and set fire to twenty-four windmills that were just without the suburbs of Paris ^x. The thing is in itself so strange, or rather incredible, that if we had not the concurrent testimony of all the writers of those times, it could never gain belief, that, with scarce three thousand men, the prince kept this capital blocked up for near six weeks, and the people of Paris were at length so much distressed, that by their clamours and reproaches, they wore out the patience of the constable; so that, on the 10th of November, he marched to attack them in the plain of St. Denys. His army consisted of three thousand men at arms and sixteen thousand foot, the prince of Condé had not above twelve hundred foot and fifteen hundred horse; yet he was so far from flying, that he began the action, which lasted about three hours, with the loss of some hundreds on each side, the Catholics keeping the field of battle, and the Hugonots, though they had the greatest loss, had all the honour of the day ^y. The constable, being abandoned by those about him, was mortally wounded by Robert Stuart; though seventy-four years of age, he started from the ground, and, with the pomel of his sword, struck Stuart in the face, beat out three of his teeth, and broke his jaw ^z. His son Danville, and the duke of Aumale, carried him to Paris, where he died two days after: the queen caused him to be buried with royal honours; but it was a point much disputed, whether she was better satisfied with the victory she had gained than with the death of this great man. On the 15th of November the prince of Condé and the admiral, with the remains of their forces, marched into Lorraine, to meet the succours that were coming to them out of Germany, commanded by prince Casimir, the son of the elector Palatine, consisting of four thousand foot and six thousand horse: the queen-mother caused her son the duke of Anjou to be declared the king's lieutenant-general,

^w D'Avila. Chalons. Le Gendre. Memoires de Brant.
^x Serres. Dupleix. ^y Memoires de Castelnaud. J. Thuan.
Memoires de Tavannes. ^z Memoires de Brant.

to avoid naming a constable, and sent him with all the forces that could be assembled, to harrafs the prince's rear^a. In the mean time the flame of war spread itself through all the provinces, the reformed standing every where upon their defence, and making themselves masters of all the places they were able to reduce; while the papists, having the royal authority on their side, had recourse both to arms and to justice, destroying indiscriminately, by the forms of justice or by the sword, as many as they were able, to the great satisfaction of the Spaniards, who enjoyed this madness of their neighbours, as appeared clearly by the conduct of the duke of Alva. If this general had sent, as the constable required, a little before the battle of St. Denys, a body of four or five thousand men, at the back of the Hugonot army, they must have been surrounded, and an end put to the war at once^b.

It is commonly believed that, if it had not been for some ill conduct of the duke of Anjou, or rather of those who commanded the army at the head of which he was, the forces of the prince of Condé and the admiral might have been dispersed, whereas they had the good fortune to join the succours that came to them out of Germany, under the command of prince Casimir, at Pont a Mousson. There happened, upon this occasion, a very singular event; the prince had promised his German succours a hundred thousand crowns as soon as they joined him, and they insisted upon the money, though there could not be any thing more miserable than the prince's army, who, for the most part, were without arms, without cloaths, and without shoes; however, some little money they had amongst them, and they collected the whole, and gave it to these strangers^c. With these forces the prince traversed a great part of the kingdom, and at length besieged Chartres, in the beginning of February, which was very gallantly defended by monsieur Lignieres, knight of the order; but if the prince had turned the course of the river at last as he did at first, the place must have surrendered. While the prince was employed in this siege, the negotiations were renewed, and, when the place was on the point of surrendering, the peace was concluded by the prince of Condé, against the advice of the admiral^d.

The queen consents to a truce, in order to ensnare the heads of the Protestants.

^a D'Avila. P. de la Place. Memoires de Castelnau. ^b Duplex. Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. ^c Memoires de Brant. Duplex. ^d Edit. du Roy, du 25 Mars, 1568. J. de Serres. du Till. Mez. Le Gend.

A.D. 1568.

The conditions were, that the edict of pacification should be renewed, free from all limitations of time, place, or person; that the king should take upon him the payment of prince Cassimir and his Germans; that all places should be restored. Both sides exclaimed against this peace, which neither intended to keep, and which was therefore stiled the Feigned or the Short Peace; and yet they could not avoid making it; for, upon the surrender of Chartres, the king must have quitted Paris, and the queen-mother knew not what the consequences might have been of such a step. On the other hand, the prince saw troops marching in support of the Catholic cause from Germany and Italy, the Protestants, for the present, undone in the Low Countries, and himself in danger hourly of being abandoned or betrayed by the Germans, whom it was not in his power to pay, and who, for that reason, were very desirous of peace, that they might become the creditors of those who were in better circumstances: the court were so much aware of this circumstance, that they borrowed a hundred thousand crowns from the republic of Venice, and eighty thousand more of the dukes of Florence, Sancerre, and Montauban; several places of Querci, Vivares, Dauphiné, and Languedoc, refused to return to their obedience; Rochelle shut their gates against the king's garrison, and became from that time the bulwark of the reformed.

An attempt to seize the prince of Condé and the admiral causes the third civil war.

The queen-mother began now to form a kind of select council, who were first stiled the Cabinet; these consisted of the duke of Anjou, whom, from his childhood, she bred up in arts and intrigues, the chancellor Lewis la Lanfac, John de Marvillieres, bishop of Orleans, Sebastian de l'Aubespine, bishop of Limoges, Henry de Mesme, the president Birague, and the secretary de Villeroy. Amongst these, however, there were still some who stood in higher confidence, and whose sentiments she retained to the rest as her own^e. The cabinet advised her to canton the forces throughout the kingdom, so as to keep such places as had not submitted in a manner blocked up, and to have such an eye on the chiefs of the Hugonots, as that they should not be able to break out again, or to surprize any great towns on the sudden; which advice the queen caused to be punctually carried into execution. But the counsel by which she was chiefly guided came from the cardinal of Lorraine, and the president Birague, and it

imported that she should destroy privately, and under a variety of pretences, as many of the Hugonots as possible, more especially such as had been most active, and in laying schemes for surprizing the prince and the admiral, whenever they should be in the same place. This was the case at Nojars in Burgundy, where the admiral came to pay the prince a visit, upon which the marshal de Tavannes received orders to block up the place, and to make them both prisoners; but the troops could not be so suddenly put in motion as to prevent their having intelligence, and they immediately retired, or rather fled, with the utmost expedition to Rochelle, leaving an officer and a few horse to cover their rear, who, being routed, was made prisoner, and sent up to court; an indisputable proof that the prince and admiral had not fled without cause, as the court pretended. The queen perceiving the chancellor was little affected at this miscarriage, she threw the blame upon him, and, having deprived him of the seals, gave them to the bishop of Orleans, though it afterwards appeared it was the marshal Tavannes himself who caused the prince to be advertised of his danger, as being unwilling to do what he thought would reflect upon his honour^s. The prince of Condé was no sooner at Rochelle than the whole force of the Protestants resorted thither; the queen of Navarre particularly, with her son the prince of Bearn, afterwards Henry the Fourth, with all the forces of Guienne; those beyond the Loire were assembled and conducted by Dandelot, in spite of the king's troops, which were much superior to them in all respects. Queen Elizabeth, forgetting the ill usage she had met with from that prince, and respecting only her own interest, and that of the Protestant cause, sent him a hundred thousand crowns, a train of artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition, which enabled him to march with his army to Soissons; and thus the third civil war broke out, within six months after the last peace^h.

The queen-mother suspended the progress of his arms by a negociation, and promised, in order to make him easy under the delay, to give him wherewithal to pay his troops; but as that measure would have been advantageous to him, and prejudicial to her own affairs, she avoided it,

Prince of Condé slain in the battle of Jarnac.

^f Memoires de Castlenau, Memoires de Tavannes. Memoires de Brant. ^g Jacob. Thnan. D'Avila, Dupleix, Memoires de Brant. ^h Popeliniere, Memoires de Castelnau, Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, P. Dan.

by the usual expedient of breaking her word. The rigour of the winter being over, the duke of Anjou was in the field with a numerous army, whom the queen employed, though a child, that she might direct the troops as absolutely as she did the counsels of her son. This young general had about his person the marshal Tavannes, who had merited the bâton by fifty years service, was equally prudent and brave, and withal of so bold a spirit, that he offered queen Catherine de Medicis, in her husband's time, to cut off the nose of Diana de Poitiers. He was the determined enemy of the Protestants, because, having once had a difference with the admiral, he gave him some hard languageⁱ. This marshal had the queen's secret, and, in effect, commanded her son. Next to him was the marshal de Cossé, the younger brother of the famous marshal de Brisac, a gallant man, a good officer, but much addicted to wine and women. There was also Mons. de Biron, who became afterwards a marshal of France, of whom it is unnecessary to say any more than that, though a Protestant by inclination, he was a very good Catholic for the sake of preferment. By their advice the duke of Anjou laboured to engage the prince of Condé, before he was joined by a great corps of German succours that were marching to his relief, under the command of the duke of Deux Ponts. This aim he effected on the 13th of March, at the little village of Jarnac, in the province of Angoulesme. The action was neither long nor bloody, there not being above fourteen hundred killed of the Hugonots, who were defeated, and not more than two hundred of the victors^k. The prince of Condé, who had the misfortune to have his leg broke a little before the action began, endeavoured for that reason to decline it; but, being once engaged, behaved, notwithstanding his wound, like a hero, till having received several more, he was taken; but so weak through loss of blood, that two gentlemen took him in their arms from his horse and carried him to a bush, at some distance, where they set him down; then the baron de Montesquieu, captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, riding up to the place where he was, came behind and shot him through the head^l. This detestable action, though not avowed by the duke, was generally ascribed to his instigation, as he did

ⁱ Memoires de Tavannes, Dupl. Mez.
de Castlenau, D'Avila, Serres, Dupl. Mez.
Brant.

^k Popelin. Memoires
^l Memoires de

not punish the perpetrator (K). The prince's body being laid upon an ass, was carried to Jarnac, and some time after restored to his friends, and buried with the rest of his family at Vendosme^m. The admiral, whose courage was superior to all difficulties, and whose presence of mind arose in proportion to the danger, made an excellent retreat; and having put good garrisons, commanded by brave officers, into the places that were most exposed, retired into Poitou. Jane, queen of Navarre, brought her

^m Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan.

(K) Lewis de Bourbon, who first bore the title of Condé, was the seventh son of Charles duke of Vendosme, and the youngest brother of Francis count d'Enghien, who was suspected to have been murdered with the privy of Catherine de Medicis, when she was only dauphiness. There were few who equalled him in valour, constancy, wit, address, experience, courtesy, eloquence, and liberality. Even his enemies allowed that, taking the whole of his character into view, he was not excelled by any of the great men of that age. But he had also his follies and his faults. He was thought not very sincere in his religion; he was ambitious; he was too hasty in embracing, and had too great a facility in finding excuses for quitting his party. But his great foible was his passion for women. The queen-mother had about her abundance of pretty women, who were styled her syrens, and, with their help, she extracted the secrets, and frequently influenced the conduct of those

who were most averse to her. Mrs. Limaliel was the syren that charmed the prince of Condé; who, proving with child by him, the queen publicly reprimanded her, and turned her out of the court. But the unfortunate lady, deriving courage from her despair, told her, that however wicked and infamous her behaviour might be, it was the fruit of her advice, the effect of her command, and the transcript of her example. The prince's first consort was Eleonora de Roy, eldest daughter of the count de Rouci, one of the worthiest women in France. He afterwards married Frances, the daughter of the marquis de Rothelin. By his first consort he had Henry prince of Condé; Francis, who was the first styled prince of Conti, deaf and dumb; Charles cardinal de Bourbon; and several other children, who died young; by his second he had three sons, of whom none survived but Charles, who became afterwards count de Soissons (1).

(1) P. Buffiere Hist. des Maisons Souveraines de l'Europe, p. 262. Le Gend.

son Henry prince of Bearn, and Henry prince of Condé, to the army, where they were acknowledged for generals, and a new oath taken to support them, till the affairs of the kingdom should be settled by a stable and solid peaceⁿ.

The admiral defeated at Moncontour.

In the month of May the duke of Deux Ponts, with his Germans, took la Charité by storm, and passed the Loire; he died soon after, and his forces joined the admiral, who, having now a formidable army, unluckily undertook the siege of Poitiers^o. Henry duke of Guise threw himself into the place, with two thousand brave men, and gained as much reputation by defending it, as his father did by defending Metz. The duke of Anjou, in the beginning of September, besieged Chatelleraud, upon which the admiral raised the siege of Poitiers, burnt part of his baggage, having lost four thousand men, and much diminished his reputation. The parliament, to increase his embarrassment, declared him a rebel, and set a price of fifty thousand crowns on his head, and they took the same step with respect to the vidame of Chartres, and the count de Montgomery^p. At the close of the month the duke of Anjou gained some advantage at St. Cler, on which the admiral decamped without sound of trumpet. The Germans mutinied a few days after, and compelled him to fight on the 3d of October, at Moncontour^q. The action began about eight in the morning, and was over by ten. The French infantry in the Hugonot army behaved ill, and the German horse being put in some disorder, retired. The admiral lost half his army, most of his baggage, and all his artillery, a disaster which was ascribed to the skilful disposition made by Tavannes. The whole force of the Protestants seemed now to be broken, but the spirit of the admiral remained entire. Wounded and defeated he drew together the remains of his army, retired in good order, and neglected nothing that was practicable to recruit his troops^r. The victorious army, instead of pushing him, besieged St. John de Angeli, in which Piles, an officer of the house of Clermont, commanded a garrison of two thousand men; the place was far from being strong, and very indifferently fortified; but Piles comprehending clearly, that the preservation of the Protestants in France depended on the length of the siege, rejected all propositions, and defended it with in-

ⁿ D'Avila, Memoires de Tavannes, Dupl.
de Castlenau, Popeliniere.

^p Dupl.

^o Memoires

^q Mez. P. Dan.

^r D'Avila, Memoires de Castlenau, Serres, Duplex.

erèdible resolution. The king and queen-mother went thither about the middle of October, that they might have the satisfaction of seeing the place taken by storm, and were afterwards content to hope it would be reduced by famine. The commander made no scruple of declaring that he could not trust to any capitulation, and at length, having nothing to eat, took the desperate resolution of forcing a passage, which was prevented by the interposition of *Monf. de Biron*, on whose word he accepted honourable terms, on the 2d of December, and then marched out with one hundred horse and eight hundred foot. Rochelle was, all this time, blocked up by sea and land, and, at the close of the year, the Protestant cause in France seemed at the point of being overwhelmed, their forces being, in a manner, quite exhausted, at the same time that they were without any visible resource.

A.D. 1569:

The queen of Navarre, instead of listening to the advantageous proposals, which even now were made her on the part of queen Catherine de Medicis, gave general answers to keep the negotiations alive; and, in the mean time, neglected nothing that might repair the losses, or bring new strength to the cause. Sore, a Protestant pirate of Dieppe, forced the blockade by sea, and once more opened the port of Rochelle. *Monf. la Noue*, one of the bravest amongst the Hugonots, undertook to extend their quarters; and, after having taken several places, gained a considerable advantage at Lucon, which left his party more at their ease, and facilitated their receiving recruits. The two young princes of Bearn and Condé undertook a perilous march, with all the horse and foot they could assemble, in order to join the count de Montgomery, who commanded in the territories of the queen of Navarre. This they performed, and, by plundering the country about Thoulouse, quieted the German cavalry, who were become importunate for money. They would, in all probability, have become masters of Bourdeaux, if the famous Montluc had not found means, by cutting down a mill, to break the bridge, which, with infinite difficulty, they had thrown over the Gironne. This circumstance constrained them to make a retreat that was no less difficult than their march, and which they likewise executed with equal ardour and address. But, after all, it became

By an extraordinary turn of affairs they obtain a very advantageous peace.

† *Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, Memoires de Brantome, J. Thuan. Mez.* † *D'Avila, Pierre de la Place, P. Dan.*
 † *Memoires de Montluc, Jacobi Thuani, Popelin. Dupl.*

absolutely necessary to have recourse once more to the German princes, and to traverse all France with their small remaining force, in order to join these succours. The admiral undertook this, one of the most difficult enterprizes he had ever attempted, and performed it with equal abilities and success. The marshal de Cossé, during the indisposition of the duke of Anjou, commanded the king's army, and with it stopped the admiral at Arnai le duc, in Burgundy. In the course of these expeditions the Hugonot army had marched twelve hundred miles, pillaged above fifty and ransomed a hundred places, traversed seven or eight provinces, passed a multitude of rivers, penetrated forests, and taken their route through morasses that were thought impracticable; and now with four thousand men, were, in the midst of an enemy's country, to fight an army of ten thousand regular troops, well provided, who had a good train of artillery, though the Protestants had not a single piece of cannon. The marshal de Cossé is blamed for his behaviour, but it may be without cause. The admiral chose a field of battle upon a hill, on the sides of which there were several deep roads that covered his foot from cannon-shot. His horse, composed of gentlemen, and commanded by princes, defeated those of the marshal, but without pursuing them, that they might not lose the advantage of ground, the only advantage they had*. At length they slipped him; and, being unincumbered with baggage or artillery, made some equivocal motions, that looked as if they intended to block up Paris: these constrained the marshal to dispose his forces in such a manner as to cover that great city, and so alarmed the queen, who had all this time kept up a negotiation, in which the Protestants, for the credit of their cause, which, at this juncture, subsisted entirely upon credit, made very high demands, directed her plenipotentiaries to sign, as they did, the third peace, at St. Germain en Laye, on the 8th of August*.

Charles IX. by the suggestion of the queen-mother, affects to give a new turn to his conduct.

This peace consisted of forty-six articles, and was as favourable to the Protestants as if they had been victorious in all the battles in which they had been defeated. The edicts in their favour were confirmed, those against them recalled; they were restored to all their employments and dignities, and had the following strong places ceded to them for two years; namely, Rochelle, La Charité, Mont-

* Memoires de Brant, D'Avila, Serres, Chalons. Thuan. Dupl. Mez.

* J.

auban, and Cognac; the first kept the sea open for receiving succours from England, in case of a new war; the second preserved the passage of the Loire; the third was on the frontiers of Languedoc and Querci; and the fourth opened a passage into Angoumois, where they had a greater strength than in any other province. The peace was hardly signed before both sides manifested a discontent, the Papists with great reason, the Protestants because they could not believe it sincere. The king appeared in a new point of light. He certainly wanted not talents either for peace or war, though his education, or rather his want of education, had been such as did not qualify him for either. He affected very much to be a king; he was now about twenty; and, though passionate, commonly esteemed good-natured. He took the peace upon himself, and gave broad hints that he had made it in spite of the queen-mother, the Spaniards, and the Guises: he sent the marshal de Cossé to Rochelle, to settle every thing that was to be done in consequence of the peace. His instructions were so clear, and his behaviour so honourable in the conduct of this commission, that the admiral, who had no opportunity of knowing him, flattered himself that things had taken a new turn, since the king undertook to govern for himself; and, in all applications made to the court, the decisions were such as seemed to confirm these favourable opinions^y. The negotiation that had been depending nine years for the king's marriage, was at length terminated. On the 6th of November, he espoused at Mezieres, Elizabeth of Austria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian, a princess of incomparable virtues, who, in the bloom of youth, had the sagacity of age, and maintained, in the midst of a voluptuous court, a purity of manners that would have done honour to a convent, without any tincture of affectation or austerity^z. The Spanish faction and the Guises knew not what to think of this sudden change of affairs, and were still more alarmed by the unexpected turn given to an event of their own procuring. Don Sebastian king of Portugal had demanded in marriage the princess Margaret, the king's sister, then about the age of seventeen; which marriage had been traversed by the Spanish minister, seemingly, in complaisance to the house of Guise, but in reality for other reasons. The king intimated his design of marrying his sister to the prince of Na-

^y Memoires de Brant. Du Till. P. Dan. Thuani. Mézeray. Memoires de Brant.

^z Jacob.

varre. Upon discovering an amour very far advanced between her and the duke of Guise, he sent for his bastard brother, Henry d'Angoulesme, into his bed-chamber, and, shewing him two swords, said with many imprecations, "Here is one to kill you, if you do not kill the duke of Guise with the other, before I come from hunting." The duke of Guise being informed of the king's resentment, and knowing the violence of his temper, retired from court, and not long after married a widow ^a.

Seems to take the reins of government into his own hands, and to consult his true interests.

It was apparent, from the new turn things took, in consequence of this extraordinary change of measures, that the peace and power of France might have been effectually established, if Charles the Ninth had kept these royal and national points in view, and had honourably practised to that end those measures which, for the vilest of all purposes, he most basely disserved. He likewise shewed abilities upon this occasion that might have done him credit upon a better; and though it may be suspected, and perhaps proved, that he was entirely directed by the queen-mother, who had now put the seals into the hands of her own creature Birague, and was surrounded by her Italian council, yet if he had done what he pretended he had a mind to do, that is, dismissed all those who had been deep in the late troubles, recalled the chancellor, the Montmorencys, and some of the princes of the blood who were Catholics, the peace of the nation would have been secured, and the lustre of the government restored. But this was far from being the case; he counterfeited good qualities which he never possessed; and, while he really displayed them, produced such a transient scene of prosperity, as must have influenced him, if there had been a spark of goodness in his nature, to change his conduct, and become the man he seemed ^b. The regard he shewed to justice in points that came before him in council, revived the respect due to it throughout the kingdom. His subjects admired, his neighbours courted and revered him: he renewed his treaties with England, with the princes of Germany, and the grand duke of Tuscany. He avoided, with great dexterity, entering into the alliance against the Turks, because it was styled the holy league, and he thought it might revive the fears of the Protestants. On this occasion he made one of those mys-

^a Hist. de Matthieu, Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. Duplex. P. Daniel. ^b Histoire de Matth. J. Thuan. P. Daniel.

terious compliments which were peculiar to him, to the pope's nuncio: "Assure his holiness, said he, of my obedience; and ah! that it were in my power to express my sentiments more clearly^c." He meditated his design continually, and, without disclosing it to any, threw out a multitude of expressions which were taken in one sense at the time, and which, when it was too late, were discerned to be capable of quite another. This shewed he had digested the maxims of his mother's politics thoroughly, and was capable of setting a good face upon the blackest and most barbarous intention that ever entered the human breast.

He was informed that the admiral was detaching troops to the assistance of the Protestants in the Low Countries, for which conduct he very honestly gave the true reasons, that he was desirous of assisting his brethren to shake off the intolerable yoke they were under, and to employ those busy spirits against the Spaniards, that might otherwise have troubled the quiet of France. The king was not content to let him know that he approved and admired his conduct, but desired that he would send count Lodovic of Nassau to confer with him on certain points of importance, and, that this might be done with the more safety and secrecy, he should come incognito^d. He caressed count Lodovic in such a manner, entertained him so freely on the project he pretended to have formed of attacking Spain and conquering the Low Countries, and gave him such a mark of his sincerity, in restoring the principality of Orange to his brother, that he entirely gained the count, and sent him back so well satisfied to the admiral, that he removed all his scruples, and made him not only willing, but desirous, of going to court. The king did not fail to invite him, but it was in so easy and natural a way, that he might have excused himself, if he had been disposed. He came, however, in the month of September, to Blois attended by fifty gentlemen^e. He was received with equal affection and respect; the king kissed him; called him father; and, when he embraced him, said, "We have you now fast; you must not think of getting from us when you please^f." He restored him, unasked, the pensions that had been granted in the former reigns; and made him a present besides of one hundred thousand livres. However, when he asked his majesty's leave to go

He over-reaches the admiral, who attaches himself to him, and goes to court.

^c Memoires de Brant.

^d Histoire de Matth. Dupleix.

^e Mezeray. ^f Memoires de Brant. P. Dan. ^g D'Avila.

to his house at Chatillon, he very readily granted it; adding, when he mentioned some improvements that were making there, "We know very well how fond you are of gardening," which alluded to the person's finding him in his vineyard, with a pruning knife in his hand, immediately before the expedition of Meaux, when the king was obliged to fly before him to Paris. After a month or five weeks stay, he sent for him back, under pretence that he wanted to consult him about his negotiations with England, and other affairs of importance^z. It was at this time that he talked so frankly and sensibly on the possibility of his subjects of the two communions living in charity to each other, and in duty to their prince, and the right he had, as sovereign of Flanders, to take the people under his protection, and of the deceitful usage he had met with from the Spaniards, that the admiral was perfectly charmed. He was infinitely more carested than he had been before; and though he received the news of his brother the cardinal's being poisoned in England, yet the concern the king expressed, and the grant he made him of the revenues of his brother's benefices for a year, effaced the suspicions^b. Indeed the king dissembled so effectually, that the Guises and the furious ecclesiastics looked upon one another with amazement; the latter made no scruple of affirming, that the king was in the highway of becoming a heretic, and the former were not a little afraid, that a monarch, who was so complete a master of fraud and treachery, when he saw how much he had got by them, might turn these arts upon his teachers^l.

A.D. 1571.

*Death of
the queen of
Navarre.*

The treaty with England was at length, after much de- liberation, concluded. The queen of Navarre coming to the court at Blois, was met by the queen-mother and by the king, who carested her excessively, called her his great-aunt, and professed himself charmed with her politeness and wisdom. At night he asked his mother if he had not acted his part well. She replied, that it was a good thing to set out right; but that things were brought about by patience and perseverance: to which observation the king answered, "Let me alone; I will bring them all into the net^k." Count Lodowic of Nassau, was, by this time, returned to court, in order to obtain the perform-

^z Vie de Gasper de Coligni. Thuan. ^b Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.
ⁱ J. de Serres. Dupleix. Du Tillet. ^k Histoire de Maith. D'Avila. Memoires de Brant. Vie de Gasper de Coligni.

ance of the king's promises, who not only made them good, but exceeded them, intimating, that he wanted nothing but the admiral's advice to enter into action against the Spaniards; and it was this declaration that brought him the third time to court¹. In the beginning of the month of June the queen of Navarre was taken ill, and died on the 10th^m. It was the current opinion of those times, and many historians speak of it as a thing certain, that she was poisoned by one Rene, an Italian glover, by some perfumed goods which he sold her, by order of the queen-mother. It is, however, most likely, that this suspicion had no foundation. Her body was opened, in which an abscess was formed that must have been mortal; and probably it was from their persuasion of this truth, that the admiral, the prince of Condé, and the other great lords of the Hugonot party, not only remained at court, but were also less inclined to listen to the intelligence sent them from all quarters of France, that the court meditated their destruction; which, as it was true, so a little reflection will suffice to shew, that the poisoning the queen of Navarre at this juncture was inconsistent with their general scheme. Teligny, who was one of the finest young gentlemen in France, and whose merit alone had recommended him to the marriage of the admiral's daughter, was become a kind of declared favourite with the king, who had most effectually deceived him, and made use of him to detain the admiral, who had a great opinion of his sagacity and penetration. A little before the marriage, Langoiran, who had served under him in the war, came to take his leave of the admiral, who asked him why he could leave Paris at that juncture: "Sir," said he, "these people are too fond of us, and I had much rather save myself with the fools, than stay here and have my throat cut with those who are wiserⁿ." The death of the queen of Navarre caused the marriage of her son to be put off, who, notwithstanding, came to Paris at the time appointed, and was greatly caressed. On the 17th of August he was affianced to the princess Margaret by the cardinal of Bourbon, against the will of the princess, who refused to sign the contract, and who, next day, would not speak when the marriage was celebrated; but the king her brother, standing behind, forced her to nod her head, which was

¹ Memoires de Sulli,
Memoires de Brant.

^m J. Thuani.

ⁿ D'Avilla.

taken for consent °. This was on the Monday, which, with the Tuesday and Wednesday, was spent in feasting, music, and dancing. On Friday the 22d of August, as the admiral was walking from the court to his lodgings, about eleven in the morning, he received a shot from a window in the street, which carried away the second finger of his right-hand, and wounded him grievously in the left-arm. He said immediately, "This is the fruit of my reconciliation with the duke of Guise P." After dinner, the king went to make the admiral a visit, and, amongst others, made him this compliment, "You have received the wound, but it is I that suffer;" desiring, at the same time, that he would order his friends to quarter about his house, and promising to prohibit the Catholics from entering that quarter after it was night. This behaviour satisfied the admiral of the king's sincerity, and hindered him from complying with the desires of his friends, who would have carried him away, and who were strong enough to have forced a passage out of Paris if they had attempted it.

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Guise.*

In the evening the queen-mother held a cabinet council, to fix the execution of that plot which she had meditated for so many years. The members of this cabal were Henry duke of Anjou, afterwards king of Poland and of France, Gonzagua duke of Nevers, Henry of Angoulesme, grand-prior of France, and bastard brother to the king, the marshal de Tavannes, and Albert de Gondi, count de Rhetz: there it was determined to massacre the Protestants in general; and it was with some difficulty that the duke de Nevers and marshal Tavannes persuaded them to spare the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, together ° with the marshals Montmorenci and Damville, who were at first doomed to slaughter with the rest. The direction of the whole design was confided to the duke of Guise, who took with him his uncle the duke of Aumale, and the grand-prior Henry d'Angoulesme. The guards were appointed to be in arms, and the city officers were to dispose the militia to execute the king's orders, of which the signal was the ringing of a bell near the Louvre †. Some say that, when the hour approached,

° Memoires de la Reine Marguerite. Thuan. P. Daniel.
† Histoire de Matth. Vie de Gaspar de Coligni. ° His-
toire de Matth. Memoires de Tavannes. D'Avila. P. Daniel.
‡ Vie de Gaspar de Coligni. Mezeray.

which was that of midnight, the king grew indetermined; that he expressed his horror at the thought of shedding so much blood, that of his subjects, of men who came at his command, upon their confidence in his word, and particularly the admiral, whom he had detained so lately by his caresses; but that the queen-mother reproached him with his cowardice, made a frightful picture of his danger, flattered him with the hopes of ruling without controul, and, having once wrung from him an order to give the signal, hastened it, for fear he should alter his mind. These circumstances are not to be depended upon, because many writers visibly labour to excuse the young monarch at the expence of his mother, while others make it singly his act, affirming that, when it was proposed to take off a few of the heads, he cried out, "If any are to die, let there not be one left to reproach me with breach of faith."

The duke of Guise and the chevalier d'Angoulesme, accompanied by many persons of quality, and a detachment of the Swiss troops of the Catholic religion, as soon as the signal was given, attacked the house of the admiral Coligni; who, as soon as he discerned from the noise what the matter was, rose out of bed, and, while they were forcing the doors, addressed himself, in a short prayer, to God, which was scarce finished, before Besme, the most forward of the assassins, entered the room, and asked if he was Coligni? To which he answered he was; adding, "Young man, respect these grey hairs;" he answered by thrusting his sword through his body. The duke of Guise and the chevalier, growing impatient below-stairs, cried out to know if the business was done; and, being told it was, commanded that the body should be thrown out of the window. As soon as it fell on the ground, the chevalier, or, as some say, the duke of Guise, wiping the blood off the face with his handkerchief, as soon as he knew the face, kicked it with his foot. The body was then abandoned to the fury of the populace, who, after a series of cruel and insolent affronts, dragged it to the common gallows, to which it was chained by the feet, the head being cut off, and carried to the queen-mother, who, it is said, caused it to be embalmed and sent to Rome. The king himself went to see it hang upon the gibbet, where, a fire being kindled under it, part was

*The cruel
massacre of
the admiral
followed by
that of all
the Pro-
testants.*

* Memoires de Brantome. Memoires de la Reine Marguerite.
 † D'Avila. Dupleix. Mezeray. † Thuan. Memoires de
 l'Amiral de Coligni. † Matth. Histoire de France. Serres.
 Le Gendre.

burnt, and the rest scorched. However, the miserable remains were, in the night, taken down, by the command of the marshal duke de Montmorency, who caused them to be honourably interred at Chantilly *. In the very Louvre, the gentlemen belonging to the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were murdered under the king's eye; two of them, wounded and pursued by the assassins, fled into the bed-chamber of the queen of Navarre, and leaped upon her bed, beseeching her to save their lives; and as she went to ask this favour of the queen-mother, two more, under the like circumstances, rushed into the room, and threw themselves at her feet. The queen-mother came to the windows to enjoy these dreadful scenes; and the king, seeing the Hugonots, who were lodged on the other side of the river, flying, called for his long gun, and fired upon them †.

Consequences of this barbarous action avowed and boasted of by the king.

It is not within our province to pursue the story of this tragical event, through all its circumstances, which would require a work of considerable length; we shall only observe that, within the space of three or four days, several thousands were destroyed, by all the variety of cruel deaths that the most unbounded malice could invent. Peter Ramus, professor of philosophy and the mathematics, after being robbed of all he possessed, his belly being first ripped open, was thrown out of a window; the news of which catastrophe so affrighted Denis Lambin, the king's professor, that, though a zealous Catholic, he died of terror. The first two days the king denied the massacre was perpetrated by his orders, and threw the whole blame upon the house of Guise; but on the 28th of August, he went to the parliament, avowed it, was complimented upon it, and directed a process against the admiral, by which his memory was stigmatised as a traitor. Two innocent gentlemen, of respectable characters, were executed as accomplices in a conspiracy against the life of the king, the princes his brothers, the queen-mother, and the king of Navarre, in order to set the crown on the head of the young prince of Condé, a conspiracy which never existed, but by owning of which they might have saved their lives; a proposition they rejected with contempt. They were executed by torch-light, and the king, the queen-mother, with the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, carried thither by force, were spectators of this horrid act.

* *Memoires de la Reine Marguerite.*
 † *Tevannes. Memoires de Brant.*

† *Memoires de*

They also assisted at the jubilee proclaimed to thank God for the success of a design that reflects dishonour on the Christian religion^z, and indelible infamy on all who contrived, executed, or approved it.

On the eve of St. Bartholomew, orders had been sent to the governors of provinces to let loose the people upon the Protestants; and though an edict was published before the end of the week, assuring them of the king's protection, and that he by no means meant to exterminate them because of their religion, yet private orders were sent of a nature directly contrary; in consequence of which the massacre, or as, in allusion to the Sicilian Vespers, it was now styled the Matins of Paris, were repeated in Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Angiers, Toulouse, Rouen, and Lyons, so that, in the space of two months, thirty thousand Protestants were butchered in cold blood, if that expression may be used in speaking of people influenced by the most detestable passions^a. La Charite on the Loire, one of the cautionary towns given to the Protestants, was surprised, and the inhabitants were abandoned to the rage of their enemies. The other three were more upon their guard, and became thereby sanctuaries to such of their religion as took shelter in them. In some of the provinces, however, the governors gave but little countenance to the barbarities that were exercised; and in others they absolutely refused to execute them at all; alleging, that their swords were at the king's command against his enemies, but not against his subjects^b. The king of Navarre was easily prevailed upon to abjure the Protestant religion, and to send an edict into his own dominions, forbidding the exercise of it; which, however, was not obeyed. The court had more trouble with the prince of Condé, who shewed great firmness in his religion, though the king, who undertook his conversion, proposed the strongest argument in three words, Mass, Death, or the Bastile^c. At length they brought his chaplain to abjure, and he persuaded his master to follow his example, as the prince of Conti and the count de Soissons did also. The people of Rochelle began to provide for their own defence; and the count de Montgomery, who made his escape out of Paris on the day of the massacre, went into England to solicit succours. The court sent the famous la Houe, one of the

*Example of
Paris fol-
lowed in
other cities.*

A D. 1572.

^z Jacob. Thuan. D'Avila. Le Gendre.
de l'Amiral de Coligni. Dupleix. P. Daniel.
Mezeray.

^a Memoires
^b Serres.

^c D'Avila. Memoires de Brant. P. Daniel.

best officers in France, and a zealous protestant, to persuade the people of Rochelle to submit; but it was by his advice that they disposed every thing in such a manner as enabled them to make a great and glorious resistance; yet he did not betray his trust, but, at the same time that he fortified Rochelle, he advised the people to submit to their sovereign, provided they had a reasonable security given them for the peaceable enjoyment of their properties and their religion ^d.

chelle
ieged.

When it appeared that artifice would do nothing, and that the bloody matins of St. Bartholomew had actually cured the Protestants of their credulity, the court had recourse to force. Biron had orders to invest Rochelle by land, while Strozzi with a fleet, and the baron de la Garde with a squadron of gallies, blocked it up by sea ^e. In the mean time, other places having revolted, three armies were set on foot; the first, under the command of the marshal Damville, was employed to reduce Sommiers; which, after an obstinate resistance of two months, was taken; but it ruined the army, so that it was out of his power to take Nismes. Monsieur Le Chastre, with the second, besieged Sancerre, which, though neither strong nor well fortified, held out eight months; during which time there perished two thousand people in the town through famine; and a father is said to have lived a week upon the body of his deceased daughter. At length the place submitted, but upon tolerable terms. The third, commanded by the marquis de Villars, now made admiral, was sent into Guienne, and reduced the greatest part of that country: but the whole force of France was, in a manner, assembled before Rochelle, the siege of which was commanded by the duke of Anjou, accompanied by his brother the duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, the duke of Montpensier, all the princes of the house of Guise, the duke of Nevers, the marshal de Cossé, and the flower of the French nobility. It lasted eight months, during which the besieged sustained nine general and twenty particular assaults, in one of which the duke d'Aumale was slain ^f. The count de Montgomery, with a fleet from England, attempted to succour them, but in vain ^g; notwithstanding which disappointment, and Monf. La Noue's quitting them, they still

^d Matthieu Histoire de France. Jacob. Thuan. ^e Popeliniere.
^f Matth. Histoire de France. Popeliniere. Mezeray.
^g Cambden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

defended themselves with the same firmness; disposing all things with such prudence, that they enjoyed a good state of health, and a tolerable subsistence; while the army without was equally exposed to famine and diseases. The duke of Anjou himself would have been killed by a musquet-ball, if a gentleman, whose name was de Vigne, had not seen the man taking aim, and, pushing the duke aside, received it into his own body^h. The news arriving that the duke of Anjou was elected king of Poland, a general attack was made, and this failing, the duke, who had already lost four-and-twenty thousand men, resolved to make an end of the affair by a peace. The measures for this being concerted, the people of Rochelle surrendered, and intreated his highness to enter their town; which invitation, as it had been agreed beforehand, he refused; the edicts of pacification were renewed, and the inhabitants of Rochelle promised to be good subjects for the futureⁱ. Thus ended the fourth civil war, by a peace which the court did not intend to keep, and to which the Protestants never trusted.

The miseries of France were daily augmented by new disturbances; the king was grown excellently jealous of his brother the duke of Anjou, who had been always his mother's favourite, and who, by being continually at the head of the army, had at least as much authority as his brother. The king was therefore extremely well pleased at his election, and desired nothing so much as to see him fairly out of France. On the other hand, the duke of Anjou, who was made a king in a manner against his will, who loved an indolent and luxurious life, the conversation of several young men, whom he styled his friends, and the rest of the world his flatterers, till, in process of time, they fell upon a worse appellation, and who was also vehemently enamoured of the princess of Condé, could not bear the thoughts of parting, notwithstanding the ambassadors from Poland pressed him every day; and the king told their mother, that the kingdom was not large enough to hold them both^k. The duke of Guise adhered to the duke of Anjou, and offered to support him if he had been inclined to stay, whether his brother would or not; but, besides this, there was another formidable and dangerous faction, styled *La Politiques*; these were indifferently of both religions, chiefly the more moderate Catholics, such

*Henry duke
of Anjou
elected king
of Poland.*

^h ⁱ Jacob, Thuani. Dupl. P. Dan. ⁱ Serres. ^k Histoire de Matth. Memoires de Brant. Jacobi Thuani.

as the Montmorencis, the marshal de Coffe, and monsieur de Biron. At the head of these was the duke of Alençon, who had a mind to set aside one brother, and perhaps both. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé had entered a little into his schemes, which went no farther in appearance than redressing the numberless disorders in the state, and excluding foreigners from the council. The Protestants, encouraged by this party, and knowing how little they had to expect either from the king or the duke of Anjou, began to form new demands, and such as they thought might afford them a real security: to procure which, they set on foot a general confederacy, that they might the better know, and the more easily exert the force of their whole party; and the government was fallen so low, that, in little more than a twelvemonth, it was deliberated whether, yielding to necessity, they should not grant their own terms to those whom they had threatened to exterminate from the face of the earth. The king accompanied his brother towards the frontiers, not out of affection, but for fear he should fix himself, and raise a party in some of the distant provinces¹. In this journey, however, he was seized with a kind of slow malignant fever, which, from the beginning, had a very dangerous appearance; and with regard to which, the queen-mother expressed herself strangely, when she took leave of the king of Poland in Lorraine, "Go, son (said she) enter into possession of your kingdom; but be assured, that your stay there shall not be long." The government was now entirely in her hands, her creature Birague being chancellor, and scarce any but her Italians being intrusted with the secrets of the state. These in effect were endeavouring to contrive means to pillage the people, and, instead of a regular and legal government, to establish an absolute tyranny, under the direction of an ambitious woman, and her insolent favourites.

The courts of France and England continued still to dissemble with each other. The queen-mother was afraid that Elizabeth would assist the Hugonots, and Elizabeth was still apprehensive of the Spaniards and the queen of Scots. In the mean time, the Hugonots perceiving, that, though the court had refused to grant their demands, they had not courage enough to arrest their deputies, resolved to proceed in their scheme of putting themselves, once for all, in a posture of defence, so as to treat for the future in

New troubles in the court of France, and a third party headed by the duke of Alençon.

¹ Serres. Dupl. Mez. P. Dan.

the quality of a body politic, and not as subjects in arms against their prince. It was with this view that they formed a confederacy, into which, by the advice of monsieur La Noue, the people of Rochelle entered^m. In consequence of this they began to stir in other parts of France, and more especially in Normandy. The court directed three armies to be raised for carrying on this fifth civil war, and, in the mean time, the queen-mother earnestly pressed the treaty of marriage with queen Elizabeth, in favour of her third son the duke of Alençon. This, Elizabeth seemed to encourage, and even granted that young prince a safe-conduct to come and visit her in her own dominions; which, though he solicited with warmth, yet, when he had got it, he did not use, being engaged at home in some intrigues of a very extraordinary nature. His friends openly solicited for him the post of lieutenant-general, as his brother had enjoyed it. The king was averse to this demand, and the queen-mother much more so; but it could not well be refusedⁿ: but, while this was in agitation, the Hugonots in arms in Normandy advanced a small corps of cavalry very near St. Germain, where the court then resided. The design was to have carried off the duke of Alençon, who had consented to it, but they came ten days too soon, so that he was not ready^o. It occasioned, however, a dreadful consternation; and the Catholics, affecting to believe that there was a design of returning the compliment of St. Bartholomew, retired in precipitation out of Paris; the queen-mother and her ladies amongst the rest; and the next day the king himself went to the castle of Bois de Vincennes, causing the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre to be put under a guard, and treating this as a new conspiracy against his person^p. The marshals Montmorency and Cossé, repairing to court to justify themselves, were arrested and sent to the Bastile; the prince of Condé, and the other brothers of the marshal Montmorency would have shared the same fate, if the prince, who was then in his government of Picardy, had not very wisely retired to Strasburgh, where following once more the example of his chaplain, he declared his reconciliation to the church of Rome to have been forced and insincere, and, at his earnest request, was again admitted into communion with the Protestants

^m Jacobi Thuani. P. Dan.ⁿ Serres. Dupl. Mez. Cam-

den's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

^o Jacobi Thuani.^p Matth. Histoire de France. Mémoires de la Reine Marguerite.

of that city¹. At court, La Moule, who had betrayed his master the duke of Alençon, and who was a strange compound of superstition and debauchery, lost his head upon a scaffold, as did also the count de Coconas, a Piedmontese, who pretended not to any religion, but had been very active in the business of St. Bartholomew. Tourtai, a man of less consequence, was broke alive upon the wheel². The duke of Alençon made a mean confession, but the king of Navarre behaved with great spirit and resolution, and treated the queen-mother with a degree of freedom that put her very much out of countenance³. He ascribed all the troubles of France to her arts, and affirmed she excited them to make herself necessary.

*Miserable
death of
Charles IX.*

In the mean time the queen-mother, who neglected nothing that might facilitate her views in favour of the duke of Anjou, procured her son-in-law the duke of Lorraine to be invested with the title of the king's lieutenant-general; and having, under colour of this new conspiracy, brought into danger most of those who were inclined to oppose her, began to act more openly and boldly, and as if the sovereign power had been solely in her hands. The wretched king was hastening to his grave, under the most terrible agonies and tortures. He was little master of his own actions; and, though absolute power had been his aim, he was by this time very sensible that he had, in effect, no power at all. To recover it, he projected schemes of reformation; declared frequently and openly, that he desired no more than legal authority; that affairs of order and justice should be left entirely to the parliaments; the direction of military affairs to the marshals; and that he would reserve to himself the care only of reforming his court, and relieving his people. Some add, that he expressed a resolution of removing from about him such as had advised the massacre: but it is very difficult to judge of the authorities on which these reports are founded; and besides, he was so infamous for his dissimulation, that we know not what to think of these declarations, even supposing them to have been made: this is very certain, that his mother influenced him to the very last. She had procured from him letters for the governors of provinces, and other officers civil and military, to obey her commands; but, not satisfied with these, a little before he died, she

¹ Serres. Dupl. Mez. ² Jacob. Thuan. P. Dan. ³ Le Laboureux dans la Continuation des Memoires de Castelnau. Le Gend.

engaged him to give his orders to the chancellor Birague, her creature, to draw and seal a commission to her to be regent of the kingdom^t. The very morning that he died, he sent for the duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, the cardinal de Bourbon, the chancellor, the secretary of state, and several other great persons, to whom he declared his brother the king of Poland his heir, and the queen-mother regent till his arrival, and sent his testament to the parliament to the like effect^u. After having thus performed all that the queen-mother had for him to do, he breathed his last on the 30th of May, which was Whitsunday, in the middle of the fourteenth year of his reign, and towards the close of the twenty-fourth year of his life^v. His body was opened after his demise, and, upon inspection, it is said, there appeared no marks of poison, a circumstance which refuted the suspicion that had fallen upon the duke of Alençon. Others allege that he was taken off by one who understood the mysteries of that detestable art so well, as to remove enemies, without leaving grounds of discovery. The common opinion of those times was, that his end was indeed out of the course of nature, but in consequence of the express judgment of God, for the cruelties he had exercised on his subjects, which he blasphemously imputed to a motive of religion (L).

The

- ^t Jacobi Thuani. Papirius Masso, in Vit. Caroli IX. P. Dan.
^u Serres. Duplex. Memoires de Brant. ^v Mez. Chalons.

(L) Charles IX. was tall, well made, robust, but stooped a little in his shoulders. He had a pale complexion, a sharp nose, and quick, or rather haggard eyes. He had an extensive capacity, a very retentive memory, much sagacity, a wonderful penetration, and great solidity in judgment. He spoke easily, pertinently, and with dignity. He pretended to love learning and learned men, more especially poets, and was the patron of the great Ronfard. He sung well, and wrote verses. He also wrote a treatise upon hunting, which has been since

published. He had personal courage, was very sober, naturally modest, and not much inclined to women. Let us now see how a prince with so many good qualities came to make so bad a figure. He had two ill qualities that are seldom found united, he was a deep dissembler, and yet passionate to a degree of madness. He loved hunting immoderately, and from delighting in the blood of beasts, came to spill that of men without concern. He seldom spoke without swearing, a vice which he caught from the count de Rhetz, his mother's

Interregnum.

THE situation of the kingdom on the demise of Charles the Ninth was equally new and strange; the queen-mother

instrument in corrupting his manners. He was as easily provoked as he was hard to be appeased. He had a violence in his temper which at once shewed itself, and was heightened by his diversions; for, besides his passion for hunting, he was a great lover of tennis, and would also work frequently at the forge, being an excellent gunsmith. His impetuosity appeared even in his dancing, with which he fatigued himself and his whole court. He had one amusement singular, and which spoke his character; he coined false money with his own hands, and was never so well pleased as when he cheated people. The debauchery of his, or rather of his mother's court, ruined his morals and his temper. The necessity he was under of managing opposite factions, taught him to disguise his sentiments, and his frequent disappointments inspired him with deep resentments. Hence it is said, that, at the age of twenty, he excelled Tiberius in address, and equalled Nero in cruelty. After the massacre on the eve of St. Bartholomew, he had a fierceness in his look, and a colour in his cheeks, which he never had before.

He slept little, and never sound. He waked frequently in agonies, and had soft music, with the voices of his pages, to compose him again to rest. He dissembled in his last moments, expressing great kindness towards his brother, whom he hated, and much respect to the queen-mother, whom he intended to have sent into Poland, to make a visit to her beloved son. He espoused Elizabeth of Austria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian (1). She refused Philip the Second, who was very desirous of marrying her, and died January 2, 1592, in the thirty-eighth year of her age. By her he had a daughter, Mary Elizabeth, to whom the queen of England was god-mother. This young princess died before she was six years old. The king had also a son by Mary Touchet, daughter of a gentleman of family, who had a considerable office at Orleans. His son by her was styled Charles de Valois, successively grand prior of France, count of Auvergne, and duke of Angoulesme. Besides Mary Touchet, the king had at least two other mistresses that are known. One of them was a young lady of admirable beauty and heroic virtue, who never listened to

(1) Jacob Thuan. Popelinier. J. de Serres. Brantome.

ther was in actual possession of the government, and, at the same time, universally hated, except by her own creatures, whom she had raised from nothing, and whom she supported against all the world. She shewed vast abilities upon this occasion; for, though the slightest accident must have thrown all things into confusion, yet she acted with such dignity, so much order, and so great presence of mind, that every thing went on contrary to all probability *. The chancellor engaged the parliament to send their compliments of condolance, and, at the same time, to desire that she would take the regency into her hands. She constrained the two princes, who were prisoners, to write, in conjunction with her, to the provinces, as if they acted entirely in concert. She removed from the Bois de Vincennes to the Louvre, caused all the passages, except the great gate, to be walled up, and kept her son and her son-in-law not only under a guard, but in an apartment secured with strong grates †. The two marshals were still in the Bastile, and the people of Paris, having shewn a malignant joy at their imprisonment, she trusted that fortrefs to the guard of the townsmen, and thereby secured both it and them. She sent an Italian ecclesiastic to Rochelle, to negotiate, or rather to purchase, a truce, while, in the mean time, she hired Swiss and German troops. The Protestants, by her permission, held an assembly at Milhaud, in Rouvergne, where they received letters from marshal Damville and the prince of Coadé, in consequence of which they made a league with the former, in

*An inter-
regnum,
during
which the
queen-mo-
ther is re-
gent of the
kingdom.*

* Duplex. Mezeray. Le Gendre. † Journal des
Choses memorables advenues durant tout le Regne de Henry III.
Jacobi Thuani. P. Dan.

the king's solicitations, nevertheless, he visited her from esteem, and shewed her the highest marks of respect as long as he lived. Another mistress of his was the wife of Charles de Gondi, Seigneur de la Tour, master of his wardrobe, brother to the count de Rhetz, and to the bishop of Paris. The queen-mother is said to

have told this man in confidence, the king had a mind to send him on a journey into the other world, that he might the more freely enjoy his wife; by which intimation la Tour was induced to administer a dose to the king, and followed him in a few weeks after, by the like conveyance (2).

(2) Mass. in Vit. Carol. IX. Jacob Thuan. P. Daniel.

quality of governor of Languedoc, and declared the latter their chief protector and captain-general, but, at the same time, limited his authority, by assigning him a council ^a. The queen-mother was sufficiently displeas'd with their proceedings, though she dissembled her disgust, and, on the 26th of June, under pretence of revenging the death of the king her husband, but in reality to strike a terror into her enemies of every party, she caus'd the unfortunate count of Montgomery to be publicly beheaded, after having been cruelly tortured, though his life had been promis'd him when he surrender'd ^a. She receiv'd letters patent from her son in Poland, which gave her a legal title to the regency; and, having sent the marshal de Rhetz to the frontiers of Champagne, to receive the foreign troops she had caus'd to be rais'd, she set out for Lyons, carrying the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre with her, but leaving the two marshals close confin'd ^b.

^a J. de Serres. Dupleix. Mezeray.

Choses memorables advenues durant tout le Regne Henry III.

Dupleix. P. Daniel. Le Gendre.

^a Journal des

^b Jacobi Thuani. Me-

zeray.

END OF THE TWENTIETH VOLUME.







