

THE  
A G E  
OF  
LEWIS XIV.

Translated from the FRENCH of  
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

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VOL. I.  
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T H E

## Editor's P R E F A C E.

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

I thought such an edition as this would be preferable to one larger, and more pompous: and I dare affirm, that these two Volumes contain more interesting facts, and curious anecdotes, than are in any of the immense collections which have hitherto been published upon the reign of Lewis XIV.

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





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THE



THE  
AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

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CHAPTER I.

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INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE life of Lewis XIV. is not the only object of this work : its design is greater and more extensive. We would endeavour to describe to posterity, not the actions only of one man, but the genius of the age ; that age which was the most enlightened of all others.

Heroes and politicians are the product of all ages : all nations have suffered revolutions ; and all histories are equal to him who reads only to store his memory with facts. But whoever thinks, and, what is yet more uncommon, whoever has a taste, will regard only four ages in the history of the world.



## 2 INTRODUCTION.

These four happy ages are those wherein the arts have been perfected, and which, serving as an epocha of the grandeur of the human understanding, are an example to all posterity.

The first of these ages, to which true glory is annexed, is that of Philip and Alexander; or of Pericles, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Plato, Apelles, Phidias, and Praxiteles; and this honour was confined within the limits of Greece: the rest of the world was barbarous.

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

The third is that which followed the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Then it was that a single family of citizens only, were seen in Italy to do what should have been undertaken by the kings of Europe: the Medici drew to Florence the arts, which the Turks banished out of Greece. The glory of Italy now shone with the brightest lustre. All the sciences recovered new life. The Italians honoured them with the name of *Vertu*, as the Greeks had characterized them by the name of *Wisdom*. Every thing tended towards perfection: Michael-Angelo, Raphael, Titian, Tasso, Ariosto, flourished. The art of engraving was invented. Beautiful architecture again appeared, even more admirable than in Rome, when in its most triumphant state; and Gothic barbarity, which in all things had



## INTRODUCTION. 3

had disfigured Europe, was banished from all parts of Italy, and a better taste succeeded.

The arts, continuing to be transplanted out of Greece into Italy, found themselves in a favourable soil, in which they grew and improved very fast. France, England, Germany, and Spain, were desirous, in their turns, to taste the sweets of these fruits; but they either did not come into these climates at all, or degenerated in them very suddenly.

Francis the first, indeed, gave encouragement to men of learning; but they were only men of learning: he had architects also, and painters; but he had neither Michael-Angelo's nor Palladio's. He, in vain, endeavoured to establish schools of painting. The Italian painters, whom he sent for, formed no French scholars under them. Under the reign of Henry the second, a few epigrams, and some loose tales, composed the whole of our poetry; and Rabelais was our only fashionable author in prose.

In a word, the Italians alone had every thing, except music, which was not yet formed into a regular art; and experimental philosophy, which was every-where equally unknown.

Finally, the fourth is that which is called The age of Lewis XIV. and it is, perhaps, of the four, that which approaches the nearest to perfection. Being enriched with the discoveries of the preceding ages, it made a greater progress in some things than the

## 4 INTRODUCTION.

three others together. Indeed, all the arts were never carried to a greater degree of perfection than under the ages of the Medici's, the Augustus's, and the Alexanders: but human reason, in general, was in this brought nearer to perfection. True philosophy was discovered only in this age: and it may with truth be said, that, from the last years of cardinal Richlieu to the death of Lewis XIV. there happened a general revolution, not only in our government, but in our arts, minds, and manners; which ought to be an eternal epocha of the true glory of our country. And this happy influence was not confined to France, but extended into England, where it excited the emulation which that sensible and thinking nation then wanted. It carried taste into Germany, and the sciences into Muscovy; it even reanimated the languishing state of Italy; and Europe, in general, owes its politeness to the court of Lewis XIV.

Before this time, the Italians called all those nations on the other side the Alps by the name of barbarians; and it must be confessed, that the French, in some degree, merited this reproachful appellation. Our ancestors, to the romantic gallantry of the Moors, joined the rude barbarity of the Goths: they knew scarce any of the amiable arts; and this proves, that the useful ones were likewise neglected: for when those which are necessary, are once brought to a degree of perfection, the beautiful and the agreeable soon succeed: and it is not surprising, that poetry, painting, sculpture, eloquence, and philosophy, were almost entirely

## I N T R O D U C T I O N. §

tirely unknown to a nation, which, though it had ports upon the ocean and the Mediterranean, was nevertheless destitute of ships; and which, though luxurious to excess, was possessed only of a few of the most ordinary manufactories.

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

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

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

## 6 INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

Cardinal Richlieu, being employed in humbling the house of Austria, and the great lords, and in preventing the increase of Calvinism, was too much engaged in these affairs, to reform the nation; however, he at least began this happy work.

*Thus, for the space of nine hundred years, our genius has been almost always obscured under a Gothic*

## INTRODUCTION. 7

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

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

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

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

We shall endeavour to shew the state of France, and the other nations of Europe, before the birth of Lewis XIV. after which we shall relate the great, political, and military events in his reign. The interior government of the kingdom, which is of the greatest consequence to the people, shall be treated seperately. The private life of Lewis XIV. and the particularities of his court and reign, will make a considerable part. We shall also have other articles for the arts, the sciences, and the progress

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gress of the human understanding, in this age. Finally, we shall say something concerning the church, which has been so long united with the government, which sometimes weakens, and sometimes strengthens it; and which, though instituted to teach religion and morality, does but too often give itself up to politics, and all the human passions.

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OF



Of the States of EUROPE before  
Lewis XIV.

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

After

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

### Of GERMANY.

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

Every

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

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

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

Germany,

Germany, Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, part of Bohemia, Hungary, the states of the house of Brunswick, and Wirtemberg, follow the Lutheran religion; which they call Evangelical. All the free imperial cities have embraced this sect, which was considered as more suitable than the catholic religion to people jealous of their liberties.

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

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

In 1619, the emperor Matthias dying without children, the Protestant party exerted itself to deprive the house of Austria of the imperial dignity,

nity, and prevent it from descending upon any of the Roman communion : but Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, the cousin of Matthias, was nevertheless elected emperor. He was before king of Bohemia and Hungary, by the abdication of Matthias, and by the choice which the people of these two kingdoms made of him.

This Ferdinand II. continued to persecute and weaken the Protestant party. He, for some time, beheld himself the most powerful and the most happy monarch in Christendom ; not so much by his own merit, as by the success of his two great generals, Walstein and Tilly ; for he followed the example of many of the princes of the house of Austria, was a conqueror without being a general, and was happy thro' the merit of those whom he employed. His power had long menaced both the Protestants and Catholics with slavery : the alarm was spread even as far as Rome, over which this title of emperor, and king of the Romans, gives chimerical rights, which the least occasion may render but too real. Rome, which, on its side, antiently pretended to a still more chimerical right over the empire, at this time united with France against the house of Austria. The money of France, the intrigues of Rome, and the complaints of all the Protestants, at last drew out of the heart of Sweden Gustavus Adolphus, the only king of that time who could pretend to the name of an hero, and the only one who was able to humble the Austrian power.

The arrival of Gustavus in Germany changed the face of Europe. In 1631. he defeated general Tilly in the battle of Leipfick, fo celebrated for the new methods of war which this king put in practice, and which are ftill confidered as fome of the mafter-pieces in the military art.

The emperor Ferdinand, in 1632. was on the point of lofing Bohemia, Hungary, and the empire; but he was faved by his good fortune: Gustavus Adolphus was killed at the battle of Lutzen, in the midft of his victory; and the death of this fingle man re-eftablifhed what this fingle man could alone have deftroyed.

The policy of the houfe of Austria, which had funk under the arms of Adolphus, found itfelf fuperior to every thing elfe. It detached the moft powerful princes of the empire from the alliance with Sweden: and thefe victorious troops, being abandoned by their allies, and deprived of their king, were defeated at Norlingen; and tho' they were afterwards more fuccefsful, yet they were always lefs to be feared than under Gustavus.

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

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

### OF SPAIN.

THE Spaniards, being governed by the eldest branch of the house of Austria, after the death of Charles the fifth, had spread more terror than the Germans. The kings of Spain were incomparably more rich and absolute. The mines of Mexico and  
Potosi

Potosi seemed to furnish them wherewith to purchase the liberties of Europe. The project of universal monarchy over the Christian world, which had been formed by Charles the fifth, was immediately adopted by Philip II. who, immured in the Escorial, yet, by negotiations, and by war, endeavoured the subjection of Christendom. He invaded Portugal, ravaged France, and menaced England. But being, perhaps, fitter to traffick with slaves at a distance, than to combat his enemies in person, he added no conquest to the easy invasion of Portugal: he voluntarily sacrificed fifteen hundred millions, which make near three thousand millions of our present money, to subject France, and regain Holland: but his treasures only served to enrich the countries he was desirous to subdue.

Philip III. his son, being still less martial and less wise than his father, had but few of the virtues requisite in a king. Superstition, the vice of feeble minds, obscured his reign, and weakened the Spanish monarchy. His kingdom began to be depopulated by the numerous colonies, which avarice transplanted into the new world; and it was in these circumstances, that he drove out of his kingdom near eight hundred thousand Moors, tho', on the contrary, he ought rather to have invited more to come into it, if it is true that the number of subjects constitutes the wealth and strength of monarchs. Spain, after this, became almost a desert: the lazy pride of the inhabitants suffered the riches of the new world to pass into other hands: the gold of Peru became the property of all the merchants of



Europe: and 'tis in vain that other nations are prohibited entrance into the ports of Spanish America by severe laws; for the factors of France, England, and Italy, load the galleons with their own merchandizes, enjoy the chief profits arising therefrom, and it may with truth be said, that Mexico and Peru have been conquered for them.

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

Philip IV. who inherited his father's weakness, lost Portugal by his own negligence, Roussillon by the weakness of his arms, and Catalonia by the abuse of despotism. It was this king, to whom the count duke d'Olivares, his favourite and his minister, gave the name of Great, at his accession to the crown, perhaps with design to excite him to deserve that title; of which, however, he was so unworthy, that, tho' he was a king, no one ever called him great. Such kings cannot long be successful in their wars against France. And if our divisions and mistakes gave them some advantages, they lost the fruits of them by their incapacity. Besides, they commanded a people, who, by their privileges, assumed a right to serve them ill. The Castillians had the prerogative of not serving in the wars out of their own country; the Arragonians were perpetually disputing their liberty against the royal council; and the Catalans, who considered their kings as their enemies, did not even permit them

to raise forces in their provinces. Thus this fine kingdom had then but very little power abroad, and was miserable at home. The gifts of nature in these happy climates were seconded by no industry. Neither the silks of Valentia, nor the fine cloths of Andalusia and Castile, were manufactured by the hands of Spaniards. Fine linens were a luxury but very little known. The manufactories of Flanders, the monumental remains of the house of Burgundy, furnished Madrid with every thing they then knew of magnificence. . . . Stuffs of gold and silver were prohibited in this monarchy, as they would have been in an indigent republic that feared being impoverished. In reality, notwithstanding the mines of the new world, Spain was so poor, that the ministry of Philip IV. were reduced to the necessity of coining brass money, on which a value was set almost as great as upon silver. It became necessary for the master of Mexico and Peru to make false money, to defray the expences of the state: for, if the sage Gourville may be credited, they dared not to impose personal taxes, because neither the citizens nor the people of the country, as they had scarce any effects, could have been made to pay. Such was the state of Spain; yet, nevertheless, being reunited with the empire, it put a considerable weight into the balance of Europe.

### Of PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL had just at that time become an independent kingdom. John duke of Braganza, who passed for a weak prince, had forced this province

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

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

### OF HOLLAND.

THIS little state of Seven united provinces, barren, unhealthy, and almost overwhelmed by the sea, was, for about half a century, almost the only example upon earth of what may be effected by the love of liberty, and an indefatigable industry. These poor people, far from being numerous, much less martial than the worst of the Spanish forces, and who as yet were of no consideration in Europe, resisted the whole force of their master and tyrant Philip II. eluded the designs of several princes, who would have succeeded them with a view to their subjection, and laid the foundations of a power, which

which has since been seen to balance that of Spain itself. The despair which is inspired by tyranny, armed them at first; liberty raised their courage; the princes of the house of Orange made them excellent soldiers; and no sooner were they become their masters conquerors, than they established a form of government, which preserves, as much as possible, that equality, which is the natural right of mankind.

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

The doctrines of Calvin prevailing in Holland, served still more to increase its power. This country, which was then so poor, would not have been able either to support the grandeur of prelates, or to maintain religious orders; neither could a nation, which was in want of inhabitants, admit those to live among them, who should engage themselves by oath, as far as was in their power, to suffer the human species to perish. They had before them the example of England, which, after the ecclesiastics were permitted to enjoy the sweets of marriage, and the hopes of families were no longer buried in the celibacy of a cloister, had become more populous by one-third.

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

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

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

port, grew, in its turn, the magazine of the world. All Holland was enriched, and render'd beautiful, by immense labours. The waters of the sea were confined by double banks. Canals, cut in all the towns, were faced with stone; the streets became large quays, ornamented with fine trees; and barks, laden with merchandizes, were brought to the doors of almost every inhabitant: so that now foreigners are always struck with admiration at this singular mixture, formed by the houses, the tops of the trees, and the streamers of the ships, which at once, and in the same place, exhibit a view of the city, the country, and the sea.

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

### OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, being much more powerful, affected the sovereignty of the seas, and pretended to hold the balance between the powers of Europe: but Charles I. who ascended the throne in 1625. was so far from being able to support the weight of this balance, that he found the preservation of his own crown difficult and precarious. He shewed himself desirous to render his power in England independent of the laws, and to change the religion in Scotland. He was too obstinate to desist from these designs, and too weak to execute them. He was a  
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good

good husband, a good master, a good father, and an honest man; but he was an ill-adviced king; and engaged himself in a civil war, which at last deprived him of his crown, together with his life, upon a scaffold, by a revolution that was almost unparalleled.

This civil war, which was commenced in the minority of Lewis XIV. prevented England, for a time, from entering into the interests of its neighbours. She lost her weight together with her honour; her commerce was interrupted, and she was regarded by the other nations of Europe as buried under her own ruins, till the time when she, on a sudden, became more formidable than ever, under the dominion of Cromwell, who subjected her, by bearing the scriptures in one hand, the sword in the other, and the mask of religion upon his countenance; and who, in his government, effaced the crime of usurpation by the real qualities of a great king.

### OF ROME.

THAT balance which England had long flattered herself she maintained between the sovereigns of Europe by her power, the court of Rome attempted to hold by her policy. Italy was divided, as at this day, into several sovereignties. What the pope possesses, is considerable enough to render him respected as a prince; but not sufficiently so to make him formidable. The nature of his government does not increase the people of his territories, who, besides,

besides, have but little money or commerce: his spiritual authority, in which there is always some share of temporal, is despised and rejected among one half of the Christian powers; and if, in the other, he is regarded as a father, yet his children have sometimes reason to oppose him, and frequently do it with success. The maxim of France is to regard him as a sacred, but enterprising person, whose toe it is necessary to kiss, but whose hands it is sometimes proper to bind. In all the catholic countries, the steps may still be seen which the court of Rome has formerly taken towards universal monarchy. All the princes of the Catholic religion, at their accession, send *embassies of obedience*, as they are called, to the pope. Each crown has in Rome a cardinal, who assumes the title of protector. The pope distributes bulls for all bishopricks, and therein expresses himself, as though he conferred these dignities by his own power alone. All the Italian, Spanish, Flemish, and even French bishops are so called, by the divine permission, and that of the holy see. There is no kingdom wherein there are not many benefices in his nomination; and he receives the first year's revenues of the consistorial benefices, as a tribute.

The religious orders, whose chiefs reside at Rome, are likewise so many immediate subjects to the popes, dispersed in every state. Custom, which does every thing, and through which the world is governed by abuses as well as by laws, has not always permitted princes intirely to remedy these abuses, even tho' they concerned the most sacred  
and



and useful things. To take an oath to any other than one's lawful sovereign, is considered as high-treason among the laity, and yet in a cloister it is an act of religion. The difficulty of knowing how far one ought to obey this foreign sovereign, the easiness of being seduced, the pleasure of shaking off a natural yoke to put on another, which we take voluntarily upon ourselves, the spirit of contention, and the unhappiness of the times, have but too often engaged whole orders of religious in the service of Rome against their country.

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

If a person would annul his marriage, espouse his cousin or his niece, or be absolved from his vows, it is to Rome, and not to his bishop, that he must address himself. Services of this kind are taxed

taxed there, and private persons of all nations purchase dispensations at all prices.

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

No court ever better understood how to behave according to persons and times. The popes are almost always Italians, perfectly well skilled in affairs, without being blinded by their passions: their council is composed of cardinals, who resemble them, and who are all animated with the same spirit. From this council are issued those orders which extend even to China and America; so that, in this sense, it presides over the universe; and one may say of it what a stranger formerly said of the senate of Rome: *I have seen a consistory of kings.* Most of our writers have, with reason, exclaimed against the ambition of this court: but I do not find one who has done sufficient justice to her prudence. I am in doubt whether any other nation could, for so long a course of time, have preserved in Europe so many prerogatives, which have always been opposed and contested. Any other nation would perhaps have lost them, either by its pride or weakness, by its slowness or vivacity: but Rome having almost continually behaved with a  
proper

proper firmness or compliance, has preserved every thing which there was a possibility of preserving. She was rampant under Charles the fifth, terrible to our Henry III. an enemy and a friend by turns to Henry IV. artful towards Lewis XIII. openly opposed to Lewis XIV. at the time when he was most to be feared, and frequently a secret enemy to the emperors, of whom she was more diffident than of the sultans of Turkey.

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

Naples is a testimony which still subsists of that right which the popes formerly with so much art and grandeur assumed, in creating and bestowing kingdoms. But the king of Spain, who is now the possessor of this state, hath left the court of Rome only the honour and the danger of having a too powerful vassal.

### Of the rest of ITALY.

IN other respects, the pope's territories enjoyed a happy tranquillity; which had been interrupted only by an inconsiderable war between the Barberini cardinals, nephews of pope Urban VIII. and the duke of Parma; and this was neither bloody nor of long duration, but was such as might be expected among these modern Romans, whose  
manners

manners must necessarily be conformable to the nature of their government. Cardinal Barbarini, the author of these troubles, marched with indulgences at the head of his little army. The greatest battle that was fought, was between four or five hundred men of each party. The fortress of Piogaja, as soon as the artillery approached, which consisted only of two culverins, surrendered at discretion. Nevertheless, more negotiations were necessary to put an end to these troubles, which scarce deserve to be mentioned in history, than if antient Rome and Carthage had been concerned in them. It is mentioned here only to shew the genius of modern Rome, which concludes every thing by negotiation, contrary to antient Rome, which decided all by the sword.

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

The

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

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

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

#### Of the States of the NORTH.

THE northern nations of Europe, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Muscovy, were, like the other powers, always in a state of jealousy and suspicion, or at open war with one another. In Poland, as at this day, there were the manners and government of the Goths and Franks; an elective king, a nobility that divided his power, a people in slavery, a weak infantry, a cavalry composed of the nobles, no fortified towns, and scarce any commerce. This nation was sometimes attacked by the Swedes or Muscovites, and sometimes by the Turks. The Swedes, who, by their constitution,

tion, enjoy greater liberty than the Poles, admitting even the peasants into the general assembly of the states, being, however, at this time, more subjected to its kings than Poland, were almost always victorious. Denmark, which had formerly been formidable to the Swedes, was then no longer so to any nation. As to Muscovy, it could be considered only as a nation of mere barbarians.

### Of the TURKS.

THE Turks were not what they had been under the Selims, the Mahomets, and the Solimans: the seraglio was corrupted by luxury and refinements, yet contaminated with cruelty; and the sultans, tho' the most despotic of sovereigns, were the least secure of their thrones, and their lives. Osmin and Ibrahim had suffered death by the cord: Mustapha had been twice deposed; and the Turkish empire, shocked by these revolutions, was also attacked by the Persians; but when they gave it time to take breath, and the revolutions in the seraglio were subsided, this empire again became formidable to the Christians; for, from the mouth of the Boristhenes, as far as the states of Venice, Muscovy, Hungary, Greece, and the Isles, have by turns been a prey to the Turkish arms: and, in the year 1640. they were indefatigable in the war of Candy; so fatal to the Christians.

Such were the situation, the forces, and the interests, of the principal European nations, at the death of Lewis XIII.

The

## The state of FRANCE.

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

The generals of Lewis XIII. had taken Roussillon ; and the Catalans had thrown themselves into the arms of France, as the protector of that liberty which they defended against their kings : nevertheless, these successes did not prevent the enemy from taking Corbie, in 1637. nor from penetrating even to Pontoise. One half of the inhabitants of Paris had been driven from thence, by their fears ; and cardinal de Richelieu, in the midst of his vast projects for humbling the Austrian power, was reduced to make each of the great gates of Paris furnish a man to go to the war, and to repulse the enemy from the walls of the capital.

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

### Manners of the AGE.

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

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



ployed. The art of fortification was yet in its infancy ; harquebus's and pikes were not laid aside ; and the sword, which is now become, in a manner, unnecessary, was then in great use. Of the antient laws of nations, there still remained that of declaring war by an herald. Lewis XIII. was the last who observed this custom : he sent an herald at arms to Brussels, in 1635. to declare war against Spain.

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

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

The forces of France did not, in the whole, amount to more than about eighty thousand effective men. The marine, which, for ages, had been  
intirely

intirely neglected, though somewhat restored under cardinal de Richelieu, was ruined under Mazarin. The real ordinary revenue of Lewis XIII. was not more than about forty-five millions ; indeed silver was then valued at about twenty-six livres the mark ; so that these forty-five millions amounted to about eighty-five millions of the present money of France. The arbitrary value of the mark of silver, is, at this day, forty-nine livres and a half ; which is very exorbitant, and what, consistent with justice and the public good, can never be increased.

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

Ever since the death of Francis II. France had been continually harassed, either by factions, or

civil wars. The yoke had never been borne in a peaceable and voluntary manner. The nobility were, in some measure, educated in conspiracies; which was then the character of the court, as it has since been to please the sovereign.

This spirit of discord and faction had diffused itself, from the court, into the most inconsiderable towns, and had engaged all orders in the kingdom: every thing was disputed; because nothing was absolutely fixed, or understood: even the parishes of Paris came to blows with one another; and processions encountered for the honour of their banners. The canons of Notre Dame, and those of la Sainte Chapelle, were often at variance, and in a state of absolute hostility; and the parliament of Paris, and the chamber of accounts, quarrelled for the precedence, in the church of Notre Dame, on the day when Lewis XIII. put his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary.

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

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

Astrologers were consulted, and believed. All the histories of those times, to begin with that of the president de Thou, are full of predictions. The grave and severe duke de Sully seriously relates those which were told to Henry IV. This credulity, which is the most infallible mark of ignorance, was so common, and in such credit, that, at the birth of Lewis XIV. care was taken to conceal an astrologer near the chamber of his mother, Anne of Austria.

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

The same weakness which gave credit to the absurd chimera, judicial astrology, also occasioned the belief of forcery and witchcraft; which were made an article of religion; and it became part of the duty of priests to conjure down the devil. Courts of justice, composed of magistrates who ought to have had more sense than the vulgar,

were employed in trying persons accused of witchcraft. The memory of cardinal de Richelieu will always be reproached with the death of that famous curate of Loudun, Urban Grandier, who, by a commission from the council, was condemned to be burnt, as a magician: who but must conceive indignation against the minister, and judges, for having been so weak, as to give credit to the devils of Loudun, and so barbarous as to cause an innocent person to expire in the excruciating torments of fire? Latest posterity must hear with astonishment, that the marshalefs d'Ancre was burnt at the Greve, as a forceress: this unfortunate woman, when questioned by counsellor Courtin, concerning the kind of forcery she had used, to influence the will of Mary de Medicis, having answered, *She had used that power only, which great souls always have over weak minds*; this sensible reply served only to precipitate the decree of her death.

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

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

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



## CHAPTER XXIII.

The state of Europe, from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1750.

I shall still continue to call this a civil war. The duke of Savoy was in arms against his two daughters. The prince de Vaudemont, who espoused the cause of the archduke Charles, had like to have taken prisoner his own father in Lombardy, who was in the interest of Philip V. Spain had been divided into factions; and whole regiments of French Calvinists had served against their native country. It was, in short, for a succession amongst relations, that a general war had been commenced; and it must likewise be observed, that queen Anne excluded from the throne her own brother, whom Lewis protected, and whom she was obliged to proscribe.

Human prudence and expectations were defeated in this war, as they generally are in every thing. Charles VI. tho' twice proclaimed at Madrid, was driven out of Spain. Lewis XIV. when ready to sink, recovered by the unexpected broils in England. The council of Spain, who had called the duke of Anjou to the throne, only to prevent their monarchy

archy from being dismembered, saw it still divided. Lombardy, and part of Flanders, remained to the house of Austria: the house of Prussia had likewise a small part of Flanders: the Dutch had the sovereignty of another; and a fourth part was left in possession of the French. Thus the inheritance of the house of Burgundy was divided amongst four powers; and the house, which seemed to have most right, did not preserve one acre in the Spanish dominions. Sardinia, tho' of little importance to the emperor, remained to him for some time. He also for some time possessed Naples, that grand fief of Rome, which is so often, and so easily seized. The duke of Savoy had Sicily for four years, keeping it chiefly to maintain against the pope an extraordinary, but antient right, of being pope himself in this island; that is, of being, except in particular tenets, absolute sovereign in matters of religion.

The weakness of human policy appeared still more after the peace of Utrecht, than during the war. It is certain, that the new ministry of queen Anne had secretly formed a scheme for establishing the son of James II. on the throne. Queen Anne herself, influenced by her ministers, began to listen to the voice of nature, and entered into the design of settling the succession on her brother, whom she had proscribed against her inclination. Her death, however, prevented this project being put in execution. The family of Hanover, whom she looked upon as aliens, and disliked, succeeded. Her ministers were persecuted; and the pretender's party, having made an attempt for him in 1715. were defeated. This rebellion,



bellion, which, if the queen had lived a little longer, would have been termed a legal revolution, was punished by the blood of some of the chiefs concerned in it.

The good understanding, and union, betwixt France and Spain, which had raised such apprehensions, and given the alarm to so many nations, was broken off as soon as Lewis XIV. died. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, tho' irreproachable as to his guardianship of the young prince, behaved as if he himself had been to succeed. He formed a strict alliance with England, tho' reputed the natural enemy of France, and made an open rupture with that branch of the Bourbon family which reigned at Madrid. Philip V. who had renounced all pretensions to the crown of France by the late peace, raised, or rather gave the authority of his name to raise, seditions in France; which ought to have chosen him regent, as he could not reign in that kingdom. Thus, after the death of Lewis XIV. all the views, negotiations, and political measures, took a quite different turn in his family, as well as amongst most of the princes in Europe.

The regent of France, in concert with the English, attacked Spain; so that the first war of Lewis XV. was undertaken against his uncle, whom Lewis XIV. had settled on his throne, at the expence of so much blood.

During the course of this short war, the Spanish ministry designed to take advantage of the duke of Savoy;

Savoy; who had likewise formed a scheme of doing somewhat of the same nature with regard to the emperor. The result of this chaos of intrigues was, that the Spaniards deprived the emperor of Sardinia, and the duke of Savoy of Sicily, in 1718.: but France having defeated them by land, and the English by sea, they were forced to give up Sicily to the house of Austria; and Sardinia was assigned to the dukes of Savoy, who still possess it, and bear the title of kings of that island.

To shew by what a blind fatality the affairs of this world are often governed, we may observe, that the Ottoman empire, which might have attacked Germany during the course of the long war in 1701. deferred it till the conclusion of the general peace, and then declared war against the emperor, who had an army of veteran troops, commanded by prince Eugene; who conquered the Turks in two memorable battles, and forced them to accept of a dishonourable peace: and, as a farther addition to these contradictions, in which all affairs abound, this very emperor, victorious over the Turks, could not procure Sicily, without the assistance of the English, and the regent of France.

But what most astonished all the courts of Europe, was to see, some time after, in 1724. and 1725. Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly so incensed against each other, now so closely united; and affairs so turned from their natural course, that the Spanish ministry, for a whole year, intirely governed the court of Vienna. This court, which hitherto  
always

always exerted herself to hinder the Spanish branch of the French family from all access in Italy, so far quitted her natural sentiments, as to admit a son of Philip, and Elizabeth of Parma, his second wife, into Italy; from which it was designed to exclude both French and Spaniards. The emperor gave up to this younger son of his competitor, the possession of Parma, Placentia, and the grand duchy of Tuscany: and tho' the succession of these dominions was not open, Don Carlos was admitted there, with six thousand Spaniards; and the expence of Spain was only two hundred thousand pistoles, given to the court of Vienna.

This error of the emperor's council was far from being a lucky one; for it cost him dear in the consequences. The whole of this affair was unnatural: two families formed an union, without having any confidence in each other. The English, who had done all in their power to dethrone Philip V. and had taken from him Minorca and Gibraltar, were the mediators in this treaty; and it was signed by Ripperda, a Dutchman, who was become a duke, and a man of great power in Spain: he was soon after disgraced, and went to end his days at Morocco, where he endeavoured to establish a new religion.

Mean while, in France, the regency of the duke of Orleans, which seemed likely to be so full of troubles, by means of his secret enemies, and the almost total ruin of the finances, proved the most

quiet and fortunate. The French had been inured to perfect submission under Lewis XIV. And hence arose the safety of the regent, and the public tranquillity. A conspiracy, directed at a distance by cardinal Alberoni, and but ill conducted in France, was discovered, and crushed in embryo. The parliament, which, during the administration of the late queen regent, had raised a civil war, and had annulled the wills of Lewis XIII. and XIV. with less ceremony than that of a private person, was scarce at liberty to make remonstrances, when the value of their specie was increased to three times more than the usual standard; and their procession afoot from the grand chamber to the Louvre served only to draw upon them the raileries of the people. The most unjust edict that had been ever issued, the prohibiting the whole inhabitants of a kingdom to keep by them above five hundred livres in current coin, raised not the least commotion. A general want of specie, the people flocking in crowds to the bank, to receive a little money for the necessary expences of life, in exchange for a discredited paper, which overspread the whole kingdom; several persons squeezed to death in the croud, and their bodies carried by the people to the royal palace; all these things produced no appearance of a sedition. In short, this famous project of Law's, which had seemed to threaten the regency and the kingdom with destruction, contributed, in reality, to the support of both, by consequences which none had foreseen.

The passion for riches, which now seized all ranks of people, from the lowest class to the magistrates, bishops,

bishops, and even princes of the blood, turned the minds of every one from all attention to the public interest, and all political or ambitious views; for the thoughts of every one were now wholly engrossed with the fear of losing, and the desire of gaining. It was, indeed, a new and surprising game, wherein the whole nation betted against each other; and, having the true spirit of eager gamesters, they did not choose to quit their play, to meddle with the government. It happened, however, which could not be foreseen but by persons of the greatest experience and penetration, that a chimerical project produced a real commerce, and restored the India company, which had been established by the famous Colbert, but ruined by the late wars. In short, though the fortune of many private persons was ruined, yet the nation, in a little time, became richer, and more flourishing in commerce. This project sharpened the understanding of the people, as civil wars generally excite their courage.

The distraction in the finances having ceased with the regency, that in politics also subsided as soon as cardinal Fleury came to the head of the ministry. If there ever was an happy mortal upon earth, the cardinal was surely so. He was looked upon as a most amiable man, and perfectly agreeable in conversation, even to his seventy-third year: and at this age, when others retire from the world, he took upon him the helm of government, and was always considered as a person of the highest wisdom. All his measures, from 1726. to 1742. proved successful; and he preserved his intellectual

faculties sound, clear, and capable of transacting affairs, even to the ninetieth year of his age.

When we consider, that, of a thousand of our cotemporaries, there is very rarely one who arrives at this age, we must allow, that Fleury had a peculiar destiny. If his grandeur was extraordinary, which, having begun so late, shone such a considerable time, without any cloud to obscure it, his moderation, and sweetness of manners, were no less conspicuous. The riches and magnificence of cardinal d'Amboise, who aspired at the papacy, are well known; as well as the arrogant simplicity of Ximenes, who raised armies at his own expence, and who, in the dress of a monk, said, that he led the nobles of Spain with his cord. Every one is likewise acquainted with the regal pomp of Richelieu, and the immense riches amassed by Mazarin. The characteristic of cardinal Fleury was moderation. He was simple, and frugal, in every particular, and always uniform in his behaviour: he had nothing high nor elevated in his character; which was owing to his mildness, equanimity, and love of order and peace. He proved, that persons of a mild, condescending, and benevolent temper, are best formed to govern others.

He let the kingdom quietly repair its losses, and grow rich by an extensive commerce, without making any innovation: thus treating the state as a strong and robust constitution, which naturally recovers of itself.

Political affairs insensibly returned into their natural channel. Happily for Europe, Sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister of England, was of a disposition equally pacific. These two men maintained almost all Europe in that tranquillity which lasted from the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733; and which was but once interrupted by the short war in 1718. This was an happy time for all nations, who, cultivating commerce and arts with emulation, forgot their past calamities.

In these times two powers arose, which had been hardly mentioned in Europe before this age. The one was Russia, which the czar Peter the Great had raised out of a state of barbarity. This monarchy, before his time, consisted only in vast deserts, and a people without laws, without discipline, and without any useful knowledge; such as the Tartars have always been. This country was so little known in France, that when Lewis, in 1668, received an ambassador from Muscovy, a medal was struck on the occasion, as had been done in memory of the Siamese embassy. This new empire, after having defeated Sweden, began to have an influence in all affairs, and to give laws in the North.

The second power, established by force of art, and upon less extensive foundations, was Prussia. It was as yet, however, only in its infancy, and had not distinguished itself.

The house of Austria remained almost in the same state in which she had been placed by the peace

of Utrecht. England still preserved her power by sea, whilst that of Holland gradually decayed. This little commonwealth, become powerful through the indolence of other nations, began to decline, because her neighbours now carried on trade, which the Dutch before had wholly to themselves. Sweden languished, whilst Denmark flourished. Spain and Portugal were chiefly supported by America. Italy, which was always in a weak condition, remained divided into as many states as at the beginning of the age, excepting Mantua, annexed to the Austrian family.

Savoy at this time surpris'd the world with an extraordinary occurrence, which may serve as a grand lesson to sovereigns. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, that Victor Amedeus, who had been sometimes an enemy, and sometimes an ally, to France and Austria, and whose inconstancy had passed for policy, being at last tired of business, and of himself, in the year 1730. and the sixty-fourth year of his age, through caprice, resigned the crown he had borne the first of his family; and, a year after, in another fit of caprice, repented of this step. Neither the company of his mistress, who was become his wife, devotion, nor tranquillity, were sufficient employment to a soul like his, which, for fifty years, had been busied in the affairs of Europe. He gave a remarkable instance of human frailty, and shewed how liable the mind is to be dissatisfied, either in a private station, or on a throne. In this age four sovereigns renounced their crowns: Christina, Casimir, Philip V. and Victor



Victor Amedeus. Philip resumed his against his inclination; Casimir never once thought of it; Christina had once thoughts of it, upon a disgust she received at Rome; Amedeus was the only one who endeavoured by force to re-ascend the throne, which he had quitted through an uneasiness of mind. The consequence of this attempt is well known. His son, Charles-Emanuel, might have acquired a glory superior to the possession of any crown, in restoring his father what he held from him, had his father alone, or the circumstances of time, exacted this compliance; but an ambitious mistress wanted to reign: and all the council were under a necessity to prevent this, and even to confine their late sovereign. He died soon after in prison. It has been said, though falsely, in the memoirs of these times, that the court of France intended to send twenty thousand men to assist the father against his son; but neither the abdication of that prince, nor his effort to regain the crown, nor his confinement, nor death, caused the least motion amongst any of the neighbouring nations.

All remained peaceable from Russia even to Spain, till the death of Augustus II. plunged Europe again into fresh troubles and commotions, from which she is so seldom exempted.

King Stanislaus, father-in-law to Lewis XV. having been already nominated to the succession of Poland, in 1704. was elected king in 1733. in the most solemn and legal manner. But the emperor Charles

VI. procured another election, which was supported by his own arms, and those of Russia; and a son of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, who had married a niece of Charles VI. carried it against his competitor. Thus the house of Austria, which had not been able to preserve Spain and the West-Indies, and which could not even settle a trading company at Ostend; yet had sufficient interest to deprive the father-in-law of Lewis XV. of the crown. France beheld a second example of what had formerly happened to prince Armand de Conti; who, having been solemnly elected, but having neither money nor troops, and being rather recommended than supported, lost the crown to which he had been elected.

King Stanislaus went to Dantzick, to support his election: but the great majority in his favour soon yielded to the small party against him. This country, where the people are slaves, where the nobility sell their votes, where they never have a sufficient treasury to maintain an army, where the laws are without force, and where liberty is only productive of divisions; this country, I say, boasted in vain of its warlike nobility, who could bring into the field an army of an hundred thousand men on horseback. Ten thousand Russians at once put to flight all who were assembled in favour of Stanislaus. The Polish nation, who, the preceding age, looked upon the Russians with the utmost contempt, now dreaded them, and followed the measures they dictated. The empire of Russia had become formidable ever since the time of Peter the Great. Ten

thousand disciplined Russian slaves dispersed the whole nobility and gentry of Poland; and king Stanislaus, having taken shelter in Dantzick, was besieged there by an army of thirty thousand men.

The emperor of Germany, being in union with Russia, was almost sure of success. In order to keep an equal balance, France ought to have sent a numerous army by sea; but England, as soon as she had seen such vast preparations, would have declared herself. Cardinal Fleury, who took particular care to keep England quiet, was neither willing to suffer the shame of deserting Stanislaus, nor did he choose to venture too great a force to succour him. He sent a fleet with fifteen hundred men, under the command of a brigadier. The officer imagined, that nothing was in earnest designed; and when he approached Dantzick, thinking he should sacrifice his men to no manner of purpose, he went to amuse himself in Denmark. The count de Plelo, ambassador from France at the Danish court, was highly enraged at this retreat, and looked upon it as scandalous. He was a youth, who, having studied polite learning and philosophy, had imbibed the most heroic sentiments, and such as merited a better fate than he met with. He resolved to succour Dantzick against so numerous an army with this small force, or to die in the attempt. Before his embarkation, he wrote a letter to one of the secretaries of state, which ended with these words: "I am certain I shall not return: I therefore recommend my wife and children to your care." He arrived in the road of Dantzick, and, having

having disembarked, he attacked the Russian army; and after having received many wounds, he perished, as he had foreseen; and all his party were either killed or taken prisoners. His letter, and the news of his death, arrived at the same time. Dantzick was taken, and the French ambassador in Poland, who happened to be in this place, was made a prisoner of war, in violation of the privileges due to his character. Stanislaus was obliged to disguise himself, and at last escaped, after having run through many dangers, and seen a price set upon his head by the Muscovite general, in a free country, the place of his nativity, and amidst a nation who had elected him king, with all the formality of their laws. The French ministry would have intirely lost that reputation necessary for the support of its grandeur, if it had not revenged such an insult; but a revenge, unless attended with some utility, would but little avail.

The great distance of Russia hindered them from carrying their resentment against the Muscovites; and policy directed their vengeance upon the emperor. This they accordingly put in execution in Germany, and in Italy. France formed a league with Spain and Sardinia; and though these three powers had each separate interests, yet they all aimed at humbling Austria.

The dukes of Savoy, for a considerable time, had been gradually increasing their dominions, by sometimes selling their assistance to the emperors, and sometimes by declaring against them. King  
Charles-

Charles-Emanuel had great hopes of getting the Milanese, and was promised it by the French and Spanish ministers. Philip V. king of Spain, or rather queen Elizabeth of Parma, his consort, expected greater possessions than Parma and Placentia to be settled on her children. France proposed no other advantage but her own glory, the welfare of her allies, and the humbling of her enemies.

Nobody then expected, that Lorrain should be the fruits of this war. Mankind are generally guided by events, which they seldom able to govern. No negotiation was ever more speedily terminated than that which united these three monarchs,

England and Holland, who had been so long accustomed to join Austria against France, abandoned her at this juncture. This was the effect of that reputation for equity and moderation, which the French court had lately acquired. The notion of her being pacifically inclined, and void of all ambition, kept her natural enemies quiet even when she declared war; and nothing surely can redound more to the honour of the ministry, than their having persuaded such powers, that France might carry on a war against the emperor, without giving any alarm to the liberty of Europe: all these powers accordingly beheld the rapid success of the French arms, easy and undisturbed. A French army had gotten possession of the country upon the Rhine; and another party of their troops, in conjunction with those of Spain and Savoy, had rendered themselves masters of Italy.

Marshal

Marshal Villars finished his glorious career, in the eighty-second year of his age, after having taken Milan. Marshal de Cogni, his successor, gained two battles; whilst the duke de Montemar, the Spanish general, obtained a victory in the kingdom of Naples, at Bitonto, from whence he was surnamed; this being an honour which the Spaniards often bestow, in imitation of the antient Romans. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged hereditary successor of Tuscany, was now declared king of Naples and Sicily. Thus the emperor Charles VI. lost almost all Italy, for having given a king to Poland: and, in two campaigns, a son of the Spanish monarch, got both the Sicilies, so often taken and retaken formerly, and upon which, for two ages, the house of Austria had continually fixed her attention.

This was the only war in Italy which ended with any solid advantage to the French, since the time of Charlemagne. The reason of this was, their having the guardian of the Alps on their side, who was become one of the most potent princes in those parts; their being likewise seconded by the best troops of Spain; and their armies being constantly supplied with all necessaries.

The emperor then thought himself very happy in receiving conditions of peace offered by the victorious French. However, cardinal Fleury, who had the sagacity to prevent England and Holland from intermeddling in this war, shewed likewise his great address in finishing it, without their mediation.

By

By this treaty, Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. Europe had already been often accustomed to such alterations. They assigned to Francis duke of Lorraine, destined to be son-in-law to the emperor, the inheritance of the Medicis family, which had been before granted to Don Carlos: and this made the late grand duke of Tuscany, upon his death-bed, ask, “If they would not name a third heir, and which of their children the Empire and France would appoint for his successor.” We must not imagine from this, that the dukedom of Tuscany considers itself as a fief of the Empire; but the emperor esteemed it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which have been always claimed by the holy see; and for which the late duke of Parma did actually pay homage to the pope: so much do the rights of princes alter with the circumstances of time. By this peace these duchies of Parma and Placentia, which, by right of blood, belonged to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and a princess of Parma, were given up to the emperor Charles VI. as his property.

The duke of Savoy, now king of Sardinia, who expected the duchy of Milan, which his family, for a considerable time, had claimed as their right, got only a small part thereof; viz. the Novarese, Tortonese, and the fiefs of the Langhes. He derived his pretensions to Milan from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, from whom he was descended. France likewise pretended thereto, by right of Lewis XII.

the

the natural heir of this duchy. Philip V. urged also his right to Milan, as it had been feudatory successively to four kings of Spain, his predecessors. But all these pretensions yielded to convenience, and the public interest. The emperor kept the Milanese, notwithstanding the general law of the states of the empire, which says, that the emperor shall keep the sovereignty, but give the possession to some other power. It was intended as a limitation on the emperors, who might otherwise in time swallow up the whole dominions of the Empire. But there are so many exceptions to this law, and there are so many examples for and against it, that, in any grand affair of state, it must be confessed, that the present interest is the ruling law.

By this treaty, king Stanislaus renounced a kingdom, which though it had been twice given him, he could never get possession of; but he kept the title of king. For this loss he was now to have a recompence; but it proved more so to France than him. Cardinal Fleury was contented at first with Barrois, which the duke of Lorraine was to give up to Stanislaus, with the reversion to the crown of France. Lorraine was not to be given up till its duke should be in possession of Tuscany: so that the cession depended on many chances. This was reaping very little from such great success, and so many favourable circumstances; of which the cardinal being urged to make more advantages, demanded Lorraine on the same conditions as Barrois; and it was accordingly granted.



It cost France only a small sum of money, and a pension of four million and five hundred thousand livres, to the duke, till Tuscany fell to him.

Thus Lorraine became for ever annexed to the crown of France; a reunion which had been so often unsuccessfully attempted. By this means, a Polish king was transplanted to Lorraine; which was the last time this province had a sovereign to reside there; and he rendered it happy. The reigning house of the princes of Lorraine got the sovereignty of Tuscany. The second son of the king of Spain was transferred to Naples: so that the medal of Trajan might have been renewed; *regna assignata*, “kingdoms assigned.”

The house of Bourbon, at the end of this short war, was advanced to such a pitch of grandeur as she could not have expected even in the height of Lewis XIV's prosperity. Almost all the inheritance of Charles V. Spain, the two Sicilies, Mexico, and Peru, were now in her possession. The house of Austria at last ended in the person of Charles VI. in 1740. What remained of his dominions was likely to be taken from his daughter, and divided amongst several powers. France carried the election of an emperor with the same facility as the emperors had formerly chosen the electors of Cologne, and the bishops of Liege. The famous pragmatic sanction of the late Austrian emperor, who had thereby settled his whole dominions on his daughter; this sanction, guaranteed by the Empire, England, Holland, and  
France

France herself, was at first supported by no one power. The elector of Bavaria, son of him who had been put under the ban of the Empire, was crowned, without opposition, duke of Austria at Lintz, king of Bohemia at Prague, and emperor at Frankfort, by the arms of Lewis XV. They went even to the gates of Vienna. The daughter of so many emperors found herself, for a whole year, intirely destitute of assistance, and without any hope but what arose from her own intrepidity. Scarce were her father's eyes clos'd, when she lost Silesia by an invasion of the young king of Prussia, who will be long talked of by posterity. He was the first who took advantage of this conjuncture, to promote his grandeur. For this purpose, he made use of an army as well disciplined as that of the antient Romans, which his father seem'd to have formed only for parade and empty shew. France, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the remains of the house of Austria. Her allies beheld this in silence; and the division of her dominions seem'd now unavoidable. But it soon appeared evident, how difficult it is for such a weak prince as the elector of Bavaria, emperor under the name of Charles VII. but without power, and a general without national troops, to conquer a kingdom by the power of another. Never were such great advantages succeeded by so many misfortunes. What seem'd likely to promote his grandeur, contributed to his ruin; and that extremity to which the queen of Hungary was reduced, served to raise her still higher. The house of Austria sprung up again out of her ashes.

The

The queen of Hungary found a powerful ally in George II. king of Great Britain. Her cause was likewise soon after espoused by the king of Sardinia, Holland, and even by Russia, who sent the last year of the war thirty-five thousand men to her assistance. She made separate treaties with Prussia and Saxony: but, above all, her own intrepid spirit supported her as much as any of her allies. Hungary, where her ancestors had experienced a continued scene of civil wars, rebellions, and executions, proved to her a kingdom united, affectionate, and filled with zealous friends. The war was carried on in the heart of Germany, in Italy, Flanders, and even upon the frontiers of France, and on the Indian and American seas, almost in the same manner as that in 1701. Cardinal Fleury, now too far advanced in years to support so heavy a burden, lavished away, with regret, the treasures of France in this war, entered into against his inclination, and died, after having been a spectator of nothing but misfortunes arising from misconduct. The French ministry had neglected to improve the marine, thinking it useless: what remained of their navy had been intirely destroyed by the English, and the provinces of France lay altogether exposed. The emperor, whom France had made, was thrice driven from his own dominions, and died one of the most unfortunate princes upon earth, in having been exalted to the highest pitch of human grandeur. The queen of Hungary tasted at once the pleasure and glory of creating her husband empe-

ror, and of restoring the imperial dignity to her family.

Lewis XV. after the death of cardinal Fleury in 1743. whom he greatly lamented, took the government intirely upon himself; and repaired the misfortunes which arose in the last years of Fleury's ministry. He was successful every-where, except in Italy, where he had to oppose the king of Sardinia, whom the cardinal had alienated from France.

There was one remarkable thing in this war; which was, that there had never been seen so many sovereigns at the head of their armies. Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuscany, afterwards emperor, often headed the Austrian troops. Don Carlos king of Naples, son of Philip V. commanded his army at Velettri; and the king of Great Britain in person gained a battle near the Maine.

The king of Sardinia appeared every-where with his troops, and always with success. The king of Prussia himself obtained five victories. Lewis XV. procured glory and superiority to his nation at the battle of Fontenoy, and preserved them in that at Laufeld. In short, after having in person subdued all Flanders, and taken Maestricht, by marshal Saxe; after his enemies were driven out of Provence by marshal Belleisle; after having saved Genoa by marshal Richelieu; after having settled the king of Naples on his throne; he made a peace as glorious

rious as any of his campaigns: for, at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he shewed a most unparalleled and unexpected moderation; not even reserving any thing to himself of what he had conquered by his arms. He had, however, the glory of protecting his allies; of restoring the Genoese to their rights; of establishing the duke of Modena in his dominions, and of settling the infant Don Philip in Parma and Placentia, the inheritance of his mother. This was, indeed, a great acquisition, thus to be the protector of all his allies. Reputation, amongst powerful princes, is equal to conquests. After such a happy peace, France was re-established on the same footing as at the peace of Utrecht, and became still more flourishing.

The Christian powers in Europe were now divided into two grand parties, who became a check upon each other, and who both endeavoured to maintain that balance, the pretext of so many wars, and which was esteemed the true basis of a lasting peace. The empress queen of Hungary, part of Germany, Russia, Great Britain, Holland, and Sardinia, composed the one; France, Spain, the two Sicilies, Prussia, and Sweden, formed the other. All these powers kept up standing armies; and a lasting peace was now hoped for, from that dread which one half of Europe seemed to have of the other.

Lewis XIV. was the first who maintained such numerous armies; and this obliged the other princes  
to

to do the same for their own safety; so that, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, there were then in Christendom about a million of men in arms: and it is to be hoped, as all the powers have armed to defend themselves, that it will be long before any one dare to be the aggressor.

END of VOL. I.



THE  
A G E  
O F  
LEWIS XIV.

Translated from the FRENCH of  
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

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V O L. II.

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L O N D O N:

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M. DCC. LII.



## C H A P. XXXII.

## Of CALVINISM.

**I**T is doubtless a melancholly consideration, that the Christian church has always been torn by dissentions, and that so much blood should have been shed by hands, destined to carry the symbols of the god of peace. This furious zeal was unknown to paganism. It indeed covered the earth with darkness, but it scarce ever occasioned any blood to be spilt, except that of animals; and if sometimes, as among the Jews and heathens, human victims were offered to the deity; these sacrifices, horrible as they were, never produced civil wars. The religion of the heathens consisted wholly in morality and festivals. Morality, which is the same at all times, and in all places, and festivals, which were no more than public rejoicings, could never disturb the peace of mankind.

The dogmatic spirit introduced among men that furious zeal which gave rise to religious wars. I have often considered with myself, from whence it should proceed, that this dogmatical spirit



which divided the schools of antiquity among the heathens, without causing the least disturbance, should be productive of so many fatal disorders among us. This cannot be the effect of fanaticism alone; for the Gymnosophists and Bramins, the most fanatic of men, never did hurt to any but themselves. We are more likely to find the origin of this new pest which has laid waste the world, in the republican spirit that animated the first churches. Those secret assemblies, which from their caves and recesses, braved the authority of the Roman emperors, formed by degrees a state within a state. It was in reality a concealed republic within the empire. Constantine drew it from its retreat under ground, to place it on a level with the throne. In a short time, the authority attached to the great sees, was found to run counter to that popular spirit, which had till then animated all the assemblies of Christians. It frequently happened, that when the bishop of a metropolis uttered a sentiment, a suffragan bishop, a priest, or a deacon, maintained the direct contrary. The ancient opinions, since revived by Luther, Zwinglius, and Calvin, tended in a great measure to destroy the episcopal authority, and even monarchical power itself. This, tho' a secret, was yet one of the principal causes, which procured so ready a reception for these opinions in the north of Germany, where the grandeur of the popes began to give offence, and people dreaded being brought under servitude by the emperors. In Sweden and Denmark, where the people  
enjoy

enjoy a large share of liberty under their monarchs; these notions were seen in a particular manner to triumph.

The English, whom nature has tinged with a strong spirit of independence, adopted, softened, and formed them into a religion for themselves. They penetrated into Poland, and made great progress in those cities, where the people were not reduced to a state of slavery. Switzerland, as being a republican country, made no scruple to receive them. They were upon the point of being established at Venice for the same reason; and doubtless would have taken root there, had not that city been so near Rome; and had not the government, as there is reason to believe, dreaded a democracy, which was the great point aimed at by these pretended reformers. The Dutch did not embrace this religion, till after they had shaken off the yoke of Spain. Geneva, in submitting to Calvinism, became a popular state. The house of Austria took all imaginable pains to check the growth of these sects in their dominions. Spain from the very first kept them at a distance: nor do we find that they occasioned any great troubles in France during the reigns of Francis I and Henry II, who were in a manner absolute princes. But when the government was weak and divided, the quarrels about religion rose to a violent height. Condé and Coligni declaring themselves Calvinists, because the Guises sided with the Catholics, involved the

kingdom in confusion and civil war. The natural levity and impetuosity of the nation, joined to the rage of novelty and enthusiasm, changed us, for forty years together, from a polite and civilized people, to a nation of barbarians.

Henry IV, born in this sect, which he really loved, without being in any degree a bigot, found it impossible, notwithstanding all his victories and virtues, to get possession of his kingdom without abandoning Calvinism. After his conversion, gratitude would not permit him to seek the destruction of a party, naturally the enemy of kings, but to which he was indebted for his crown; and even had he been inclined to make the attempt, it is more than probable that he would have miscarried. He therefore cherished, protected, and restrained it.

The Hugonets in France did not at that time make above a twelfth of the nation. But a great many powerful lords were of their party: entire cities were protestant. They had made war against their sovereigns, who had been constrained to put into their hands several places of strength for their security. Henry III had granted them no less than fourteen in Dauphiny only; Montauban and Nimes in Languedoc; Saumur, and, above all, Rochelle, which formed a republic of itself, and by its commerce and alliance with England, was like to become very powerful. In fine, Henry IV seemed to act conformably to his own inclination,

tion, as well as from a principle of policy and gratitude, in granting them the famous edict of Nantes, in 1598. This edict was in reality no more than a confirmation of the privileges which the protestants of France had extorted from former princes sword in hand, and which Henry the great, when he was firmly settled on his throne, secured to them by a voluntary grant.

By this edict, which the name of Henry IV has rendered more famous than any other, every lord of a fief, whose power extended to capital offences, was permitted the free and unrestrained exercise of the pretended reformed religion within his own castle: every lord without capital jurisdiction, might have thirty persons present at divine worship in his family. The full and plenary exercise of this religion was authorized in all places, under the immediate jurisdiction of a parliament.

The Calvinists might print books, without applying to their superiors for a licence, in all cities where the exercise of their religion was permitted.

They were declared capable of all the several offices and dignities of the state, and, in fact, enjoyed their share, the king having created the lords De la Trimouille, and De Roni, dukes and peers of France.

A particular chamber was formed in the parliament of Paris, consisting of a president and sixteen counsellors, to whom were referred all causes in which Hugonets were concerned, not only in the immense district of Paris, but likewise in that of Normandy and Bretagne. This court was entitled, the chamber of the edict. Indeed there never was above one Calvinist admitted among the counsellors of this jurisdiction: but as the main design of it was to prevent those vexations of which the party complained, and as men always value themselves on the faithful discharge of a trust by which they are distinguished; this chamber, tho' composed of Catholics, always rendered the most exact justice to the Hugonets, as they themselves acknowledged.

They had a little parliament at Castres, independent on that of Toulouse. They had likewise courts of justice at Grenoble and Bourdeaux, whose judges were one half Roman-catholics, and the other Calvinists. Their churches were permitted to assemble in synods, in the same manner as the Gallican church. These privileges, and a great many others, incorporated the Calvinists into a distinct body among themselves. It was, in effect, suffering enemies to league together: but the authority, the address, and the equal behaviour of this great monarch, kept them within bounds during his life.

After

After the calamitous, and never enough to be lamented death of Henry IV, during the weakness of a minority, and under a divided court, it was hardly possible for the republican spirit of the Reformed, not to abuse their privileges, or for the court, feeble as it was, not to attempt the restraining them. The Hugonets had already established *Circles* in France, in imitation of those in Germany. The deputies of those circles were frequently men of a turbulent spirit; and several lords of the party were noted for an unbounded ambition. The duke of Bouillon, and above all the duke of Rohan, who stood in the first degree of credit among the Hugonets, soon hurried the restless spirit of the preachers, and the blind zeal of the people, into an open revolt. The general assembly of the party, in 1615, had the assurance to present a remonstrance to the court, in which, among other injurious articles, they demanded that the king's council should be changed. In 1616, they took up arms in several places; and the audacious behaviour of the Hugonets, joined to the divisions of the court, the hatred against the favourites, and the unquiet state of the nation, filled all places for some time with confusion and disorder. Nothing was to be seen but seditions, intrigues, hostile confederacies, insurrections, treaties concluded in haste, and broken as soon as signed; which made the celebrated cardinal Bentivoglio, at that time nuncio in France,

say, that during his residence, the climate had produced nothing but storms.

In the year 1621, the Calvinist churches of France offered Lefdiguieres, that soldier of fortune who was afterwards made constable, the command of their armies, and a hundred thousand crowns a month. But Lefdiguieres, more clear-sighted in his ambition than they in their factions, and who knew them perfectly, as having commanded them before, chose rather at that time to fight against them, than be at their head; and, instead of accepting their offers, turned Catholic. The Hugonets then addressed themselves to the marshal duke de Bouillon, who returned for answer, that he was too old. In fine, they conferred that unhappy employment upon the duke of Rohan, who jointly with his brother Soubise, had the insolence to make war upon the king of France.

The same year the constable de Luines carried Lewis XIII from province to province. He subdued upwards of fifty cities, almost without resistance; but miscarried before Montauban, whence the king had the mortification of being obliged to decamp. Rochelle was besieged in vain; being no less indebted for its resistance to its own strength, than to the succours it received from England: and the duke of Rohan, guilty of the crime of high treason, concluded a peace with his sovereign, as if one crowned head had been treating with another.

After

After this peace, and after the death of the constable de Luines, the war broke out anew; and the king was again obliged to lay siege to Rochelle, always in league against its sovereign with the English, and the Calvinists of the kingdom. A woman (the mother of the duke of Rohan) defended this city a whole year against the royal army, against the activity of cardinal Richlieu; and against the intrepidity of Lewis XIII, who braved death more than once at this siege. The city suffered all the inconveniences of the most extreme famine; and did not surrender at last, but in consequence of that prodigious staccado of five hundred feet long, which cardinal Richlieu ordered to be made, in imitation of that which Alexander the Great formerly raised before Tyre. It was begun by a Frenchman named Firiot, finished by Pompey Targon, and subdued the sea and the Rochellers. The mayor Guiton, who fought to bury himself under the ruins of Rochelle, had the boldness, after surrendering at discretion, to appear with his guards before cardinal Richlieu; the mayors of the principal Hugonet cities being permitted the privilege of guards. Guiton's were taken from him, and the city was divested of its privileges. The duke of Rohan, chief of the rebellious heretics, still continued the war against his prince; and being abandoned by the English, tho' Protestants, entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, tho' Roman-catholics. But the firmness of cardinal Richlieu forced the Hugonets at last,



last, after seeing themselves defeated on all sides, to submit without reserve.

All the edicts granted them before this time, had been so many formal treaties with their sovereigns. Richlieu was resolved, that the one yielded to them on this occasion should be called *the edict of grace*. The king in it speaks in the stile of a prince who pardons. The exercise of the new religion was forbid in Rochelle, the Isle of Rhee, Fleron, Privas, and Pamiers; in all other points, Lewis XIII thought proper to confirm the edict of Nantes, which the Calvinists always regarded as their fundamental law.

Many thought it strange, that cardinal Richlieu, so absolute and imperious in all his proceedings, did not totally abolish this famous edict: but at that time he had other views, more difficult, perhaps, in the execution, yet not less conformable to the extent of his ambition, and his stupendous designs. He aimed at the glory of subduing the minds of men, which he imagined himself able to accomplish, by the superiority of his understanding, of his power, and of his politics. His project was to gain the ministers; to bring them first to acknowledge, that the Roman-catholic worship was not criminal in the sight of God; to lead them afterwards, by degrees, to give up some points of little importance, and to appear in the eyes of the court of Rome as if he had yielded nothing at all.

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He flattered himself with the hopes of dazzling one party of the reformed; of seducing another by presents and pensions; and of uniting them all, at least in outward appearance, to the church, leaving it to time to accomplish the rest, and feeding his ambition with the glorious prospect of having either effected or paved the way to this great work, and passing with posterity for the author of it. The famous father Joseph on one side, and two ministers he had gained on the other, charged themselves with this negotiation. But it appeared that cardinal Richlieu had carried his expectations too far, and that it is more difficult to adjust the differences of divines, than to raise staccadoes in the ocean.

Richlieu, finding himself disappointed, resolved entirely to crush the Calvinists; but other cares interposing, prevented the execution of this design. He found himself under a necessity of combating at the same time the grandees of the kingdom, the royal family, the whole house of Austria, and often Lewis XIII himself. He died at last amidst storms and perils, before he was able to compleat any of his designs, leaving behind him a name rather dazzling than dear and venerable.

Mean time, after the taking of Rochelle, and the edict of grace, the civil wars ceased, and the animosity of the two parties vented itself only in dispute and controversy. Then were produced those voluminous compositions, which nobody

body now takes the trouble to read. The clergy, and especially the Jesuits, aimed at converting the Hugonets. The Hugonet preachers endeavoured to bring over some Catholics to their opinions. The king's council was employed in issuing arrets about a burying-ground, which the two parties were disputing in a village; about a chapel built on some lands formerly belonging to the church; about schools, the jurisdiction of castles, interments, bells; but the Reformed seldom gained their suit. These trifling contests were all that now remained, after the former devastations and ravages. The Hugonets, since the death of the duke of Rohan, and the divesting the house of Bouillon of the sovereignty of Sedan, had no leader qualified to take the charge of their affairs. They even valued themselves not a little on the pacific conduct they observed during the factions of the Fronde, and the civil wars excited by the princes of the blood, the parliaments, and the bishops, when they pretended to make the king an offer of their service against cardinal Mazarin.

Religion had no part in the quarrels that distracted the kingdom during the life of this minister; who far from being tenacious on that article, made no scruple to bestow the place of comptroller-general of the finances upon a Hugonet of English extraction, named Hervard; and admitted the Hugonets, without reserve, into all the offices depending on the revenue.

Colbert,

Colbert, who revived the industry of the nation, and whom we ought to look upon as the father and founder of our commerce, employed a great number of Hugonets in arts, manufactures, and the navy. These useful engagements, which ingrossed the greatest part of their time, softened by degrees the prevailing rage of controversy; and the glory which for fifty years together surrounded the throne of Lewis XIV, joined to his power, and the firmness and vigour of his administration, extinguished in the Calvinist party, as it did in the several orders of the state, the least idea of resistance. The magnificent feasts of a gay and gallant court, threw an air of ridicule upon the pedantry of the Hugonets. In proportion as good taste gained ground, the psalms of Marot and Beza began to lose their credit. These psalms, which had charmed the court of Francis II, appeared to be only calculated for the populace under Lewis XIV. Sound philosophy, which began to make its way in the world towards the middle of this age, helped still more to put men out of conceit with religious disputes.

But while reason was gradually extending her influence over men, the spirit of controversy itself became instrumental in preserving the tranquillity of the state. For the Jansenists beginning about this time to appear with some reputation, engrossed a considerable share of the attention of those who were fond of such subtilties. They wrote at the  
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same time against the Jesuits and Hugonets: these last employed themselves in answering the Janse- nists and Jesuits: the Lutherans in the province of Alsace attacked all the three. A paper war amongst so many different sects, at a time when the state was engaged in great designs, and the government was powerful and flourishing, could not fail of becoming, in a few years, the mere amusement of the idle part of the nation, which sooner or later always dwindles into indifference.

Lewis XIV was exasperated against the secta- ries, by the continual remonstrances of his clergy, by the insinuations of the Jesuits, by the court of Rome, and, in fine, by the chancellor Le Tellier, and Louvois his son, both enemies to Colbert, and who had resolved to extirpate the Reformed as re- bels, because Colbert protected them as useful subjects. Lewis XIV, wholly a stranger to the fundamentals of their doctrine, regarded them, not without some reason, as old revolters, who bore the yoke with reluctance. He applied him- self first to undermine by degrees the whole fabric of their religion. Churches were taken from them on the most slender pretexts. They were forbid to marry the daughters of Catholics; of which, however, the policy does not so well appear; as it seems to argue an ignorance of the power of a sex, which the court in other respects knew so perfectly. The intendants and bi- shops, by the most plausible contrivances, endea- voured to get the children of the Hugonets into  
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their hands. Colbert had orders, in 1681, not to admit any persons of this religion into the employments of the revenue. They were excluded, as much as possible, from the mechanic and trading corporations. The king, amidst a conduct so rigorous, did not always make them feel the whole weight of their servitude. Edicts appeared, forbidding all violence against them; insinuations were mingled with severities; and the oppressions they laboured under, were at least covered over with a form of justice.

One very efficacious instrument of conversion was particularly used; I mean money. But this expedient was not pushed so far as it might. Pellisson had the charge of this secret service; the same who is so well known by his long adherence to Calvinism, by his writings, by his copious eloquence, and by his attachment to the superintendant Fouquet, whose secretary, favourite, and victim he was. He had the good fortune to be convinced of his errors, and to change his religion, at a time when that change opened his way to fortune and preferment. He took the ecclesiastical habit, obtained several benefices, and the place of master of requests. The king, towards the year 1677, intrusted him with the revenues of the abbies of St. Germain, Desprez, and Cluni, to be employed in effecting conversions. Cardinal Camus, bishop of Grenoble, had already pursued the same course. Pellisson, charged with this negotiation, sent money into the provinces. Endeavours

deavours were used to effect many conversions at a moderate expence: small sums, distributed to the indigent, swelled the list which Pelisson every three months presented to the king, and contributed to persuade him, that every thing gave way to his power or his generosity.

The council, encouraged by this small success, which time might have rendered more considerable, adventured, in 1681, to publish a declaration, by which children were permitted to renounce their religion at the age of seven years. In consequence of this declaration, great numbers of children were seized in the provinces, with a view to make them abjure; and troops were quartered upon their parents.

This precipitation of the chancellor Le Tellier, and Louvois his son, was the occasion that in 1681, a great many families of Poitou, Saintonge, and the neighbouring provinces, abandoned the kingdom: and strangers with eagerness took advantage of this false step.

The kings of England and Denmark, and especially the city of Amsterdam, invited the Calvinists of France to take refuge in their territories, promising to provide amply for their subsistence. Amsterdam alone undertook to build a thousand houses for their reception.

The council perceived the dangerous consequences of a too early use of authority, and hoped to find in that very authority a remedy for the evil. They were sensible how necessary artificers and seamen were, in a country where commerce flourished, and at a time when designs were on foot to establish a naval power. The punishment of the galleys was denounced against all of these professions who should attempt to quit the kingdom.

It was observed, that a great number of Calvinist families sold their estates. Immediately a proclamation appeared, confiscating all those estates, in case the seller should leave the kingdom within the space of a year. The persecution was now redoubled against the ministers; their churches were taken from them upon the most frivolous pretences; and all the rents, left by will to their congregations, were applied to the hospitals of the kingdom.

The masters of Calvinist schools were not permitted to receive boarders. The ministers were loaded with taxes. Protestant mayors were deprived of their privileges. The officers of the king's household, and the king's secretaries who were protestants, had orders to resign their places. None of this religion were admitted either among the notaries, attornies, or advocates.



It was strongly recommended to all the clergy, to be very diligent in making profelytes ; and the protestant ministers were forbid to make any, under pain of perpetual banishment. All these ordinances were publickly sollicitated by the clergy of France, who stiled themselves the children of the household, that were resolved to have no part with strangers introduced by force.

Pelisson continued to expend considerable sums in making converts. But madam Hervard, widow of the comptroller-general of the finances, animated with that zeal for her religion which has been observed in all ages to belong to the sex, sent as much money into the provinces to prevent these conversions, as Pelisson had done to procure them.

At last the Hugonets had the courage to disobey in some provinces. They assembled in the Vivares and in Dauphiny, near the places where their churches had been demolished. They were attacked, and they defended themselves. But this was only a small spark of the fire of our antient civil wars. Two or three hundred miserable wretches, without a leader, without towns, and even without designs, were dispersed in a quarter of an hour. Their punishment immediately followed their defeat. The intendant of Dauphiny caused the grandson of the minister Chamier, who had drawn up the edict of Nantes, to be broke upon  
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the wheel. He is accounted one of the most famous martyrs of the sect; and the name of Chamier has long been held in veneration by the protestants.

The intendant Baviile, in Languedoc, caused the minister Chomel to be broke upon the wheel. Three more were sentenced to the same punishment, and ten to be hanged; but they escaped the execution by flight, and suffered only in effigy.

All this inspired terror, and at the same time served to confirm men in an obstinate adherence to their opinions. It is well known, that our attachment to any religion grows stronger, in proportion as we suffer for its sake.

About this time it was insinuated to the king, that after having sent missionaries into all the provinces, it behoved him likewise to send dragoons. These violences, which seem to have been very ill timed, were a consequence of the spirit which then prevailed at court, that every thing ought to submit to the will of Lewis XIV. It was not considered, that the Hugonets were no longer the same as at Jarnac, Moncontour, and Coutras; that the rage of civil war was extinguished; that the malady which had so long afflicted the nation was almost spent; that time was insensibly restoring things to their first state; that if the fathers had been rebels under Lewis XIII, their sons were become good subjects under Lewis XIV. It appeared

peared in England, in Holland, in Germany, that many different sects, who had torn one another to pieces during the last age, now lived peaceably together within the walls of the same city. Every thing proved, that an absolute king might be equally well served by Catholics and by Protestants. The Lutherans of Alsace demonstrated this beyond all contradiction.

Lewis XIV, who upon seizing Strasburg in 1681, engaged to protect Lutheranism, might have acted in the same manner with respect to Calvinism, and left it to time to abolish it insensibly; as it every day diminishes the number of Lutherans in Alsace. Could it be imagin'd, that in forcing a great number of his subjects to abandon their religion, he would not lose many more, who in spite of all his edicts and guards, would find means to withdraw themselves from a violence, which they termed a horrible persecution? Why should a million of people be compelled to hate a name so dear and precious, and to which both Protestants and Catholics, Frenchmen and Strangers, had agreed to join the epithet of *Great*? Policy itself seemed to require a toleration of the Calvinists, in order to oppose them to the continual pretensions of the court of Rome. The king about this very time had openly quarrelled with Innocent II, the avowed enemy of France. But Lewis XIV, equally attached to the interests of his religion and his grandeur, was resolved to humble  
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the pope with one hand, and crush Calvinism with the other.

He considered these two enterprizes as productive of that lustre of glory, of which he was in all things fond even to idolatry. The bishops, the intendants, the whole council made him believe, that the bare appearance of his troops was sufficient to complete what his liberalities and missions had already begun. He thought he did no more than exert his authority; but those to whom that authority was committed, proceeded with extreme rigour.

Towards the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Lewis XIV, still powerfully armed, had nothing to apprehend from any of his neighbours, troops were sent into all the cities and castles where the protestants were most numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill disciplined, committed the greatest excesses, this execution obtained the name of the *Dragonade*.

The frontiers were guarded with all possible care, to prevent the flight of those who were designed to be re-united to the church. It was a kind of chace carried on within a large enclosure.

A bishop, an intendant, a subdelegate, a curate, or some other person in authority, marched at the head of the soldiers. The prin-

principal Calvinist families were assembled, those especially who were judged most likely to submit. They renounced their religion in the name of the rest; and such as continued obstinate were given up to the mercy of the soldiers, who had every licence except that of killing: yet many were treated with so much cruelty, as to die soon after of the usage they had received. The posterity of the refugees in foreign countries, still exclaim against this persecution of their fathers; comparing it to the most violent the church sustained in the primitive ages of christianity.

It afforded a strange contrast, to behold such cruel and merciless orders issued from the bosom of a voluptuous court, eminent for softness of manners, the graces, and all the endearing charms of social life. The inflexible character of the marquis de Louvois appears conspicuous in this whole affair; and points out to our observation the same genius which had proposed to bury Holland under the waves, and afterwards destroyed the Palatinate with fire and sword. There are still extant several letters under his own hand, dated in the year 1685, and conceived in these terms: “It is his majesty’s pleasure, that such as  
 “refuse to conform to his religion be proceeded  
 “against with the utmost rigour, and that not  
 “the least indulgence be shewn to those who  
 “affect the foolish glory of being the last to  
 “comply.”

Paris

Paris was not exposed to these vexations: the cries of the sufferers would have made themselves heard too near the throne.

While the churches of the Reformed were thus demolished in all parts, and abjurations were demanded in the provinces with an armed force, the edict of Nantes was at last revoked in the month of October 1685; which compleated the ruin of the Protestant cause, already weakened and undermined on all sides.

The chamber of the edict had been suppressed some time before, and the Calvinist counsellors in parliament were ordered to resign their places. Arrets of council appeared, one upon the neck of another, to extirpate the remains of the proscribed religion. That which proved the most fatal was, the order for seizing the children of the pretended Reformed, and putting them into the hands of their nearest catholic relations; an order against which the voice of nature cried so loudly, that it was never put in execution.

But in this celebrated edict, which revoked that of Nantes, the way was paved to an event, directly contrary to what was intended. The government aimed at reuniting the Calvinists to the national church. Gourville, a man of a clear and piercing judgment, counselled Louvois, as is well known, to imprison all the ministers, and

release only such as being gained by secret pensions, would agree to abjure in public, and might thereby contribute more to the projected reunion, than the missionaries and soldiers. But instead of following this politic advice, an edict appeared, ordering all the ministers who refused to renounce their religion, to quit the realm in fifteen days. It was blindness to imagine that in driving away the pastors, a great part of the flock would not follow. It was presuming unreasonably upon power, and argued very little knowledge of mankind, to believe that so many ulcerated hearts, so many imaginations warmed with the idea of martyrdom, especially in the southern parts of France, would not run all hazards to go and publish their constancy and the glory of their exile among strangers, when so many nations, envious of the fortune of Lewis XIV, were ready with open arms to receive them.

The old chancellor Tellier, when he signed the edict, cried with an air of joy: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.* He did not imagine that what he then signed would be productive of the greatest mischief to France.

Louvois his son no less deceived himself in believing, that a bare order was sufficient for the guard of the frontiers, and to prevent the escape of such as thought their duty obliged them to fly. Industry, when employed to elude the law, always  
proves

proves an overmatch for authority. The gaining over some few of the guards sufficed for the escape of a multitude of refugees. Near fifty thousand families, within the space of three years, left the kingdom, and were afterwards followed by others; who introduced their arts, manufactures, and riches among strangers. Almost all the north of Germany, a country hitherto rude, and void of industry, received a new face from the multitudes of refugees transplanted thither, who peopled entire cities. Stuffs, lace, hats, stockings, formerly imported from France, were now made in those countries. A part of the suburbs of London was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk: others carried thither the art of making chrystal in perfection, which was about this time lost in France. The gold which the refugees brought with them, is still very frequently to be met with in Germany. Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, a prodigious quantity of species, and above all, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers. The prince of Orange had entire regiments of refugees. Some settled even at the Cape of Good-hope. The nephew of the celebrated du Quene, lieutenant general of the marine, founded a colony at that extremity of the globe.

It was to no purpose to fill the prisons and galleys with those who had been caught endeavouring to make their escape. What could be done with



with such a multitude of wretches, whom the hardships they suffered served only to confirm in their belief? How could persons bred to the law, or infirm old men, be made to serve in the galleys? Some hundreds embarked for America. At last the council imagined, that by leaving the frontiers open, desertions would become less frequent, as men would no longer be instigated by the secret pleasure of disobeying. But this was found to be a mistake; and after leaving the passages open, guards were a second time planted to no purpose.

After demolishing all the churches of the reformed, and banishing their pastors, the great point was, to retain in the Roman communion such as through persuasion or fear had quitted their religion. There were about four hundred thousand of these in the kingdom, who were obliged to go to mass and communicate. Some who, after embracing the catholic religion, rejected the host, were sentenced to be burnt alive. The bodies of such as refused to receive the sacraments at their death, were drawn upon a hurdle, and denied Christian burial.

Persecution never fails to make profelytes, especially when it is exerted against a spirit of enthusiasm. The Calvinists assembled to sing their hymns, tho' the penalty of death was denounced against all who should be found at such assemblies. Ministers returning into the kingdom were like-  
wise

wife to suffer death, and a reward of five thousand five hundred livres was to be given to whosoever should inform against them. Several returned, who were either hanged or broke upon the wheel,

The sect, tho' crushed in appearance, still subsisted. It vainly flattered itself, in the war of 1689, that king William, who had dethroned his father-in-law for being a catholic, would support Calvinism in France. But in the war of 1701, fanaticism produced a rebellion in Languedoc.

It was now some considerable time, since in the mountains of Cevennes and Vivares, certain persons had appeared, who pretended to the gifts of inspiration and prophesy. An old Huguenot, named De Serres, had there kept a school of prophets. He directed children to those words of scripture which say, "That where two or three  
" are met together in my name, my spirit shall  
" be in the midst of them; and if you had faith  
" like a grain of mustard seed, you would be  
" able to remove mountains." He afterwards received the spirit, fell into extasies, convulsions, and change of voice; remained immoveable, with his hair standing on end, and with all the symptoms of a man beside himself, according to the ancient usage of all nations, and the rules of prophetic madness transmitted from age to age. The youth under his care were soon seized with the same prophesying humour; and if they were not able to  
remove

remove mountains, it was because they had faith enough to receive the spirit, but not to work miracles: accordingly they redoubled their fervour for the obtaining of this last gift.

While the Cevennes were thus become a school of enthusiasm, some of the ministers, who were honoured with the title of *apostles*, returned secretly to preach among the people.

Claude Brousson, of a considerable family in Nimes, a man of eloquence, of great zeal, and in the highest reputation among foreigners, returned to preach in his own country in 1698. He was found guilty, not only of preaching contrary to the edicts, but of having, about ten years before, held intelligence with the enemies of the state. The intendant Baille condemned him to be broke upon the wheel. He died after the manner of the first martyrs. All those of his own sect, all foreign protestants, forgetting that he was a criminal of state, considered him only as a saint, who had sealed the faith with his blood.

Upon this, prophets multiplied, and the spirit of frenzy redoubled. Unhappily in 1703, an abbé of the house of Chailat, an overseer of the missions in those parts, obtained an order from the court, to shut up in a convent two daughters of a gentleman lately converted. The abbé, instead of conducting them to the convent,

vent, carried them first to his own castle. The Calvinists flocked together, forced the gates, and delivered the two young ladies, besides several other prisoners. The sedition encreasing, they seized the abbé du Chailat; but offered him his life, on condition he would change his religion. The abbé refused; upon which one of their prophets cried, *Die then, the spirit condemns you, your sin be upon your own head*: and immediatly he was shot to death. Soon after, they seized the receivers of the capitation tax, and hanged them with their rolls about their necks. Then they fell upon all the priests they met, massacring them without distinction. Troops being sent in quest of them, they retired amidst the woods and rocks. Their number encreased. Their prophets and prophetesses foretold, on the part of the Almighty, the re-establishment of Jerusalem, and the fall of Babylon. The abbé de Bourlie appeared unexpectedly at their head, amidst these savage retreats, and furnished them with money and arms.

He was son of the marquis de Guiscard, the king's sub-governor, who was one of the wisest men in the kingdom. This young nobleman, little worthy of such a father, having fled into Holland on account of some crime, endeavoured to excite a revolt in the Cevennes. Some time after he repaired to London, where he was arrested for betraying the English minister, as he had before betray'd his country. When he was brought before the council, he snatched up a long knife, and

and wounded the lord treasurer Harley. This occasioned his being sent to prison, and loaded with irons, where he prevented the punishment he must otherwise have undergone, by a voluntary death. This was the man, who in the name of the English, the Dutch, and the duke of Savoy, came to encourage the fanatics, and promise them powerful succours.

Great part of the country favoured them secretly. Their cry was, *Liberty of conscience and no taxes*; which seduced the populace every where, and justified Lewis XIV's design of extirpating Calvinism. But without the revocation of the edict of Nantes, these madmen would never have taken up arms.

The king first sent the marshal de Mont-revel with some troops, who made war upon these wretches in the manner they deserved, by ordering the prisoners to be burnt alive, or broke upon the wheel. But the soldiers that fell into their hands were likewise made to expire amidst the most cruel torments. The king, who had so many enemies upon his hands, could only send a few troops against them. It was difficult to surprise them amidst almost inaccessible rocks, in caverns, in woods whither they retired by unfrequented paths, and whence they sallied like wild beasts. They even defeated in a set battle a regiment of marines. Three marshals of France were successively employed against them. Marshal  
Mont-

Mont-revel was in 1704 succeeded by Marshal Villars.

As it was more difficult to find them out than to defeat them, the marshal de Villars, after rendering himself sufficiently formidable to them, proposed a general pardon. Some among them finding themselves disappointed of the succours promised by the duke of Savoy, thought proper to accept of the offer.

The most considerable of their chiefs, and indeed the only one who deserves to be mentioned, was Cavalier. I have seen him since in Holland and England. He was a fair man, of small stature, and a very agreeable engaging countenance. He was called David by those of his party; and from a baker's son, at the age of twenty three, had raised himself to be chief over a great multitude of people, partly by his courage, and partly by means of a prophetess, who procured him to be acknowledged as such, in consequence of an express order of the Holy Ghost. Marshal Villars found him at the head of eight hundred men, whom he had formed into a regiment. When the amnesty was proposed, he demanded hostages, which were accordingly sent. He came to Nimes, attended by one of the chiefs, where the forms of the treaty were settled.

He undertook to form the revolters into four regiments, who were to serve the king under four colonels,

colonels, of which he was to be the first himself, with the privilege of naming the other three. These regiments were to be permitted the free exercise of their religion, like the foreign troops in the pay of France; but this freedom was allowed no where else.

These conditions were accepted, when emissaries arrived from Holland, who endeavoured to prevent their being carried into execution by presents and promises. They drew off the most considerable of the fanatics from their engagements to Cavalier, who having passed his word to the marshal Villars, was resolved to keep it. He accepted the commission of a colonel, and began to form his regiment with a hundred and thirty men, who still continued attached to him.

I have heard the marshal Villars relate, that asking this young man, how at his years he could acquire so much authority among a headstrong undisciplined rabble; he received for answer, that when at any time they refused to obey, his prophets, whom they termed the *Great Mary*, was instantly seized with a fit of inspiration, and condemned the refractory, who were put to death without form of tryal. Having myself afterwards put the same question to Cavalier, he returned me the same answer.

This singular negociation happened after the battle of Hochstet. Lewis XIV, who had so haughtily

haughtily proscribed Calvinism, concluded a peace, under the name of an amnesty, with a baker's son; and marshal Villars presented him with the commission of colonel, and a brief for a pension of twelve hundred livres.

The new colonel went to Versailles to receive the orders of the minister of war. The king saw him and shrugged up his shoulders. Cavalier, distrusting the minister, withdrew into Piedmont, whence he passed into Holland and England. He served in Spain, where he had the command of a regiment. He died a general officer, and governor of the isle of Guernsey, with a great reputation for valour, retaining nothing of his former transports but courage, and having by degrees substituted prudence in the place of fanaticism, which was no longer supported by example.

Marshal Villars being recalled from Languedoc, was replaced by Marshal Berwick. The ill success of the king's arms had emboldened the fanatics of Languedoc, who expected succours from Heaven, and received them from the allies. Money was remitted to them by the way of Geneva: they had a promise of officers from Holland and England; and held intelligence in all the towns in the province.

We may rank in the number of their greatest conspiracies, that which they formed to seize the duke of Berwick, and the intendant Baviile in Nismes, to cause Languedoc and Dauphine to revolt, and to introduce the enemy into these pro-



vinces. The secret was kept by upwards of a thousand conspirators. The indiscretion of a single person brought all to light. More than two hundred died by the hands of the executioner. Marshal Berwick spared none of these unhappy wretches that came in his way. Some died with their arms in their hand; others upon wheels or amidst flames. A few, more given to prophecy than fighting, found means to escape into Holland. The French refugees there received them as messengers from Heaven. They came forth to meet them chanting psalms, and strewing the way with boughs of trees. These prophets went afterwards to England; but finding that the episcopal church there had too much affinity with that of Rome, they strove to make their own bear sway. Their confidence was so strong, that not doubting but with a great deal of faith, great miracles might be wrought, they offered to raise a person from the dead, and even any one chosen at pleasure. The people are every where the same, and the presbyterians might have joined the fanatics in opposition to the church of England. The English ministry took the course which should always be taken with workers of miracles. They were allowed to take up a dead body in the church-yard of the cathedral. The place was surrounded with guards; every thing passed juridically and in form; and the scene ended with sentencing the prophets to stand in the pillory.

Mean

Mean while in France, time, the prudence of the government, and the progress of reason, have by degrees rendered the Calvinists quiet: their number is diminished, and the rage of their enthusiasm abated.

