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LIVES

OF

THE CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU,

COUNT OXENSTIERN—COUNT OLIVAREZ,

AND

CARDINAL MAZARIN.

BY G. P. R. JAMES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:

CAREY, LEA & BLANCHARD.

1836.
At length, after a great deal of delay and agitation, the monarch consented; but Cinq Mars had rendered himself so much beloved by the soldiers, that it appeared dangerous to attempt to seize him in the camp at Perpignan; and Louis, under the pretence of illness, retired to Narbonne. There Cinq Mars received more than one direct intimation that his schemes were discovered, and that the cardinal had again gained the ascendency: but he would not take warning till it was too late; and when he at length determined upon attempting to escape, he found that the gates of Narbonne were shut. After an ineffectual endeavour to conceal himself, he was arrested,* and conveyed first to Montpellier and then to Lyons. He was carried thither, we are assured by some writers,† in a small boat, towed

* June 14, 1642.
† Such is the account of madame de Motteville, who, though not an eye-witness to this barbarous spectacle, seems to have received her information from those who were.
at the stern of the magnificent barge in which Richelieu, in a dying state, but surrounded by more than royal splendour, proceeded to Lyons, after having regained a degree of temporary strength. Other accounts, however, make it appear that the minister was borne by his own guards all the way from Tarascon to Paris in a magnificent litter, rendered so large that the gates of almost all the towns through which he passed were obliged to be thrown down to give it room. A person sat beside him, on a low seat in the litter itself, to amuse him with tales and anecdotes as he proceeded; and thus, with eastern pomp and luxury, he made his progress back to the capital from an expedition which had nearly ended in his utter ruin. As far as there are any means of judging between these two accounts, it would seem that part of the journey was performed on the water, the litter in which Richelieu reclined being placed in a barge and towed slowly up the Rhone, with the victims destined to satisfy his vengeance following. A considerable part we know to have been accomplished by land; but there can be no doubt that, in his state at the time, the cardinal must have been anxious to save himself from such fatigue as far as possible.

It was long, however, ere Richelieu was able to undertake the journey; and before that period he obliged the king to come to him at Tarascon, where, lying on two beds side by side, they held the first conference which had taken place between them for many weeks. Richelieu reproached the monarch for having listened to the insinuations of his enemies; and Louis, with tears, avowed his fault like a chidden school-boy, pro-
mising obedience for the future. The king then returned to Paris; and after a considerable delay Richelieu followed, as we have seen, in triumph. The garrison of Perpignan surrendered on the 7th of September, having exhausted every sort of provision which the place contained; and its fall was immediately succeeded by that of Salces,* which had also been left, by the negligence of Spain, without the means of resisting a long or a vigorous siege.

In the mean while the duke of Bouillon was arrested in Italy, and De Thou, Chavagnac, and several other persons, were also placed in custody. The duke of Orleans, as usual, no sooner heard that the conspiracy had been discovered than he at once abandoned his friends, without making an effort to save them, and sent messengers to the king and the cardinal beseeching forgiveness and pity. Richelieu, however, kept the fear of punishment hanging over his head, to induce him to give evidence against his accomplices; and, without remorse, that ungenerous prince made a declaration which brought their heads to the scaffold. He was induced, by his own pusillanimous apprehensions, to write down all he knew; and it would seem that at one time the cardinal was so convinced of his utter undignified baseness, that he proposed to confront him with his former friends as a witness against them. This, however, was more than he would perform; not that abhorrence of the act deterred him, but that he feared to meet the eyes of those whom he had betrayed and ruined, and slunk from the pointing finger of

* Sept. 30.
public scorn. He obtained from the cardinal, who rarely favoured such scruples, a promise that he should be indulged with merely a private interrogatory, which was accordingly pursued by the chancellor in presence of six commissioners; and the will of Richelieu pronounced that this testimony was to be held good in law.

As soon as this was concluded, the trial of the prisoners by a special commission proceeded; but the duke of Bouillon, in whose favour the most powerful interest was made, was saved by the wise and prudent conduct of his wife, who held up before the eyes of the cardinal, as the price of her husband's life, the long desired principality of Sedan, which was possessed by the house of La Tour independent of the crown of France. Cinq Mars, De Thou, and Chavagnac, were alone brought to trial; and it would have been difficult to convict either of the three, even by one of Richelieu's iniquitous tribunals, had they not been betrayed both by the duke of Orleans and themselves. The treaty, which in the hands of the cardinal afforded the basis of the accusation against them, and formed the principal feature of their crime, was, in fact, but a copy; and though undoubtedly genuine, might have been altogether fictitious. Richelieu, we are told, could not even prove whence it came, and thus it might have been either manufactured by himself or by some other enemy of the accused. The duke of Orleans, however, established its genuineness; and lest his testimony should not be sufficient, the prisoners were induced by the basest means to criminate each other. Cinq Mars was informed that De Thou had given evidence against
him, and, there can be no doubt, was also offered his own life on the condition of making a full confession. He was thus brought to avow all, acknowledging that De Thou had known the treaty entered into with Spain; but adding many particulars, which proved the innocence of his unfortunate friend in every other respect. This was sufficient: De Thou, confronted with Cinq Mars, and fearing the torture with which he was threatened, acknowledged that he had known the existence of such a treaty, but declared, as his friend had done before, that he had used every means in his power to dissuade the conspirators from every criminal proceeding. Of the guilt of Cinq Mars there could be no doubt, and his doom had been fixed by his own confession; but in regard to De Thou much difficulty arose, even amongst the creatures of Richelieu, who had been appointed to judge him. The attorney-general, however, discovered a law of Louis XI. by which every one who did not divulge any treasonable matter which they heard were to be held guilty of treason themselves, and upon it De Thou was condemned, as well as Cinq Mars.

Of course, no regard was paid to the promises by which the grand ecuyer had been beguiled; and, without any delay, the unhappy men were brought to the block in the great square of Lyons. Both died very generally regretted, for Cinq Mars, by personal graces and popular accomplishments, had won the hearts of the multitude during his continuance in favour; and De Thou possessed those higher qualities of the mind which command respect during life, and win reverential love to dwell with the memory of the dead in the
hearts of all men.' The only person tried with Cinq Mars and De Thou was Chavagnac, a protestant, who had fought gallantly under the duke de Rohan, and had since attached himself to the grand écuyer. Against him, however, nothing could be proved; and his innocence was so apparent, that even the creatures of Richelieu dared not condemn him. The duke of Bouillon offered to barter his principality of Sedan for mercy, and obtained it; and the duke of Orleans, condemned and despised by all, lived on almost forgotten till the troubles of another reign called him once more into malefic activity.

Tidings of the death of Cinq Mars and De Thou, and of the fall of Perpignan, reached Richelieu at the same time, and he communicated them to the king in these few words, "Sir, your arms are in Perpignan, and your enemies are dead." But the conquest of Roussillon was not the only success which was destined to adorn the last years of Richelieu's ministry. The maréchal de la Mothe Houdaincourt, with an inferior army, defended Catalonia against the whole forces of Spain. Prince Thomas of Savoy nearly drove the Spaniards out of Piedmont. Torstenson, the Swedish general, twice defeated the Austrians, and the count de Guebriant, having captured a number of towns on the Rhine, attacked General Lamboi in his lines, and after a severe struggle defeated and took him prisoner. England was already plunged in a civil war; Italy was torn with the struggles of its petty princes; the armies and the finances of Spain were both in a state of utter ruin; Austria was humbled and restrained; Flanders could scarcely maintain itself against France and Hol-
land; and Richelieu might look around him on every side with pride and exultation, and say,—"This is my deed."

France, at the same time, was reduced to tranquillity, the Huguenots remained in peaceful subjection, no second rule was acknowledged within the empire; the turbulent nobles, stripped of their power and diminished in their possessions, bowed humbly to the hand that had struck them so often and so severely, and the voice of faction was unheard throughout the land. Richelieu and the king reigned alone; but, ere the scene closed, there was one more act to be performed by the cardinal, and that was a triumph over the monarch himself. Affecting to believe that the king's guards had been gained by Cinq Mars, Richelieu refused to trust his person amongst them; and on this pretence he induced Louis to perform three acts, which left him but a shadow of royalty in his own palace. First, he demanded that the king, for the transaction of business, should come to meet him instead of making him visit St. Germains. To this Louis consented without difficulty. The next demand of the minister was the dismissal of several of the most attached officers of the royal guards. The monarch resisted, vented his indignation upon the inferior ministers, and then yielded to the dictation of the more powerful mind. But another still more extraordinary request followed, which was, that whenever the minister visited the king a number of his guards, equal to those of the monarch's, should be admitted to the palace, and to this also the king consented.

The end, however, was now approaching fast. It
seemed as if just sufficient corporeal strength had been afforded to the great minister to see the accomplishment of all his favourite plans, and to plant the last steps which a subject could take in the course of ambition. The illness from which he had suffered at Narbonne had diminished, but had not left him, and towards the end of November it returned with redoubled force. His strength failed; and after various means had been employed to give him relief violent fever succeeded, accompanied with great difficulty of breathing. It now became apparent to all that the minister was dying, and not less so to Richelieu himself. Having caused the physicians to tell him the truth, he proceeded to perform all the rites which the Roman catholic faith requires of the dying. He confessed, received the viaticum, and demanded extreme unction; but the priest having informed him that it was not necessary for a personage of such high clerical rank, he persisted in being treated, in all respects, as the lowest in the state. He bade adieu to his friends with the most perfect calmness and serenity, appeared to regret no act of his life, and declared boldly that all he had done was undertaken for the benefit of the state and the catholic faith. The most virtuous, the most mild, the most benevolent of men could not have shown a greater degree of satisfaction in the retrospect of his life, nor more confidence in his future salvation; and in this frame of mind he met the gradual approach of death with firmness, which never abandoned him for a moment. During his last hours the king visited him twice, and Richelieu bade him adieu for ever, in a tranquil voice, and with a strain of eloquence which evinced how unimpaired was still
the mighty mind by all the sufferings of the weak body. He showed himself very solicitous for his relations, and anxious that the monarch should retain in office the ministers whom he himself had trained up in the ways of policy; and although his whole demeanour proved that he in no degree feared death, yet he appeared still to desire a longer life; for even after his physicians had pronounced him to be dying, he took eagerly the remedies of a quack, who pretended that he could effect his cure. Some relief he certainly did experience, and his friends began to entertain delusive hopes of his recovery; but shortly before mid-day of the 4th December, 1642, an abscess, which had been long advancing in the chest, broke, and in less than half an hour Richelieu expired with firm tranquillity.

The king, on being told of his death, only remarked, "There is a great politician gone!" and Anquetil has declared that this comprised all that could be said of Richelieu; but he himself, however, has said more. The king, too, though he might not love his minister, owed him a higher tribute; for weak, unstable, suspicious, blood-thirsty, cold-hearted, and narrow-minded as Louis himself was, he was indebted to Richelieu for everything that was great or dignified or excellent in his reign; and perhaps of all the many feeble monarchs which that age produced, he would have been alone distinguished by surpassing them in their weaknesses, and possessing none of their virtues, had it not been for the powers of his minister.

To the king Richelieu bequeathed the palace which he had built for himself, and which afterwards was called the Palais Royal, with a part of the magnificent
furniture which it contained. He left the monarch also the sum of 1,500,000 livres, which he had been in the habit of keeping constantly by him, against important occasions, and which he declared had more than once saved the state. He besought the king, however, to apply this sum to the same purposes for which it had been hitherto employed. Besides these two legacies he left immense wealth to his relations, and a number of considerable bequests to his friends and domestics. He yet is not charged with any peculation; the finances of the state were at his death in a better condition than that in which he found them; the armies of the king had never been suffered, by his negligence, to want supplies, except in the inexplicable business of the Grisons; and the navy, the commerce, and the manufactures of the country had all greatly improved during his administration. The number of offices he held, and the rich benefices which he accumulated in his person, were sufficient to supply the royal expense that he maintained, and to leave a considerable surplus; while the multitude of estates forfeited by conspirators, and the immense revenues suppressed on the occasion of his enemies flying into exile, poured large sums into the coffers of the state.

In person Richelieu was above the middle height, extremely thin, and not particularly graceful. His features were fine and expressive, with an air of grave sternness which well became his character. In complexion he was sallow, and in constitution weak. His greatest foible seems to have been vanity, and his worst passion the love of vengeance. His ambition followed next, and, previous to his accession to power,
it led him to many actions alike injurious to his country and to his patrons. After becoming minister, however, his personal ambition linked itself to the interests of the state; and there can be little doubt that the selfishness which is so powerful in blinding all eyes taught him to believe that his preservation and his domination were absolutely necessary to the welfare of the country; that his enemies were the enemies of France, and, therefore, that they were to be sacrificed without remorse. The sternness with which he, like the great Gustavus Adolphus, suppressed the barbarous practice of duelling was then often imputed to him as a crime; but will now be readily admitted as a virtue.

His constant efforts to humble the nobles of France had most probably a better foundation than his personal enmities. He despised as well as hated them; but he saw also that the kingdom would know no peace, that internal prosperity could never be obtained, nor external policy be rendered effectual, so long as a body of men so unprincipled as the French nobles then undoubtedly were, could at any time ravage the country, interrupt commerce, put a stop to industry, and occupy the forces of the kingdom at their pleasure. To correct such an evil state of things, we find that he pursued, with undeviating steadiness, his purpose of lowering the power and changing the habits of the French nobility. Had he possessed the higher purposes of the Christian and the philosopher, he might have striven to purify and ennoble the minds, to elevate and dignify the character, of those whose vices were even more dangerous to the state than their power. It is probable, indeed, that the best directed efforts would have been
ineffectual; but the character of the policy of that age was rather physical than moral. In no country, except England, did high enthusiasms or glorious aspirations either inspire the people or support the government; and Richelieu’s endeavours were confined to crushing the power of the great nobles, and depriving them of all influence in the state, without one effort to render them just, wise, or patriotic. He took means to reduce the number of their followers, to diminish their fortunes, to seize upon their strong holds, to drive them from their castles to the court, and to make them the dependents upon the royal bounty, rather than the opponents of the royal will.

By so doing, however, he wrought a great change in society, against which he forgot to provide any counteraction. He destroyed the equipoise as it then existed, and failed to substitute anything which might restore it at an after period. Had he been disposed to create a counterbalancing power in order to check the great influence he cast suddenly into the hands of the people by the debasement of the privileged classes, the elements were ready for his purpose in the three great councils, the parliament, the notables, and the states-general, and from these he might have raised an institution which would have guarded France against sudden convulsions. It was, perhaps, too much, however, to expect that he should foresee all the consequences to which his acts gave rise; and as he did not degrade the French nobility so low by a thousand degrees as they afterwards degraded themselves, but only put them in the way to sink lower and lower, it would have been enough had he not broken down also the only other bar-
rier between the throne and the people. But his despotic character would bear no opposition; he set the example of violating the laws by trampling upon all the privileges of the parliament, and showed France how frail was that barrier to which men were accustomed to look for protection against tyranny.

The history of his dealings with the people in general presents a contrariety in the two great objects which he pursued unremittingly through his ministry. He first, and above all things, sought to render the monarchs of France utterly despotic, and at the same time strove to civilise, to enlighten and to enrich the nation; forgetting that a prosperous and well-instructed people are the last tamely to endure a despotism; that it is only while the great mass is plunged in one or other of the two sorts of barbarism, the barbarism of ignorance or the barbarism of corruption, that absolute power can be tolerated. The cause of this contrariety may be sought in the struggle of the clear-sighted politician with the ambitious tyrannical man; and, in his efforts towards the attainment of each of the great ends that he proposed to himself, traces of the same struggle may be found. His best endeavours for enlightening the nation; his patronage of sciences, literature, and arts; his attempts to extend the commerce of France, and to generate a spirit of productive industry amongst the people, are all chequered with traits of an arbitrary disposition; and at the same time in almost all of his most odious acts of tyranny we see the strong, vigorous, and, in one sense, philosophical mind of the statesman, tempering, guiding, and sometimes overpowering the vengeful passions of the tyrannical minister.
What would have been the result had his life been prolonged sufficiently to pursue to a conclusion his general scheme of policy, or whether he had any general scheme at all, cannot be told. That he fixed his mind, from a very early period, upon two or three great objects there can be no doubt; but whether he had any defined plan for attaining them is more problematical; and it is not improbable that his general scheme, if he had any, was very vague; for through his life men remarked that in the execution of his most important designs he was ever ready to stop and seize any collateral advantage. At all events, during his short ministry of eighteen years, he accomplished several very extraordinary things, both in general policy and administrative detail. He gave the final blow to the feudal system, and threw down the last remnant of an institution that in its infancy, its prime, and its decay had outlived a thousand years. He restored the balance of power in Europe, which had been lost, by the ascendency of the house Austria, since the reign of the emperor Charles V. He reduced to total subjection a body of men, who, as a political and religious party, had divided the means and paralysed the energies of France ever since the reformation. He extended on every side the boundaries of the country which he governed. He established and consolidated the first great trading company of France,—the company of the Indies. He founded,* endowed and transmitted to posterity the greatest and most splendid literary insti-

* In 1635. This institution has undergone very little change of organization since the days of Richelieu.
tution of Europe, L'Academie Francaise, an institution which is at once glorious to its founder and reproachful to the rest of Europe. He re-established, increased, and improved the royal navies of France; and he introduced into the army a degree of discipline, and into the commissariat a degree of accuracy which had never been known till his time, and which obtained for the French armies many of the successes that attended their efforts, not only in his own life but long after his death.

Richelieu possessed almost all those gifts which constitute a great minister. He was eloquent, clear, and precise in speech; and in his despatches and letters there is to be found that union of great and comprehensive views, with the most intimate knowledge of detail, which is so seldom to be met with. His directions were always definite and distinct; and while he brought all the great objects to be gained into one general group, he omitted not one of the minor particulars which were necessary to the attainment of his purpose. In argumentation, too, he was very successful. Whenever he sought to combat any proposal before the council, he always began by producing, in eloquent language, all that could be said in its favour, and then taking up the contrary side, appeared to overthrow his former reasoning with regret, and only to state the cogent arguments on the opposite part from a sense of duty.

Strange to say, however, in the theological pursuits of his earlier years, and in the purely literary amusements with which he relieved the cares of government at a later period, he showed none of those powers which he displayed in his political writings and ora-
tions. In controversy he was weak and subtle, and as far as we can judge from the works attributed to him, he was in his literary compositions trifling and affected. The instance of the condemnation of the Cid, which he procured from the French academy, has often been brought forward to show the badness of his taste; but it would seem that the author more than the work was the object of Richelieu's dislike.

He was keen, penetrating, and rapid in business, active, diligent, and indefatigable. His comprehension of everything submitted to him was quick, and his decision immediate. When once taken, his resolutions knew no change; for although he appeared occasionally to relax a part of those conditions which he demanded, there can be no doubt that he always required more than he expected to obtain, in order to leave room for concession. In temper, he was hasty, irritable, and revengeful, and in the relations of private life showed himself capricious and unequal, but not incapable of strong attachments. His diet was plain and scanty, but in every other respect he appeared luxurious and ostentatious. He left many who hated him, many who feared him, some who respected him, some who admired him, but few who loved him; and was, indeed, a great minister, though he can hardly be considered as a great man.

The writing of biography is often a sad task, as it shows us intimately to what height a man may rise amongst his fellows, what power he may attain, and what deeds he may perform, without accomplishing those grand purposes which can alone be formed in a noble heart, and executed by a mighty mind.
LIFE OF

AXEL COUNT OXENSTIERN.

BORN, 1583—DIED, 1654.

Few particulars of the private life of the famous chancellor Oxenstiern have come under my notice; and the greater part of those which I have met with are either trifling in themselves, or of very doubtful authenticity. The principal traits of his behaviour, as related by Siri, are contradicted by others; and all the collectors of anecdotes, who swept up the crumbs of history towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV., have left us very scanty notices of one of the greatest statesmen of his age. The cause probably is, that the life of Oxenstiern, unlike that of his great contemporary Richelieu, was altogether the life of a politician, the individual had therein very little part; and while the personal views, interests, and passions of the French minister affected events throughout all Europe, it was the events themselves which affected the actions of Oxenstiern.

Axel Oxenstiern was born at Fano of Upland, in Sweden, in the year 1583.* His family was one of high consideration in the country, its head for thirteen generations having held a seat in the Swedish senate. His father, baron Gabriel Oxenstiern, one of the first

* A print of Oxenstiern, engraved from the life by Miervelt, in 1636, represents him as at the age of fifty-three.

3 *
hereditary barons created by Eric, died while he was yet in infancy, and left him and a younger brother to the care of their mother, under whose eye their first education was carried on. At an early period, however, the young Oxenstiern was sent from home to pursue his studies at various German schools; and while at Wittenberg and Jena was directed to apply himself principally to theology, as his relations hoped to be able to advance his fortunes in the protestant church of Sweden. This idea, however, was soon given up; and it would seem that, before he returned to his own country, the course he was destined to pursue had been decided by his friends, though few perhaps expected that he would thereby rise to such a height as he afterwards attained.

The acquisition of foreign languages was at this time one of the chief objects of his studies; and he obtained great facility both in writing and speaking Latin, German, and the modern tongues commonly used in the north of Europe. But he did not alone content himself with possessing the keys of knowledge without opening the gates, and acquiring the treasures within; and if the picture drawn of him by the queen Christina, one who is likely to have known him well, be correct, his application at this period of his life must have been most extraordinary, to obtain all the varied stores with which his mind was enriched.

Before he reached his eighteenth year he proceeded to visit the various courts of Germany, and devoted his attention, with a zeal which was well repaid in after years, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the views and interest of each ere he returned to his native
land. In the year 1602, however, Oxenstiern, in common with all the absent nobility of Sweden, was recalled to his own country, in order, we are told, to swear allegiance to Charles IX.;* and having been introduced to the particular notice of that monarch, he was sent in 1606, on a diplomatic mission to the court of Mecklenburg. The business he had there to transact would appear to have been of no great importance; but his manner of conducting it gave satisfaction to the king, and from that time he was constantly employed in the service of the state. He returned to Sweden, however, before the year 1609, at which period he was named one of the members of the senate, and about the same time he married; but events, both foreign and domestic, had been long advancing towards maturity, which soon called him from his domestic circle and his native country, and which require some brief investigation in this place.

Gustavus Vasa had, upon the wisest political grounds, fixed the protestant faith as the national religion of Sweden, and had, by a fundamental law, excluded all Roman catholics from participation in the government. The throne had been made hereditary in his family by the consent of a willing and grateful people; but by a voluntary act of the king, with the approbation of the nation, Gustavus rendered it a condition that no future monarch should attempt to alter the established religion. His second son, however, John duke of Finland, who

* Such is the general account of the biographers of Oxenstiern; but it is asserted by others that although Charles governed Sweden with undivided authority from the year 1599, yet he was not absolutely elected king of Sweden by the states till 1604.
afterwards dethroned the elder, Eric, and succeeded to the crown, soon became a convert to the Catholic faith, and, on his accession, gave manifest indications of a wish to introduce the religion he had adopted into the kingdom he was called to govern. This first awakened the jealousy of the Swedes; but when his son Sigismond, who had become in his father’s lifetime king of Poland, succeeded, and at once evinced a determination of restoring Catholicism and oppressing the Protestants, the states of Sweden prepared for resistance. Charles, duke of Sodermania, the fourth son of Gustavus Vasa, put himself at the head of the malecontents, and, taking advantage of Sigismond’s absence in Poland, seized upon the crown of Sweden. Supported by a united people, he was not to be shaken by all the efforts of Sigismond, and retained the sceptre under the title of Charles IX. Sigismond continued to look upon his uncle Charles as a usurper, and long, but not very sanguinary, contentions succeeded.

On the other hand, the kings of Denmark, who had held the crown of Sweden till expelled by Gustavus Vasa, never abandoned entirely their claims to that country; and Christian IV., the reigning sovereign, a brave and skilful, though somewhat headstrong prince, carried on the war with Sweden on various pretences with very considerable success. While Charles, the old king of Sweden, maintained the military reputation which he had acquired in his earlier years, Oxenstiern was despatched on a new mission to Livonia, where he displayed so much skill in consolidating the Swedish party in that province, notwithstanding all the intrigues of Poland, and in healing the differences
which had arisen between the city of Revel and the neighbouring nobility, that his character as a statesman was established, and the eyes both of the king and the nation were called to his talents, as those which were destined to influence, if not to guide, the fortunes of the state.

Surrounded by enemies on every side, Charles saw the necessity of increasing the armies, and drawing forth all the resources of Sweden; and with these views he called together the states, and demanded prompt and vigorous assistance.* Popular assemblies, especially when they are not habituated to the orderly discharge of business by regular periods of assembling, are always slow and generally penurious; and Charles met with so much opposition at a time of extreme urgency, that, giving way to the violence of temper which characterised his family, he fell into a fit of passion which produced a sudden stroke of palsy. Several of his faculties became enfeebled; but, wise enough to perceive that this was the case, he called around him the men on whose abilities and honesty he could most fully rely, and entrusted to their hands a great part of those important affairs which he had hitherto conducted himself. The principal amongst these counsellors was Oxenstiern; and when at length in 1611 the king felt death approaching, he named a council of regency, the selection of the members composing which was somewhat curious, at least in one respect. His queen Christina, of course, held a place therein; and Oxenstiern, though only twenty-eight years of age, was particularly named; but, be-

* 1609.
sides these and several members of the senate, the king appointed his nephew John, half-brother of Sigismond, king of Poland, to be one of the guardians of his son and one of the regents of the kingdom, during the short minority that ensued. That magnanimous prince held the ancient province of eastern Gothland, with the title of duke, was much beloved by the Swedes, adhered to the protestant faith, was brave and skilful as a military commander, and displayed, on many occasions, an active enterprising disposition. He was, moreover, descended from the elder branch of the house whereof Charles IX. was the younger brother, had, on a former settlement of the succession, been named contingent successor to the throne in the event of Sigismond dying childless, and was in every respect nearer to the throne of Gustavus Vasa than Gustavus Adolphus, who now succeeded. Yet such had been the confidence of his uncle, Charles IX., in his honour and moderation, that with wise policy he had named him to a post which placed great power in his hands; and such was the generous magnanimity of John, that as soon as the short minority of Gustavus Adolphus was expired, he made a voluntary renunciation of all his rights to the throne of Sweden, and through life obeyed and served his cousin with the zeal and affection of a friend and brother.

No sooner had Gustavus reached the period of his majority, which in Sweden had been fixed at the beginning of the eighteenth year, than the queen and

- Some writers assert that he refused to accept the guardianship of the young prince, and at once renounced all claim to the throne.
Oxenstiern called a meeting of the states, and the order of succession, as it had been settled at Linköping on his father's accession, was fully confirmed, leaving Gustavus Adolphus in his eighteenth year absolute monarch of Sweden. During the assembly of the states, Oxenstiern acted throughout as the director of the young king's councils; and about this time also was raised to the office of chancellor of the kingdom of Sweden.

The task of prime minister, which was, in fact, that which Oxenstiern had now to fulfil, was not without manifold difficulties in Sweden at this epoch. Russia, allied with Poland, and having chosen the son of Sigismund as czar, threatened to overwhelm the dominions of Gustavus on the one hand, while Denmark, under Christian, continued the war fiercely on the frontiers and in the Baltic. Gustavus almost immediately on his accession put himself at the head of his forces, and prepared to carry on hostilities vigorously against the persevering enemies of Sweden; but his campaigns on the Danish border, though success often attended particular enterprises, were not upon the whole advantageous to Sweden.

In the course of the year 1612, however, the English ambassadors at the courts of the two kingdoms endeavoured, by order of their sovereign, to bring about a peace between Gustavus Adolphus and the Danish king; and Oxenstiern was appointed to conduct the negotiations on the part of the young monarch. Extraordinary delays protracted the discussions for months: and it is laughable to find that the principal causes of a dispute in consequence of which so much blood had been shed, and so much misery entailed
upon both countries, were points of heraldry and precedence, insignificant, unworthy, and absurd. Such considerations, however, were at that time held as very weighty by the northern nations; and during the course of the negotiations themselves, we find curious instances of tenacity in regard to etiquette, which delayed for some time the conclusion of the treaty. Anstruther, ambassador from England at the court of Denmark, proceeded to the place of conference, for the purpose of mediating between the belligerants conjointly with sir John Merick, and Spence, the English envoy of Sweden. No sooner did he arrive, however, than he sent his secretary to Spence to beg that diplomatist to call upon him, as the king of Denmark had prohibited him from rendering the first visit to an ambassador at the court of Sweden. Spence referred the demand to Oxenstiern; who replied angrily, that Denmark had no real, nor even apparent, superiority over Sweden, and he would not suffer Spence to comply. It was at length arranged, however, that the two ambassadors should meet in a tent, half way between the Danish and Swedish quarters, and the negotiation then proceeded.

Oxenstiern displayed infinite skill in the whole of the ensuing transactions, suffering Denmark to gain by slow degrees some of the ceremonial advantages for which she strove, while he obtained for Sweden the restitution of all the places which had been taken from her, except one, which was also to be restored on the payment of a sum of money. Several particulars of small importance delayed the conclusion of the treaty for some time after the principal terms were agreed.
upon; but it was signed in the beginning of the following year,* and left Sweden free to oppose the efforts of Russia and Poland. Not contented, however, with having thus freed his country from an enemy, whose proximity rendered constant attention necessary, Oxenstiern applied himself to strengthen the power of his sovereign by foreign alliances; and sent ambassadors to Holland, in order to negotiate a defensive and commercial treaty with the States General; while, at the same time, the warlike monarch under whom he acted obtained permission to raise two bodies of auxiliaries in Scotland and the Low Countries.

A number of excellent fiscal regulations and internal arrangements were made about this time in Sweden, for the purpose of promoting commerce and manufactures, curtailing the expenses of law suits, and withdrawing the youth of the country from foreign universities to that of Upsal, an institution which both the king and the minister did all in their power to improve and support. It is difficult, however, to distinguish, with any certainty, which of the wise laws that we now find promulgated emanated from Gustavus Adolphus himself, which from Oxenstiern. In almost every other country at that epoch appeared a sovereign and a favourite of very different powers; and the acts of the one are generally easily separated from those of the other. In England, indeed, the monarch and the favourite were equally weak; but in France and Spain the effects of Richelieu’s sagacity and Olivarez’s activity were at once to be distinguished from the proceedings of their imbecile and indolent masters.

* Jan. 19, 1613.
Oxenstiern and Gustavus Adolphus, however, approached each other so nearly in character, their objects were so much the same, and their union of purpose and effort was so complete, that, except in military proceedings, it is seldom possible to ascertain what act sprang from the mind of Gustavus alone, what originated in the suggestions of Oxenstiern.

In 1614 the chancellor, after having executed an embassy to the court of Denmark, in order to explain the motives of the approaching contest between Gustavus and the czar, accompanied the monarch in his expedition against Russia, and there, together with his master, studied more scientifically the art of war, under the famous De la Gardie. The advantages obtained by the Swedish arms were not particularly brilliant; but before the conclusion of the following year, Russia was well inclined to listen to the terms of pacification proposed by the ambassadors of Holland and England; and, after long discussions, a treaty was ultimately agreed upon at Stolborn,* by which the czar finally ceded to Sweden the whole of the sea-coast of Carelia and Ingria. In 1617 Oxenstiern assisted at the coronation of the king, which took place at Upsal, and then aided him in bringing to perfection all those admirable internal arrangements which secured tranquillity and prosperity at home, while the monarch pursued against Poland those military operations which the proceedings of his cousin Sigismund now rendered absolutely necessary to the stability of his throne.

During the two succeeding years the war with Poland was carried on languidly, interrupted by fre-

* Feb. 17, 1617.
quent truces, and renewed by reiterated provocations; but still without any great success attending the proceedings of the Swedish monarch, who was, as yet, but trying that strength which he afterwards used as a giant when a great opportunity presented itself.

About this time, however, an accident which befell Gustavus had nearly terminated, not only his own career, but that of Oxenstiern. By some unexplained negligence a castle, situated at a short distance from the capital, in which the king and the chancellor had met for the transaction of business, took fire, during the night, and ere either the monarch or his minister were aware of their danger the staircases had become impassable. Both were forced, as a last resource, to leap from the windows, and then to swim the moat, in which, owing to the quantity of tenacious mud that it contained, they had nearly been drowned. The king escaped perfectly unhurt, but the chancellor received several injuries, which seemed severe at the time, but did not ultimately affect his health. In 1619 a meeting was proposed, and carried into effect, between Gustavus and Christian, king of Denmark, at a frontier town, where, in the midst of festivities and tokens of friendship, a number of important measures were agreed upon for the security of both countries; and in the course of the following year the Swedish monarch, we are told, visited in disguise the capitals of several German princes, and ended his journey at the court of Berlin. Some have supposed the monarch to have been actuated in this proceeding, which was certainly dangerous, by political reasons, and some have believed that his sole motive was the desire of seeing
with his own eyes the princess Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, who afterwards became his queen. Certain it is, however, that towards the end of the year 1620 Oxenstiern was sent to conduct the princess to the court of her future husband, with whom her marriage took place immediately on her arrival at Stockholm.

To the siege of Riga, which followed, Oxenstiern accompanied the king, and served under him in a military capacity. He remained, however, always near the person of his master during the sieges of Riga, Dunamond, and Mittau. A multitude of confused events succeeded, which would be too long and tedious to relate in this place; and it is only necessary to say, that during the succeeding war with Poland Oxenstiern acted alternately as warrior and statesman, and that after attending the king to Livonia, he conducted several negotiations concerning peace, all of which proved ineffectual. At length the constant successes of Gustavus Adolphus compelled the weak and shortsighted Sigismond to consent to a truce of six years, beginning in August, 1629; and in the negotiations which preceded the treaty, Oxenstiern showed all that skill and judgment which he had previously displayed, obtaining for his master the virtual cession of those parts of Livonia which Gustavus had conquered, as well as the towns and territories of Memel, Braunsberg, and Elbingen, and the strong fortress of Pillau.

Two anecdotes are related of Oxenstiern's conduct during the war and the negotiations with Poland, which, though perhaps doubtful, may have a place here, as they do not in any degree affect the truth of history.
On all occasions Gustavus Adolphus exposed his person as much as any common soldier in his army: three times, during the war with Poland, he had nearly been taken prisoner, and was twice wounded. The remonstrances of his friends were vain; and Oxenstiern, more boldly than the rest, urged the necessity of caution. "My good chancellor," answered the monarch, "you are too cold in your nature for me." Oxenstiern immediately replied, "That may be, sire; but if my ice did not sometimes serve to abate your fire, your majesty might have been scorched long ago." The second anecdote relates to the ceremonial stiffness of the Polish and Swedish etiquette, and is sometimes told of Oxenstiern, sometimes of his son. On meeting to confer for a truce, the ambassadors of the two countries, for many minutes, maintained a perfect silence, each pretending that it was the business of the other to speak first. At length the chancellor of Poland began by saying, in a tone of reproach, "Illustrious gentlemen of Sweden, in order that politeness may be upon our side, we wish you a good morning." To which Oxenstiern replied,—"That we may not appear ungrateful, we wish you right minds."* If there be any truth in the anecdote at all, it is probably applicable to the statesman of whom I now speak, as I cannot discover that his son was ever engaged in such negotiation with the Poles as to justify the contrary supposition; and certainly never was so with

* The jest loses its point in any other language than that in which it was made. The dialogue was carried on, as usual with the Poles and Swedes, in Latin, and the words of Oxenstiern were "Precamur vobis bonam mentem."
the Polish ministers said to have been present at this
interview.

Some time before the signature of the treaty with
Poland, Oxenstiern undertook, and conducted with
success, one of the most difficult negotiations in which
he was ever engaged; but as this will lead us to the
opening of a new scene in the eventful wars of those
times, we must turn for a moment to the state of Ger-
many, in which the house of Austria was rising to a
height of power that made all the inferior princes of
the empire tremble for their liberties* and privileges.

The first seeds of that famous series of hostilities,
called, in general, the Thirty Years' War, were sown
by a dispute in regard to the succession of Juliers;
but they were rendered prolific by the election of Fer-
dinand II. to the throne of the empire, and by the
civil dissensions which took place between and his
oppressed subjects in Bohemia. On his accession to
the imperial dignity,* Ferdinand found himself with-
out money, without forces, and without friends; his
remote territories in revolt, his nearer dominions
coldly disaffected, the electors of the empire divided
amongst themselves, and a strong party throughout
Germany opposed to the religious and political opi-
nions which he was disposed to support with tyrannical
zeal. Yet, in eleven years, by skilful but deceitful
policy, by the improvement of accidental circum-
stances, by the division of the electors, and the suc-
cesses of his generals, he had defeated his enemies, over-
run their territories, and annihilated their power; he
had quelled insurrection in all parts of his hereditary

* March 20, 1619.
dominions; had completely overawed and intimidated the south of Germany; had reduced to despair the union of protestant princes who had leagued in defence of their religion and their rights; had defeated and forced to fly Christian, king of Denmark, who had been called to their aid; and, sending Wallenstein into Pomerania, he was now attempting to possess himself of the command of the Baltic, in order to subject the north of that great tract which lies between the Rhine and the Nerva to the same bondage whereunto he had already reduced the south. The only opponent that he feared was the young king of Sweden; and, while he had been prosecuting his ambitious views in the south, he had taken care to foment every dispute between Gustavus and his neighbours, sending reinforcements to the king of Denmark during the hostilities which at one time took place between Christian and the king of Sweden, and giving throughout the war such covert aid to Sigismond, king of Poland, as to enable him to struggle with Gustavus; hoping to exhaust both competitors, in order to take advantage of their weakness at an after period.

The successes of Wallenstein in Pomerania were only equalled by the licence he permitted to his soldiers. But the town of Stralsund in the end opposed an obstacle to his course; and after endeavouring, by various treacherous means, to obtain possession of that fortress, he at length besieged it in form. The king of Denmark, however, had time to aid the government of Stralsund by a reinforcement from his own army; and the fleets of Denmark and Sweden contrived to keep the port open, and from time to time to throw in supplies and ammunition. Thus the siege was pro-
tracted for an extraordinary length of time: but Wallenstein, furious at being frustrated in his attempts, pressed it forward more vigorously than ever; and it became apparent to Gustavus that, unless the city could be succoured speedily, its fall would be inevitable. Austria would obtain one of the best ports in the Baltic, and the command of that sea would be wrested from Sweden and Denmark. The king of the latter country, defeated, exhausted, and pursued even to his own territories, could afford Stralsund no efficient aid; but still, as he was already jealous of the superiority of Sweden, it seemed likely that he would rather make his peace with Austria, and see a counterbalancing power rise up against Sweden in the Baltic, than yield so great an advantage to Gustavus as the possession of Stralsund would bestow. The duke of Pomerania, too, though ruined and pillaged by the Austrians, was likely to oppose the views of the Swedish king; and Stralsund itself might prefer obtaining such advantageous terms from Austria, as its gallant defence was sure to command, than yield itself to the power of a nation of which the Hanseatic towns had long been jealous.

To overcome all these difficulties, Gustavus despatched Oxenstiern first to Stralsund, and then to the court of Denmark. In all his negotiations the chancellor was completely successful; and a treaty, offensive and defensive was entered into with Denmark.* The duke of Pomerania dared not take an active part against the house of Austria, but was found in no condition to oppose the king of Sweden; and the government of Stralsund itself gladly caught at the offers of Gustavus,

* May 29, 1628.
and besought him to send the promised succour as promptly as possible. That succour was not only prompt, but such as to render it effectual; and immediately upon receiving notice that his troops would be received, Gustavus despatched Leslie, a veteran Scotch officer in the service of Sweden, with 6000 men, and an immense convoy of provisions and ammunition. Wallenstein continued the siege for some time longer; but at length decamped; leaving Leslie not only in possession of Stralsund but of the isle of Rugen, which the commander of the Swedes had conquered since his entrance into that city.

The foreign power which had most contributed to bring about the peace between Poland and Sweden was France, which, under the government of the famous cardinal de Richelieu, was now preparing all her energies to reduce the excessive influence of the house of Austria, and to aggrandize the French monarchy at the expense of that of Spain. In pursuit of the latter of these objects, Richelieu saw that the troops of Louis XIII. would find sufficient employment; and in order to accomplish the abasement of the German branch of the Austrian family, he sought to raise up enemies to the emperor, and to supply them with the means of checking him in his hitherto uninterrupted course of success. With this view he had laboured to put an end to the war, which wasted the resources and employed the troops and energies of Gustavus; and he now suggested to the Swedish monarch the glory and advantage which would accrue to him from contending with the head of the German empire. The princes of the protestant union, for the third or fourth time, eagerly applied to Gustavus to give them aid and pro-
tection, as soon as they saw him free to grant their request. The Hanse towns joined in the petition, and offered the resources of their wealth. The states of Holland, engaged in a war with Spain, supported warmly the petition of the protestant league, and many of the catholic princes themselves intimated that they would either remain neuter, or aid the king of Sweden to repress the overgrown authority of a tyrannical prince.

Gustavus, however, paused, although the emperor had acted towards him both with open hostility and with base and ungenerous duplicity; and before he returned to Sweden he held more than one conference with Oxenstiern upon the step to which he was urged by so many motives. The chancellor agreed to the necessity of checking the progress of the house of Austria in the north, by declaring war against the emperor, but, unaware of all the latent resources of his master’s mind, he advised him strongly to confine himself to merely defensive operations. He represented to the king the large army which Austria had already in the field, her vast dominions, her veteran troops, her proved and skilful generals. But Gustavus possessed that power of seeing—of foreseeing, indeed,—all the mighty combinations which were certain of taking place in his favour. His soldiers were few, it is true, but they were veterans also: they were disciplined in a manner both peculiar to themselves, and superior to the discipline of the imperial armies, and they were commanded by generals whose skill, courage, and fidelity had been thoroughly tried. The support and confidence of the people of Sweden, too, was sure, and the resources of the country were great, and were
easily rendered available; while the forces of the German protestants, and the various bands of independent adventurers which had hitherto been generally arrayed against the emperor, offered the means, under the direction of a powerful and commanding mind, of counterbalancing the superior strength of Austria, in the contest with Sweden. Nor could Gustavus feel within himself the mighty energy of his own character, struggling for opportunity to exert its powers upon a worthy object, without calculating upon an ally in his own genius which was enough to baffle all the hosts of Ferdinand.

The reasonings of the monarch were conclusive with his minister, who was one of those rare men who may be convinced; and leaving Oxenstiern behind* with 10,000 men, to preserve the territory he had conquered, the Swedish monarch returned to his own dominions, and laid before the senate his views in regard to the war, at the same time demanding their advice as to whether it should be rendered merely defensive, or carried into the heart of Germany. The opinion of the senators strongly confirmed that of the king; and in a subsequent meeting of the states, the unanimous and enthusiastic voices of his people bade him go forth and conquer, promising all that strong and willing support which a united nation can give to a monarch beloved, admired, and revered.

An offensive war was now fully determined upon; and the government of Sweden applied itself to use all means for rendering that war successful, both by the preparation of magazines, armies, and funds, and by

* Some accounts state that Oxenstiern was not left behind, but returned to Stockholm with the king.
the conclusion of alliances with every one who feared or hated the house of Austria. Ferdinand, in the mean time, used every effort to embroil Gustavus with Denmark; and Christian, king of the latter country, who was not well pleased to see his young and energetic rival engage in an enterprise which had baffled him and all the Danish forces, though he concluded a treaty of amity and mutual defence with Sweden, offered to mediate between Gustavus and the emperor. The imperial envoy, and the Danish mediators proceeded to Dantzic; and Oxenstiern, who was still in Prussia, received orders to confer with them. The clear-sighted minister, however, soon perceived that the Danes leaned to the Austrian side of the question; that the imperial envoy had no intention of concluding peace upon terms honourable to Gustavus, or advantageous to the protestants; and that his chief object in visiting Dantzic was to examine the preparations of Sweden, and detach the Dantzicers from their alliance with the king. It seemed more than probable, also, that the eagerness which the emperor displayed in accepting the mediation of the Danish king was caused by the hope of entangling the Danes and Swedes in disputes which would end in open opposition; and the minister of Gustavus saw at once that it would be difficult to negotiate, and yet dangerous to decline, lest the Danes should therein find a pretext for joining the house of Austria. Oxenstiern therefore endeavoured, in the first instance, to withdraw the imperial envoy from the scene of his machinations, by refusing to treat in Dantzic; and finding that his opponent would not conduct the negotiations in any other place, as well as knowing that they would be fruitless, he seized a
pretext by which the Danes could not be offended, and declared that he would not proceed to Dantzic, alleging that the emperor not having chosen to give his sovereign the title of king in his letters, nor having furnished his envoy with full powers, it was evident he had no intention of treating sincerely. He sent, however, the terms to which his master was willing to consent, and which were no more than he had a right to demand: but they were at once rejected; and although the emperor endeavoured to protract the negotiations so as to gain time for the completion of all his schemes, and the consolidation of his power, ere Gustavus disputed the field with him, that monarch was not to be delayed nor deceived; and hastening his preparations, he was ready to open the campaign early in the year 1630.

In the mean time the imperialists had endeavoured, as far as possible, to secure for themselves the strong places of Pomerania, in which district they easily perceived that Gustavus must make his first descent, and they even attempted to persuade the sovereign of that country to receive an Austrian garrison in his capital of Stettin; but the duke steadily refused, endeavouring, however, to induce Gustavus to lead his forces in some other direction, or to grant him the privilege of neutrality. The Swedish monarch positively declined to make any such concession, replying, "He who is not for us is against us;" and on the twenty-fourth of June, 1630, he embarked his troops, and, after a tempestuous and troublesome navigation, landed on the isle of Rugen," which had been taken from the impe-

* Some historians declare that Gustavus went to Usedom, bore either landing at Rugen or visiting Stralsund.

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rialists by general Leslie some short time before. The whole force which he now possessed on the continent seems to have been numerically under 30,000 men; and with these he prepared to wage an offensive warfare against a monarch commanding nearly eight times that number of veteran soldiers. But, as it is not the biography of Gustavus that forms the subject of this memoir, a slight sketch of his successful career may be sufficient, until Oxenstiern again appears upon the scene.

The whole of Pomerania, with the exception of two fortresses, was speedily overrun, and the duke forced to enter into a treaty with Sweden. Gustavus then turned his attention towards Mecklenburg and Brandenburg; but, meeting with unexpected difficulties, was obliged to return to secure his conquests in Pomerania, and capture the towns of Goldberg and Demmin. In the meanwhile, however, Tilly advanced against him at the head of the imperial army, and cut to pieces without mercy a Swedish detachment in Brandenburg. But Gustavus could not be tempted to give the Austrian general battle under disadvantageous circumstances; and while the two armies lay in the neighbourhood of each other, success in almost all the skirmishes was on the side of the Swedes. To compensate the loss of Pomerania, by some advantage gained, Tilly besieged Magdeburg; and taking it by surprise, after a long resistance, encouraged his soldiery in the most barbarous massacre that is perhaps recorded in history. Frankfort on the Oder, however, was taken by Gustavus by storm, and the garrison were there refused all quarter.
The landgrave of Hesse Cassel now openly joined the king of Sweden; and the elector of Saxony, after having in vain attempted to create a separate interest for himself, and to gain such power as would enable him to hold the scales between Sweden and the empire, was driven, by the triumphant insolence of Tilly, to submit to the former, and to beseech Gustavus for protection against the general oppressor of Germany. About the same time France concluded a treaty of alliance with Sweden; and from this moment success seemed assured to the opponents of the empire. Tilly, after having rendered himself master of a considerable part of Saxony, and exercised the most brutal cruelty upon the people of that country, approached Leipsic; and having compelled that city to surrender, awaited under its walls the attack of Gustavus, who having effected his junction with the Saxon army, now pursued the imperialists, in order to risk a general battle. The two armies were nearly equal in point of numbers; and Tilly having been induced, by the eagerness of some of his officers, to abandon the position he had taken up, was successful in his attack upon the Saxon part of the allied army, but was subsequently completely defeated by Gustavus. The slaughter of the imperial forces were dreadful: numbers were taken prisoners; and the rout of the rest was so complete that for many days not three thousand Austrians could be collected to form the nucleus of a fresh army. The way to Vienna and the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria was now open to the Swedes, and the prospect was very seductive to one ambitious of military glory: but Gustavus was something more than a mere soldier; and, leaving the
Saxon army to advance towards the imperial capital, probably with very little hope of its effecting anything in that quarter more than a mere diversion, he himself pushed forward into the heart of the empire, in order to destroy the catholic league, and free the protestant princes from the trammels which had been imposed upon them.

The necessity of obtaining reinforcements, however, was now pressing; and Gustavus took measures to recruit his forces, as well with native troops as auxiliaries. At the same time, to secure possession of the territories he had already acquired, he left Oxenstiern with a small corps of troops behind him, fixing the chancellor's principal residence at Erfurth, under the title of legatus ab exercitu. Here that great minister was in his proper sphere; and although his efforts were of that quiet and unobtrusive class which gain but little public attention and admiration, yet unrivalled in those times as an administrator, he kept constantly open the means of communication between Sweden and his sovereign's army in all its many marches; secured the districts which had been freed from the Austrians against fresh attempts; and by his moderation, punctuality, and sense of justice, so gained the love of the people of Pomerania and Saxony, that universal rejoicings celebrated the anniversary of Gustavus's entrance into Germany as the day of deliverance from tyranny and oppression.

At length, when the king, after having forced his way in arms from the Baltic to the Rhine, took possession of Mayence (or Mentz,) and the queen of Sweden prepared to join her husband in that city, Oxen-
stiern put himself at the head of the troops which had accompanied her from Sweden, and leaving the north in perfect security, proceeded to reinforce his sovereign's army. His march was through a country which the king had already subdued; and on his arrival at Mayence, he was greeted gladly by his sovereign, who bestowed on him the fine library of the elector, which Oxenstiern, always the thoughtful friend of literature, immediately despatched to one of the Swedish universities.

Plain in his manners, and by no means addicted to flattery, Oxenstiern's first salutation to the king might have awakened the anger of any other monarch. "Why, sire," he exclaimed, "I expected by this time to see you in the Austrian capital." Gustavus, however, could afford to treat the minister's taunt as a jest, because he could prove to him that the banks of the Rhine yielded a more commanding situation for the king of Sweden than Vienna itself. Oxenstiern was not long in acknowledging that the monarch was right; and long and important conferences ensued between Gustavus and his minister, in which it is supposed that the plans were arranged, not only for obtaining the precise kind and proportion of assistance from France which was necessary to the views of the king, but also for uniting and consolidating, in favour of Sweden, all the scattered and ill-combined powers, which the divisions, jealousies, and selfishness of the protestant princes of Germany rendered unwieldy and ineffectual.

At the end of the conferences which now took place, not only between Gustavus and his minister, but between the court of Sweden and the ambassadors from
various German and other states, the king proceeded on his career of victories, despatching his chancellor to Torgau, in order to frustrate the efforts which the court of Austria was making to detach the weak and vacillating elector of Saxony from the common cause of the German protestants. The statesman acquitted himself of his commission with sagacity and firmness; and the elector was prevented from openly abandoning his friends, though he was led by evil favourites to act remissly in their behalf. Gustavus then advancing to the Lech, gave Tilly his final defeat at the passage of that river, and proceeded towards Bavaria, leaving Oxenstiern at Mayence as commander-in-chief upon the Rhine. In the neighbourhood of that city many manœuvres succeeded; in the course of which Oxenstiern showed not only considerable military skill in obliging a large body of troops from the Low Countries to retire with but little success, but also great political sagacity in checking the efforts made by Richelieu to aggrandize France by means of the dissensions of the German princes. News, however, that Wallenstein with an army of sixty thousand men held Gustavus in check under the walls of Nuremberg soon called Oxenstiern from the circles of the Rhine. The king, being determined to defend the Nurembergers to the last, while he formed an intrenched camp around the city, had despatched messengers to all his detachments and allies, in order to hasten their junction with the forces under his own command, which did not exceed sixteen thousand men. William duke of Weimar hurried from Lower Saxony; and Oxenstiern having collected reinforcements from the army of the landgrave of Hesse
essel and the count palatine, advanced with rapid
paces to the succour of his master. At Kitzingen
was joined by duke William, and at Windsheim by
ke Bernard of Weimar, as well as by the famous
nier; and then proceeding without a moment's delay,
brought in safety to the little army of his king a
forcement of fifty thousand men, which at once
e the monarch the advantage over Wallenstein. But
umber of troops only served to increase one of the
atest evils under which the king's army already
ered. Want of provision was beginning to be felt
both camps; and it soon became absolutely necessary
Gustavus to abandon his lines under the walls of
remberg, and relieve the town from the famine
ich was approaching. In the first instance, however,
ttempted to storm Wallenstein's camp, but its po-
on rendered it utterly impregnable; and after having
ained considerable loss, Gustavus was forced to
ire. No resource was now left; and assembling the
igistry of Nuremberg, he told them of his pur-
e, but at the same time offered to leave them a suffi-
t garrison to defend the town against all attacks;
promised to remain within such a distance as to-le him to return and fight the enemy, if Wallen-
in quitted his camp to form the seige. As a sort of
ourable hostage for the performance of this last pro-
e, he left in their hand the chancellor Oxenstiern,
o, knowing the honour and punctuality of his mas-
y willingly remained to support and counsel the peo-
of Nuremberg.
Wallenstein, however, decamped as soon as Gustavus
as at a sufficient distance to enable him to do so in
safety; and while the Swedish monarch proceeded to attack Bavaria, hurried on into Saxony, in order to force the vacillating elector to abandon the cause of Sweden. At the same time every effort was made by the house of Austria to detach other princes from the ill-connected protestant union; and Gustavus found himself obliged to turn from his projected conquests in Bavaria, and the prospect of still further successes, which some fresh revolts against the Austrian government had opened before him, in order to save the elector of Saxony from utter destruction. Leaving a small force in Bavaria, to make head against the enemy, the king now hastened on to Nuremberg, while the main body of his army proceeded by a different route. From that city and the neighbouring towns he withdrew the greater part of the garrison; and, accompanied by Oxenstiern, marched rapidly to Arnstadt.

At Nuremberg, and on the march, the king and the minister concerted various plans for uniting the vacillating princes of Germany more firmly in the league; and Oxenstiern received from his sovereign directions to return to Nuremberg, and summon a general meeting of the princes and nobles of the four upper circles at Ulm. Gustavus also conferred upon the chancellor unlimited power in those four upper circles, both in regard to negotiations and hostilities; and after remaining several days with the king at Arnstadt, Oxenstiern proceeded towards the Lower Palatinate, in order to keep the princes and cities in that part of the country firm in their attachment to the protestant union. While on his way he received, we are told, a letter from his sovereign, in which Gustavus, as if foreseein
that his career was approaching its termination, expressed his last wishes, and pointed out the plans which it would be necessary to pursue in case of his death. The chancellor had already summoned a meeting of the representatives of the four higher circles, when he received the sad intelligence that his heroic master had fallen at the battle of Lutzen in the arms of victory.*

The deep grief which that event occasioned to the minister may be judged by a peculiar trait. Oxenstiern was a man of that peculiar and happy constitution of mind and body, which enables some statesmen, when surrounded by the utmost difficulties, cares, and anxieties, with the fate of empires and of worlds upon their heads, to cast off thought at will, and withdraw their minds, when they wish it, from all the tumultuous troubles of their station. He boasted that he always threw off his cares with his clothes when he went to bed; and he was never known to spend more than two sleepless nights during his long and busy life. The first of those nights was after receiving the news of his great monarch’s fall—the second took place some years after, when Sweden lost the battle of Nordingen.

Oxenstiern, however, gave no way to vain regret; and, in common with every other Swede, seemed inspired with double energy from the great necessity of the moment. Instantly quitting Upper Germany, the chancellor hastened towards Saxony, in the hope of consolidating in that quarter the general protestant league; and, with consummate skill and firmness, he veiled from the eyes of the weak and timid princes

* November, A. D. 1632.
with whom he was called to act the apprehensions which weighed upon his own mind, and the difficulties which he foresaw arising before him. His firm demeanour saved the common cause of the protestant princes; for the first signs of alarm on the part of Sweden would have sent the lesser sovereigns over to the views of the empire in shoals. Duke Bernard of Weimar, however, who had taken the command of Gustavus's army on the fall of the king, greatly contributed to support his party, by driving the imperial forces out of Saxony; and although Oxenstiern could not succeed in forming a general confederacy against Austria in the north, he at least prevented, by his presence and negotiations, the immediate defection of others,—Brandenburg, Saxony, and Brunswick. This being secured, and having obtained full powers from his native country, where the young queen Christina was universally recognised, and her authority fixed upon an unshakeable basis, Oxenstiern hastened to the south, in order to meet the states of Upper Germany, who had been summoned to assemble at the small town of Heilbronn, on the Neckar. Here was accomplished the greatest effort of Oxenstiern's statesmanship; for he was called upon to meet, to persuade, to unite, and to invigorate men who were full of opposing interests, passions, fears, and weaknesses; to support the timid, to overawe the unruly, to confirm the vacillating, to bribe the mercenary, to accelerate the slow, and to satisfy the jealousy and gain the assistance of foreign powers, who had but a cold and remote interest in the affairs which involved the prosperity of Germany and Sweden. A multitude of all classes of
people flocked to Heilbron; and, besides deputies from universities and other public bodies, the representatives of twelve free cities, as well as ambassadors from England, France, and Holland, appeared in the assembly.* Oxenstiern, well knowing the influence of vigour, and even of display, upon such occasions, laid aside the simplicity of his habits and his constitutional coldness, showed himself at the meeting with all the splendour of the crown he represented; and demeaned himself with all the firmness and even vehemence which the most commanding situation could have justified. The general lead in the deliberations was universally permitted to himself; and he opened the assembly in a long and eloquent speech upon the state of Germany, and ended by showing that nothing but union, perseverance, and activity, could preserve any of the Protestant states from the power and vengeance of the empire.

All the deputies present promised, for those they represented, the conduct which Oxenstiern desired; but when he came to particularise his demands, he found at once all the weaknesses and bad passion of his auditors arrayed against his views. They would not consent to make a general declaration against the emperor; they would not furnish the necessary supplies for carrying on the war with vigour: every one had something to complain of, every one had something to demand; every one some new cause for delay. Oxenstiern, however, assumed a tone of authority and power which concealed the real weakness of Sweden: he argued, he threatened, he refused to hear of written

* April, 1633.
deliberations; and he finally obtained in favour of Sweden, first, the general direction of the evangelic league for himself, though it was shackled by a council of spies; secondly, a regular contribution to be paid by the states of 2,500,000 rix dollars for the expenses of the war; and, thirdly, a firmer compact amongst the princes and cities of the four upper circles. Added to this were promises of future indemnification to Sweden for all her exertion, and a proposal to bestow the electorate of Mayence upon Oxenstiern himself.

It is more than probable that the Swedish minister had aimed at that dignity, and used means to obtain it; but France, who sought to gain possession of Mayence for herself, made such strenuous opposition, that Oxenstiern did not press the states to pursue their purpose. Although at that moment he might probably have realised the most ambitious schemes for himself, Oxenstiern, on the contrary, instead of increasing the Swedish possessions in Germany, determined to divide a great part of what had been already acquired amongst the various princes of the confederacy. By this means he insured their desperate opposition to the house of Austria in defence of the territories thus acquired, and he relieved the Swedes from the necessity of defending unassisted a vast tract of country. The palatinate he at once restored to the heirs of the unfortunate elector Frederic, who had been stripped of his possessions by the emperor. To the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel he promised Munster, Fulda, Paderborn; to the duke of Wurtemberg, a considerable part of the hereditary possessions of Austria, which lay surrounded by his territories; and to duke Bernard of Weimar, a part of Franconia. But no sooner did the German nobles
and princes find that the chancellor was in such a liberal mood, than demands of all kinds, totally subversive of every principle of the Germanic constitution, were made upon him with the most unblushing effrontery. The honest though perhaps ambitious Swede could not restrain the expression of his indignant contempt; and at length, when some more extravagant demand than all the rest was laid before him, he exclaimed aloud, “Let it be written down in our archives that a German prince made such a request as this to a Swedish gentleman, and that, too, upon German ground!”

We cannot attempt, even in general terms, to follow all the fortunes of the Swedish arms, nor to relate all the measures which Oxenstiern used in order to prevent the elector of Saxony and others from detaching themselves from the protestant league. For some time the balance of success seemed to remain in favour of the armies of the confederates. In Bavaria especially, which was left exposed to the incursions of the Swedes, by the effects of Wallenstein’s animosity to the elector, Bernard of Weimar obtained frequent and signal victories; but those victories were for a time interrupted, and Oxenstiern involved in very considerable difficulties, by an event as unforeseen as it was difficult to remedy. The soldiers of Gustavus had served during the lifetime of their monarch with zeal, fidelity, and powers of endurance hardly equalled in history, with no advantages but their pay, and with that even often somewhat in arrear. They saw the imperial troops enriching themselves by plundering friends and enemies alike; but the contributions raised by Gustavus were scarcely sufficient to supply the payment of his troops, and pillage was punished with the utmost severe-
rity. Love and admiration kept the native forces of Sweden in complete subjection to the will of their sovereign so long as he lived; and awe of his talents, as well as fear of his immovable sternness, held even the many mercenaries which formed the bulk of his armies in respect. After his death, however, when they found that the same severe discipline was to be kept up, the same toils to be endured, and the same dangers to be encountered, while their pay was considerably in arrear, and the fruits of their victories went to enrich others, discontent first, then turbulence, and then open mutiny appeared, in the army of duke Bernhard. He paused on his career of conquest; and after fortunately intercepting the letters which the mutineers had despatched to the other armies of Sweden, to notify their proceedings and require co-operation, he transmitted the demands of the soldiery to Oxenstiern.

It is quite clear that Bernard of Weimar, who was loved by the soldiery with little less veneration than had been obtained by Gustavus himself, did not exert himself to stop the progress of discontent, or to repress the turbulence of the troops when they had once ventured upon disobedience. Some historians, indeed, do not fail to point him out as the chief of the mutineers; and there can be no doubt that he profited by his influence in a manner not very creditable to himself. The soldiers demanded that certain towns should be given up to each regiment, as security for the payment of their arrears; and they granted the chancellor a month to consider their proposal, threatening, if he refused it, to pay themselves, and abandon the service of Sweden. Oxenstiern applied to the duke to use his known authority with the soldiers; but Bernard replied, that
Gustavus Adolphus had held out to him the prospect of being created duke of Franconia, and that he could do nothing till this expectation was fulfilled, and till he was also created generalissimo of the Swedish armies. The indignation of Oxenstiern now broke forth; and it would appear that, in virtue of the power granted him by Sweden and by the German states, he at first determined to dismiss the duke from the service. But policy soon prevailed: Bernard had hitherto been the most successful general which Sweden had obeyed since the death of the monarch: he was adored by the soldiery, and feared by the enemy. On the other hand, Oxenstiern had neither funds to satisfy the demands of the army nor power to overawe it; and he consequently determined to grant such part of duke Bernard's demands as would implicate him inextricably in hostilities with Austria, and to refuse him that part which would increase his power over the army. To the bishoprics of Bamberg and Wurtzburg he added Königshofen, and some other territories, to make up the duchy, which was to be held by Swedish investiture; and he found several plausible excuses, as the seniority of Banier, Wrangel, and other officers, for refusing him the chief command of the Swedish armies.

Bernard, however, was satisfied; and the facility with which he quelled the mutiny in the army, and restored discipline and obedience, spoke loudly of his previous negligence or treachery. Such sums of money as could be procured were distributed amongst the officers; and Oxenstiern was obliged to resign to their cupidity several confiscated estates. Spanish troops had in the mean time poured into the upper circles, under the command of the duke of Feria; and general
Horn now separated from Bernard, to check their progress. Joined with the palatine of Birkenfeld, Horn drove the Spaniards out of Suabia, across the Black Forest, and through the Breisgau into Alsace, from whence he again pursued them into Bavaria, where their army nearly disbanded, and the duke of Feria died, it is said, of disappointment. In the meanwhile, Bernard of Weimar, with increasing instead of diminished forces, crossed the Danube, and made a demonstration upon Munic; but suddenly turning upon Ratisbon, which was feebly garrisoned, he took that important city, and was then pushing on towards Austria when the approach of Wallenstein, who had been equally successful in the middle circles, caused him to retreat. Wallenstein, however, pursued him no farther than the Danube; and taking advantage of a demonstration of the Saxons against Bohemia, retired to that kingdom, where he remained in despite of the emperor's orders, and the entreaties of the elector of Bavaria.

The inactivity of Wallenstein was not without a cause. He had never forgiven his formal dismissal from command; and he had long formed the determination of attempting to render himself independent of the emperor, and, by the aid of the Saxons, to raise himself to the throne of Bohemia. Could he have acted sincerely towards the Swedes, it is possible that he might have succeeded in his attempt; but his hatred towards that nation, as well as his peculiar situation with the emperor, rendered his demeanour vacillating and unequal. He was obliged occasionally to hold out specious promises to them as the allies of Saxony, on whose co-operation he founded his great hopes; but he
could not prevail upon himself to act in such a manner as to give any assurance of his purposes. Such was his conduct at Munsterberg, some time before he advanced to oppose duke Bernard. At that place he had intrenched himself with 40,000 men: but on the approach of Thurn and Arnheim with a Swedish and Saxon force of 24,000, instead of giving them battle he proposed a suspension of arms; and in after-conferences endeavoured to make terms for joining his army to theirs, and marching to dethrone the emperor, on condition of being created king of Bohemia.

Some time before, Wallenstein had made similar overtures to the French ambassador at Dresden; and Feuquieres, who well knew that Richelieu would be pleased to see any new apple of discord cast upon the course of the German princes, offered to the imperial general both pecuniary aid and the countenance of the French monarch in pursuit of his ambitious designs. He now heard, with doubt and suspicion, however, that so reserved and taciturn a man as Wallenstein had opened his views to the Saxons, and especially to Arnheim, who was known to be in the interest of Austria, and he immediately communicated his anxieties on the subject to Oxenstiern, who was then at Gelhausen. Wallenstein, it would appear, had already found means to negotiate with Oxenstiern; but in the first place, the advantages he held out to the Swedes were not sufficient to tempt the great statesman to risk anything in his behalf; and in the next, the chancellor both doubted his sincerity in any of his proposals, and more than suspected him of meditating treachery towards the Swedes.

Whether Arnheim, the Saxon general, was sent for
to confer with Oxenstiern at Gelhausen, or whether he spontaneously bore thither Wallenstein's message demanding the aid of several veteran regiments of Swedes for the execution of his plan against the emperor, I do not know; but the chancellor, without positively refusing his demand, did not consent to their march, and communicated to Arnheim his suspicions of Wallenstein's sincerity. The Saxon general, though himself a faithless and double-dealing politician, seems not to have suspected Wallenstein: but Oxenstiern's clear-sighted penetration and accurate reasoning raised doubts in his mind; and on returning to his camp, he found, to his surprise, that the imperial general, in violation of every principle of honour and decency, had attempted to entrap and seize a considerable body of Saxon officers who had visited his camp upon the faith of the armistice which had been so lately concluded. An open breach of the truce on the part of Wallenstein soon followed; and both Saxons and Swedes attributed his conduct to treacherous designs against themselves rather than against the emperor. Such, too, might have been the view of the case which descended to posterity; for many parts of Wallenstein's actions are irreconcilable with any known motive: but the emperor, by depriving him of the command of the armies, and proclaiming him a traitor, showed that the imperial court at least judged his offers to Saxony to have been made in sincerity. Wallenstein, still confident of his own powers, hastened to the strong fortress of Egra, accompanied by that small part of all his vast forces which remained with him after the emperor's proclamation, and eagerly despatched messengers to
Oxenstiern and Arnheim, for aid in his present difficulty.

The movements of imperial armies against him, the price put upon his head, and his flight to Egra, were sufficient testimonies of his sincerity; and Oxenstiern, who was now again in the circles of the Rhine, immediately ordered three separate corps to march upon Egra from different parts of the country, under the command of the duke of Saxe Lauenburg, the count palatine, and the duke of Weimar. Could these three bodies of veteran soldiers have effected their junction with the troops which still remained attached to the rebel general, the imperial throne itself would have been shaken; but ere either of them reached Egra, Wallenstein had fallen under the blows of assassins, and the emperor was freed from one of the greatest perils which he had yet encountered.

Another success also awaited him: the duke of Saxe Lauenburg, either through imprudence or treachery, suffered himself to be decoyed into Egra, after it had fallen by Wallenstein’s death into the hands of the imperialists, and surrendered with all his troops. Bernard of Weimar, however, was more cautious; and halted in time, cutting to pieces an imperial regiment which he met in his retreat. But now, for a considerable period, fortune abandoned the protestants’ arms, and weakness pervaded their councils. Oxenstiern had, in the meantime, assembled the states of the league at Frankfort on the Maine, and endeavoured to instil into them some degree of union and activity, but in vain; and seeing that greater resources would soon become necessary, he despatched his son John to England, to treat for further assistance. The emperor,
on his part, placed his forces under his son, the king of Hungary, with Gallas as their real commander; and both the prince and the general, anxious to distinguish themselves after the fall of Wallenstein, advanced by rapid marches, and laid siege to Ratisbon. In vain the duke of Weimar and count Horn endeavoured to raise the siege of that city by various means. It fell after a vigorous resistance; and the king of Hungary and Gallas led their forces on to new conquests. Dona-wert was captured, and next Nordlingen was besieged by the united armies of Spain and Austria. The forces under Weimar and Horn marched immediately to its relief; but it was strongly against the advice of the latter general that a battle was risked against the superior force and the superior position of the imperialists. Duke Bernard, however, overbore all opposition; the Swedes attacked the imperial army early in the morning, and, after a long and desperate conflict, were completely routed.* Horn was taken, with a number of other officers; the cannon, baggage, and colours of the Swedes fell into the hands of Austria; and 12,000 veteran soldiers are said to have remained upon the field of battle.

No army sufficient to oppose the progress of the imperial forces could be collected by duke Bernard, who fled to Frankfort; and Oxenstiern in vain appealed to the princes of the protestant league for any assistance. All seemed faithless or terror-stricken; no one was prepared to act; Saxony was evidently negotiating a separate peace for herself with Austria; Brandenburg was treading in her steps; and the whole

* September 6, 1634.
burden of supporting the war fell at once upon Oxenstiern. Obliged to decide in haste, he recalled the garrisons from a number of small fortresses in Alsace, and, abandoned by the Germans, applied to France for aid, offering to give up Philipsburg to that power, if she would instantly march a body of troops to the banks of the Rhine. The cardinal de Richelieu at once agreed to a proposal which he had long desired; and the approach of the army of the maréchal de la Force restored some degree of confidence to the friends of Sweden. The French general, however, acted but very inefficiently; and no force was ready to defend the territory of Wurtemberg, which was overrun by the Austrian troops immediately after the battle of Nordlingen. France, however, promised to create a diversion in favour of Sweden, by declaring war against Spain, and attacking her possessions in the Netherlands; and she furnished also some small sums to pay a part of the arrears due to the Swedish troops.

Oxenstiern, in the meanwhile, laboured by every honourable means to recall the elector of Saxony to a sense of the danger in which the liberties of Germany were placed, representing to him that the moment for making an advantageous peace was certainly not after a casual reverse, and that the only means of saving the German protestants, and upholding the rights of the princes of the empire, were perfect union and renewed exertion. The elector himself was weak, timid, and unprincipled; his minister, Arnheim, was the creature of Austria; Oxenstiern was forced to demand, the emperor was willing, on the contrary, to grant; and under these circumstances the elector would listen to no arguments on the part of Sweden. During the winter which followed the fatal battle of Nordlingen, the
treaty between Saxony and Austria was concluded; and the elector prepared to persecute his former allies with all the virulence of apostacy.

Still Oxenstiern yielded not to despair, although, in addition to the defection of Saxony, a renewal of hostilities with Poland was to be expected as the truce approached its conclusion, and although the progress of the Austrians was daily becoming more important. Spires, Treves, Philipsburg itself, fell into the hands of the imperial or Spanish generals, and the aid of France was feeble and ineffectual. A diet of the protestant princes was held at Worms; and at length Oxenstiern determined to proceed in person to Paris and Holland, for the purpose of inviting those states, which had so strongly contributed to engage Sweden in the war, to give her now some powerful support in sustaining it. Ere he went, however, to negotiate with those two powers, on the one hand, he gave every necessary direction for treating with Poland on the other. A small Swedish army was landed in Prussia, in order that no weakness might appear; but the son of Oxenstiern, who with several other commissioners managed the interests of Sweden, was commanded to obtain a prolonged peace at any honourable sacrifice. The negotiations conducted under the mediation of the count d'Avaux, ambassador from France, were in this respect successful; and yielding a considerable tract of conquered territory to the demands of Poland, a new treaty was entered into for twenty-one years.

Previous to this final arrangement, Oxenstiern had set out for the court of France. He was received by Richelieu with honours paid to no other ambassador: his whole expenses were defrayed during his stay; and the cardinal visited him in person, a mark of
respect which he seldom showed to any one. Some
distinction the French minister claimed in deference to
the purple, which, perhaps, the protestant Swede might
at other times have refused; but Oxenstiern came for
important purposes, and not for petty ceremonies; and
after some brief conferences, he concluded such ar-
rangements with France as promised greater success
for the ensuing campaigns. He thence proceeded to
Holland, where he did all that could be done to stimu-
late the States to greater activity; but on his return to
Germany, he found the actual position of the Swedes
even worse than when he had left the country. Seve-
ral other German princes were treating with the em-
peror: the army of Weimar was exhausted by disease
as well as desertion; and against the stronger force of
Banier in the north, the elector of Saxony was em-
ploying the means of corruption more destructively
than the force of arms.

The exertions of Richelieu, however, who now en-
tered eagerly into the interests of Sweden, soon began
to be felt. A supply of money enabled duke Bernard
to recruit and keep together his army, and similar
assistance afforded Banier the means of paying off a
part of the arrears due to his troops, and thus re-
moving an argument which the Saxons had used to
seduce them from his standard. The French forces,
though at first they effected but little in the field, af-
forded at least such a diversion as saved the Swedish
armies from being overwhelmed at once; and though a
number of princes and free towns had gone over irre-
coverably to the emperor, they became, under the
skilful management of Oxenstiern, more serviceable to
Sweden as enemies than they had ever been as friends,
supplying readily both provisions and contributions to the armies that demanded them at the point of the sword, which they had refused to the same forces when they came to protect them from oppression.

At length a signal victory obtained by Banier over the Saxon forces near Domitz raised again the hopes of the Swedes; and various other successes, followed by another general battle, won by Banier, in 1636, completely restored that nation to a commanding position. About the same time Oxenstiern, who had now been many years absent from his native country, retired to Sweden, leaving the war to be carried on by those whose profession it peculiarly was.

The confederacy of Heilbron was now formally at an end, and the office that he held as its general director no longer existed. He resigned then the authority in Germany, which had been granted him by the regency of Sweden, and appeared once more in the senate as the chancellor of the kingdom, and one of the young queen’s guardians. From that period, for several years, his attention seems to have been principally devoted to rearing the mind of Christina in habits of business, and knowledge of political details. He persuaded her, even from her early youth, to take part in the deliberations of the council, and endeavoured to instil into her those principles of government and that political knowledge which long experience had taught him. He had to encounter many difficulties, however, at this time in Sweden: a difference of opinion often existed between himself and the other regents; and the queen-mother, whose incapacity for government was notorious, pressed eagerly for a share of authority. Oxenstiern, it would appear, was justi-
fied in excluding her, by the last commands of Gustavus Adolphus himself; but the queen resented his opposition, and, leaving the country, betook herself to Denmark.

In that quarter, too, other storms were gathering. Christian IV., the Danish monarch, used every unjustifiable means to gain advantages over Sweden, while she was entangled in the German war: he oppressed her commerce, impeded her in the navigation of the Sound, and showed so plainly what were his intentions, that Oxenstiern, seeing that hostilities were inevitable, resolved to commence them at once, ere the preparations of Denmark had begun. Bold, indeed, was the determination to plunge into a new war, while the forces of Sweden found almost the whole armies of Germany arrayed against them; but at that moment Torstenson was maintaining the cause of his country with renewed success; and the chancellor, while he prepared an irruption into Denmark from Sweden itself, sent orders to that great commander to make a sudden and secret march upon Holstein.

So completely did Torstenson veil his manoeuvres, that the whole of Europe contemplated them with surprise and perplexity; and so well was the secret kept at Stockholm, that neither France, Holland, nor Denmark herself, even guessed the approaching attack upon the latter kingdom, till the Swedish armies were actually in Holstein. The Danish monarch was utterly unprepared for resistance; but he hastened to levy forces to oppose Torstenson, who in a few days overran the whole duchy. Another Swedish army attacked Shonen with success, and threatened to cross over into Funen and Zealand; and the king of Denmark himself
was defeated and wounded in command of his fleet. The only hope was from the efforts of Austria; and the emperor did not fail to make immense exertions to drive the Swedes from Holstein: but, after a faint promise of success, Galas, the imperial general, was defeated and driven from post to post by Torstenson, till the army under his command was absolutely annihilated. Various other reverses induced the king of Denmark to sue for peace on any terms; and, under the mediation of France and Holland, Oxenstiern concluded a treaty with that prince at Bremesboor,* upon conditions the most advantageous to Sweden that success could command.

Christina, who had now attained her age of majority, and had taken upon herself the government of her dominions, lost no time in testifying her gratitude for the important services which Oxenstiern had just rendered her; and, together with several considerable estates, she bestowed upon him the title of count, and publicly pronounced upon him a high eulogium in an assembly of the states. Always the enlightened friend of literature and science, as every great minister has universally shown himself to be, Oxenstiern was elected chancellor of the university of Upsal; and a great part of his time was, after this period, directed to promote the purposes of that institution. His favour at the court, however, was not so great as it had been; and the strong objections which he raised to several of the princes who aspired to the hand of the young queen have given rise to suspicions that he both sought to retain the chief power in his own hands, and entertained even the wilder scheme of marrying his son

* 1615.
Eric to his sovereign. Certain it is, that he thwarted in the most open way the desires of the elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, between whom and Christina a marriage had been proposed even in the time of Gustavus Adolphus; but the reasons that he assigned for his opposition appear perfectly natural and sufficient. The proximity of that prince's dominions to Sweden gave great facilities, it is true, for mutual support and assistance; but, at the same time, it was probable, both from the known character of the elector, and the ordinary propensities of man, that he would fill Sweden, if ever he became its king, with favourites of his own nation, and, perhaps, ultimately reduce it to a mere appendage to the German empire.

In the meantime Torstenson again defeated the imperial troops, and laid siege to Vienna itself. Turenne and Condé carried on the war upon the part of France. Wrangel succeeded Torstenson in his victories and his command: the emperor was reduced to the very lowest condition; and, in the end, the peace of Munster terminated the war with great advantages to Sweden. In the negotiations for that peace, John Oxenstiern, the son of the chancellor, appeared on the part of Sweden, acting under the direction of his father; but Christina, who began to grow weary of the great authority of her father's chancellor, sent also the famous Salvius to the conferences, for the purpose, it is supposed, of keeping Oxenstiern in check. It is probable that, under other circumstances, the calm firm policy of the great minister might have obtained more important advantages for Sweden; but he was destined to see many of his hopes for the prosperity of his master's child ruined by her own perverseness. Charles Gustavus, first cousin of
the young queen, had, during the latter years of the war, appeared several times in Sweden, with a view of obtaining the hand of Christina; and, according to some accounts, his suit was favoured by the chancellor. Christina, however, had other views; and in the end of the year 1649 she signified her intention of naming that prince as her successor to the throne of Sweden. Oxenstiern opposed this purpose with many other influential members of the senate, but in vain; and in the following year, the queen called an assembly of the states, and obtained their nomination of Charles Gustavus, duke of Zweibrucken, as heir to the Swedish crown, in case of her death.

This was but a preparatory step, for although she went through the ceremony of her coronation, she, early in the following year, evinced a determination to abdicate in favour of her cousin. Oxenstiern again opposed her purpose, and called, to support his views, not only the French ambassador, but Charles Gustavus himself. Christina's resolution, however, was immovable, and doubtless wise; for the irregularity of her conduct, her avowed disrespect for the religion of the country which she was called to govern, and her weak and capricious character, were day by day alienating the affections of all that were honest in Sweden.*

Long remembered love for her father kept the chancellor still faithful to the interests of his child,

* Amelot de la Houssaie declares, that the Swedes were on the point of deposing and confining her, if she had not made a virtue of necessity, and resigned the throne. I find no proof of this, however, though her disgusting immorality and want of principle were too well known to be concealed by wit, or covered by the thin veil of counterfeit philosophy.
although he could not close his eyes to her unworthiness; and he opposed her abdication to the last, replying to those who pointed out the certain proofs of her bad conduct, "Alas, alas! be it as it may, she is nevertheless the daughter of the great Gustavus." Using all his influence with the senate, Oxenstiern induced the senators to present so strong a remonstrance to the queen in 1651, that she consented still to retain the reins of government; but before the year 1654, the nation had become well prepared for an event which was now generally desired. Measures had been concerted to prevent the abdication from giving any shock to the affairs of state; and though the senate made a slight parade of opposition, everything was arranged to facilitate the queen's descent from the throne.

The states were accordingly assembled in May, 1654; and Christina announced her determination in one of those pompous and rhetorical speeches in which her vanity led her frequently to indulge. She attempted then to induce the states to name her favourite, the baron de Tott, successor to Charles Gustavus, to whom she resigned the throne; but she found them not at all inclined to listen to her nomination. All that she required for herself they granted; but for De Tott she could obtain nothing, although she eagerly pressed to have the title of duke bestowed upon him, offering to elevate count Brahe and Oxenstiern to the same rank. Those two nobles, however, boldly replied, that the ducal coronet had never been granted to any but the sons of their kings, and they only desired to raise themselves above their fellows by their virtues. Christina, although disappointed in
this respect, persevered in her determination to withdraw from the restraint of government; and, covering bad passions and evil conduct under the profaned mantle of philosophy, she resigned the throne, with much pomp and display, on the 16th of June, in the same year. All the officers of the crown were present, and took part in the solemnity, except the great chancellor Oxenstiern, who could be induced by no persuasion, either to sanction the act of abdication as a senator, or to appear in the scene in which it was executed. "I promised upon oath to Gustavus, my king," he replied, to every solicitation, "to place and to maintain the crown of Sweden on the head of his daughter; and it would be criminal and treacherous, on my part, to concur in an act which deprives her of royalty."

The mortifications which he had lately undergone had hastened the ravages which time, aided by extreme labours, was making on the frame of the chancellor; and to discover as he did, shortly after Christina's abdication, that the revenues of the state were diminishing, and that its exchequer was every day becoming more and more in debt, added fresh griefs to those which already oppressed him. At length, a constitution which had been once extremely powerful gave way; and having been seized with a slight fit of apoplexy at the palace, while transacting business with his new sovereign, Charles Gustavus, he retired to his own house, and prepared for death. The end of the great statesman's days was, as he anticipated, approaching; and in the month of August, 1654, he left a world in which he had played a noble and distinguished part.
Axel Oxenstiern was well made, and handsome in person, with a peculiarly noble and expressive countenance. His constitution was robust, and his health through the greater part of life almost uninterrupted; but, in comparison with others of his age and nation, he was extremely moderate, both in eating and drinking; avoiding carefully the excesses into which almost all the immediate followers of Gustavus fell, in consequence of the roving, hazardous, and unsettled life which they were forced to lead, from the outbreaking of the war till its close. Though brave, and, indeed, apparently fearless to the same degree as his great sovereign, he never seems to have sought the character of a general, feeling himself better fitted to act in the cabinet than in the field. Yet, at the same time, it is but fair to state, that in all his military undertakings he was successful, keeping several newly-acquired and inimical provinces in perfect subjection with a very small force, and leading, on various occasions, considerable detachments to join his sovereign, through the midst of defensible countries, and in the face of infinitely superior forces.

His erudition was very extensive and also very profound; and various compositions are supposed to have issued from his pen, under the names of other persons, which, were the fact clearly established, would place him high in the ranks of literature. As a statesman, perhaps, his character stands above that of any other in the history of modern Europe; for he showed all those qualities which are requisite in the great and perilous course of the politician, with most of those virtues which adorn any station, and exalt the man higher than the minister. He was penetrating, clear-
sighted, firm, courageous, enduring, comprehensive in his views, prompt in his decisions, persevering in his purposes: yet he was just, humane, a lover of truth, amenable to reason, candid in the acknowledgment of his faults, liberal in his judgment of others, devotedly attached to those he loved, yet neither tenacious of resentment, nor sanguinary in his enmities.

Where is the minister who has not been charged with ambition? Perhaps, in regard to the electorate of Mayence, Oxenstiern, did covet and strive for an honour which was not an empty one, a dignity which would have conferred real power; but the moment he found that his pursuit of that object would impede the execution of his dead sovereign's designs, and might prove detrimental rather than beneficial to his country, he abandoned it without a murmur. It might be, also, that he showed himself as Schiller declares he did, both unscrupulous in the distribution of territories over which he had no right but that of the sword, and forgetful of the constitution of the Germanic empire. But we must remember that those who could have disputed his title to distribute founded their own claims on the same right by which he possessed, and that the persons to whom he gave were members of that very empire, and struggling for its privileges against those who were thus stripped. It is true that Gustavus came to uphold the constitution of the Germanic empire, not to destroy it; but the emperor himself had set the example of making a private contention the plea for stripping an elector of his territories, and those who supported him in injustice exposed themselves to retaliation.

If Oxenstiern sought to wed his son to the queen
Christina, he pursued his purpose with such moderation as to leave no trace of his endeavours, except in surmise; and if he clung to power, his enemies themselves never denied that he used it ever for the good of his country. That he was occasionally haughty and passionate when he was assailed by the mean, the base, and the interested, there can be no doubt; and that he often treated with contemptuous indignity the feeble, selfish, vacillating princes, who surrounded him in the Thirty Years' War, is equally true: but where he met with talents or with virtues he was sure to show them honour; and the native dignity of his character, which those who had none stigmatised as cold pride, guarded him against the commission of any mean and pitiful acts.

He treated as an equal with Richelieu, the most penetrating and politic man of his age, and was not overreached; but Oxenstiern had great advantages which more than equalled the cardinal's powers of deceit and subtility. He was not so vain, arrogant, ostentatious, or ambitious. So far from loving to govern alone, and seeking for all the fame, and all the advantages proceeding from every great act, he retired from notice, as much as it was possible to do, in a responsible situation; and it is difficult to prove that many of those strokes of policy, which we are internally convinced emanated from his mind, were not suggested or modified by others. * But still, on all oc-

*Thus I have not placed the famous constitution given to Sweden after Gustavus's death amongst the acts of Oxenstiern, to whom it is usually ascribed, because some doubts exist in my mind as to whether it might not be as a part or a whole dictated by the king himself at his last interview with his minister, or in
casions where he does appear, the same masterly intellect, the same vigorous firmness, the same noble moderation, the same comprehensive mind, stand forth, and show him as at once one of the noblest and one of the wisest of his age.

one of the letters which he wrote to him shortly before the battle of Lutzen.
LIFE OF

GASPAR DE GUZMAN, COUNT OLIVAREZ,
DUKE OF SAN LUCAR.

BORN ABOUT 1587, DIED A.D. 1643.

Issuing from a distinguished branch of the ancient and renowned family of Guzman, possessing considerable wealth, and third count of Olivarez, the minister afterwards famous as the count-duke, met with few difficulties in his ascent to power. His father, a Castilian nobleman of some talent, was successively ambassador at Rome, viceroy of Sicily and Naples, and counsellor of state to Philip III. During his embassy to the papal court, under the pontificate of Sextus V., he ambassador inhabited a house said to have been built on the ruins of the old palace of Nero, and in his dwelling was born the future minister; an event from which his enemies did not fail, at an after period, to insinuate that the spirit of the Roman tyrant had entered into the bosom of the infant. After the return of his father to Spain, Olivarez was sent to the university of Salamanca, where he pursued his studies with very great distinction; and thence proceeded to Madrid, where the court offered at that time a scene of vice and corruption, from which it was difficult for a young man to escape unsullied. Much that he saw, —the venality, the fraud, and the insincerity, which were apparent in every saloon and every office, acting upon a heart naturally disinterested, but suspi-
cious, gave that sternness to his integrity, and that haughty jealousy to his demeanour which afterwards characterised all his proceedings during his continuance in power. The softer and the more fascinating vices, however, of the Spanish court,—those which did not disgust by their grossness, nor shock by their baseness, could hardly fail to prove alluring to one young, wealthy, and powerful, who found facilities of all kinds on the path of passion. He thus spent some time at Madrid in the society of the fair, but not chaste dames, with which that capital was then crowded, the votary of a softer power than the ambition which was to follow after. To dwell upon such scenes is rarely necessary, and never pleasing, and therefore we shall not pursue the course of Olivarez through the various amours which, truly or falsely, have been attributed to him by those who have collected the anecdotes of his early life. On one attachment of the kind, however, it may be necessary to pause, as the consequences of this adventure became afterwards of importance, and are connected with some of the most singular acts and some of the most curious traits of character in the life of the count himself.

Various branches of the family of Spinola had emigrated from Genoa during the reign of Philip II., and had settled in Spain, where they were received into the ranks of the nobility, and distinguished themselves highly both in civil and military employments. One of this house married a Spanish lady, and by her had three daughters of extraordinary beauty; the eldest of whom, Margueret, left with little but an unfortunate dowry of loveliness, was besieged with views but little honourable by a number of the nobles of a disso-
GASPAR COUNT OLIVAREZ.

hute court; and at length choosing more from interest than passion, she yielded to don Francesco de Valeazar, alcade of the court, a man of great wealth and influence, but advanced in years. At the time that Olivarez arrived in Madrid she was the acknowledged mistress of Valeazar; but seeing her, and becoming fascinated with her beauty, he easily obtained means of introducing himself to her, and found little difficulty in persuading a dissolute woman to deceive a man for whom she entertained no affection. This intercourse continued for some time, and at length a son was born, the paternity of which was very doubtful. The alcade, however, was the reputed father; but feeling anything but secure of the fidelity of his mistress, Valeazar took but little charge of the child; who, till he reached the age of eighteen, never received any name but that of Julian, which had been given him at his baptism. His mother, however, having died, and left him in poverty, he obtained permission of the alcade to take the name of Valeazar; and though feeling strongly convinced that the child was not his own, that officer obtained for him a small post in South America, the golden land of all the adventurous spirits of the age.

Educated without any care by a mother who had showed herself devoid of all principle, it was not to be expected that the young adventurer would distinguish himself by virtue, although he is generally admitted to have possessed considerable talent. His career in Mexico is not well ascertained, but it is confidently stated that he there committed crimes for which he was sentenced to the galleys. From that fate, how-

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ever, he was saved by the viceroy, who was an inti-
mate friend of his reputed father; and having re-
turned to Spain, in which country the alcade had
in the meantime died, he found himself utterly des-
titute. He then is said to have entered the army as
a simple soldier, and served for some years in Flan-
ders and Italy, showing considerable courage and
talent, but at the same time evincing a strong dispo-
sition to make his manners and demeanour harmonise
with the rank of life into which he had now fallen.
From Italy he returned in 1631 or 1632 nearly as
poor as he went, but he was destined to find high for-
tunes awaiting him.

In the meantime he who was probably the real
father of this unfortunate man had gradually changed
his pursuits, casting aside love for ambition, and was
seeking advancement at the court, where he was first
appointed one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to
Philip, the heir-apparent to the throne. Olivarez ap-
plied himself diligently to gain the young prince's
favour; and by his wit, his varied learning, and his
knowledge of his master's foibles, he made considera-
ble progress. A most formidable opponent existed in
the person of the count de Lemos, a nobleman who
had been placed near the prince by the duke of
Lerma, then prime-minister, and whose personal
graces, vigour of mind, and dignity of character,
gave him great advantages over the young Olivarez.
Lemos, however, applied himself more to gain the
favour of the king, Philip III., than that of the prince;
and to support the falling authority of his own uncle,
the cardinal-duke of Lerma, against the machinations
of that minister’s ungrateful son, the duke of Uceda.*
The house of Guzman, however, lent their aid to
Uceda: the bold frankness of the count de Lemos
only offended the weak king, and the duke of Lerma
was, in the end, disgraced and banished from the
court.

All the offices which had been held by Lerma were
now at once seized upon by Uceda, except that of su-
perintendent of the prince’s education; which was
filled for some days by the conde de Paredes, but was
soon resigned by that nobleman. Every effort was
now made by the family of Olivarez to gain it for
one of their connexions; and at length Uceda bestowed
it on don Baltazar de Zuñiga, uncle of the future
minister. During the rest of the life of Philip III.
Olivarez remained unnoticed, but still advancing in the
favour of the prince, over whom his power became in-
finite after the removal of Lemos and his friends. At
length, in the year 1621, Philip IV. succeeded to the
throne of Spain, at the age of sixteen; but, far from
obeying the directions of his father, who had recom-
manded to him to retain the ministers already in office,
one of his first acts was to dismiss Uceda, and to name
as prime minister his former preceptor, don Baltazar de
Zuñiga.

This appointment, however, seems to have been
merely made at the desire of Olivarez, who, for the
time, affected a degree of humility and disinterested-
ness which deceived the king, but not the people. At

* I do not know why this name is constantly written Uzeda in
English. Cespedes and all the old Spanish authors which I have
met with always use the letter c and not z.
the same time the favourite governed under the name of his uncle, and, Cespedes implies, even openly shared in the administration. The favour of the monarch daily increased, instead of diminishing, and the effects thereof soon became apparent. Olivarez was appointed to various high offices, was named duke of San Lucar, and raised to the rank of grandee of Spain, with the universal applause of the people, *gran valedor de novidades*, as the historian calls the Spanish nation. Olivarez now threw off the mask: his uncle, don Baltazar, resigned his power into his nephew's hands, and died shortly after, leaving the favourite to assume the title as well as the functions of minister.

The first acts of Olivarez showed a disposition to severity, which was afterwards somewhat mitigated, but which never wholly left him. His predecessor, the duke of Uceda, was arrested, and thrown into prison. The famous duke of Ossuna, at the moment that he thought himself likely to be called into favour and authority, was seized, and conveyed to the castle of Almeida. His trial was immediately commenced, a number of follies and a number of crimes offering fair foundation for the charge against him; but the proceedings were protracted with cruel delay, and, at the end of three years, he died, still a prisoner.* Uceda escaped more gently, having been condemned to fine and exile; but the king remitted the punishment, gave him letters of abolition, and named him to the vice-royalty of Catalonia, which I am led to believe he declined.† At the same time the padre Aliaga, confessor

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* Some say of dropsy, some of apoplexy, some of poison taken voluntarily.

† Cespedes leaves the matter in doubt.
to the late king and grand inquisitor, received a command to retire to his convent, and was ultimately deprived of his rank in the inquisition, with the consent of the pope.

Still more severe measures, however, were pursued towards the duke of Lerma and his favourite Calderon. The former was proceeded against criminally on account of various alleged peculations committed while he held the reins of government; and though his rank in the Roman hierarchy, as cardinal, shielded him from death or imprisonment, he was stripped of all his wealth, and even of his hereditary property, in order to make up the sum of 1,400,000 crowns, which he was alleged to have obtained unjustly by a monopoly of the corn from Sicily. The latter, don Rodrigo de Calderon, count of Oliva, who, from a low origin, had risen, by the favour of Lerma, to wealth, power, and rank,—a man of talent, application, and many high and noble qualities, but one on whom fortune had acted unfavourably in rendering him haughty and ostentatious,—was made a sacrifice to the hatred of the people he had often insulted, and to the jealousy of men less worthy than himself. If he had not borne prosperity meekly, he at least endured adversity with the dauntless fortitude of a man of high courage, and the calm humility of a Christian. Long imprisonment, cruel delays, and brutal insults served but to call forth virtues in him which had previously lain dormant; and when at length he was executed for crimes that no one believed he had committed, is demeanour was so noble and so affecting, that even his enemies shed tears, and regretted the act they had thus consummated.

These first proceedings of the new minister tended to
render him both loved and feared by the populace; for those whom he struck were old favourites of the court, and, consequently, had long been objects of popular hatred. Nor were external events less favourable on his accession to power. Marmora, which had been besieged by an army of 50,000 Moors, was relieved, and the attacking force defeated. Don Frederic, of Toledo, gained several advantages over the Dutch, who were driven about the same time from the Moluccas, while the famous Spinola was sent to take the command in the Low Countries, and laid siege to Juliers, which surrendered after a resistance of five months. At the same time, the Spanish and the imperial troops upon the Rhine were gaining constant advantages over the unfortunate Palatine, and everything gave Olivarez reason to hope that the power of the house of Austria was rising triumphant above its rivals. His plans and his ambition increased with these successes, but still he was not so much without foresight as he is frequently represented to have been; and although he could not but perceive that France was the enemy with which Spain would have ultimately to contend, yet he lost no opportunity, especially at this point of his career, to conciliate his dangerous neighbour, and thus keep the Spanish armies free to pursue the war against Holland. Even the breaking of the truce with the states-general, which has often been attributed to Olivarez as a fault, can scarcely be fixed upon him with any certainty.* Indeed it would appear to have been determined upon by the duke of Uceda long before the count-duke had any share of power;

* Olivarez in his exculpation does not deny the act, but defends the policy.
and, whether peace was broken by his authority or not, it is certain that the Spanish and Dutch forces had been actually opposed to each other prior to the death of Philip III. No doubt, however, can be entertained that Olivarez was willing to carry on the war against Holland with vigour and perseverance; and, could he have prevented himself from being drawn into contention with other powers, his hostilities against the united states might have been politic though not just. Towards the end of a long truce, it was either necessary to recognise the independence of the states, or to continue the war in order to re-establish the dominion of Spain. To have suffered the truce to be prolonged, would have been a virtual resignation of the claims of the Spanish crown, without any of the advantages which might be hoped from either of the more direct modes of proceeding. To resign the claims of Spain, and acknowledge the independence of Holland, even receiving some indemnification, Olivarez could not attempt; for he well knew that not only the king, but the whole Spanish nation, would oppose him as one man; and even if the design ever crossed his mind, which probably it never did,—for we must not forget that Olivarez was a Spaniard,—it would have been insanity to have attempted its execution.

Towards the end of the preceding reign, took place the occupation of the Valteline and the building of forts in that district, of which we have already spoken,* and the threats of France now produced negotiations for the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the Grisons. These negotiations ended in a vague

* See Life of Richelieu.
treaty, the terms of which were never observed, but which served to lull the suspicions of France, then struggling with a war against the Huguenots, and ruled by the weak uncertain hands of Luines and Vieville. Finding, however, that even the latter began to awake from his lethargy and to renew the threats which had before been used in regard to the Valteline, Olivarez—who fell into the common error of mistaking the character of his opponents, and attributed to the French many of the distinctive traits of the Spanish people—determined to place the strong places of the Valteline as a deposite in the hands of the pope, imagining that French ministers would show as much scrupulous reverence for the holy see as was testified on all occasions by the government of Spain.

Thus rested the whole affair till the staff of rule in France fell into the vigorous grasp of Richelieu; but in the mean time the arrangement made by the count-duke was looked upon in Spain as a fine stroke of policy. The satisfaction which was thus spread through the country was somewhat diminished by the news of Spinola having been forced to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom; but the canonisation of four Spanish saints, which Olivarez had obtained from the willing pontiff, was sufficient to cast a lustre over the whole of the year 1622; and successes on the side of Germany, as well as some brilliant but unprolific exploits upon the coast of Africa, served to keep the nation in high good humour with the minister.

The following year also presented to the Spanish people several of those scenes of splendour and display which excite the imagination and render a haughty nation content with itself and with all attached to it.
For many months negotiations had been carried on between the Spanish and the English courts concerning the marriage of prince Charles, afterwards the unfortunate king, Charles I., with the infanta, sister of Philip IV.; and in the course of the ensuing year that prince, together with his favourite, Buckingham, appeared at Madrid. Charles affected to have come incognito, but he was received with royal honours. Olivarez, however, taking advantage of the imprudent step which the English prince had committed, sought to obtain more advantageous terms for Spain. The pope, probably at his suggestion, delayed the necessary dispensations for the marriage of the infanta; and every art was used both to increase the inclination of the prince for the proposed alliance, and yet to exact hard conditions. Buckingham, whose pride and licentiousness soon rendered him odious, is reported to have attempted the virtue of the duchess Olivarez, during his visit to Spain, with the same libertine vehemence which he afterwards displayed towards the young queen of France. The facts, however, have never been clearly ascertained; but either in the fear of encountering Spanish revenge, as a consequence of his unprincipled audacity, or of seeing the prince himself fall a victim to the imprudent step which he had counselled, Buckingham induced Charles to make a somewhat hasty retreat from the Spanish court, and subsequently broke off the treaty of marriage, which all the diplomatic skill of Olivarez was unable afterwards to renew. The count-duke viewed with jealousy, indeed, and laboured hard to frustrate the negotiations which immediately afterwards took place between France and England on the same subject, but it was in
vain; and the inauspicious marriage between Charles and Henrietta took place.

In the mean time, Holland was left alone to contend with Spain, Olivarez gained various advantages, and the states met with several reverses. Prince Maurice was forced to abandon the attempt which he had made upon Antwerp with considerable loss; and during the same year 160 Dutch vessels were seized in Spanish ports, where they were trading under the flag of the Hanse towns. Various events affecting the fortunes of the house of Austria took place about this time both in Germany and Italy; but having given a sketch of these in the preceding pages,* we shall only notice them casually in their order, directing our principal attention to the facts with which the name of Olivarez is immediately connected. Thus the affairs of Flanders and the Indies, of the coast of Africa and the internal policy of Spain, require more particular notice in this place than even the events of greater magnitude which occurred in Germany and Italy.

Indeed the state of Spain itself, at the period of the accession of Philip IV., is the most important for the consideration of all who would examine the actions of Olivarez as those of a celebrated statesman; for it was the error of not justly appreciating the exact condition of the country he had to rule, in relation to his external enterprises, which was the great defect in the policy of the count-duke. It is true that, had the same personages only remained upon the political scene, which occupied it on his first entrance into office, or had others as weak succeeded them, the vast designs

* See Life of Richelieu and Life of Oxenstiern.
of the Spanish minister, notwithstanding the consummate talents of the brothers of Nassau, and the exhausted state of the finances of Spain, would probably have been crowned with success. The influence of the house of Austria might have been permanently established in Germany on the complete abasement of all the inferior princes: in Italy it might also have been rendered permanent, and Holland might have been yet reduced to great concessions; but Richelieu, Gustavus Adolphus, Oxenstiern, Cromwell, had yet to appear; and Olivarez had not any right to calculate upon no man of talent rising up to oppose him amongst all the many states whose interests were adverse to those of Spain. His designs were too vast for his resources,—such has been the principal charge against him as a politician, and in some degree this charge is well founded, but by no means to that degree which it seems to reach at first sight. In order to form a just opinion on this subject, we must remember, that into many of his greatest undertakings and into the long and ruinous war which at length utterly exhausted the powers of Spain, Olivarez was impelled by the acts of his opponents, as well as by his own views of aggrandizing Spain; and it must not be forgotten that he laboured hard, and not unwisely, both to procrastinate the moment of actual contest, and, while he did thus procrastinate, to recruit the resources, diminish the expenses, and consolidate the powers of the country, whose energies he was called upon to wield to the best advantage. Had he appreciated with perfect accuracy all the circumstances, he would have made greater sacrifices, forborne many tempting advantages, and yielded many points of national pride,
if not of national honour, in order to direct his uninterrupted efforts to remedy the internal diseases of the Spanish monarchy; but even had he done so, it is probable that the designs of Richelieu would have forced him into the war which he sought to avoid. As it was, his error lay in overstepping a very narrow and ill-defined line. The result seems to show that he was wrong; but a very small portion more of moderation would have rendered him right.

In regard to the state of Spain, I shall have to speak more fully hereafter, when I come to compare it with the condition of its great rival France. The promulgation, however, of several important laws at the time of which I now treat, renders it necessary to say that Olivarez, on his becoming minister, was placed in one of the most difficult positions, and undertook one of the most laborious tasks that it is possible to conceive. The discovery of the New World was the first step towards the ruin of Spain. It drained the country of its enterprising spirits; it afforded revenues without exertion; and, acting upon the nation, like plentiful food without labour upon an individual, it debilitated the whole people, and unstrung the nerves of industry throughout the land. The long wars of Philip II. and Philip III., the loss of Holland, the evils of divided monarchy and widely separated territories, all contributed to diminish the finances of the state, and to impoverish those very kingdoms which had already lost their activity under the influence of a sudden and unnatural influx of wealth. Industry returned not with necessity: whatever enterprise remained sought other shores where encouragement was certain and success probable; the people, long habituated to idle-
ness, found privation preferable to exertion; the ground remained nearly uncultivated; the population became thinner every day; those who drew a certain portion of riches from either the New World, or from large estates, crowded into the principal towns; and the rest of the people lived in poverty and wretchedness, whether as poor and unemployed gentlemen, or as indolent and half-starved artisans. The picture presented of a Spanish country gentleman’s dwelling, by the great Cervantes, its poverty, its misery, is not alone applicable to that of Don Quixote.* It is the portrait of a whole class. The only persons who had continued to cultivate in Spain the arts of industry with unremitting perseverance and success, had been the Morescoes, or descendants of the ancient Moors; but these had suffered banishment under the government of Lerma, whose weakness, profusion and irregularity had given the last stroke to the finances of the state.

Such was the situation of Spain, when Olivarez came into power; and to bring remedies to the diseases which afflicted it, was one of the first steps of

* Through the whole of the inimitable book to which I refer runs a sad deep moral satire, imperceptible to those who are not well acquainted with the state of Spain at that time, and even darkly concealed from the people of the age in which it was written, lest the safety of the writer should have been compromised. Let it not be supposed that Cervantes sought to display nothing but the wanderings of a pure and mighty mind overthrown, or the burlesque adventures of a humorous peasant. He had undoubtedly far higher and nobler objects in view, in every page reading some moral lesson, pointing out some glaring evil, suggesting some great improvement, or lashing some reigning vice; and the history of the knight of La Mancha, that most perfect of gentlemen, and his squire, however brilliant and admirable in itself, is but the vehicle for more important matter.

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that minister. On the 10th of February, 1624, he published a decree by which an immense number of useless officers were at once dismissed. Added to this, he announced several sumptuary laws of very doubtful policy, forbidding any persons whatever to entertain more than eighteen domestic servants, and regulating the dress of all classes, with provisions which were offensive and easily to be evaded. But, at the same time, every means was taken to encourage persons in the lower ranks to marry, in order to supply the lamentable want of a labouring population. A newly married man was exempt from all taxes for four years, and a man with six children was free for life. Laws against emigration also were enacted; measures were employed to prevent the people of the provinces from flocking into the large towns; and the most extraordinary privileges and immunities were held out to those who devoted themselves to agriculture or to manufactures. At the same time, advantages of every kind were offered to all foreign manufacturers, agriculturists, and artisans who chose to settle in Spain.

The end of the year 1624, and the beginning of 1625, were inauspicious towards Spain. On the coasts of South America, as well as on those of Flanders, the Dutch fleets made great progress. France furnished the states with money, and engaged them by treaty not to make peace with Spain: the marquis de Coëuvres, without showing any great respect for the papal authority, took possession of the Valteline, and drove out the pontifical troops; and everything announced that a new and powerful hand had seized the reins of government in France. Olivarez, however, did not show himself unequal to the
occasion. Taken by surprise, indeed, in regard to the Valletine, he could not recover that important territory, but four fleets were instantly equipped in Spanish ports. The duke of Feria was ordered to march to the relief of Genoa, now attacked by the French and Savoyards; the galleys of the catholic king hastened to the support of that city; a league was entered into between Spain, Lucca, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, to oppose the progress of the invaders; and the armies of France and Savoy were obliged to abandon all they had obtained, and retreat with loss from the territory they had divided in the anticipation of conquest. The tide of affairs, too, turned on the coast of America; a great part of what had been seized by the Dutch was regained by Spain, and a dangerous insurrection was appeased without serious inconvenience. The death of Maurice of Nassau, also, was considered by the Spaniards as equal to a victory; and the great advantages gained by the emperor tended to strengthen all the branches of the house of Austria.

Nevertheless, Olivarez most wisely determined, as far as possible, to avoid entering into a general war. Although the French and Spanish armies had encountered each other in the field, and though various acts of direct hostility had been committed by each country against the other, yet they were not held to be in an absolute state of warfare; and the Spanish minister sought eagerly and skilfully to calm the differences that existed between the two kingdoms. The necessity of doing so became the more obvious while the negotiations were going on, from symptoms of insurrection in various parts of Spain. The Catalonians especially, believing the government to be entangled in a foreign
war, and counting upon support from France in case of actual revolt, refused all subsidies; and even while the court was present at Barcelona, one of the King's principal officers was stabbed in the assembly of the states of the province. Olivarez immediately withdrew with the monarch from that city; but the people imputed even that very justifiable act to bad designs, and new signs of resistance manifested themselves.

Luckily for Spain, it happened that France was engaged in suppressing internal dissensions likewise, that her arms in Italy had received a severe check, and that her finances were in a state of terrible disorder. The overtures of Olivarez were willingly listened to by Richelieu; and, at the very time when the Spanish provinces were preparing to resist, France concluded a treaty with Spain, which deprived the opponents of the Spanish minister of all their hopes of support. The Catalonians instantly became tranquil, the subsidies were voted, and by the transactions which ensued, Olivarez obtained conditions from even the keen-sighted Richelieu, which rendered the duke of Savoy an enemy to France.

At the same time, Olivarez diminished considerably the expenses of the war against Holland and England, but he diminished also its vigour, and the Dutch in consequence gained many advantages. Eager to see the court of France embroiled with its protestant subjects, the count-duke entered into a secret treaty with France, by which he engaged that the Spanish fleet should blockade the port of La Rochelle, while the army of Louis XIII. besieged that city by land; but having little inclination to free the hands of the French minister, by aiding him to gain a complete triumph
over the factions which had so long distracted France, Olivarez is supposed to have given secret orders to don Frederic of Toledo, the Spanish admiral, which prevented him from yielding any real assistance to the besieging force. During the blockade of Rochelle, however, the death of Vincent, duke of Mantua, created a cause of contention between France and Spain. The duke of Nevers, legitimate successor of the late sovereign of Mantua, was a Frenchman by birth; and lest that nation should obtain by his means the footing in Italy, for which she had been so long striving, against all the precautions of Spain, Olivarez was tempted to abandon the course he had hitherto pursued, and to risk a general war. The occasion, it is true, seemed favourable; Richelieu was occupied with the siege of Rochelle, to which place England held out promises of such assistance as would have protracted the defence to an indefinite period. The protestants of the south of France were maintaining themselves in open insurrection; the duke of Savoy was willing to share in the spoil of Mantua, and to exclude the French from Italy; and the Spanish provinces voted a large donation to supply the necessities of the state. Olivarez, therefore, acting in concert with the emperor, opposed the rights of the duke of Nevers, and for a time was completely successful: Montferrat was overrun and its principal strong places taken; Mantua itself ultimately fell before the arms of the emperor, and the unfortunate duke found himself stripped of all his dominions. But ere these advantages were secured, Rochelle had surrendered; Richelieu had declared France the protector of the duke of Mantua; Louis XIII. forced the pass of Suza, and in
the campaigns which we have already mentioned recovered part of that which the duke had lost, gaining other successes, which ended ultimately in a new treaty of peace.

In the mean time Holland had obtained tremendous advantages, both by land and sea, in Flanders and in America. The famous Spinola, called from the Low Countries into Italy, had been ill treated by Olivarez, and blamed and neglected, and dying of disappointment and indignation, left no one who could supply his place. Flanders, abandoned to the defence of inefficient generals, began to show signs of disaffection towards the crown of Spain. Cabals were formed in various cities; and at length a regular conspiracy took place, for the purpose either of establishing a republic in imitation of Holland, or of calling in the troops of France. The views of the conspirators, however, were communicated by the duke of Arischot to the archduchess, governess of the Netherlands, who, by his advice, took means to frustrate their attempts, without punishing the offenders. Olivarez, however, was not so moderate; and a number of the nobles of Flanders, were arrested and treated with various degrees of severity.

Feeling every day more and more the financial embarrassments of the state, Olivarez now sought even to conclude a peace with Holland, but in vain. Spain intrigued with all the disaffected in France; and France, whose views for the abasement of the house of Austria were now beginning to expand, did not fail to stimulate and support all the external enemies of Spain. Every effort made by Olivarez towards a-

* See Life of Richelieu.
peace was frustrated by the diplomacy of Richelieu, who was already engaged in open hostilities against the emperor, while the Spanish monarch naturally afforded all the assistance in his power to the imperial branch of his own family. Such a state of covert warfare could not of course endure for any great length of time; and Olivarez, seeing that a rupture must eventually take place, determined that the first advantages to be gained by it should be in favour of the house of Austria. After the fatal battle of Vordlingen, Philipsburg had been given up to France by the Swedes, and the elector of Treves had long shown his inclination to aid the enemies of Spain and the empire. Towards the Rhine the eyes of all Europe were turned, as it seemed at that moment that the destinies of many states were about to be decided upon the banks of that river. There, then, the first blow was struck by Spain against that powerful enemy, who never ceased the hostilities which ensued, from that moment till the resources of the peninsula were totally exhausted. Treves and Philipsburg were both taken by the Spaniards, and the elector of the former place was carried away a prisoner to Antwerp.

Richelieu instantly sent a herald to Brussels to declare war, and a French army entered the Low Countries; but fortune had not yet become favourable to the arms of France. After some successes on the part of that country, the cardinal-infant, who had now succeeded the archduchess in the government of Flanders, obtained the superiority, and in return carried the war into Picardy and Champagne. Olivarez, all activity, attacked at the same time the coasts of Provence; and Spain became possessed of several islands in the gulf.
A French and Savoyard army were defeated on the banks of the Po; and Galas, with the imperial forces on the Rhine, drove back the cardinal de la Valette, and forced him to take shelter under the cannon of Metz with very considerable loss.

The following year produced advantages still more important. A Spanish army from Flanders invaded Picardy and menaced the capital of France. Guyenne was entered from the Pyrenees; and St. Jean de Luz fell into the hands of Spain. But neither the cardinal-infant who commanded the Spanish army in the north, nor the admiral of Castille who conducted that in the south, pushed the several enterprises in which they were engaged with activity, and all was lost almost as soon as gained. Not so, however, sped the affairs of Italy: Leganez, though neither a skilful nor successful general, opposed the French and Savoyards with advantage, and driving them out of the Milanese, led his troops into the territory of Parma and Placentia. Now was the moment in which Olivarez should have chosen to conclude a solid and advantageous peace; and though the dull cloud of diplomacy prevents us from seeing the wishes or even actions of public men on many occasions of importance, yet there is much reason to believe, from the pope having eagerly pressed forward at this time as a mediator, that the count-duke was sincerely desirous of taking advantage of the successes of the Spanish arms to enter into a treaty with France, and to pursue his plans for the restoration of internal prosperity. Richelieu, however, was averse to peace, although the forces of France had not been so successful as he had hoped they might be. He foresaw that both Spain and the
Empire must soon be exhausted by the many detached points which they were forced to defend, and his great object of humbling the house of Austria was yet to be obtained. Although the place of conference was named, and the legate had actually set out, yet the negotiation was brought to a sudden close, and the war was resumed as fiercely as ever.

In the mean time the course of Olivarez's private life had been affected by some events on which it may be necessary to pause. He had now been long married to a noble and high-spirited, but somewhat overbearing woman, who, having been appointed to the highest station near the person of the queen, ruled the royal palace with the same despotic authority which her husband exercised in the government of the country at large. Although not blessed with a very easy or placable disposition, the duchess of San Lucar had the wisdom to know that her interests and her happiness were in the hands of her husband; and to promote his views all her efforts were directed, while in domestic life, without any very extraordinary degree of affection, they lived happily. No heir had sprung from this union, and for some years Olivarez and his wife employed a part of their large revenues in embellishing their beautiful country-seat in the neighbourhood of Madrid, and in founding a splendid monastery of Dominicans on their estate; while the count's nephew, don Louis de Haro, son of the marquis de Carpio, was considered the heir of the minister, and his successor in power.

A little before the period to which we have now brought the narrative of the public life of Olivarez, Julian Valeazar, son of Margueret Spinola, and reputed
son of the alcade Valeazar, returned to Spain, and after living for some time in great poverty, made acquaintance with a girl, whom we find called donna Isabella de Azueda, to whom he was about to be married, when by some means, in regard to which I have no information, he attracted the attention of the count-duke. Handsome in person, and possessing considerable abilities, the minister was well pleased to believe him his son, as Julian's birth had taken place at the period of his own intrigue with Margueret Spinola. For a considerable time his purposes in the young man's favour do not seem to have taken any decided form, and he appears to have contributed to his support, without either openly acknowledging him as his offspring or exercising any authority over him. Even his marriage with Isabella de Azueda was allowed to take place, though the character of the lady was not peculiarly pure; and it is probable that Olivarez at first, struck with the coarseness of his supposed son's manners, carried his intentions no farther than to place don Julian above want, and leave him in the rank of society into which he had naturally fallen.

Rumours, however, of the count having discovered his son began to fly through Madrid; various quarrels took place between Olivarez and the family of Carpio; and hatred towards his presumptive heir, don Louis de Haro, united with the desire of seeing a child of his own succeed to his fortune and his power. Under these circumstances, the minister took the most extraordinary resolution of endeavouring to improve the manners and cultivate the mind of his supposed son,—a difficult undertaking at the age of seven or eight and twenty,—and of formally adopting him as a legitimate child. The mortification and offence which this design
inflicted on all the members of the family of Carpio may be easily conceived; but their wrath only hastened the proceedings of the count-duke, and by a solemn act of legitimization executed under the sanction of the king, he acknowledged the child of Margueret Spinola as his son and heir. By the same act, and by the monarch’s authority, his name was changed from Julian de Velez to Henry Philip de Guzman. All that remained was to elevate his manners to a level with his new rank; and for this purpose the count laboured indefatigably, procuring for him masters of all kinds, and establishing for him a splendid household supported by a princely income. Though not totally ineffectual, the attempt to give him the carriage and manners of a Castillian noble was not very successful; but the partiality of Olivarez soon blinded his eyes to the defects of his legitimised son; and he now turned his mind both to place him in the road to power and greatness, and to secure for him, by alliance, support amongst the great families of Spain.

The unfortunate marriage which don Henry had contracted, was a great obstacle in the way of the latter purpose; but Olivarez, passionate in pursuit of all his designs, overbore all obstacles, and determined to annul the union which formed such an impediment. The pope was applied to, who appointed the bishop of Avila to investigate and decide; but donna Isabella was refractory, and determined to have a share in the good fortune of her husband, dared to struggle against the will of the minister—producing the authentic proofs of her marriage, and resisting the divorce with all her power. That resistance, however, was unavailing: the good bishop was more pliant to the will
of Olivarez, than was the wife of his son: an informality was discovered in the marriage ceremony, which had been performed in the house of the bride's own mother, and not within the precincts of the bride's own parish. This was quite sufficient for the purposes of the minister and the wishes of the bishop, and the marriage was formally annulled.

The ambition of Olivarez now seemed to centre in the elevation of his son: the king, led at will by his minister, soon received don Henry—as he was now called—into high favour: his origin, even his defects, were forgotten; flocks of courtiers besieged his doors; he was appointed a commander of the order of Calatrava, received the title of Excellency, and was invested with a number of high offices and distinctions.* The next thing was to obtain for him the hand of some lady whose birth and rank would afford firm support to her husband in case of need; and Olivarez fixed upon the daughter of the constable of Castille, descended from a royal stock, and holding one of the most important posts in the kingdom. However much the pride of the high Castillían noble might be hurt by the union of his daughter with the natural son of the minister, means were found of inducing him to comply, and Henry de Guzman was formally united to Donna Johanna de Velasco. Although the courtiers and the nobles forgot the stigma attached to the birth of don Henry, and the bend sinister of his own arms was not observed by the side of the four royal quarters on the escutcheon of his new bride, the populace had a more retentive memory.

* It is not quite clear, whether he was ever actually appointed president of the council of the Indies or not; but if not his elevation to that important station was only stopped by his father's fall.
and keener eyesight, and saluted him, as he rode through the street, by the title of

"Enrique de dos hombres y dos mugeres,
Hijo de dos padres y de dos madres."

It must not be supposed, however, that the nobles themselves submitted to the intrusion of the count's illegitimate son into their class without anger. Many were bitterly offended; nor did they fail to testify their discontent; while the wealth and the dignities which Olivarez heaped upon don Henry, and the splendour and the pageantry with which he took care to surround him, only served to excite their envy without diminishing their contempt.

While the factions were growing up at home, which were destined to work the fall of Olivarez, those external wars which were ultimately to give force and importance to internal discontent were pursued by the minister with varied fortune. The success which attended the Spanish arms in 1637 was greater than that obtained by France. By some unaccountable neglect the Valteline, which had been gained and kept with so much difficulty, was lost to the French crown; the duke of Parma, left to his fate by Richelieu, entered into a treaty of peace with Spain, and sacrificed a part of his dominions to preserve the rest; while Leganetz attacked the united French and Savoyard army, and obtained a victory near Nice. In Flanders successes and reverses were nearly balanced; but in an attack upon Leucate, the Spanish troops were defeated by the maréchal de Schomberg; and the islands

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on the coast of Provence were recovered by France, as well as the post of St. Jean de Luz.

An event, however, occurred in the course of the same year, which by the skill of Olivarez, was rendered highly serviceable to Spain. The duke of Savoy did not long survive his defeat; and the moment that he was dead, Olivarez instigated his brothers to dispute the regency of the duchy with the sister of Louis XIII., his widow. Civil war soon desolated Savoy, and for a long time a considerable French force was employed in that country, while but small expenses on the part of Spain sustained the princes of Savoy in their struggle for the guardianship of their nephew. In Flanders the cardinal-infant outdid all expectations, with inferior forces holding in check the French on one side, and the Dutch on the other: but the Brazils were now lost to Spain; and the Swedes, recovering their advantage, were driving the emperor to the brink of ruin.

Olivarez in the meantime had exhausted every means that human ingenuity could devise for the purpose of obtaining money and men to carry on the war. Few and scanty donations from the states had been increased by large loans, some voluntary in reality, and some only apparently so. Confiscations and fines had been resorted to, and the exigency of the state had acquired for the minister a character of cruelty which he probably did not deserve. All ordinary means, however, were now exhausted; and feeling that peace was absolutely necessary, Olivarez again attempted to obtain it even at a considerable sacrifice. But Richelieu saw his difficulties with triumph, and still held the sword unsheathed; while
Olivarez, bold under misfortune, contemplated the approaching struggle between himself and the Spanish people, and, finding that peace was not to be obtained without a farther effort, only strove to compel France by the success of his arms to grant him repose before the embarrassments of Spain reached their climax.

In this point the policy of Richelieu and Olivarez stand strongly opposed to each other. Both had entered upon power with exhausted finances, and a turbulent, dissatisfied people to hamper the march of government; but Richelieu, before he suffered himself to be tempted into any foreign war, applied himself to gain complete command over the internal resources of his country, by crushing every faction that could oppose his policy, or divide the energies of the state. For this purpose he hesitated not to enter into treaties with the determination of breaking them whenever it was convenient, and to make a thousand promises and stipulations which he never intended to observe. Olivarez was more scrupulous, and had also a more difficult task to perform. The finances of France, it is true, were exhausted, and the people turbulent; but in Spain the very elements of society were injured, though not destroyed. The spirit of industry was at an end in all branches, and the population itself was too scanty to support the drain of long continued warfare. A great commercial or a great manufacturing country can maintain, with advantage to herself and to them, innumerable colonies, and reciprocation of supplies will insure the prosperity of all; but a country where manufactures and commerce are both neglected, will soon find her colo-
nies a burthen rather than a benefit. The former is like an industrious man with plenty of employment and a large family of children, who all contribute to aid their parent's exertions: the latter like an idle spendthrift, to whom every child is an additional burthen. But the immense number and scattered position of the Spanish colonies, though forming an evil of no slight magnitude in the state to which she was now reduced, were not the original cause of that state, and only aided to sink her lower when she was already depressed. The process of her fall had been very simple; and though we have alluded to it before, we must speak more fully thereupon in this place.

At a time when arms was the great trade of Europe, and when Spain in prosperity of every kind stood amongst the highest of existing nations, the discovery of the mines of South America had, as I have before remarked, drained her of enterprising spirits, and had supplied to her that fatal ore which afforded the means of obtaining both necessaries and luxuries without exertion. From that moment her commerce, which had been considerable, rapidly decreased, for she became now merely the purchaser of the commodities of other nations, and no longer the vendor of her own productions. Foreign countries gave her their merchandise, and she returned her silver. Thus failed her commerce, and her manufactures followed it in its fall. There were many countries in Europe eager to raise up their prosperity upon the basis of productive industry, and nothing but the most zealous competition could keep the manufactures of any land upon an equality with those of numerous
rivals. To create that eager competition, the stimulus of necessity or of avarice was required; and while Spain saw herself annually inundated with silver, while the means of obtaining from other people, with little trouble, the articles which cost much labour to produce, were constantly present, and commerce made no immediate demand upon the industry of the manufacturing classes, it was a natural consequence, that the fabrication of everything formerly required for internal consumption or external traffic should gradually fall into disuse. The want of commerce and of manufactures speedily produced a decrease of population; for all history proves the justice of the remark, that where opportunities of obtaining active employment are wanting, the numbers of the people decrease, even though the necessaries of life may from any adventitious cause be abundant. It is not only sustenance which man requires as the condition of his numerical increase, but it is sustenance obtained by industry. All these causes combined, produced, and were reciprocally affected by, the utter decline of agriculture. Thus was a country possessing a soil of infinite fertility, a climate calculated to mature every necessary and every luxury, a geological structure rich and inexhaustible, an immense extent of sea-coast, and colonies comprising all the finest portions of the globe, reduced with extraordinary rapidity to a state of penury such as nations very seldom know,—without commerce, without manufactures, without agriculture, without a full population; and with revenues depending upon distant mines, with which her communication was never
certain, and of which her possession was but ill as-
sured.

It is not, however, to be denied, that all these evils
were increased by the internal constitution of the
Spanish monarchy. Subdivided into a number of pro-
vinces or kingdoms, each possessing peculiar privi-
leges and customary laws, every part of Spain was
jealous of the neighbouring division, and all jealous of
Castille, as the predominant kingdom from which the
royal authority governed the rest. Every state was
anxious to shelter itself under its privileges from bear-
ing the burthens which pressed upon the rest; and
each, pretending to much greater rights than had ever
been conceded to them, were the more ready to break
into rebellion the moment any of these privileges were
questioned, from a consciousness of many of them
being untenable, and all of them unjust. Another
consequence of these numerous divisions of the Spanish
territory was such a complication of the fiscal system,
and such an obstruction in the circulation of money,
that the revenue was nearly lost in collection, and in-
superable obstacles were placed in the way of internal
traffic. Multitudes of custom-houses and swarms of
custom-house officers disgraced every provincial fron-
tier, and interrupted the passage of merchandise in
every town; and instead of recognising the first great
object in fiscal legislation—namely, to leave industry
as free as possible, while the burthen of taxation is
principally cast upon accumulation—each petty state,
in its jealousy of its neighbour, seemed to vie with the
other in impeding the communication between one
part of the country and another, in making the trader
pay for the very right of exerting himself, and in leav-
ing the idle exempt from all contribution to the necessities of the state.* No sooner did the exigencies of the government require any extraordinary supply, however justly incurred and imperatively necessary, than the states of each province prepared to resist, to the utmost of their ability, all demands of either pecuniary or military contribution, and were ready rather to fight against the government of their own country, than against a foreign enemy.

Thus, whatever were the evils and difficulties which Richelieu had to encounter in France, Spain offered her minister a much more perplexing task; none of the provinces were actually in revolt, though many were prepared for any sort of disobedience, and none but Castille was willing to contribute any thing to the support of the state. The Spanish minister, however, wanted either the courage or the wickedness to stir any portion of the king’s subjects into insurrection for the purpose of reducing them to more thorough subjection; and he suffered himself to be drawn into a general war where he had obtained complete command of the people, from which he was to obtain resources for

* The most luminous and extraordinary view of the deplorable state of Spain at a much later period is given in a little book called _Pan y Toros, “Bread and Bulls,”_ which was published surreptitiously some years ago, and attributed to don Juan de Jovellanos. It was lent to me during some time, by my late talented and lamented friend, William Woodhouse, Esq. but I have never been able to procure another copy, though the extraordinary vigour of the style, the mighty and overwhelming eloquence of the writer; and his deep knowledge of all the secrets of the Spanish government, made me most anxious to possess a work unequalled in its kind by anything, except, perhaps, one or two of the letters of Junius.
carrying it on. Now, however, pressed forward by Richelieu, who knew that every day during which the war could be prolonged, added to the difficulties of Spain, and brought on the ultimate triumph of France, Olivarez made one last effort. Crown lands were sold in Italy; assistance was eagerly demanded of the states; new loans were required; the currency was debased for the temporary benefit to be derived from a transaction which, whatever it may be in a government, would be felonious in an individual; and advantage being taken of some difficulties in which France, for the time, was engaged, Olivarez pushed the war in Italy with great but transitory success.

In two campaigns the duchess-regent of Savoy, trembling between the grasping ambition of Richelieu and the impatient eagerness of her husband’s brothers, saw herself stripped of almost all her possessions, her people in revolt, her liberty threatened, and Spanish forces in possession of her capital. But a truce, most fatal to Spain, was concluded for two months; the enterprising count Harcourt appeared upon the scene, and all that had been gained by Olivarez was lost almost as quickly. The same fate, however, awaited the French arms in Roussillon, where the prince de Condé besieged and took the town of Salces, and one or two other places; but the younger Spinola, having been sent into that province with a considerable force, retook Salces, and completely defeated Condé, who attempted to interrupt his proceedings.

Even the inventive genius of Olivarez, who had long found resources after every apparent means of supplying funds had been exhausted, could furnish no new expedient, so long as the unjust and absurd dis-
tinctive privileges remained in force, which exempted various detached provinces of Spain from bearing a part in efforts that were necessary for the preservation of the whole. He determined, therefore, to assail those privileges; but before proceeding to extreme measures, he once more applied for support to Catalonia, as one of the richest and most capable of the various states composing the Spanish monarchy. Receiving no satisfaction, he at once ordered the Castilian troops, who had just defeated the prince de Condé, to take up their winter quarters in that province; and, commanding the Catalonians to raise and equip six thousand soldiers for the wars of Italy, he assigned them their proportion of the expenses of the state, enjoining the states to raise it, by a decree of the king.

Had the Castilian troops remained tranquil and orderly, overawing the Catalonians by their presence and their discipline, without enraging them by their excesses and their insolence, perhaps Olivarez might have carried through his bold design, and annihilated, one by one, the destructive privileges of the various provinces. But, on the contrary, they committed every sort of violence and injustice. Their pay greatly in arrear, and at bitter enmity with the Catalonians, they considered every act of pillage or of brutality which they committed but a just compensation to themselves, or a merited infliction on their stubborn and tumultuous neighbours. The Catalonians, stirred up to vengeance, sought retribution in chance combats, lost their dread of the Castilian troops by frequent contests with them, and were excited almost to frenzy by their violence and rapine. In the mean time, the
states of Catalonia refused to obey the royal decree, and sent two deputies to remonstrate with the king and his minister. These messengers unfortunately executed their commission in an insolent and menacing tone; and Olivarez, of a haughty and inflexible character, caused them instantly to be arrested.

These tidings reached Barcelona at the moment when some fresh outrage, committed by the Castillian soldiers, had excited popular indignation to the highest pitch; and a general insurrection was the immediate consequence. The viceroy was slain upon the spot, and a negotiation was instantly entered into with France in order to procure support in rebellion. The courage of Olivarez did not fail even under this fresh misfortune: all the disposable troops in Spain were instantly directed upon Catalonia; and all the other provinces, but more especially Portugal, were ordered to arm for the suppression of the revolt.

Turbulent subjects and interested allies are always sure to take advantage of the moment of difficulty. The Portuguese, hating with even more bitter animosity than the Catalonians, the yoke of Castille, oppressed by Vasconcellos, who ruled them under the vice-queen, duchess of Mantua, and called upon to aid in suppressing an insurrection to which they looked with pleasure and hope, now instantly threw off the rule of Spain. A conspiracy burst forth, which had been preparing under the knowledge and advice of Richelieu for more than three years; and the duke of Braganza, a prince of no great abilities, was proclaimed king. Few great excesses were committed: Vasconcellos, indeed, was made a sacrifice to the fury of an oppressed people; but the duchess of Mantua, whose
gentleness had secured her the affectionate respect even of a nation which suffered under her rule, though arrested by order of the new government, was treated with reverence and kindness. It was long before Olivarez ventured to inform the king of the rising of Portugal against his authority, as he could not conceive that even the weak and toy-like Philip IV. would bear such events with indifference. There can be no doubt also, that he gave much thought to the manner in which the communication was to be made; and at length, thoroughly acquainted with his master’s character, he told him what had occurred in a joke. “The duke of Braganza has gone mad, sire,” he said, “and has suffered himself to be proclaimed king of Portugal. His imprudence will be worth a confiscation of twelve millions to your majesty.” The king’s only reply was, “It must be looked to!” and he turned to other things as if nothing extraordinary had occurred.

To provide against the necessities of the moment, however, was far less easy than the king imagined. Castille had been already drained of troops for the purpose of repressing the insurrection in Catalonia: no sufficient force could be collected to recover Portugal, and the spirit of disaffection was spreading rapidly in other provinces. Fortunately for Olivarez, that spirit showed itself more decidedly in the districts bordering on Portugal than in any other quarter; and the small body of troops which the count-duke could send to the Portuguese frontier, though utterly inefficient in reducing that country once more to submit to the Spanish government, was sufficient to restrain Andalusia from breaking out also into revolt. That province, however, was upon the very eve of
insurrection, when a happy accident discovered to Olivarez this new danger. No sooner had the duke of Braganza been proclaimed king of Portugal, than by the advice of the same wise friends who had raised him with so little difficulty to the throne of his ancestors, he sent the marquis of Ayamonte to Andalusia, which was then under the government of the duke of Medina Sidonia. His object was to divert the attention of the Spanish court from Portugal, by inciting that nobleman, whose territories were immense, to erect Andalusia into a separate state, and assume the sovereignty thereof himself. The design was bold in every respect, especially as the duke of Medina was the near relation of the count-duke Olivarez. Nevertheless, the persuasions of Ayamonte and the facility of the enterprise he proposed—while Spain, exhausted by external wars, and torn by internal contentions, seemed ready to crumble spontaneously into fragments—were sufficient to seduce the ambitious duke. Ayamonte believed his success complete, and sent off a monk to Lisbon with an account of his negotiation; but either through treachery or from vanity, the monk betrayed his trust, and information of the conspiracy reached the ears of Olivarez in time.

On the same day Medina Sidonia received a letter from the minister, calling him to Madrid, and news that several Castillian regiments were marching into Andalusia. For some time he hesitated as to whether he should obey or fly to Portugal; but, at length, determined on the former course. He accordingly set out for Madrid, and proceeded at once to the house of his cousin Olivarez, by whom he was received with
kindness, and assured that a complete confession of his errors would ensure him a full pardon. This he accordingly made, disclosing the whole plan which had been organised for the raising of Andalusia; and Olivarez immediately brought him to the presence of the king. Here, again, he repeated his former statement, acknowledged his crime, and, casting himself at the monarch's feet, besought his clemency with tears. The king is said to have wept also; but at all events he granted the criminal noble immediate pardon. Olivarez, however, more severe than his master, exacted that the duke should remain at Madrid, while garrisons were thrown into the strong places of Andalusia; and the revolt was stifled in its birth.

All these steps were prudent and wise on the part of the minister; but the conspiracy of Andalusia terminated in an act which would have been absurd in any other country than Spain, and which was not very sensible even there. To wipe off all imputation from his character, the duke of Medina Sidonia was directed by Olivarez to challenge the king of Portugal, who had attempted to seduce him from his allegiance; and although that nobleman sought to excuse himself, he was at length forced to comply. Olivarez then drew up, with his own hand, the cartel, in manner of manifesto, treating the Portuguese monarch, however, merely as duke of Braganza. Copies of this were sent to all European courts; and on the day appointed, the duke of Medina presented himself at Valencia de Alcantara, armed at all points, and accompanied by a number of witnesses. The king of Portugal, however, of course did not appear; and the
farce, which might have proved a tragedy, ended there.

In the meantime the marquis de los Velez had taken the command of the army sent against the Catalanian rebels; and a willing instrument of the minister's vengeance, he exercised the most barbarous cruelties as he marched on into the refractory province. The town of Tortosa was taken and sacked by his soldiers, and the people subjected to every sort of violence. Fire, massacre, and desolation marked his progress; but, instead of inspiring crouching terror and trembling self-abandonment, his conduct roused up lion-like revenge. Hurrying on the negotiations with France, the Catalanians accepted any terms which Richelieu chose to offer, declared themselves subject to the French crown, and pronounced the authority of Spain at an end for ever in Catalonia. A small corps of French troops was immediately thrown forward from Roussillon, and advanced to Taragona under the command of D'Espenan, a general who had shown great skill and courage at Salces. The Catalanians, with the usual bravado of their nation, had represented their army as a thousand-fold stronger, both in numbers and discipline, than it really was; and the French officers were in consequence lamentably disappointed when they saw the militia which was to support them, and still more disappointed when they beheld that militia in face of an enemy. As a last resource against the large Spanish force under Los Velez, D'Espenan threw himself into Taragona, in opposition to the advice of Besançon, who was employed, on the part of France, in organising the Catalanians. Here he was almost immediately besieged;
and, being destitute both of provisions and ammuni-
tion, was soon forced to sign a capitulation, whereby
he agreed to evacuate the territory of Spain with all
the troops which had entered Catalonia from France.
This convention he executed, notwithstanding all
remonstrances and petitions on the part of the Cata-
lonians; and, retreating at once from Taragona to
the French frontier, he abandoned the field to the
enemy.

Had Olivarez now seized the favourable moment,
while the Catalanions were struck with fear, and
abandoned to their own resources—had he offered a
general amnesty, and followed up his first successes
with acts of clemency, it is probable—it is more than
probable—that Catalonia would at once have been paci-
ﬁed, and that her dangerous privileges would in part
have been sacriﬁced to the desire and necessity of peace.
The rest of the various kingdoms which composed the
monarchy, terrriﬁed by the ill success of so promising
an insurrection, could have ofered but little resistance
to the will of the minister, and the great scheme of Oli-
varez might have been executed. But the count-duke
sought revenge as much as advantage; and he was
soon taught that, with great bodies of men at least, if
not with individuals, hatred can become a stronger
continuance of resistance: the Catalanions sustained
passion than fear. Continued severity only produced
themselves till the French forces returned in greater
numbers, and with more experienced commanders:
the tide of success turned against the Castillians; and
Los Velez was recalled to give place to Leganez,
who, on more than one occasion, had encountered the
armies of France with success.
The opposition of Richelieu and Olivarez had by this time grown into personal rivalry, and had begotten personal hatred; and, as the Spanish minister saw himself assailed by conspiracies, fomented by his rival, he determined to pursue towards his enemies the same system. He had already, on more than one occasion, lent some small aid to the duke of Orleans in his weak efforts against the French minister; had encouraged rebellion in France wherever it had broken out; and had shown a generous consideration for all the French exiles who sought the Spanish territory. But he now took more active measures; and learning the discontent of the count de Soissons and the duke of Bouillon, he made them unbounded offers of assistance, and excited them by every means to light the flame of civil war in France. Their own inclinations seconded his suggestions, and the confederates of Sedan were soon in arms against Richelieu. Spain kept her promise punctually: arms, troops, and money were liberally supplied; the battle of the Marfée was fought and won, and the fate of France trembled for a moment in the balance. The fortune or the skill of Richelieu, however, averted the impending evils. The count de Soissons was slain after the victory was gained; the duke of Bouillon hastened to make his peace; and the advantages obtained by Spain were few and trifling.

In Portugal, too, the plans of Olivarez were frustrated. The conspiracy which placed John IV. on the throne of that country had been conducted by his wife and his friends in the utmost secrecy; so that some have even supposed the prince himself was unaware of the machinations in his favour, till the way to the throne was opened at once before him. Many persons,
however, of very great influence and wealth, were kept in ignorance of his views; and though they afterwards, either tacitly or actively, acknowledged his title, they nevertheless felt angry and jealous at seeing one of their own order suddenly raised to authority over them. Amongst these personages, the principal were the duke of Camina and the marquis of Villareal, both of whom were remotely descended from the ancient sovereigns of Portugal; and many other nobles shared in their feelings, and attached themselves to their views.

Thus was one strong party formed in Lisbon against the new sovereign, on his very accession to the throne. Another, however, existed, comprising still greater numbers, and possessing influence of a different kind, consisting of all those who had been raised and supported by the Spanish government during its possession of Portugal. Some of these had lost their offices, and some had not; but all were attached, either by gratitude or interest, to Spain; and at the head of this party appeared the archbishop and the grand inquisitor De Castro. Such were the favourable elements that Olivarez found ready for the formation of a conspiracy, which, had it succeeded, would have cast Portugal for ever into the power of Spain; and never did any one labour more skilfully to cement, strengthen, and direct one of those great and fearful engines than did the count-duke on the present occasion. Could he have been present himself, with that peculiar combination of cautious suspicion and resolute boldness which characterised him, it is scarcely to be doubted that the plot would have succeeded; but obliged to guide it from a distance, and to trust to inferior agents, Olivarez could not prevent the secret from being divulged to
several persons unworthy of confidence, and that secret was consequently betrayed. The marquis of Ayamonte is said to have discovered and revealed it to the queen, and instant measures were taken to guard against the conspiracy and arrest the conspirators. A horrid scene of butchery then took place, and both the scaffolds and the prisons flowed with gore; a degree of remorseless cruelty being shown by the government, which sets in the fairest light the moderation displayed by the people at the time of the insurrection, and which is not to be excused by the assertion, that the conspirators would have shown themselves equally sanguinary if they had been successful.

In the mean time an attempt had been made at Naples to induce the people of that country, then a Spanish possession, to follow the example of Portugal and Catalonia. Measures had been concerted with France, and a French fleet was sent to favour the proposed insurrection; but don Francesco de Mello, who commanded there, overawed the conspirators by his firmness and decision, and not an arm was raised against his government. He even caused the prince of Sanzo, by whom the malecontents had been instigated and directed, to be carried off from Rome, and brought his head to the block. While, at home, Olivarez was struggling with increasing difficulties; in Flanders, the cardinal-infant was, with skill and courage, calm perseverance and ready promptitude, defending the territory committed to his charge, against the superior forces of France on the one side, and of Holland on the other. Unfortunately for his country, his career was destined to be but short; and having been taken ill while besieging Aire, in Artois, he left
the command of the army to Francesco de Mello, who had by this time joined him, and retired to Brussels, where he died on the 9th of November, 1641.

External successes could do but little, however, to counterbalance internal difficulties, and those difficulties were now reaching their crisis. In various engagements which took place in Catalonia, the Spanish armies were defeated by the French: the Catalonians themselves became better soldiers under the severe discipline of necessity; and though the Spanish fleet defeated the French off Taragona, and saved that city from the enterprises of La Mothe, the general result of the campaign was decidedly unfavourable to Spain. At the same time, the French were making progress in Roussillon; and in the year 1642 the king himself prepared to invade that small territory, with the evident intention of dismembering it from the Spanish crown. Several minor places having been taken, siege was laid to Perpignan: the people of the country were not at all unwilling to pass under the dominion of France; and another serious misfortune threatened the ministry of Olivarez. At this time was concerted the conspiracy of Cinq Mars, which has been already spoken of fully; and the count-duke eagerly entered into the views of the French malecontents, and promised them every assistance they demanded. The failure of the conspiracy, the arrest and execution of some of the conspirators, and the fall of Perpignan, came rapidly one upon the other, showing the fortune of Richelieu still triumphing over all the best laid schemes of his adversaries.

Such was the situation of Spain when the enemies of Olivarez, taking advantage of his misfortunes and
his faults, determined to strike the blow which was to hurl him from the summit of power; but ere we speak of the actual fall of the count-duke, it may be necessary to examine briefly the immediate causes which brought it about.

Monsieur Salvandy thinks* that Olivarez had formed one general system for establishing the absolute power of the king upon the ruins of the privileges of the various provinces, and upon the debasement of the grandees. Nothing is so seducing as that spirit of generalisation which pervades the French school of history; and I cannot help thinking that, in the present instance, it has led the learned and talented writer, whom I have just mentioned, into a considerable error, hurrying him beyond the point where fact stops and imagination is left to pursue her way alone. I believe that all statesmen of eminence have proposed to themselves the general attainment of certain great objects; but that those who have sought such objects by a pre-determined and consistent scheme are much fewer than we are apt to imagine. That Olivarez contemplated doing away the iniquitous and injurious privileges of the provinces, there can be no doubt, for every act of his ministry speaks such a determination; but that he ever thought of rendering his sovereign absolute by the depression of the grandees, is not only unsupported as a supposition by any direct evidence, but is opposed to many of his proceedings. That almost all the grandees of Spain were inimical to him, there can be no doubt; but their animosity might proceed

* Biographie Universelle, t. xxxi. p. 575.
from a thousand other causes, without any view on his part to the destruction of the class.

Olivarez was of a suspicious and a jealous nature; and, from his very first entrance into power, he applied himself to shut out from any share of the royal favour every one but persons devoted to himself. This was enough at once to range the whole excluded class of grandees amongst his enemies. Envy, jealousy, avarice, ambition, all combined to make them look with cold dislike upon a man who exercised the whole power of the state, enjoyed all the favour of the court, and barred the path to wealth, influence, and activity, against every one but his own particular friends. Such was the first foundation of their enmity; but, as the administration of Olivarez proceeded, other causes were added to increase their hatred. Olivarez at once struck at all the corrupt practices of former ministers. The wealth of India poured out at his feet would not have bought place, pension or dignity from the count-duke; none of his friends, none of his servants, was allowed to carry on a trade in the favours of the court, as had been the case in the days of the duke of Lerma. Such a man was, of all others, the one to be detested and assailed in prosperity, and to be hated and respected in adversity. As misfortunes fell upon him, Olivarez was also forced into a number of steps, which at once increased the dislike of the grandees, and gave them greater power to injure him. Often keeping back from the ear of the king the tidings of any unfavourable event, till he found a good moment for communicating it, and always leaving him in ignorance of those negotiations which turned out unsuccessful, and those occasional errors of judgment into which every minister must at times fall;
the count-duke dared not suffer any one to approach the monarch, who might be bold enough to reveal the thing which he wished to keep secret. The grandees were therefore shut out from any private communication with the king; and, when they appeared at court, were treated with a degree of insolence and harshness which Castillian pride could not support. The pomp and ostentation of the minister himself added fresh matter; and the pretensions of his natural son, don Henry de Guzman, made the cup overflow. Few of the grandees appeared at the court at all; their duties in various hereditary offices were performed but negligently, and every excuse was embraced for avoiding the society of the minister.

But the most redoubtable enemy which Olivarez had yet to encounter, was one whom he could not exclude from the presence of the king—namely, the queen herself, who, with talents and virtues which rendered her well worthy of every confidence, had been kept at a distance from all public affairs, and shut out from all knowledge of what was passing, except through the uncertain channels of rumour. In order to control her communications with the court, and even to fetter her conversations with the king; the duchess of Olivarez had been appointed both principal lady of her bedchamber and governess of the infanta. A bold, harsh, and haughty woman, the duchess, by her intrusive daring, governed the queen’s household, and prevented any secret influence rising up in that quarter against the authority of her husband; while Olivarez had taken care to instil into the mind of the weak monarch, from his earliest youth, that women were unfit to meddle at all in any matters of importance. Although his own wife might have taught him the re-
verse, it was his common axiom—"Men to act, monks to pray, and women to bear children!"

But the time had now arrived when the queen felt bound by her duty to her husband to interfere, and to rouse him at least so far as to examine with his own eyes into the state of his own affairs. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the result of the steps she now took was politic or impolitic, whether the removal of Olivarez, at the very moment that death had taken from his path the great predominant spirit of those days, and left the way to the objects for which he had always striven open and free from the shadow of Richelieu, did or did not produce evils to Spain: but no one can deny that, seeing her husband's dominions dismembered day by day,—seeing Roussillon, Portugal, Catalonia lost; Artois almost conquered, Alsace in the hands of France, Luxemburg overrun;Ormuz, Goa, Fernambuco, Brazil possessed by the enemy; Naples and Sicily upon the eve of a revolt, and nothing but discontent, insurrection, and resistance in Spain, beggary in the exchequer, and desertion, disease, and scarcity in the army; while her husband, amusing himself with idle pleasures, trusted the whole business of the state to one man,—no one can deny that, with this scene around her, it was her duty to call the king's attention to the condition of his people and his kingdom. It must also be acknowledged that she acted with the utmost gentleness in pursuit of her purpose, and strove to open the king's eyes without seeking the ruin or the blood of a minister who had done her injustice.

The queen's first step was to induce the monarch to visit the army destined to act against Catalonia; but to bring him to such a resolution, and to support him
therein against all the opposition of Olivarez, cost her no slight exertion of skill and perseverance. In the army, she well knew that the minister’s measures for keeping the king at a distance from his subjects would be more or less difficult of execution, and she trusted that Philip would there meet with men who would disclose to him the real state of the country. At the same time she doubted not that, during the absence of the king and the minister, the government of Madrid would be intrusted to her; and that, even if no very great power thus fell into her hands, she would be able to gain much information which might prove highly beneficial at an after period. Some occasion, too, of serving the state could hardly fail of presenting itself during her government; and at all events, such political discussions would be absolutely necessary between herself and her husband, after his return, as would enable her to speak more freely than she had ever found occasion to do on the condition and prospects of the country. Notwithstanding bold and even impudent opposition on the part of Olivarez, Philip persisted in the resolution which had been suggested by his wife, although every member of the council, except the marquis de Grana, imperial ambassador, who had been called to give his opinion by the express order of the king, opposed the proposed journey into Arragon. Finding that he could not prevail by direct opposition, Olivarez determined to prevent the king’s expedition from proving disadvantageous to his views, by stratagem; and leading him first to Aranjuez, and next to Molina, he amused him with hunting and a variety of other pastimes, till everything was prepared at Saragossa. He then led the king to that city, where he
kept him very nearly as far from any knowledge of the real state of the country as ever, on the pretext of the enemy being so powerful in the neighbourhood as to render it dangerous for the monarch to visit the camp. Surrounded by the creatures of the count-duke, Philip passed his days in a sort of splendid imprisonment, amusing himself in seeing his subjects play at tennis under his windows, while his minister, with twelve carriages and 200 guards, proceeded daily to the headquarters of the army, and acted the part of king. From the same windows, however, at night, Philip beheld the smoke and flames of the towns and villages set on fire by the enemy rising up before him; and after a long interval of tedious inactivity, he returned to his capital, assured that the people were suffering, but ignorant of the cause.

Everything, however, was prepared at Madrid to open the king's eyes. In that city the queen was in the meanwhile labouring with activity and wisdom, not only to prepare the means which wrought the fall of the minister, but to excite the people to support the monarchy. Suddenly emerging from the solitude to which she had previously confined herself, she mingled with the populace—she courted the nobles—she encouraged the soldiery. Her graceful suavity, her frank and generous zeal, and her confident reliance on the patriotic spirit of the people, won all hearts, opened all treasures, edged all swords in her behalf; and before Philip returned, she had raised for his service a more considerable army, and obtained for his support a larger contribution, than Olivarez had been able to do in several years. Such actions won the confidence of her husband, and pre-
pared his ear to listen to her representations. How far those representations went, we cannot tell; but she certainly urged that Olivarez had been the most unfortunate minister that Spain had ever known, and that he was hated alike by the highest and the lowest classes.

Lest her own opinion should be subject to suspicion on account of the severity with which she had been treated by the minister, she called upon the monarch to question his grandees, pointing particularly to some of the connexions of the minister himself, who most strongly and eagerly corroborated the queen’s statement against their own relation. But it must be remembered, that the count-duke, by legitimating his natural son don Henry, had given mortal offence to his family, especially to that part thereof which had hoped to succeed to his wealth, and therefore his own brother-in-law, the marquis de Carpio, was one of the first to bear testimony against him. The imperial ambassador added all the weight of his master’s name to the party formed to ruin a man whose first great object through life had been the aggrandizement of the house of Austria. Still it would appear, that for some weeks nobody dared to accuse Olivarez openly of misconduct; but at length, the minister, seeing that a cabal was forming against him in the royal household, and attributing a great share of it to the king’s nurse, a personage of considerable importance in a Spanish court, caused her to be dismissed from the palace upon some fair pretext. At the same time, boldly remarking the king’s gloom and depression, he demanded permission to retire from a station which was so full of fatigues and so void of all enjoyments.
The king refused his request, merely replying, "We have both need, count, to seek diligently for remedies to our ills."

Shortly after this, tidings reached the court, which might well raise the drooping spirits of the count-duke, and renew his hopes and projects. The death of Richelieu, on the 4th of December, 1642, was announced as one of the greatest advantages which had occurred to Spain for many years; and it is more than probable, that had Olivarez been still retained in power, he might have accomplished in the end the great designs he meditated from the first; for Mazarin was then far inferior to him in vigour of mind, in decision of character, and in political experience. But the stream, which had long borne him forward but slowly, had now turned against him. The duchess of Mantua, whom he had carefully kept from the court after she had been suffered to return to Spain from Portugal, and whom he had treated with brutal and ungentlemanly severity and neglect, made her escape by night from the place of her exile, and suddenly presented herself in Madrid in a hired carriage, and with a suite little worthy of a princess. Notwithstanding all the minister's efforts to prevent her from telling her own history to the king, she found an opportunity of so doing in the apartments of the queen. Facts were then made known to Philip concerning the loss of Portugal, and the imprudent carelessness of the count-duke in regard to that kingdom, which shook all his old prepossessions in favour of Olivarez. Letters that he had never heard of, warnings that he had never received, were proved to have been sent by the duchess; and the most favourable
construction that could be put upon the conduct of Olivarez was, that that minister had treated the monarch as a child.

Still, however, the king hesitated; but new disasters fell upon his armies in Catalonia and Arragon; and at length donna Anna de Guevara, his nurse, found her way into the palace; and stationing herself in a corridor through which the king passed daily at a certain hour in proceeding from his own to the queen's apartments, she cast herself at the monarch's feet, when he appeared, and besought him to hear her. Philip raised her with kindness, and bade her speak her wishes; whereupon she replied, that she did not come to seek graces at his royal hand, but to render him the greatest service that the crown of Spain could receive. She had given her milk to nourish him in his infancy, she said, using the bold figures of the south, and she was now ready to spill her blood if necessary for his service. It was on this account that she came to tell him truths, which no one, who did not feel as a mother towards him, would dare to tell. She then went on to detail, in powerful language, all the misfortunes which overwhelmed Spain; and, in the end, declared that these were the punishments with which God had visited him, for leaving entirely to another the discharge of those duties which Heaven had imposed upon him for the benefit of the country. She besought him then to issue from the state of tutelage in which he was kept, and not to provoke farther the anger of the Almighty by suffering his country to be lost, his subjects maltreated, and the prince, his son, perhaps to be driven ultimately into exile, with scarcely the fortune of a private gentleman.
The king listened with attention, and replying, "You have spoken the truth," led the way into the queen’s apartments, where the conversation was prolonged for several hours. A number of the queen’s women were present at the latter part of the conference; and the wife of Henry de Gusman, who was in the palace, soon gained information of the whole proceedings. The news also spread to other quarters; and the effect was visible both in the demeanour of the minister and his son, who appeared from that moment to be plunged into grief and despondency, and in the conduct of the other nobles, who took care to pour their accusations of the count-duke into the now open ear of the king. The imperial ambassador, about the same time, received a letter from the emperor, which he was directed to present to Philip; and which, after stating in plain terms the terrible situation of the house of Austria, suggested distinctly the dismissal of the count-duke.

A number of other circumstances combined to drive the monarch to try other counsels than those which had hitherto guided him; and in order that he might know the real state of his army and his treasury, he sent notes to the councils of war and of finance, demanding precise information regarding the actual numbers of the forces in Catalonia, and the funds for continuing the war. The reply from the first of these was, that the Catalonian army had been reduced by various losses to 5000 men; and from the second, that, of 6,000,000, which had been required, only 1,000,000 was to be obtained. This news disturbed even the statue-like repose of the king’s habitual demeanour, and the fall of Olivarez was resolved.
On the 15th of January, 1643, Philip with his own hand wrote to his minister, forbidding him to interfere farther in affairs of state, and commanding him to retire to his country house, at a distance of a few leagues from Madrid. The minister, who had long perceived that his favour was shaken, was not so much astonished or depressed as his family, and bore his reverse with fortitude and dignity. His wife, who was absent at the time, returned in haste to the capital, and throwing herself at the feet of the king and of the queen, besought their clemency and forbearance in the most abject terms. In the meantime don Louis de Haro, nephew of Olivarez, who had no slight cause of dislike towards his uncle, found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of the king; but he employed his opportunity to no evil purpose, beseeching the monarch on the contrary, to suffer the retreat of the disgraced minister to take place with as few signs of displeasure as possible. And thus, during several days after the minister had received his dismissal, he remained in the palace, transacted business occasionally with the king and the council, while in secret his preparations were made for quitting the court. The monarch also granted him permission to destroy all such papers relating to his own conduct as he thought fit; and after lingering as long as he could, in hopes that a change might take place in his favour, Olivarez made up his mind to retire. The unrestrained animosity of the people, however, he had reason to believe, might inflict insult, if not injury, upon him as he passed through the town; and he accordingly sent his own equipages from the front of the building, while a hired carriage conveyed him with two priests
from another door. His apprehensions were not unfounded, and his precaution wise; his carriages were attacked, his attendants ill-treated, and it was only by showing the mob that the minister himself was not present that they were suffered to proceed. That he had quitted the palace, however, was soon known through the town, and a public rejoicing took place as if a victory had been gained. The bakers gave away their bread, the fruiterers distributed their fruit without payment; and the short-sighted but enthusiastic populace gave way to as much joy as if peace and prosperity could not fail of being instantly restored, thus preparing disappointment for themselves, and the bitter task of undeceiving them for the minister who was to follow.

No such rejoicings took place in the court. Favourable changes were slow in making their appearance; Philip, unaccustomed to business, and knowing his own incompetence, became both wearied and alarmed under the weight that he had suddenly taken upon himself. Olivarez had made no statesmen, for his suspicions had kept men of talent from public employments, and his unwearied application had supplied the place of many inferior officers. Don Louis de Haro, though possessed of considerable abilities, was as yet inexperienced; and the time very speedily came, when Philip began to regret his former minister, and to think of recalling him to power. It unfortunately happened, however, that just at the moment when prudence might have secured his return, Olivarez, unwisely, published a vindication of his own conduct, which, by its violent language, gave so much offence to the queen, and every other influential person at the
court, that, instead of once more calling him to his councils, Philip sent him a command to quit the vicinity of Madrid, and remain at Toro, in the kingdom of Leon. Olivarez obeyed; but disappointment preyed upon his health, and, we are even told, injured his mental faculties. His strength gradually failed; and after lingering for some time, he died in 1645.

The count-duke Olivarez possessed many of the qualities of a great statesman, but, at the same time, many of the faults of a weak man. His views were vast, and in general not inaccurate in their principal features, though their extent often prevented that correct calculation of details which, previously made, would have prevented many of his enterprises from being undertaken, and would have secured success to many others. He had great powers of application, considerable skill in discovering the schemes of others, and much diplomatic ability. His negotiations were almost always more successful than his arms; but in neither did fortune favour him, or success attend him as with Richelieu. On the other hand, Olivarez was suspicious, inflexible, and despotie. He employed but few persons, and those in few matters of importance; rather choosing to bear the whole labour of administration, than to share his authority, communicate his schemes, or endanger his favour.

There was a curious difference between the great judgment with which Olivarez saw into the characters and designs of those opposed to him, and the total want of discrimination which appeared in his selection of persons for his own service. Thus he was always individually prepared to encounter the most artful political wiles of his adversaries; but he had no
attached to him who was worthy of being intrusted with any negotiation of importance. No famous general owed his rise to Olivarez; no statesman of any abilities issued from his school.

The defects of national character often affected the shrewdness of the minister. His ideas of the power and grandeur of Spain, and his contempt for her opponents, particularly the Portuguese, made him lose many valuable opportunities, and neglect many a wise precaution. In regard to the latter, indeed, the warnings that he received and treated with indifference afford matter for the most serious charge that can be made against his abilities as a statesman. His inflexibility was part of his character as a man which often made him appear cruel, but which sometimes assumed the appearance and supplied the place of a virtue. He maintained great pomp and state, though far less than the duke of Lerma; but, at the same time, his integrity and disinterestedness were very great. All the large revenues which his various offices produced, all his own income, and part even of the principal of his private fortune, he spent either in maintaining his own station at the court, or in aiding the state in moments of difficulty. Bribery was unheard of during his administration; and when he quitted office, he was poorer than when he first took the reins of government. The same disinterested spirit pervaded all his actions. He sought no strong places as a retreat in case of danger; he obtained no provinces to govern, where he might have opposed or controlled the will of his sovereign, on the occurrence of disgrace. He coveted power, he was avaricious, and jealous of authority; he kept a weak prince in ignorance of affairs which he was in-
competent to direct and only likely to derange; but whatever were the errors and faults of the count-duke, his sole object seems to have been the good of his sovereign, his first desire to aggrandize his master.

In person, we are told, Olivarez was plain, and somewhat ill-proportioned; and in manners grave, except when, for the purpose of concealing misfortunes, he affected a gaiety which he did not feel. His integrity, his talents, and his devotion to his monarch deserved better fortunes; and it is probable that, at any other period, his ministry would have been one of the most successful that Spain had ever seen. One who knew him as a youth (Cespedes,) describes him as of strong judgment, grave, studious, showing a disposition for arms, active and prompt in affairs, ready and resolute. One thing at least is certain,—had the schemes of Olivarez only so far succeeded as related to the internal policy of Spain, a great part of the evils, the prejudices, the setters, in short, of all kinds, which have chained her down, and kept her to one spot, while the rest of the world has advanced, would have been dissolved at once.
LIFE OF

JULIUS CARDINAL MAZARIN.

BORN, 1602—DIED, 1661.

Much obscurity hangs over the early life of Julius Mazarin, and the place of his birth is by some said to have been Piscina in the Abruzzi, while some contend that he first saw light in Rome itself. All agree, however, that he was born on the 14th of July, 1602, and that his early education was conducted at Rome. Many writers assert that his parents were in very poor circumstances, and exercising handicraft employments; while others represent them as in affluence, allied to the noblest families in Rome, and descended from one of the most ancient races of Sicily. It is probable that the family of Mazarin was poor, for it is proved that he had considerable difficulty in forcing his way forward; and it is also likely that his relations held no very distinguished situation, as we find that he carefully avoided allusions to his early years; but it seems equally clear that they were noble by birth and respectable in station, as at his outset in life he was employed in situations where such advantages were then considered indispensable. The first studies of Mazarin were pursued under the instruction of the Jesuits at Rome; and he is said to have distinguished himself highly at the college of those learned men. Having attracted the attention of Jerome Colonna, afterwards cardinal Colonna, he accompanied that personage at an early age to the university of Alcala, and continued
his studies in Spain for a short time with great distinction. But, either in consequence of some disputes with the Spaniards, or of his own eagerness to advance his fortunes in a more extended sphere, he quitted that country before he was twenty years of age, and entered the ecclesiastical army under Torquato Conti. He afterwards served for some time with the marquis de Bagni in the Valteline as captain of infantry, and shared in the disgraceful flight of that officer before the French troops under Cœuvres. As a soldier he never obtained any distinction; and his military life is only remarkable, as showing the same extraordinary difference between his original profession and his subsequent pursuits which is to be found in the case of Richelieu.

As a negotiator, however, he early distinguished himself—taking advantage of men's weaknesses to discover the secrets of their hearts by the most opposite means. Thus, even while in the Valteline, he purposely provoked the duke of Feria to betray, in a fit of passion, his intention of opposing the papal influence at the court of Spain; while afterwards, in dealing with the maréchal d'Estrees, he gained the same object by suppleness and insinuating gentleness. To the family of Bagni, Mazarin now attached himself; and, in 1628, he accompanied the cardinal de Bagni to France, whither that prelate was sent as nuncio, to replace Spada, whose violence and freedom of speech had given constant offence to the imperious minister of Louis XIII.* To that monarch, and to the car

* The cardinal de Retz declares that Bagni, the general, informed him that Mazarin, while with the army in the Valteline, was considered as nothing but a sharper, and yet to this very family of Bagni did he owe his first support. De Retz, however, is not to be relied upon when speaking of his enemy Mazarin.
nal de Richelieu, Mazarin was now formally introduced; and from that moment, without detaching himself at once from the papal court, he did all that he could to gain the favour of France, and attract the notice of the French minister. His first efforts appeared in the disputes, which afterwards produced a long-continued war, concerning the succession to the duchy of Mantua. To prevent actual hostilities, the pope despatched the cardinal Sachetti to Turin, to negotiate with the duke of Savoy in regard to the claims of the latter upon Montferrat. Mazarin, who was then studying jurisprudence, set out in company with Sachetti, on the very day after he had taken his degree of doctor of laws.

The cardinal did not long remain at Turin; but, on his return to Rome, Mazarin was left behind with the title of internuncio, and all his endeavours were directed to persuade the Spanish and imperial courts to abandon their attack upon the duke of Mantua, and conclude a peace with that prince upon honourable terms. But these endeavours were ineffectual, and arms were destined to decide the fortune of the house of Nevers. Richelieu, however, who loved subserviency, did not fail to remark, and in the end to recompense, the leaning of Mazarin to the part of France; and in the course of a mission which the Italian undertook, at the instigation of the duke of Savoy, for the purpose of staying the march of the French army into Piedmont, the cardinal minister had a long interview with the young Roman, and conceived the highest opinion of his talents for diplomacy.

If Richelieu, however, esteemed and praised Mazarin, there is little doubt that the Italian suffered him-
self to be gained over entirely to the interests of France; and that, while he kept up the appearance of being merely the servant of the pope, he was busily engaged in forwarding the views of Richelieu, or in obtaining for him such information as might guide his operations to a successful result. During the war which now took place in Savoy, Mazarin was constantly employed; ever giving himself out as the eager promoter of peace, and ever favouring the cause of France against Spain and the empire. He was now brought several times into contact with Richelieu and the king of France, and always found means to raise himself in their favour. At length, though in general hostilities languished on both sides, and Richelieu suffered the territories of Mantua to be wrested from the duke, the war was carried on more vigorously in the Montferrat. Cassal was besieged by Spinola and defended by Thoiras with equal skill; but in the end the garrison became incapable of protracting the defence both of the town and the citadel, on account of the sickness of the troops and the scarcity of provisions.

Mazarin, being informed of the state of the case, contrived to negotiate a suspension of arms between the two generals; and Thoiras gave up the city to Spinola, but merely as a deposite to be returned in case a French army could relieve the citadel within a certain period. In the meantime, the French found means to introduce a certain quantity of provisions into the citadel; and Mazarin himself, while conducting the negotiation, furnished the governor with several sums of money, which was as much wanting as any other supply. A treaty, however, was concluded at Ratisbon, during the continuance of this truce, by which it was
stipulated that, within a fixed time, the whole Montferrat should be given up, by the Spaniards, to the duke of Mantua. Previous to the publication of the treaty in Italy, a French force had been collected for the relief of Cassal, Spinola had fallen ill and retired from the Spanish camp, and the army and generals he had left behind were not competent to offer a vigorous resistance. Under these circumstances, the French generals refused to acknowledge the treaty of Lisbon; and, declaring that its provisions would force the armies to keep the field all the winter, demanded that Cassal should be given up to the duke of Mantua at once. To this Mazarin obtained the consent of the Spanish general; but the facility with which one execration was permitted induced the French to require more; and Mazarin was sent back in order to procure the instant evacuation of all the principal towns held by the Spaniards in the Montferrat. A decided refusal, however, was now given; and marshal Schomberg, with his fellow commanders, advanced to attack the Spanish lines.* Mazarin, in the meanwhile, was urging the Spaniards, with all the plausible eloquence of which he was master, to consent to the terms proposed, and he at length succeeded. But by this time the French were within half a mile of the Spanish lines, Picolomini had thrown forward a body of musketeers to annoy Schomberg in his advance, and the cannon had already opened their fire from the Spanish position. Mazarin, borrowing a swift horse, however, galloped as fast as he could towards the advancing army, waving his hat, and exclaiming, "Halt! halt!"

* October 26, 1630.
and, though he ran considerable risk from the fire of both parties, he reached marshal Schomberg in safety. The French army was now halted; and the generals of both nations having met, the terms were agreed upon, and were ultimately executed on the part of the Spaniards with good faith, on the part of the French with treacherous delay.

The partiality of Mazarin to the interests of France was well known to that power, but was as yet concealed from her enemies; and Richelieu, consequently, lost no opportunity of negotiating with the princes of Italy through the mediation of the Roman diplomatist. The next transaction of any import in which he was engaged, regarded the cession of Pignerol to France* by the duke of Savoy; and, in respect to this business, he conducted the negotiations so skilfully as to persuade the duke not only to yield one of his most important fortresses with scarcely an effort to retain it, but, after having placed himself at the mercy of France, to deceive, with the utmost duplicity, the Spaniards from whom he had hitherto derived support. To such services Richelieu was never insensible, and he now bent all his efforts to induce the pope to name Mazarin nuncio at the court of France. He met with more difficulties, however, than he expected; or, at least, the proceedings of the sovereign pontiff were slower than he desired.

Though employed at the period solely as a papal

* The Biographie Universelle attributes the whole scheme of concealing a part of the garrison in Pignerol to Mazarin. The events connected therewith have been already related in the Life of Richelieu; but I find no proof that Mazarin had any direct part in the plot or its execution.
minister, Mazarin had not yet decided upon entering into the ecclesiastical state; but, shortly after the affair of Pignero, the hopes of support at the pontifical court, held out to him by France and the favour of the pope himself, induced him to resign the sword, and put on the surplice. One of the rich canonicates of the Lateran was his first reward; and, not long afterwards, he was appointed vice-legate to Avignon. The post of nuncio in France, however, was that which he most earnestly desired; and to obtain it he employed all the resources of his keen and intriguing mind. Richelieu seconded his efforts powerfully; but the Spaniards, who had by this time learned to suspect the Roman minister, opposed his views. FAVoured by the pontiff himself, Mazarin soon saw success approaching; but the Spanish ambassador, who at length perceived that further opposition was useless, as it was already determined that the aspiring Italian should be sent as nuncio extraordinary to Paris, endeavoured, in the next place, to insure that the object intrusted to Mazarin's negotiation should be of such a nature as either to embroil him with Richelieu if he pressed it severely, or disgrace him with the pope if he neglected to enforce it. The subject fixed upon was the quarrel between France and Lorraine, but Mazarin was too shrewd to engage himself in difficulties; and though he affected to use every means to induce Richelieu to restore the duke to his territories, yet his applications were fruitless, and they certainly were not sincere.

While he remained at Paris, the first decided rupture took place between France and Spain, on account of the attack made by the latter power upon the archbishopric of Treves; and, under these circumstances, Mary of
Medicis, the exiled mother of the French king, without influence, without power, without even a party in France, took upon herself the mighty task of reconciling the two crowns. The personage on whom she fixed as a mediator was no other than Mazarin; and to him she wrote, recommending the promotion of a general pacification. She also addressed an epistle to the king her son, once more endeavouring to touch his heart on her own account, and entrusted the letter to the care of Mazarin. But the king paid no attention to her entreaties, and Mazarin played into the hand of her most bitter adversary. The very reply that he thought fit to send was dated from the cardinal's house at Ruel; and all his actions showed that Mazarin had given himself up to the sole guidance of Richelieu. During a severe fit of illness which he now suffered, the cardinal minister showed him more real and tender kindness than, perhaps, he ever displayed to any other human being; and Mazarin resumed his official duties with the certainty that no efforts would be spared by France to raise him to a seat in the conclave.

In the meanwhile his late conduct had fully confirmed the suspicions of the Spanish court; and, by representations and remonstrances, it forced the pontiff to recall Mazarin to his station as vice-legate at Avignon. He was suffered not long after to return to Rome; but there new difficulties arose, and obstructed his advance, springing from the very steps which he had taken to facilitate his progress. In order to gratify the cardinal-nephew, Antonio Barberini, Mazarin had obtained from Richelieu that the French ambassador, Noailles, should be recalled, and that the maréchal d'Estrees should be
sent to Rome in his place. But the bluff and hasty manners of the latter displeased the pontiff as much as Noailles had displeased his nephew, and every means was used to cause the removal of D'Estrées.

Richelieu, however, remained firm; and also, in regard to the invasion of Parma, showed a degree of resolution which surprised the Roman court. Mazarin it was who suffered from the French minister's determined conduct; and the cardinal's hat, which Richelieu eagerly demanded for him, was withheld, without any plausible excuse. New quarrels ensued between D'Estrées and the Roman court; and one of his attendants was murdered, upon which Scotti was sent as nuncio to Paris. Richelieu, however, refused to receive him in that quality, or to treat farther with Rome till his creature was raised to the conclave, and other personal demands granted. The pope continued obstinate, and Scotti endeavoured to intimidate Richelieu; but an assembly of the clergy of France, called by the minister, spoke so boldly of the encroachments of the Roman see, and pointed so distinctly to the means of checking its exactions, that the pontiff began to fear the consequences, and moderated his tone towards the maréchal d'Estrées.

Richelieu, on his side, abandoned part of his demands, but still required the hat for Mazarin; and some new events occurred in the course of 1640, which increased his obligations towards the Roman statesman, and caused him to press his request more eagerly. The siege of Turin having taken place,* count Harcourt hastened to its relief; but Richelieu, who not only desired to deliver the city, but to gain the princes of

* See the Life of Richelieu.
Savoy to his own party, sent for Mazarin, and directed him, as ambassador from the king of France, to endeavour to conclude a truce by which not only the Piedmontese capital might be relieved, but prince Thomas, as well as his brother, be brought over to the French interests. The first of these objects had been accomplished, by the gallantry and skill of count Harcourt; before Mazarin arrived: but the latter part of the negotiation he carried through with consummate policy; and both planned and executed the arrest of the duchess of Savoy's most faithful counsellor, count Philip d'Aglie, who had always opposed the ambitious and exacting views of France.

The act was base, treacherous, and a direct violation of the rights of nations; but it was serviceable and gratifying to Richelieu; and, in the course of the following year, the name of Mazarin appeared in the papal list of promotions to the conclave. He had remained in France during the interval, following the court and occupying various posts of minor importance. On the march to Perpignan, he accompanied the minister; and at Valence was met by the nuncio bearing the hat from the sovereign pontiff.* It was bestowed on him, with the usual ceremonies, by the hands of the king himself; and an Italian regiment, which served with credit in the expedition to Roussillon, was distinguished by his name. During that very expedition, however, Mazarin saw all the hopes which he had conceived from the favour of Richelieu, tremble on the eve of falling with the fortunes of the minister himself. The conspiracy of Cinq Mars, the last and most dangerous of all those that threatened the cardinal de Richelieu, now reached the point at which it was to

* February, 1642.
be executed or discovered. The minister underwent the first severe attack of an illness which was afterwards to prove mortal, and both his friends and his enemies believed him to be dying; but that which, used skilfully against him, might have proved his destruction, in the unskilful hands of his opponents saved him from ruin. Cinq Mars and his associates, supposing that his days were numbered, paused in their course to let fate spare them the pain and danger of the deed. Time was given for Richelieu to receive the evidence of their treason; and he recovered sufficiently to complete and to witness their fall. One of the most, and one of the least, culpable of the conspirators, forfeited life upon the scaffold. The blood of the king's brother was spared, while his honour was sacrificed; and the duke of Bouillon's pardon was purchased by the resignation of his principality of Sedan. As Richelieu, from an abscess in the arm, could not sign the compact which secured immunity to the duke and Sedan to France, he deputed Mazarin to draw up the paper, and afterwards sent him to receive the surrender of the principality. In the tyrannical exactions which Richelieu, during the few remaining months of his life, practised upon the king, in order probably to punish his participation in the conspiracy of Cinq Mars, Mazarin wisely refrained from appearing; but when the monarch's anger burst forth against Chavigny, whose bold mind would scarcely bend to the ceremonial respect due to the station of a sovereign whom he saw his principal trample on daily with impunity, Mazarin stepped forward to plead the cause of the secretary; and, by
rendering himself the protector of his rival, rendered himself his superior.

At length the death of Richelieu left vacant the office of prime minister, and Mazarin immediately began to exercise the functions, if not to bear the title, of that officer. Chavigny was personally disliked by the king; de Noyers was not agreeable to him; and though he had promised Richelieu to continue in place the ministry which that extraordinary man had formed, he did not feel himself at all bound to advance either of the two secretaries to the vacant post. Some passages in the letters of Mazarin seem to imply, that to the recommendation of Richelieu himself he owed the distinction, which he immediately enjoyed upon the great statesman's decease; but it is more probable that the real foundation of his favour was his own supple and courtierlike demeanour, his political sagacity, and persevering cunning.

The inclination of the king towards Mazarin did not in the least diminish after the death of Richelieu; and, as one of the strongest proofs of its continuance, the monarch appointed him godfather to his eldest son; afterwards famous as Louis XIV. The illness and approaching death of Louis XIII., however, gave him some cause for apprehension; and he took care to guard as far as possible against contingencies, first by inducing the king to place his name second in the council of regency, which the monarch appointed previous to his death; and, secondly, by obtaining from him an order, according to the tenor of which the regent was to dispose of all ecclesiastical offices and dignities by the advice of Mazarin alone. All these precautions, however, were vain.
Mazarin did not, indeed, stand ill with the queen, but Potier, bishop of Beauvais occupied a much higher station in her favour; and scarcely was the king dead when Anne of Austria proceeded to the parliament and annulled the will of her husband, which she had promised most solemnly to observe. She was now left by the decree of the parliament to name her own council of regency, and to follow its advice or not, as she thought fit; and she immediately raised the bishop of Beauvais to the high office of prime minister. If few women were less qualified than Anne of Austria to govern a turbulent and dissatisfied people like the French, no man was ever more unfit to exercise the functions of minister in moments of difficulty than the prelate whom she now selected. The witty and factional cardinal de Retz, addressing a third person, calls him "more idiot than all the idiots of your acquaintance;" and declares that his first act was to propose to the people of Holland to abandon their religion and become papists. At all events, it is sufficiently evident that he was unequal to the station which he occupied; and the queen herself soon began to feel that the dignity of the regent suffered from the folly of her minister.

It was very difficult, however, at that moment to supply his place, inasmuch as three parties existed at the court, each of them powerful, and two of them dangerous. The first consisted of the friends, supporters, and confidential advisers of the late cardinal de Richelieu; the second, of the persons whom he had banished or cast into prison, and who, now recalled to Paris, made their appearance once more on the political stage, with ideas far behind the point to which
the genius of Richelieu had hurried forward the age; the third contained a mixed party, gathered, like the last, from Richelieu's enemies, but comprising all those whom the powers of his mind or the fears of his vengeance had restrained from actual attempts to overthrow his government. To this last body were added all the factious and turbulent of Paris; all those who, amidst the population of a great capital, find their real or putative talents overlooked; all those who are dissatisfied with the slow and regular paths to dignity and emolument; all those who are discontented with everything they do not understand; all those who are so infamous, so unprincipled, or so stupid as to have no hopes nor prospects, except in the destruction of that civil order, which guards the peaceable from the fangs of the unruly.

However, as the incapacity of the bishop of Beauvais became daily more apparent, and even he himself, though jealous of all who were likely to succeed him in office, felt his weak mind staggering under the burden of the state, it was determined to call Mazarin more immediately to the councils of the queen. The cardinal had kept himself prepared to return to Italy on the least appearance of danger; his horses and carriages were even held ready; and he himself made perhaps too great a parade of his desire of retiring from the French court, to convince any one of his sincerity. At length, however, the bishop of Beauvais, on pretence of visiting his diocess, quitted Paris, and Mazarin received notice that the queen required his assistance.

Hitherto all had been tranquil, though all had been weak. The queen had given everything to those who asked her, till monsieur de la Feuillade declared that
the French language had reduced itself to five little words, "The queen is so good!" The regent herself had exhibited plentiful foibles; and her favourite for the time, the duke of Beaufort, who assumed the airs, without possessing the privileges, of a lover, ruled all things, and distributed all gifts. The queen had sense enough to perceive that such a state could not exist much longer; and her choice of Mazarin was perhaps as wise as any other she could have formed. Chavigny was firmer, more enlightened, and more vigorous, resembling Richelieu in more points than did Mazarin. But the day of Richelieu had gone by: he himself had exhausted his own influence, had worked out the mine he had discovered, and had brought about a state to which the very government that had produced it was no longer applicable. It is possible that the great mind of Richelieu, his gigantic power, and the terrors of his name, might have enabled him, if he had lived, to have carried on his system longer than he did; but no other man could do it after he was gone; and Mazarin, convinced that such was the case, determined to modify the policy of the minister he followed, in a manner to which it is probable the character of Chavigny would not have submitted.

At his very first outset, however, he was destined to encounter that factious opposition which pursued him through a great part of his ministry. The duke of Beaufort had been one of the persons who had suffered from either the policy or the enmity of Richelieu; and the sight of a creature of that minister raised to the most important office in the state was insufferable to the son of Vendôme. He opposed, he protested, he caballed, and, with five or six other noble-
men of inferior rank, gave himself and his plans such airs of consequence, that they acquired the name of the Important, and afforded Mazarin a pretext for arresting the duke, and driving the rest from Paris. Many persons have contended that the duke had seriously planned the imprisonment or meditated the death of the minister; and Mazarin during a whole day either felt great alarm, or affected the appearance thereof with much address. In arresting the duke of Beaufort, however, Mazarin did not alone accomplish an act necessary to his own security, but he also satisfied the enmity of the prince of Condé, who had personal causes of dislike towards the rash, weak duke; and he gratified the duke of Orleans, who was for a time bound in the strictest ties of friendship to the prince.

This step being securely planted, another followed in the same course; the bishop of Beauvais was ordered to remain in his diocese, and a number of other prelates, who had offended both Mazarin and Condé, were directed to retire from Paris. About the same time, also, the cardinal induced the queen to remove from the Louvre to the palace of the late minister Richelieu, which was thenceforward called the Palais Royal, and obtained for himself therein a suite of rooms which possessed an outlet to the rue des Bons Enfans, as well as by the great gates to the rue St. Honoré.

Mazarin was now all powerful in the mind of the queen; and, notwithstanding every effort of faction, he remained in authority till the end of his life, ruling France either from Paris, the provinces, or a foreign

* September, 1643.
country, with difficulty, it is true, but not without success. The arrest of the duke of Beaufort, who, a few months before, had appeared omnipotent at the court, gave immense advantages to the minister; and this one act of vigour, together with the impetus which Richelieu had given to the government up to the last hour of his life, carried the cardinal calmly through the first four years of the regency. He himself affected extreme moderation and great humility; and while with keen penetration he watched all the manoeuvres of the courtiers, and took care to frustrate, without encountering, every attempt to oust him, he attached multitudes to his interest. His mildness, his liberality, and his placability were those qualities, however, without some stern virtues, are those which too often make a minister despised; but although Mazarin's character wanted the boldness, and perhaps the firmness, which are necessary to afford for love the steadfast foundation of respect, yet the success of his measures, and the constant triumph of the French armies under his ministry, shielded him during those four years from that light and laughing scorn with which the inhabitants of Paris are too apt to treat all those who do not trample on their necks. To carry on the war with vigour, Mazarin had to overcome some opposition in the council, many members of which, favoured it is supposed by the queen herself, were desirous of concluding a peace with the family from which she sprung. The cardinal, however, prevailed; and renewing the treaty which lately expired with Holland, he gave the command of the army, destined to act in concert with the Dutch fleet, to the inconstant duke of Orleans, who made
himself master of Gravelines, after a tedious siege. About the same time, however, general Rantzau was defeated with very severe loss, and Freiburg taken; but the exploits of Condé and Turenne soon made ample compensation; and the French victory at Freiburg, with the capture of Philipsburg, Spires, Worms, and Mayence, effaced all memory of the foregoing disasters.

The employment of the most influential persons in the state at a distance from the capital greatly tended to confirm the power of Mazarin; but the parliament of Paris, so often trampled on by Richelieu, began to raise its head against the more feeble rule of his successor. Mazarin, at first, far from showing any disposition to oppose that body, did all that circumstances permitted to court its favour, causing the queen to declare, upon all occasions, that she wished to rule by its advice alone. An opportunity soon presented itself, however, for the parliament to show some slight contempt for the royal authority: the court took one vigorous measure, which was speedily disavowed, and the parliament pursued its course but the more boldly. Mutual concessions quelled the dispute; but the body of the law never forgot the triumph it had gained, and from that moment it proceeded more eagerly in its exactions. The disposition of the parliament to oppose the court now became so apparent, that in many cases, where small and indirect taxes were levied in order to carry on the growing expenses of the war, the individuals on whom the burden fell appealed to the parliament, and thus both embarrassed the minister and decreased the revenue. Many of these taxes were of old establishment, and had been frequently
confirmed; but still the parliament, feeling its importance increased both with the court and the people, by the difficulties it could throw in the way of the minister, persisted in entertaining the appeals of all kinds that were made to it, and deliberated with solemn pomp on trifles naturally removed from its cognisance. In fact, without precisely receiving what was wanting to insure the freedom of the subject, and to afford that best security for the stability of the throne, the parliaments of Paris were struggling—and had been struggling during many ages—for the privileges of a legislative assembly, though their efforts were generally rendered pitiful, from not having a distinct and comprehensive purpose, and of course became ineffectual, because their own rights to legislate—they not being the representatives of the people—had no better foundation than those of the king whom they opposed.

Not long after his accession to power under the regency, Mazarin had to conduct three difficult negotiations, in two of which he was very successful; and, indeed, his mind was much better adapted to the calm though intricate paths of diplomatic intrigue, than to the rough and dangerous ways through which he was forced to advance in his internal government of the country. His first attempt, however, was unsuccessful. The death of Urban VIII. having left the chair of St. Peter vacant in the middle of the year 1644, Mazarin strained every nerve to cause the election of a new pope favourable to the interests of France. But the reign of Urban had been long; and neither Mazarin himself, nor the Barberinis, who were intrusted with the interests of France, were experienced in the
intrigues of the conclave. In spite of all Mazarin's efforts, by the bad management of the cardinal Antonio Barberini, Innocent X., who had formerly been nuncio in Spain, was elected, and the French candidate was excluded. Some accused the Barberinis of having betrayed the interests of France: but the persecution which they underwent during the first years of Innocent's government exculpated them in the eyes of Mazarin; and during their exile from the court of Rome, they were received in France with a degree of tenderness which did honour to the heart of the minister. Previous to the death of the former pope, however, Mazarin had accomplished the pacification of central Italy, by negotiating a treaty between Urban and the duke of Parma; and in the following year, by restoring peace between the Danes and the Swedes, he left the armies of the latter free to act once more against the house of Austria. To the great object of diminishing the power of that family Mazarin devoted his chief attention; and though incapable of conceiving or executing the mighty schemes which had been formed by his predecessor, he pursued this part of Richelieu's designs with skill, perseverance, and courage.

In the mean time the parliament did not fail to continue the investigation of all complaints in regard to taxes affecting the citizens of Paris; and several of the leading members were accused of exciting the people to make the appeals which were afterwards to be judged by themselves. Mazarin now perceived that the government could not be carried on without some vigorous measure to check the constant interference of the parliament; accordingly he issued an order of
council banishing the four most factious members of that body from Paris, and putting one of them, the president Barillon, under strict arrest. The parliament remonstrated, and despatched a deputation to petition the queen to restore the officers suspended to the exercise of their functions. The queen, however, and her council remained firm; and as a means of forcing her to yield, the various courts of which the parliament was composed assembled almost daily, to consider new remonstrances, thereby totally interrupting the dispensation of justice to which they were bound by their offices. On this the court yielded to a certain point, and suffered the three exiled members to return; but in regard to the president Barillon no lenity was shown; and various efforts to obtain his release having proved ineffectual, he was conducted a prisoner to Pignerol.

All seemed quiet now for a certain time; but the state was still at a very great expense; immense armies continually in the field, drained the exchequer; and the infamous peculation exercised in the collection of the revenue left the country always in a state of exigence. The impetus given to the affairs of the government by the energy of Richelieu gradually ceased. In vain Turenne and Condé carried on the war with the most triumphant success; in vain the Swedes recovered their superiority over the armies of Austria; in vain more than sixteen fortified cities were captured in less than a year by the French generals; the revenue was not equal to the expenses of the state; and the country suffered, though the territories of which it consisted were augmented.

It would be tedious to investigate all the causes
which were now hurrying France on towards a civil war: the immediate pretext for the first open rupture between the cardinal and the parliament, more absolutely demands examination in this place. Amongst other means of recruiting the finances of the country, a tax, according to a certain tariff, had been laid upon the entrance of all goods into Paris. This most burdensome and distressing of all kinds of imposition had been sanctioned by the court of aides, and had been in operation nearly a year, when, on the repeated remonstrances of the people, the parliament interfered as a body, and threatened to forbid its longer continuance. The court contended that it was not within the cognisance of the parliament, but merely of the court of aides; and Mazarin, who knew nothing of the laws and customs of the French people, and even spoke the language at that time with a strong foreign accent, drew great ridicule upon himself by the terms in which he supported the tariff in a conversation with deputies from the body of magistrates. Ridicule is in France one of the most dangerous arms that can be employed against a minister; and Mazarin soon found that the edict and tariff would ere long be annulled by a decree of the parliament. To spare the royal authority from insult under these circumstances, he himself suppressed the tariff, but soon after presented a variety of other edicts more burdensome than the former.

It is said, indeed, that Mazarin himself had no part in devising these measures; and whatever blame is attached to them is often cast upon Emery, the superintendent of finance. As prime minister, however, and the queen's favourite, the odium at the time fell upon
the cardinal, which was not decreased by his having added to his other employments that of superintendent of the young king's education. The parliament refused to verify the edicts; but a declaration for the establishment of a chamber of domaines, which had been verified two or three years before, but had been suspended as too onerous to the people, was now brought forward, and as the parliament could not deny its own act, was immediately put in execution. The people, however, showed symptoms of tumult; and the parliament, obliged to support its own decrees, now endeavoured to suppress the agitation. An imprudent display of military forces had nearly thrown the capital at once into a state of insurrection; but another turn was given to their appearance, and the peril passed away.

More taxes, however, were found necessary; and the king in person carrying them to the parliament caused them to be registered in his presence. This compulsion, of course, only served to irritate those it was intended to overawe: the parliament remonstrated, resisted, and at length decreed a union of all the different courts, for the purpose of introducing a reform into the state. The regent and her council now did all that irresolution and weakness could do to encourage the bold proceedings of their opponents. At one time, the union of the courts in the hall of St. Louis was forbidden; at another, it was tacitly permitted, and then again suppressed with violence. At length, however, the occasion of a great victory gained at Lens was seized by the court to execute a hazardous act of authority. On the day of the Te Deum, which celebrated the battle of Lens, the soldiers who accord-
ing to custom, lined the streets through which the royal family had to pass, formed in battalions after the ceremony, and occupied the Place Dauphine and the Pont Neuf, while a party of the queen's guards arrested the President Blanemesnil, who had distinguished himself by his animosity to the court, and the counsellor Peter Broussel, a great favourite of the people. The one was carried prisoner to Vincennes, and the other to St. Germain; but no sooner did the tidings of Broussel's arrest spread through Paris, than the people rose in every quarter of the town, approached the Palais Royal, where the court then was, and threatened to force the guards.

Both the queen and Mazarin showed great firmness on the occasion; and had it not been for the fears and irresolution of those by whom they were surrounded, would have resisted all menaces, and supported with arms the rash and unwise step they had committed. What might have been the consequences had the tumult gone on throughout the night cannot be known. De Retz asserts, that the capital would have been pillaged; but his sincerity in the whole business is much to be doubted, and his hatred of Mazarin was not concealed. The wily demagogue was now making the first essays of his power over the people; and though it would appear that he directed and even headed them in their clamour for the release of Broussel, while he affected to be only anxious for the safety of the queen and the good of the state; yet he also indubitably saved the maréchal de Meilleray from a skirmish with the populace, which might have ended ill for that officer, and he eventually persuaded the crowds to disperse and retire to their homes.
De Retz, however, was more than suspected at the palace: every tongue was loud against him; and his passion for intrigue, his indecent life, and the pains he took on all occasions to court the people, added to all the doubtful particulars of that day of tumult, convinced the cardinal that in him was destined to appear one of the most artful, and one of the most powerful, enemies of the court. It seems clear that his arrest was determined, as soon as it was ascertained the crowds had dispersed; and that in addition to this step, Mazarin had taken the resolution of banishing the parliament itself to Montargis. The same night, however, many of De Retz's friends, who had passed the evening at the palace, brought him tidings which roused him into active resistance. As archbishop-coadjutor of Paris, he had obtained vast power, and he now employed that power with great art to prepare for the morrow a far more serious insurrection. Several of the captains of the quarters and other burgher officers were called to consult with him; and before daylight the next day the citizens were armed, and ready to take advantage of the first signal to revolt. It was soon given by the appearance of the carriage of the chancellor rolling towards the Hotel de Ville.

That officer knew the danger of the task he undertook, but, nevertheless, he hesitated not to execute it. His brother the bishop of Meaux, and his daughter the duchess of Sully, insisted upon accompanying him, and sharing his fate. By the time he had reached the Pont Neuf, the whole rabble of the town were in arms; while the more respectable citizens contented

* August 27, 1648.
themselves with protecting their own houses, without at all impeding the violence of the rest towards those whom they considered to be the enemies of the people. The carriage of the chancellor was instantly attacked, and though it drove furiously on, he had only time—while the people were working themselves up to a pitch of fury sufficient for deliberate murder—to make his escape with his brother and child to the hôtel de Luines, where they were concealed by an old servant, in a boarded closet, separated by a flying partition from a large room. The crowd, in the mean time, having followed his carriage as fast as they could, tore it to pieces before the gates, and concluding that he had entered there, broke into the house and ran hastily over it, swearing that they would tear him limb from limb, and scatter his body through the streets of the capital. Their steps and their imprecations were all heard; and making a hasty confession to his brother the bishop of Meaux, he prepared for death. The insurgents, however, passed on without noticing his place of refuge; and concluding that he had left his carriage and escaped on foot, they quitted the hôtel de Luines, where he remained till he was rescued by the maréchal de Meilleraye and a regiment of the guard. As he was conveyed back to the Palais Royal, the people still endeavoured to snatch him from the hands of those that escorted him, and poured a fire of musketry upon the carriage in which he had been placed, as it passed by the Place Dauphine. The fair duchess of Sully was slightly wounded by a ball in the arm, and several of the guards and attendants were killed; but the chancellor remained unhurt, and returned to the queen with tidings that Paris was completely in
the hands of malecontents; that chains were drawn, and barricades raised in every street, and that the most serious consequences were likely to ensue unless she yielded so far as to set Broussel at liberty.

Shortly after his arrival the parliament appeared in procession, to demand the liberation of the prisoner; but the queen received them with firmness, and replied by declaring that she had no personal enmity against Broussel, but that she was determined to make the authority of the king respected. "If," she added, "the courts of law have any boon to demand at my hands let them first return to their duty, and they will not find me slow to confer any favour which they are entitled to ask."

With this unsatisfactory answer the parliament were forced to return, but the populace would not let them pass the barricades; and with threats and imprecations on the head of the chief president, whom they believed to be favourable to the court, they sent them back to demand the immediate liberation of Broussel. At the Palais Royal they retired to a room to deliberate in order to find means of entering into a compromise; and after having received some refreshments a long discussion took place, at the end of which they promised the queen to suspend their obnoxious deliberations for some months if she would set Broussel at liberty. To this, by the advice of her minister, and of the weak and undecided duke of Orleans, she consented; and for a time some degree of tranquillity was restored.

The firing of musketry, however, continued all night; and the next day, even after Broussel had been set at liberty, several little accidents caused from time...
to time new assemblies of the people, who by a word might have been directed against the palace itself. Two powder wagons entering the city produced an immediate tumult, in which they were torn to pieces and pillaged. The appearance of some cavalry in the neighbourhood of the town occasioned a report to be spread that it was the queen's intention to carry off the king, and then give the city up to the soldiery; and taking a bold resolution she sent away all extraordinary guards, and, despatching a messenger for the Prévôt des Marchands, informed him of what she had done, gave up the keys of Paris to the people, and endeavoured to prove, by the confidence which she displayed, that she entertained no sinister design against the citizens. Towards night the tumult increased, especially around the Palais Royal; the apprehensions of the courtiers were so great that all courtly restraint was at an end; and the queen heard, from every one who entered, fresh tales of the abuse showered upon her and her minister, and new tidings of danger. She bore the whole with courage and equanimity; but not so Mazarin, who lost all firmness and presence of mind: he surrounded himself with guards; he disguised himself in gray; he kept his horses and servants constantly prepared for flight by the back of the building, and showed himself utterly incapable of giving the queen either assistance or advice in her moment of need and peril. In a brief conference with the parliament, he was so agitated as to repeat over and over again a few insignificant words, which he seemed to have got by heart, till, in the midst of the danger of the state, and the anxiety of all parties, he excited laughter by his unmanly apprehensions.
When at length the tumult ended, and the streets of Paris, as the night advanced, began to resume some degree of tranquillity, whatever might be thought of the firmness and intrepidity of the queen, there was but one opinion amongst the courtiers as to the weakness and timidity of the minister.

Quiet having been for a time restored, Mazarin entertained hopes of being able to regain his advantage over the parliament during the vacation. He might, indeed, expect to do so on the most justifiable grounds; as the approach of peace gave reason to believe that a great diminution might be effected in the expenses of the state, and that the people might be thus relieved from the burdensome taxes which weighed them down. On the 24th of October, 1648, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Munster, between the king of France and the emperor; and the vast advantages gained by France, the triumph of Richelieu’s far-seeing policy, and its full consummation by the diplomatic skill of his successor, were well calculated to raise the government of Mazarin in the favour of the nation. The effect, however, was not such as might have been expected. The parliament had obtained too much power not to demand greater concessions still; the people were disgusted and shocked by the corruption and ostentation of Emery, the superintendent of finance, an Italian adventurer of the worst character. No immediate relief in regard to imposts could of course be afforded; and the populace sustained the parliament in all their unjust exactions, while the parliament excited the people to every sort of attack upon the court. One demand followed another, and was granted; till at length the parliament required permission to sit even
during the very vacation on which Mazarin had calculated for the re-establishment of his power. To refuse was useless, as the courts were evidently determined to sit without permission, if they could not obtain it; and, having granted their request, the queen, with the young king and her minister, quitted Paris and retired to Ruel.

The parliament and the people now became alarmed: the prince of Condé and his victorious army were daily expected, to punish the Parisians for their turbulence, while the king was at a distance from their menaces; and Mazarin showed that he felt his power increased by ordering the arrest of Chavigni and Chateauneuf, two persons whom he suspected of giving concealed encouragement to the cabals of Paris. The courage of the malecontents would probably now have failed them, had not the archbishop-coadjutor de Retz sustained their resolution by his own daring, and gained fresh advantages by his skill in intrigue. An old decree—pronounced at the time of the death of Concini, maréchal d’Ancre—by which foreigners were forbidden to meddle with affairs of state, was revived against Mazarin; and the prince of Condé himself, jealous of the minister, was brought still farther over to the party of the parliament by De Retz. He was anxious, however, to preserve tranquillity; and, after long negotiations, obtained a declaration, by which Chavigni was restored to liberty, but exiled. The king, too, returned to Paris, the parliament tacitly agreeing to abandon its proceedings against the minister.

It soon, however, found means to recommence the attack upon Mazarin. Libels of the most infamous description, directed both against the cardinal and the
queen, were the daily amusement of the Parisians; and the very first edict which issued from the court, for the purpose of borrowing money for the necessary expenses of the state, was made a fresh subject of agitation and resistance. All old grievances were resumed, and negotiations which had commenced with the Spanish viceregal court in Flanders were carried on so openly, that information thereof was obtained by the regent. A thousand evil reports were circulated to exasperate the people against the regency by the opposite party, who had, by this time, acquired the name of the Fronde; and at length it was determined by the queen and her council to carry the king to St. Germain, in order to use more vigorous measures against the refractory parliament. The deliberations which preceded this step, and the execution of the queen’s evasion itself, were conducted with the greatest secrecy; so that while the turbulent Parisians fancied the court fully occupied with the festivities of Christmas, Mazarin, the prince de Conde, who was now more friendly to the regent, the king, the queen, and all the principal members of the administration, made their escape from Paris on the night preceding Twelfth-day. The army was brought near to Paris; a lettre de cachet was sent to the parliament, commanding it to retire from the capital to Montargis. The prince de Conde declared that he would take Paris in fifteen days; and Le Tellier, who knew the Parisians better than any of the court, declared that the stoppage of supplies on two market days would be enough to reduce the town by famine.

* This appears from a letter of the regent, addressed to the Prévôt des Marchands, &c. and dated January 5th, 1649.
At first the parliament seemed terror-struck; but refused to receive the lettre de cachet, and sent an humble remonstrance to the queen. Anne of Austria, on her part, would not hear the remonstrance; and despair gave back to the parliament that energy of which fear had deprived it. A decree was immediately passed, banishing Mazarin from the country, and putting him without the pale of the laws if he remained in France eight days; and the civil war commenced with an irregular siege of the capital. But before the blockade of Paris had continued two months, though it was weakly conducted, and provisions entered in abundance, all members of the parliament began to grow weary of the war. The generals whom they had elected to command them were divided into various factions; the common people were unruly and bloodthirsty; the nobles selfish, vain, and light; and though Spain offered immediate aid, and the famous Turenne declared against the court, deputies were sent out to treat for a peace; which was concluded by the parliament on the 11th of March, 1649. The generals, however, refused to take part in this treaty, and endeavoured to gain greater advantages for themselves; but each sought his own interests, or consulted his own vanity alone. While they thus by their divisions and follies defeated their own purposes, the minister sought the accomplishment of his, with skill and moderation; the army of Turenne, bribed as one body by Mazarin, abandoned its great commander; and the generals were ultimately obliged to accept the amnesty proposed by the court, which was received by the parliament on the 1st of April. The only person of distinction, whose name was not particularly specified in the am-
nesty, was Gondi, archbishop-coadjutor of Paris, afterwards cardinal de Retz; but this was done at his own desire; for while the general pacification rendered his personal security certain, his apparent exclusion maintained in full force all his influence over the people.*

The queen did not immediately return to Paris, although she had promised to do so; but on the contrary, proceeded first to Compeigne and then to Amiens. It has been supposed, that she was induced to act thus by the fears which Mazarin entertained of the Parisian populace. Madame de Motteville, however, who was with the court, does not mention any such motive. Nevertheless, neither the queen nor her minister deceived themselves in regard to the probable stability of the peace. Friends had been rewarded, enemies had been bribed in vain, for both were alike insatiable; and the supporters of the minister contended that their recompenses had not been equivalent to their past services, while his opponents saw that renewed rebellion would obtain fresh advantages. Condé, whose arm had supported the weakness of the court during its absence from Paris, estimated the benefits he had conferred at a much higher rate than he was justified in doing,

* The British Museum, amongst the Brienne papers, contains one of the most curious collections of documents concerning the wars of the Fronde that I have ever met with. Some of the manifestoes, remonstrances, and proclamations of the Fronde are models in their peculiar kind of composition. Did we not know from other sources that Paris was ringing with riot laughter, ribaldry, and libels during the whole time of the siege, from these documents we should infer that her walls had then contained nothing but a band of stern patriots defending their rights and liberties, with deep grief, against the worst of tyrants.
and became not only exacting, but insolent. In order to give law to the court, he united himself to the Fronde, led by his fair and intriguing sister, the duchess of Longueville; but divisions soon spread among the different parties of which the faction consisted, and Mazarin hastened to take advantage of their weaknesses.

Tired of flattering the parliament, Condé made some steps towards a reconciliation with the court. The parliament even began to separate itself from the party of the Fronde; and in the midst of these intrigues the prince de Condé was persuaded that the leaders of that faction had laid a scheme for assassinating him. This caused a complete rupture between leaders, whose union must have proved ruinous to Mazarin; but still Condé treated the minister with contempt and indignity, and endeavoured to form a separate party from amongst the various princes of his own family, against both the court and the Fronde. He boldly charged the latter with attempting to assassinate him; but his accusation against the chiefs of the faction proved unavailing, and only served to drive them over to the court, with whom the parliament was now acting in concert. At length, the domineering tone which he assumed, and the power which he was likely to obtain, produced a coalition of all the most opposite parties against him. The queen sent for the coadjutor at night; and with him and his friends the arrest of the princes of Condé and Conti and of the duke de Longueville was determined upon. Although the step was bold, with the aid of the parliament and the Fronde it was easily executed; and on the 18th of January, 1650, the three...
princes were arrested in the queen's apartments, and conducted prisoners to Vincennes.

Consternation spread amongst their partisans; but efforts were soon made to support their cause by more vigorous means than mere complaints and remonstrances. The duchess of Longueville fled to Normandy, and excited an insignificant part of that province to revolt. In Burgundy, of which Conde had been governor, symptoms of insurrection began to show themselves; and a number of his friends and adherents retired to the south, and sowed the seeds of rebellion in Poitou and Guyenne. The court, however, accompanied by a small force, proceeded at once into Normandy, and forced the duchess de Longueville to fly to Holland by sea. Hence turning towards Burgundy, Mazarin reduced that province to subjection, and then again returned to Paris, crowned with complete success, both in the east and west. While in Burgundy one of the regiments which had accompanied the court had suffered itself to be seduced by the friends of the imprisoned princes, and had contrived a scheme for arresting the minister. But Mazarin received timely warning, and took such means as frustrated the efforts of the conspirators. He exercised great moderation, however, and no severity followed.

In the mean time the factions which had agitated Paris were beginning to show themselves anew. The princess-dowager de Conde appealed to the parliament in favour of her children; and the same irregular assemblies and tumultuous proceedings began to take place which had ushered in the civil war. In the meanwhile the dukes of Bouillon, Rochefoucault, and others, with the young princess of Conde, had excited
a revolt in Guyenne; and on his return to Paris, Mazarin found all the former factions blended together in a state of inextricable confusion, from which it would be in vain in this place to attempt to disentangle even the principal threads. Suffice it that Mazarin perceived new cause for apprehension, and induced the queen once more to put herself at the head of her army, and proceed to superintend the siege of Bordeaux. That town, after a gallant resistance, capitulated upon terms honourable to its defenders; and the great moderation which Mazarin showed in this instance, as well as on every other occasion throughout the wars of the Fronde, marks one of the best traits in his character, and distinguishes him strongly from Richelieu. The imprisonment of the princes, however, and the war of Guyenne had done far greater injury to the cardinal and his party than the fall of Bordeaux had done good. The people began to pity the prisoners, the parliament of Paris showed an interest in their fate and in that of the revolted Bordelais: the duke of Orleans himself, now guided entirely by the coadjutor, took part against Mazarin on several occasions; and on his return from Bordeaux, the minister once more found the capital on the eve of a revolt.

He seemed to trust, however, to his previous success and to his natural cunning to bear him triumphantly through the new difficulties that threatened him. Judging, perhaps wrongly, that the coadjutor had raised up many of the obstacles which had lately impeded his course, and jealous of the prelate’s influence with the duke of Orleans, Mazarin showed a determination to break with him entirely. The tale-bearers of the court magnified every appearance against the
coadjutor, who at length became alarmed for his personal security. On the arrest of the princes, Mazarin had made a voluntary offer of obtaining for Gondi a cardinal’s hat; but the coadjutor had then refused it, knowing that any favour received from the minister would ruin his credit with the people. He now, however, looked upon the rank of cardinal in a very different light; and he demanded the support of Mazarin in obtaining that which he had before declined, being certain that if it were refused his open breach with the minister would restore him fully to the favour of the people; and if it were granted, his new dignity would secure him from the bad effects of Mazarin’s enmity. The cardinal, however, opposed his promotion; and Gondi determined to release Condé, and place him at once in direct opposition to the minister.

Vigour was given to this determination by news that Turenne, who had hitherto remained in exile, had gathered together a considerable number of French malecontents, and had been reinforced by a large body of veteran troops from the Spanish Netherlands. He now occupied Chateau Porcien, and Rethel; and the force of the maréchal du Plessis, which was opposed to him, was by no means sufficient to resist his farther progress. In the midst of all the intrigues of the court, however, Mazarin quitted Paris, and, gathering together various bodies of troops, advanced to support Du Plessis. During his absence the Frondeurs, who doubted not that Turenne would easily overthrow the minister, lost no opportunity of turning his absence to advantage. A requisition was presented to the parliament on behalf of the princess de Condé, praying that the princes might be brought to Paris, and either tried
or set at liberty. Every means that eloquence, cunning, and deceit could employ were brought forward to obtain that object; and for several days the proceedings of the parliament became more and more menacing, when suddenly the news arrived that Mazarin had taken Rethel, and immediately afterwards that Turenne had been totally defeated, while marching to succour that town.

Consternation spread amongst the princes' partisans; and for a time nothing seemed sufficient to raise them from the state of discouragement into which they had been thrown. The coadjutor, however, the princess palatine, the duchess de Chevreuse, and several inferior persons, laboured indefatigably to unite into one party all who favoured the princes and all who disliked the minister. Secret treaties were entered into; the parliament had already declared itself; the Fronde, which had strengthened the hands of Mazarin for the arrest of Condé, was now prepared to liberate the princes, in order to destroy the minister, and the duke of Orleans was easily brought to entertain the same views. The only difficulty was to induce him to act openly. All these proceedings had been kept perfectly secret till the minister once more returned in triumph; and the people even were so little prepared for what was to follow, that they received him well, and thronged to see him pass through the streets. The scene very soon changed, and the clouds darkened over the political horizon. Though his danger was certainly great, Mazarin had still one resource,—to free the princes himself, and make a merit of the act. To this he was pressed by many persons; and even his most bitter enemies willingly left him the opportunity of doing so.
on more than one occasion, holding out threats of a union against him which could not be misunderstood. Nevertheless, Mazarin, with that narrow cunning which mingled with and debased many of his most skilful negotiations, now overreached himself. Believing the threats held out, and the attitude assumed by the parliament, the Fronde, and the duke of Orleans, to be all an unsubstantial display, produced for the purpose of intimidating him, he attempted to deceive them in his turn. But after various delays, his surprise was not small to find that the tremendous coalition with which he had been menaced had really taken place. The parliament led the way, the Fronde followed; and at length the duke of Orleans, too irresolute to be calm, and too weak to be moderate, not only openly declared himself in favour of the princes, but worked himself up into fury in a conversation with the minister, and quitted the palace, vowing that he would never take his seat in the council again till Mazarin had been expelled.

The cardinal, under the sudden tempest which broke upon his head, if we may trust madame de Motteville, showed greater calmness and firmness than he had hitherto evinced in situations of difficulty. A great part of the army was strongly attached to him; a considerable force was within a short distance; and his friends advised him strongly to call the troops to his aid, and once more to assert the royal authority in arms. But Mazarin did not choose to compromise the king and queen in a contention with the parliament and the duke of Orleans; and as soon as he heard the declaration of that prince he sought the regent, and declared that he was ready either to quit the realm, in
order to free it from the factions to which his stay seemed to give rise, or to remain, and in her service risk still farther the life which was already threatened on all sides. The queen hesitated long, and Mazarin waited till the last moment that his stay was safe; but at length he determined to fly, and liberate the princes himself. On the evening of his proposed flight he joined the royal circle, which was exceedingly crowded, and conversed calmly with the queen in public. One of his confidants, however, having privately informed him that his intended escape from Paris had been rumoured, and that the people were running to arms, he took leave of the queen in a casual manner, and hastening to his own apartments, disguised himself with a red cloak and a plumed hat, and issuing forth, on foot, by the door which led into the rue de Richelieu, he walked to a spot where horses had been prepared for him.

He found the town in a state of great agitation, and had he been recognised would probably have been assassinated. He effected his exit through the gates, however, in safety, and did not pause till he reached St. Germain. He thence proceeded to Havre, to which place the imprisoned princes had been removed; and as he bore a secret order from the queen to set them at liberty, it is probable that he hoped to effect his reconciliation with Condé, and return with him to the capital; but after treating him with much politeness, the three princes set out alone, and Mazarin, losing his hopes, retired at once into exile. He wisely avoided taking advantage of the offer of an asylum made him by the Spanish government of the Netherlands; but, on the contrary, retired to the electorate of
Cologne, where he lived in peace, governing the proceedings of the court as absolutely, though not so easily, from the banks of the Rhine, as he had done in the French capital. In a long letter to the king he justified himself from the imputations cast upon him by the Fronde, and set forth his real services to the country. It is generally supposed, also, that he caused the disgrace of the keeper of the seals, who had been certainly intriguing with his enemies, and that it was by his advice that Anne of Austria resolved to gain the prince de Condé, at any price, more for the sake of dividing her opponents than from any substantial support which she could hope to obtain from him.

In the mean time, the parliament proceeded to every step which could irritate the court, and not only rendered decrees directly levelled against Mazarin, but also obtained declarations, by which all cardinals, whether foreigners or natives, were to be excluded from any share in the government for ever.* But while the body of the law was thus proceeding, other events were taking place which prepared the way for Mazarin's return. Condé, gained to the court, left the duke of Orleans in disgrace; the duke of Beaufort for a time abandoned the Fronde, and attached himself to the princes. The duke of Orleans, timid and ungenerous, forsook the coadjutor Gondi, in order to make his peace with the regent, keeping up with the archbishop, however, a secret correspondence, which soon proved of great utility to both. On the other hand the cardinal, from his place of exile, opposed the fulfilment of

* De Retz explains how the court so completely lost its influence in a few words: "La cour chicane toutes choses à son ordinaire; elle se relâche aussi de toutes choses à son ordinaire."
those excessive concessions which Condé had exacted, and which would have left the crown stripped of half its power. Condé, indignant at this tergiversation, quarrelled with the queen, put himself at the head of a party, and prepared to wrest from the regency by opposition that which had been denied to favour. But the queen by this time had gained the archbishop-coadjutor and the duke of Orleans; and Condé, thwarted in his plans, and disappointed in his expectations, after long and tedious disputes with the court, the parliament, and the coadjutor, quitted Paris, and retired to Guyenne. Here he raised troops, gathered stores, and treated with Spain; but Turenne declared for the regency; and the queen took prompt measures for opposing force by force.

The court, with the king, who had now reached his majority, set out in the end of September for Berri, in order to conduct the war against the prince de Condé with greater vigour; and messengers were sent to Mazarin, for the purpose of informing him of all that had occurred, and of inviting him to return to France. Mazarin accordingly advanced to Dinan, where, with the aid of a number of his friends who had joined him, he began to raise troops, for the purpose both of supporting the king and insuring his own safety. News of considerable successes gained by the count de Harcourt against the raw, ill-regulated troops of the prince de Condé, soon reached the cardinal; and at length, at the head of 8000 men, commanded by the marshals d'Aumont and de Hoequincourt, the minister commenced his march into the heart of France. The parliament which had lately shown but little activity, rose in fury as soon as the news of Mazarin's advance reached Paris, pronounced a thousand virulent decrees
against him, ordered his splendid library to be sold, and offered 150,000 livres for his head. The effect of parliamentary wrath which gave Mazarin the greatest pain, seems to have been the sale of his library; and the fulminations of the assembly did not make him even hesitate on his march.

The court was now at Poitiers; and it was the 30th of January, 1652, ere Mazarin reached that fine old town. His reception was more gratifying even than he could have expected: the king and his brother went out to meet him; and the queen loaded him with congratulations, although it had been remarked, and even notified to Mazarin, that her majesty had shown less eagerness for his return since the retreat of Condé to Bordeaux than she had done while her will was more powerfully opposed. He now resumed the title of minister, and wielded the whole power of the state; while Harcourt, Hocquincourt, and Turenne defended the cause of the king in the field. Both armies now approached the capital; and on one occasion the court and minister would have fallen into the hands of the insurgents near Gien, had not the calm firmness of Turenne stopped the impetuous course of Condé, and remedied the defeat of the maréchal de Hocquincourt. Previous to this event, however, an occurrence took place which gave to Mazarin the prospect of better support than he had hitherto obtained during his administration. He had become the favourite of the regent, it is true, and had at different times been upheld by each of the various factions which had flitted over the phantasmagoria scene of the capital; but no great and influential body had ever come forward to
applaud his conduct, and to reprove his enemies, till a deputation from the clergy of France, headed by the archbishop of Rouen, waited upon the king to present a remonstrance against the violent proceedings of the parliament of Paris towards one of the princes of the church. The archbishop did not fail to seize this occasion of praising the minister; and the court was not a little gratified to receive this public testimony of the approbation of the French clergy in regard to the step which had just been taken in recalling Mazarin.

The parliament of Paris continued its opposition to the minister; and the prince de Condé, having quartered his troops in the immediate vicinity of the capital, joined with the duke of Orleans and the courts of law to demand the expulsion of Mazarin, as an enemy of the king and the state, though their own forces were daily carrying on the war against their sovereign. Nothing, however, was concluded; and at length, on the 2d of July, Turenne, with superior numbers, attacked the army of Condé as the prince was endeavouring to effect his retreat from St. Cloud. Condé took refuge in the Faubourg St. Antoine, which he defended with extraordinary gallantry and skill; but the larger force of Turenne and his not unequal talent would have overpowered the prince, had not the daughter of the duke of Orleans, unable to persuade her despicable father to act in aid of his cousin, forced her way into the Bastille which commanded the field of battle, and poured a cannonade upon a part of Turenne's army which was marching to take Condé in flank, while she caused the guards to open the Porte St. Antoine, and give admission to the prince and his forces.
During the few following days some dreadful scenes of tumult and confusion now took place in the capital; and a horrible and indiscriminate massacre at the Hôtel de Ville filled the city with terror, and drove all but the more daring and ill disposed from the parliament. But still that body attempted to negotiate with the court in order to obtain the exile of Mazarin, issuing, at the same time, the most insolent decrees, which were instantly annulled by the king's council. At length, Louis retired to Pontoise, commanding the deputies of the parliament to follow him thither; but the parliament on its part now proceeded to open rebellion, appointed the duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and named the prince de Condé commander-in-chief of the insurgent armies. The court, however, was now no longer to be intimidated; and decrees of the council were issued, rendering void those of the parliament, and summoning that body to follow the king to Pontoise. The duke of Orleans wrote to all the governors of provinces: and the parliament of Paris communicated with all provincial parliaments, in order to bring about a general rising throughout the country; but the result showed, that while rebellion and faction were in the capital, the rest of France desired nothing but tranquillity. Not one governor answered the letter of the duke of Orleans, but De Sourdis; not one parliament was led away by that of Paris, except in Guyenne.

In the meantime, several members of the parliament of Paris found means to escape from the metropolis in disguise and follow the king to Pontoise, where they assembled as the legitimate court, and again proceeded to petition the king to dismiss Mazarin from his coun-
eils. The princes had already declared that they would lay down their arms as soon as the minister was gone; and Mazarin himself determined once more to withdraw from the court, and to deprive the insurgents of their only pretext for continuing the war; thus casting upon them the whole blame of any farther tumults which might take place. In consequence of this determination, Louis XIV. issued a declaration in reply to the last remonstrance of the parliament, and setting forth the high qualities of the minister, he stated that, notwithstanding the great services the crown had received from Mazarin, the king had determined, in compliance with the wishes of his parliament, to grant that permission to retire from France, which the cardinal himself required. Mazarin accordingly left the court at Pontoise and retired to Bouillon, where he still governed the country by means of Le Tellier, who had been reinstated in the ministry. The parliament of Paris, however, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Orleans, continued to treat with the court instead of laying down their arms; and the count of Funesdagnes seized the opportunity of attempting to penetrate into France with a considerable army. He had already commenced his march into Picardy, when the vigorous remonstrances of Mazarin, who assured him that the court would sooner join forces at once with Condé than suffer him to advance, alarmed the Spanish general, and induced him to retreat.

In the mean time, the divisions which existed in the faction opposed to the court, soon brought on its own ruin. The duke of Orleans and the Parisians were heartily tired of the war; the prince of Condé
was hated by the people, whom he one day courted and the next insulted; personal quarrels were frequent and sanguinary; and at length Condé quitted the capital, on the 13th of October, and threw himself into the hands of the Spaniards. Deep humiliation and despondency succeeded with the Parisians; a degree of agitation which, as De Retz declares, might have been turned to any purpose, took possession of all minds, and nothing was heard but petitions for the king to return. At length, after some hesitation, the court determined once more to take up its residence in Paris, and, not without alarm, the king and queen re-entered the capital. The applause of the people, however, was so great, that all fears were done away; and the first act of the king was to command his uncle, the duke of Orleans, to retire from Paris with his daughter. The step might be bold; and De Retz has attempted to prove that it was foolish: but it was successful, and it was necessary; for nobody in France could doubt that, wherever the duke of Orleans was, there would be faction.

On the day following a general amnesty was published; and the court applied itself to conciliate the favour of the talented and factious Gondi, now cardinal de Retz, hoping, probably, to deprive him of his authority with the people by attaching him to the court. But de Retz remained intractable; and at length it was determined to arrest the demagogue, even in the midst of the populace he had so long commanded. This resolution was executed, however, without any difficulty. The coadjutor was made a prisoner at the Louvre; and remained there for several hours, while the news of his arrest spread quickly
through the town; but no tumult or attempt to rescue followed, and he was safely lodged in Vincennes. It is very doubtful whether Mazarin took any share in advising the queen to this measure, and he afterwards himself joined in a petition for the liberation of De Retz; but it is very clear that no measure was ever more wise. The people were so tired of faction, that the court judged—and judged wisely—that, deprived of the council and direction of their great leader, they would not even rise to give him liberty; and thus an act which at the commencement of the troubles of the Fronde would have been one of madness, and would certainly have produced an insurrection, now gave the last blow to a party which had already fallen too far to defend itself any longer. Mazarin, it appeared to all, might now return in safety; but, with wise caution, he remained upon the frontiers of the kingdom, visiting the different generals opposed to the Spaniards, and making preparations to render the efforts of France against her enemies more vigorous and successful for the future than they had been during the civil wars. At length his absence began to surprise the people. No longer arrayed in opposition to his return, they learned to desire it; and when he at length did come back to the capital, his entrance was far more triumphant in appearance that even that of the king had been. The young monarch and all the court went out to meet him at the distance of two leagues from Paris; all the courts and associated bodies of the metropolis, even to the parliament itself, came to congratulate him on his return; apartments were assigned him in the Louvre; the people shouted their gratulations in the path of him they would have much
dered a year before; and the whole city gave itself up to rejoicings, which were continued far into the night. The coadjutor himself might almost have heard the sounds from his solitary prison at Vincennes. Such is popularity.

Some disputes with the parliament, it is true, did succeed; but Mazarin, taught by experience, mingled a degree of severity with his gentleness, and succeeded in preventing any fresh revolt. Provence, Burgundy, and Guyenne returned to obedience; and while Turenne maintained the honour of France in the field, internal union, commerce and tranquillity began to re-appear throughout the country. The first three years of the regency had been carried on by the force of Richelieu's administration; all then fell into disorder: but, after the wars of the Fronde, a new impetus was given to the government by the great and successful exertions to which it had been driven; while, at the same time, the reaction which the oppression of Richelieu had called forth amongst the people died away, and left the path open to the gorgeous depotism of Louis XIV. So completely had a change come over all the feelings of the nation, that in the description afforded by an Italian of a splendid fete at the Hotel de Ville, given to the minister by the magistrates of the town, on the 29th of March, 1653, we find that the Place de Greve was filled with the populace, who received Mazarin with continued shouts of applause, called down benedictions on his head, and poured forth execrations on those who had calumniated him. The minister showed himself frequently at the window, and was received with loud acclamations, while the hotel itself, yet
reeking with the blood of those who had been slain on a mere suspicion of favouring him, and black with the smoke of flames which his hated name had kindled, was now crowded with the wives and daughters of citizens who had acted many a blood-thirsty part against him in the wars just past.

In the beginning of the following year, Mazarin saw the continuance of his favour confirmed by the marriage of his niece, Anna Maria Martinozzi, with the prince de Conti, brother of the great Condé. It is not improbable that the prince, who was destitute alike of his brother's talents and his firmness, was glad to make his peace with the successful minister whom he had so bitterly offended, by any means short of actual degradation. He continued, however, faithful to the king, although various severe measures were adopted in regard to the prince de Condé himself, who, on the contrary, remained in actual rebellion. About the same time a scheme for assassinating the cardinal was discovered, and Condé was accused of having bribed the assassins. Madame de Chatillon, also, was supposed to be implicated; but who it was that actually instigated the villains to their base and cowardly design has never been clearly shown. The two men themselves were arrested, tried, found guilty of having undertaken, for a price, to murder the minister, and were condemned to be broken on the wheel. Mazarin interceded for their lives, but was refused; and only obtained, as a mitigation of their sentence, that they should be strangled ere the more cruel part of the punishment awarded was put in force.

The coronation of Louis XIV. took place soon after, while the armies of the king kept the field against the
Spaniards; but previous to that ceremony, Mazarin, who had a peculiar fondness for military fame, led the young monarch to the siege of St. Menehould, which place was quickly taken, and afterwards accompanied him to the attack of Stenai, which also surrendered. Arras, however, was in the mean time besieged by Condé and the Spaniards, and it now became the great object of the French generals to relieve that important city. Turenne, rather than sacrifice it, determined to attack the enemy in his lines; and that famous battle took place, which saved Arras from the power of Spain. With Turenne remained the glory of the day; but Mazarin drew down upon his head no small ridicule by attributing to himself in a despatch, written in the king's name to the parliament, all the honour of having raised the siege of Arras, without once mentioning Turenne.

One of the most important acts of Mazarin's political life was now about to follow. Charles I. of England was dead. Cromwell swayed the destinies of Great Britain; and Charles II., an exile and a wanderer, derived a feeble and inefficient support from France. The protector, offended with France, manifested a disposition to enter into a league with Spain; and Mazarin resolved, at any price, to induce Cromwell to break off negotiations, which, if successful, would have proved ruinous to the French interests. The history of the whole transaction is too long for detail. Suffice it to say that the commanding mind of Cromwell overbore all the barriers of Mazarin's timid policy. The French minister yielded much of the dignity of the crown he served, suffered the usurper of the English throne to interfere in the affairs of
France respecting the huguenots of Nismes, abandoned to their fate the catholics of England, and forgot the rites of hospitality and the dues of kindred, which Charles II. could claim from the French monarch; but he gained his object, detached Cromwell from the interests of Spain, and secured powerful support in his operations against Flanders. That support was indeed the more necessary, as the prince de Condé, commanding a body of Spanish troops, still kept up a dangerous correspondence with many persons in France, and had very nearly obtained, through the mediation of a counsellor in the parliament, named Chenailles, possession of the important town of St. Quentin. The duchess of Chatillon, who, during the preceding year, had endeavoured to seduce the maréchal d'Hocquincourt to the interest of the prince de Condé, had been arrested by order of the minister; and he now proceeded with still greater severity against Chenailles; though a strong proof of Mazarin's humanity is afforded by the deposition of one of the witnesses on the trial, who stated that, when the minister discovered the treasonable proceedings of the prisoner, he exclaimed, "I would rather have given 50,000 crowns than that he should have fallen into such an error!" Although the proceedings were conducted as in a case of high treason, and the prisoner was found guilty, the sentence was comparatively mild. He was stripped of his dignities, offices, and possessions, and banished the country.

No sooner had Mazarin concluded the arrangement with Cromwell, and left Spain, exhausted as she was by long wars, without the support of a single ally, than he applied himself eagerly to induce that country to treat for a final peace. Accordingly Lionne, one of
the council, was sent secretly to Madrid to demand the hand of the infanta for Louis XIV., and offer those terms by which the cardinal hoped to bring the war to a termination. Long negotiations succeeded; but Philip IV. had then no male heir, and the hand of the infanta was sought also by the emperor for his son. Thus the wishes of Mazarin were frustrated for the time, and the war with Spain continued. That war, however, was carried on upon the part of France with great and decided success. Some partisans of the prince de Condé attempted to excite revolt in the provinces, and from time to time the parliament offered some resistance to the will of the minister; but mingling firmness with moderation, Mazarin soon quelled all internal opposition; and early in the year 1658 he led Louis XIV. to the siege of Dunkirk. Condé and don John of Austria immediately united their forces, and advanced to the relief of that place, but were met upon the sandhills by Turenne, who, after a severe and long contested battle, forced them to retreat. Dunkirk surrendered in a few days, and the siege of Gravelines succeeded; but very soon after the first of those places had fallen, the king was taken violently ill at Calais, and for some days great apprehensions were entertained for his life.

Intrigues of course immediately took place; and Mazarin, it would appear, wisely determined, in case of the king’s death, to quit France at once, and retire to Rome. The monarch, however, recovered; and several of those who, during his illness, had shown their purposes against Mazarin too clearly, were driven into exile by the minister. He had now gained the ascendancy over the mind of the young king more
completely than he had formerly done in regard to Anne of Austria; and he is accused of showing some degree of neglect towards his former benefactress, which madame de Motteville attributes to the hesitation that the queen had shown in recalling him about the time of his march to Poitiers.

While these events were passing in France and on the frontiers of Flanders, two changes had taken place affecting Mazarin's views in regard to Spain. In 1657 the emperor had died; and the cardinal instantly sent ambassadors to Germany, in order to obtain the imperial dignity for the elector of Bavaria, and thus strike another stroke at the house of Austria. In this he was not successful; and the electors placed the crown on the head of Leopold, son of the last emperor; but events had occurred in Spain, of a kind more favourable to his views. Philip IV. had married again, and a male heir had diminished the importance attached to the hand of the infanta in her father's eyes, though not in the eyes of Mazarin. To conclude the war as soon as possible, if it could be done upon advantageous terms, was now the great object of Mazarin, who, though he had sustained Richelieu's external policy with firmness and success, and had reaped in the peace of Westphalia rich fruit from the seed which his bold predecessor had sown, was naturally of a pacific disposition, and had brought to the French cabinet that Italian spirit of negotiation which was so well calculated to conclude what it had required a more powerful mind to commence. Instead, however, of once more directly appealing to the court of Spain, now humbled by repeated losses, Mazarin affected to listen to proposals which had been made regarding the mar-
riage of the young king with the princess Marguerite of Savoy; and for the purpose of giving public testimony of his desire to conclude that alliance, he led the court to Lyons, in order to meet the duchess of Savoy and her daughter.

In promoting the marriage of Louis with either the infanta or the princess Marguerite, Mazarin made a noble and a prudent sacrifice to honour and good policy. The young monarch, after his return to Paris, had been frequently thrown in company with mademoiselle de Mancini, the cardinal’s niece, and showed so decided a preference for her that the queen and the court became alarmed. He sought her on all occasions; and though her personal attractions were but few, yet he seemed never content but in her society. She, on her part, eager and passionate by nature, did not scruple to show her attachment to the young monarch; and as no one suspected her of overstepping the bounds of virtue, it was not by any means impossible that Louis might be induced to raise her to share his throne. Mazarin had far more power over him than his mother: the princess of Savoy was extremely ugly: very slight impediments would have prevented any renewal of the negotiations with Spain; and if Louis XIV. ever felt through life the slightest portion of true love for any being on earth but himself, it was for mademoiselle Mancini.

Happily, however, for Mazarin, what was most wise and what was most honourable, in this instance, went hand in hand. Without apparently yielding a thought to the more ambitious course, he led the French court, as I have said, to Lyons, on the 23d of October, * where

* 1658.
17*
it was joined shortly after by that of Savoy. Mazarin's views, however, were soon explained to the duchess of Savoy; and as she could not deny that every principle of good policy required the French minister to prefer the infanta to her daughter, she contented herself with claiming consideration in case the cardinal should not be successful in his purposes regarding Spain. But the first part of Mazarin's plan was already perfectly successful. The rumours, which he had caused to be spread of an approaching marriage between the young king and the princess of Savoy had reached Madrid and alarmed the ministers of Spain. An envoy from Philip was already on his way to renew negotiations, when Louis reached Lyons; and in a few days after he appeared, bearing an offer of the hand of the infanta. The French court, having gained this object, returned immediately to Paris, and a preliminary treaty of peace was at once concluded. The greatest difficulties, in regard to these arrangements, had arisen from the situation of the prince de Condé, then actually serving Spain against his country. The Spanish ambassador, of course, sought to obtain favourable terms for the prince; but Mazarin held out sternly against one whom he justly considered a rebel, though a noble one. Condé, however, generously determined to prove no obstacle to the re-establishment of peace; and wrote to the Spanish ambassador to abandon his interests rather than allow so laudable an endeavour as that of restoring tranquillity to Europe to be frustrated.*

* It is not very clearly ascertained whether this letter was written during the conferences in Paris, or those which took place afterwards on the frontier between don Louis de Haro and Mazarin.
Neither Mazarin nor the ambassador suffered this letter to prove greatly injurious to Condé; but it facilitated the negotiation; and as soon as the preliminary treaty was signed, the cardinal commanded the French armies to pause in their career of success. For doing so, ere the definitive treaty of peace was ratified, he has been greatly blamed; and it is probable that he did thereby lose several advantages in the conferences which he afterwards held with the Spanish minister, don Louis de Haro. For the purpose of entering into these conferences, Mazarin set out from Paris on the 26th of June: but before he did so, two of the most mortifying events which he had yet met with occurred to him; and his conduct in either circumstance shows his character in a noble and interesting point of view.

During the holy week of the year 1659, a large party of libertine young men set out for the château of Roissi, determined to outrage all the feelings of their severer brethren, by dedicating to debauchery and impiety a period particularly set apart by the Roman catholic religion as a time of mortification and prayer. At the head of these, trusting to his uncle's power and favour, was Mancini, the nephew of Mazarin; but the scandal of these proceedings soon reached the court, and the conduct of the cardinal was very different from that which had been expected. From amongst the whole he selected his nephew as an example; and leaving the rest to be reprimanded by the king, he banished Mancini from the court, refusing to hear any supplications in his favour. The passionate attachment of the young king to his niece, Maria de Mancini, was also at this time a subject of great uneasiness to the minister. Negotiations were far advanced regarding
the king's marriage with the infanta. The queen-mother abhorred mademoiselle de Mancini, on account of the mutual love existing between her and Louis XIV.; and yet the monarch, after his return from Lyons, displayed more and more his attachment to the young Italian. Mazarin determined to withdraw her from the court, and Louis, in a moment of passion, proposed to his minister to raise her to the throne. Mazarin, however, had by this time chosen his part; and we have the authority of one not too favourable to that minister (mad. de Motteville) for saying that he acted with a firmness, a dignity, and a disinterestedness more honourable to the man than his most skilful measures were to the minister. He replied to the king's proposal, that he had been chosen by the monarch's father, and afterwards by his mother, to aid him with his best councils; that up to that time he had served him with inviolable fidelity, and that he should take care not to abuse the confidence placed in him by the king's confession of such a weakness, nor to misuse the power which Louis gave him in his territories by suffering a thing to be done so contrary to his sovereign's interest and honour. The king was his own master, he added, but he himself had a right to dispose of his niece; and he would rather stab her with his own hand than raise her to the throne by the betrayal of his trust.

This conference was immediately followed by the exile of Maria Mancini from the court; and though, doubtless, good policy required Mazarin to act as he did act, yet happy is the man who, in situations of difficulty and temptation, has both the wisdom to see that good policy and a high sense of honour are united, and the firmness to tread the giddy precipice of power
without stumbling over some of those small but fatal irregularities which selfishness strews thickly in the path of ambition.

After the removal of his niece from the court of France, Mazarin set out to enter into those important negotiations which ended in a peace,* that all the diplomatic skill of the agents employed at Munster and Osnabruck had not been able to effect. Since the treaty of Westphalia, Spain had continued the war against France and Holland unsupported by any other power, and now treated with her principal opponent under the disadvantage of exhausted finances and defeated armies. But still the persevering arrogance of the court of Philip rendered her demands as extreme, and her obstinacy as insurmountable by any ordinary means, as if she had been at that moment in the height of prosperity. No man, however, was better calculated than Mazarin to encounter the difficulties of such a negotiation. Patient, placable, and sincerely desirous of terminating, in a solid peace, the war which he had carried on successfully during his whole administration, he was neither to be irritated by the pride of Spain, nor wearied out by her delays. At the same time his keen sagacity and subtle activity were the best arms that could be used against the high pretensions of the Spanish minister, and the tedious and dilatory proceedings of a pompous court. Don Louis de Haro, prime minister of Spain, advanced to the frontiers of his country, while Mazarin, on his part, proceeded to St. Jean de Luz; and a temporary building having been erected on a small island in the midst of the Bidassoa, the conferences were there opened and continued for several months.

* June 26, 1659.
Many difficulties arose which it would be tedious to dwell upon, in this place; but at length all points of import were sufficiently determined to justify the court of France in approaching the place of conference. The prince of Condé also returned to his native land after an absence of several years; but the death of the second son of the king of Spain, by bringing the infanta nearer to the crown, caused some apprehension lest the treaty of marriage should be broken off. Upon that alliance were fixed the hopes and expectations of Mazarin; for he had long before perceived, that the succession to the Spanish throne might probably ere long fall to the lot of the infanta; that, under such circumstances, no renunciation of contingent rights, on her part, would be of any importance; and, therefore, that by a marriage between herself and Louis XIV. the consummation of Richelieu's policy would be fully effected. He had clearly announced his views upon this subject so long before as the signature of the peace of Munster, and he had never ceased to labour for the same object. Various causes contributed to procrastinate the negotiations; and though the promise of the infanta's hand was not withdrawn on the death of her brother, Mazarin found himself obliged to make some farther concessions than he had at first intended.

* One of his letters to the French plenipotentiaries at Munster in 1645 shows that he had considered all the results of this marriage fifteen years before it took place; and that Spain also considered the renunciation of the contingent rights of the infanta in the same light as the French minister, is proved by the words of Philip IV., when the act of renunciation was read to him. "Ésta es una patarata," he said; "y si faltasse el príncipe de derecho mi hija ha de heredar."
CARDINAL MAZARIN.

The French court in the mean time, remained during the winter in Provence; but all things being at length arranged for a meeting between the royal families of France and Spain, and for the marriage of the young king with the infanta, Philip on his side advanced to Fontarabia, while Louis proceeded to St. Jean de Luz. Some points which had been left unsettled concerning the exact frontier line of the two kingdoms were now arranged, and, by the skill of Mazarin, rendered favourable to France. The marriage took place; and the famous peace of the Pyrenees was sworn to by the two monarchs in each other's presence. This negotiation, which ultimately seated the Bourbons upon the throne of Spain, is the most celebrated act of Mazarin's political life, although the enemies of that minister founded upon it an accusation of weakness and bad policy, which only showed their own want of skill and diplomatic knowledge. Setting aside, however, their objections, which are scarcely relevant, and not even inquiring whether the success of Mazarin's most ardent wishes have not ultimately, by accidental circumstances, proved more detrimental than beneficial to the country he wished to serve, there is another point of view under which his conduct may be regarded. No man saw more clearly that it had been absolutely necessary for all the states in Europe to unite for the purpose of humbling the house of Austria; no one knew better that that sovereign house had extended its dominion too far for its own security; and yet the grand object which he proposed to himself in his treaty of the Pyrenees was to place the house of Bourbon very nearly in the same position which had been filled by
the house of Austria. His object was a mistaken one: to humble the house of Austria, to guard against its ever again attaining inordinate power, was wise; perhaps to extend the territories of France on the side of Flanders, and to incorporate Franche Comté and Lorraine with the dominions which his sovereign already possessed, was prudent and politic; but the seating a Bourbon race upon the throne of Spain was the greatest mistake committed in the policy of the seventeenth century.

After the marriage had taken place, the court returned by slow journeys to Fontainebleau, where the young king and his bride remained, while Mazarin and the queen-mother proceeded to Paris, to cause preparations for the public entrance of the two sovereigns. On the minister's arrival, all the great bodies of the capital waited upon him, to compliment him on his return, and to express their admiration of his conduct in the difficult negotiations which had restored peace to Europe. The parliament itself sent a deputation of its most distinguished members to honour and congratulate the minister, on whose head, not long before, they had set a price; and rejoicings of every kind welcomed him to the capital, as the great benefactor of the country which had adopted him. In reply to the various addresses which he received, Mazarin spoke long and eloquently; but his health was already giving way under the wearing influence of cares and exertions. A fit of the gout succeeded; and we are told that unskilful treatment repelled the disease from his extremities, and endangered his life. The young king, who had by this time removed from Fontainebleau to Vincennes, hear-
ing of his situation, came privately to Paris to visit him, and ask his advice concerning some proceedings of the court; but Mazarin was, at the moment of his arrival, suffering an aggravation of his former pains, by an attack of the stone, and his mind, for a time, gave way under the agony he endured. "Sire," he replied to the king, "you come to ask the advice of a man who has lost the command of his reason. Sir, my mind wanders!" On this reply, the king is said to have retired into a neighbouring corridor, and wept over the prostration of that intellect which he had learned to revere in his earliest youth.

Mazarin, however, recovered, and endeavoured to cover the decay of his frame by the external splendour of his appearance. In the beginning of September, 1660, the king and queen made their public entry into Paris, with all that theatrical pomp and splendour which suited the character of the times, the monarch, and the nation. The household of Mazarin, however, which figured in the procession, was scarcely inferior in magnificence to that of the king. We are told that it took an hour in passing the gates, and that the attendants of the monarch's brother seemed pitiful when compared with those of the minister. But his power and his splendour were now drawing to their close. During the autumn he became worse in point of health, and seldom left his apartments, where the meetings of the council of state were regularly attended by the young king. A slight amelioration took place in the month of February, 1661, and the dying minister followed the court to Vincennes; but there his illness increased; symptoms of water in the chest succeeded; and on the 9th of March, meeting death
with unshrinking firmness, Mazarin rested for ever from the toils of state.

We are told, on sufficient authority, that during the last days of his life Mazarin endeavoured eagerly to persuade the king to retain in his service Le Tellier, Lionne, and Colbert: the first had shown himself not incapable of sincere attachment, and was an active, clear-sighted, intelligent man of business; the second has been suspected of being both less faithful and less talented; the third was the greatest and most patriotic statesman that France has ever known. But at the same time that the minister endeavoured to secure the fortune of those whom he had trained in the ways of policy, he gave his sovereign the singular, the wise, and the prophetic advice to dispense, for the future, with the services of a prime minister, and to govern his kingdom for himself.

Such were some of the cares which agitated Mazarin upon his deathbed; but there were others of a more private nature which did not affect him less. The means which he had taken to accumulate, in a few years, the immense fortune which he left, in dying disturbed his conscience; and as the king, if any one, was the person who had suffered, Mazarin, to quiet his own mind, made a voluntary donation of all that he possessed to the monarch a few days before his death. Louis, as a matter of course, restored to him his property, giving him permission to dispose of it as he pleased; and the minister, completely satisfied by this piece of acting, divided his enormous wealth amongst his relations. In regard to the amount which he thus left much doubt exists; but it is clear that to one of his nieces alone, he left 28,000,000 livres.
Although it is probable that Louis began to grow weary of the domination of Mazarin, yet there is no reason to believe that he did not sincerely regret him. No one at the court even affected to do so, except the king; but that young monarch went into mourning on his death, expressed deep grief, and confirmed all the appointments which he had made ere he died. In Notre Dame, a magnificent funeral service was celebrated, by the king's order, in memory of Mazarin; and, at his own desire, his heart was sent to the church of the Theatins,—an order which he first introduced into France, while his ashes were deposited in the chapel of the college he himself had founded. All his personal requests Louis attended to with scrupulous care; and through life he honoured the memory of his minister, by punishing or neglecting those who ventured to speak against him. "There is a great diversity of opinions respecting cardinal Mazarin," says M. Dipping. "Some historians have regarded him as a statesman of the first order; others have seen in him nothing but a contemptible personage and a minister often incompetent and always feeble. One must allow that, putting aside the degree of exaggeration displayed in this last opinion, his conduct in different circumstances justifies the most opposite judgments." I cannot exactly agree with monsieur Dipping in his conclusion. That all men have weak points in their character, and that those weak points will lead them sometimes to act in opposition to the impulses of their higher qualities, there can be no doubt; but it does not seem to me that Mazarin displayed more of these contradictions than any other statesman, or any other
man, would have done in circumstances of great difficulty.

Very simple causes seem to have produced all the defects in his policy, especially those defects which encouraged and protracted the civil war. He was naturally timid; and at his entrance into power he was utterly ignorant of the laws, customs, and character of the French people. This ignorance led him continually into difficulties which he had not foreseen, while his timidity prevented him from crushing the opposition which he thus created, as Richelieu would have done under similar circumstances. The queen-mother, though less ignorant in regard to the country in which she had lived so long, was not competent to correct the errors of her minister; and Emery, whom Mazarin first employed in that most delicate branch of administration, the finances, was even less acquainted with the genius and rights of the people than the cardinal himself, and did everything that could be done to shock the prejudices, and draw down the wrath of the French nation. Mazarin, one of the most penetrating and sagacious of men, comprehended in a moment the characters of the individuals with whom he had to deal; detected them under all shapes, and penetrated all disguises: he saw, with unerring skill, the embryo of great genius in the mind of youth, long before it was apparent to others; he even understood as thoroughly, perhaps, as ever man did that strange and complex thing, human nature; but he did not understand or appreciate, especially at first, the peculiar modification of human nature which distinguishes the inhabitants of France. The Spaniards he knew well; and, when occasion served, played upon them as an
instrument, and made them sound what stop he pleased. To deal with the Germans he found more difficult; but, with regard to them, he was placed in a commanding position, which enabled him as far to dictate terms as his natural moderation permitted. With the French it was very different. He was placed in a most difficult situation, as the successor of a minister of far greater powers of mind, of far more intimate knowledge of the people, of a determined and ruthless character, and of sagacity no way inferior to his own. Richelieu had ridden the French people as a fiery charger, with a heavy curb and a strong hand; but, when he was dead, the nation found the curb gone, the hand tender, the rider ignorant of the charger’s mettle, and ran away amidst precipices equally dangerous to all. Mazarin’s ignorance of the national character of the people he had to govern, his ignorance even of the very laws by which he was to rule, a large legacy of difficulties left him by his predecessor, and a character originally timid and yielding, appear to me to have caused all the errors of his administration; while his keen sagacity, his diplomatic subtlety, his indefatigable activity, his close powers of application, and his persevering constancy, obtained for France, and for himself, those immense advantages which far more than counterbalanced the evil consequences of his faults.

That he divined Louis XIV.,* that he trained Colbert, that he detected and overcame De Retz, may well be received as proofs of his penetration, his sagacity,

* He was accustomed to say that there was enough in Louis to make four kings and one honest man.

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and his political skill. That he carried on successfully the vast designs of Richelieu, that he maintained the honour of France in the field, and that he closed one of the most memorable wars in history by two treaties in the highest degree advantageous to the country he was called to govern, will always place his name high amongst the statesmen of modern Europe. That he passed through a fierce civil war without shedding one drop of blood upon the scaffold, although the hatred of faction was directed personally against himself, that he was always the advocate of peace where it was compatible with honour, that he never raised his voice but to mitigate punishment or to allay animosity, may be told to the honour of his heart. His severity towards his nephew, his firmness in regard to his niece, display that best kind of political wisdom, which combines virtue and prudence; and that, after having been hated and despised by the French nation, he rendered himself loved and admired, must have proceeded from high qualities of his own, as well as from the levity of the people.

Thus far all is fair; but Mazarin was not, by any means, without great defects. He was avaricious to an extraordinary degree, and but little scrupulous in regard to the means of increasing his wealth; he was subtle and deceitful even to his best friends, mean in his condescension to those he feared, and occasionally overbearing and insolent to those who opposed him. As superintendent of the young king’s education, he shamefully neglected his duty; and by so doing drew upon himself a charge which, perhaps, was just, of desiring to keep the monarch in ignorance, in order that his own power might be of longer duration. I do not
find any instances of gratitude recorded in his favour; and to the queen, Anne of Austria, he was certainly ungrateful. In early life he was modest and unassuming; but years and success, which gave him firmness and dignity, rendered him also ostentatious and vanguardious in the most extravagant degree.

He first introduced at the court of France the passion for gaming which had long been common in Italy; and he thus destroyed his own health, ruined and degraded the French nobility, and did much to demoralise the whole people.* After long days of fatigue, anxiety, and exertion of mind, he would pass great part of the night at the gaming table, employing over his cards, with even less honesty than in his negotiations, the same subtle spirit which animated his whole policy. Others, however, we are told, might cheat him also with impunity, provided they did so with such address as either to conceal the deceit, or win his admiration of the cunning. He has been accused of personal cowardice; and that he evinced a degree of fear on more than one occasion is undoubted: but, on the other hand, in various circumstances of great danger, he showed not only perfect coolness, but great presence of mind. At Casal he displayed neither fear nor hesitation, though both the armies were firing upon each other when he passed between them; and in many other instances in the field he exposed himself unnecessarily to imminent danger. At the same time

* So deeply was the young monarch himself infected with this vice, that, even in the boat which conveyed him and his bride from Langdon to Bordeaux, he could not refrain from play; and one of the courtiers (an abbé) lost 50,000 crowns ere the party broke up.
we must remark, that the only occasion on which he gave signs of personal terror occurred during the tumults in Paris; and even the great Condé acknowledged that he was himself the greatest coward on earth in such warfares, on which he bestowed a witty but somewhat dirty epithet. The faults of omission in a man of immense power nearly rise into the enormity of crimes: and when we say that, during many years of tranquillity and unbounded authority, Mazarin founded no great institution, led the way to no important improvement, either in the government arrangements or the state of society, and introduced into France nothing but the Opera; that he suffered the finances of the state to fall into terrible decay, and left the talents which he knew Louis XIV. to possess uncultivated, and very nearly undirected;* we accuse him of more serious errors than any that he committed during the wars of the Fronde.

In private life, his character has been very variously represented: to those whom he did not seek to please, he was, we are told by madame de Motteville, dry, cross, and petulant, affecting more humility in adverse than in prosperous times. He was fond of raillery, and sometimes indulged in it too far; he had naturally considerable taste for the fine arts, and was a discerning and liberal friend to science and literature; nor, probably, was his patronage of literature at all

* Mazarin, though superintendent of the king's education, left him, as before observed, miserably destitute of knowledge; but towards his death he became sensible of his error, and, in his letters to the monarch during the negotiation for peace with Spain, gave him the most profound lessons in the arts of diplomacy that any one then living could furnish. He also endeavoured to improve the finances, and succeeded in a degree.
directed to secure praise to himself; for, although he was by no means without personal vanity, he seems to have been perfectly callous to all the satires* that were written against him, and very little obliged to those who took the trouble of defending him. In person he was remarkably handsome, with a peculiarly fine forehead and eyes; he was active and dexterous at various exercises, and skilful at all games. To those he sought to please, his manner was most captivating; and, though he always spoke French with a foreign accent, he was nevertheless eloquent, witty, and adroit in using that tongue. No one told a story, or wrote a letter, better than Mazarin; and madame de Motteville, though she loved him not, acknowledged that he was "the most agreeable man in the world."† During his life, and after his death, his character and policy were subjected to the strictures of many; and, though generally lauded by the rest of Europe, were blamed and scoffed at in

* He deprived Scarron of his pension for having written the Mazarinade; but as he never attempted to punish any one else for much more atrocious libels, it was probably the ingratitude of the poet at which he struck this blow, and not his insolence. The queen, Anne of Austria, was not so forgiving, and many of the satires, in which she was personally assailed, were followed by sanguinary punishments.

† In another place, however, she does not give the most agreeable description of him. She says in her Mémoirs (vol. ii. p. 350.) "Il était plus humain et plus doux dans le malheur que dans la prospérité; il ne fuyait pas ceux qui lui voulaient parler avec la même sécheresse .... Malgré la douceur du cardinal, il n'en avait pas souvent dans son procédé, ni même dans ses paroles: elles étaient quasi toujours sèches, et fort différentes de ses promesses, qui ne produisaient jamais, ou rarement, de bons effets, s'il n'y était contraint par l'intrigue des prétendants: ils ont quasi toujours arraché ses bienfaits de sa faiblesse plutôt que de sa bonté."
France. It must, however, be remembered, that, surrounded with difficulties, opposed by factions, and impeded by civil war, under his administration Alsace, Artois, and Roussillon were re-annexed to France; that a way was laid open for her arms into Flanders, Germany, and Italy; and that by his hand was won the prize for which Richelieu had begun the strife.

THE END.