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THE

COMMENTARIES
OF
Meffire Blaize de Montluc,
MARESCHAL
OF
FRANCE.

WHEREIN ARE-DESCRIB'D
All the Combats, Rencounters, Skirmishes, Battels, Sieges, Assaults, Scalado's, the Taking and Surprizes of Towns and Fortresses; as also the Defences of the Assaulted and Besieg'd:

With several other signal and remarkable Feats of War, wherein this great and renowned Warrior was personally engag'd, in the space of fifty or threescore years that he bore Arms under several Kings of France.

TOGETHER WITH

Divers Instructions, that such ought not to be ignorant of, as propose to themselves by the practice of Arms to arrive at any eminent degree of Honor, and prudently to carry on all the Exploits of War.

Cicero. M. Marcello, Epist. 8. 1. 4.
Omnia sunt misera in Bellis civilibus, qua Majores nostri ne semel quidem, nostra atque sape jam sensit: sed miseria nihil, quam ipsa victoria: qua etiam ad meliores venit, tamen eos ipsos feroiores, impotentiorem: reddit: ne, etiam natura tales non sint, necessitate esse cognoscent.
Multa enim victor, cum arbitria, per quos vicit, etiam invito facienda sunt.

LONDON,
Printed by Andrew Clark, for Henry Brome, at the Gun at the West End of St. Paul's, MDCCLXXIV.
To the Right Honourable,

PHILIP,

EARL of CHESTERFIELD,

Lord Stanhope of Shelford, &c.

My Lord,

Though all men that know me are sufficiently inform'd of the many and great obligations your Lordship has laid upon me, and that as many of them as I have discours'd withal upon that subject, are able, if they will do me right, to bear witness with what candor and acknowledgment, not perhaps without something of ostentation, I have ever own'd and extol'd them; yet (my Lord) those men are so few, and the beforementioned obligations of so generous a nature, that I confess I have a desire both to be more universally known your servant, and that the world at the same time should take notice, that though you may in my person have plac'd your favours upon an unworthy, yet that they have nevertheless been conferred upon a grateful man. Such a one (my Lord) I profess myself to be, and having no other way to manifest that I am so, have taken the liberty to dedicate this Translation of mine to your Lordship's diversion and acceptance, not suspecting that you who have honour'd me so many other ways should discountenance me in this, but rather protect me from others,
others, as well as excuse me to your self; and in truth (my Lord) I am so much your own, that you may justifiably enough be a little partial in my favour.

My Lord, it may perhaps be expected by those who know your Lordship for the noble person you are, that I should here salute you with a finer Epistle than peradventure I can write, or at least than this is either likely, or in truth intended to be; not that I would not present you with the best I have, but knowing your Lordships aversion to such impertinencies as men sometimes stuff their Dedications withall, I should not only willfully offend you, but moreover step out of my own design, which is very clear from the vanity of thinking to advance your Honor or Name by any testimony of mine, and only intended with all submission to declare myself,

MY LORD,

Your Lordships most humble
and most obedient Servant,

CHARLES COTTON,

THE
Man that has had no better luck in Printing
Books than I, and receiv'd from the world so
little thanks for his labour, should, one would
have thought, have taken some reasonable
warning, and in some moderate time have gi-
ven over scribling; but notwithstanding these
disencouragements, I have hitherto, and do
yet continue incor-
rigible; as, whoever will take the pains to read them, will see
by the following Commentaries: and seeing I acknowledg this
to be a fault, and that every fault requires some excuse, I think
fit to give the Reader some account why I still persisit so obsti-
nate to pester the world with my writings.

It is not then out of any ill natur'd desire I have to be trouble-
some, or any great ambition I have to be laugh'd at; but beeing,
by a perpetual confinement to the solitude of my own Houfe,
put eternally upon reading, that reading, when I meet with any
thing that pleases my own fancy, inspires me with a desire to
communicate fuch things as I conceive are worth knowing, and
are out of the common Road of ordinary Readers, to their ob-
servation, and to dedicate thofe hours which I myfelf have
spent with fome delight in fuch Translations, to their vacancy
and diversion.

This is the true and only reafons why I have, and some-
times do spend fo much time about fuch things as these, and it
ought the lefs to offend the generality of men, because, though I
only pretend by it to oblige but a few persons, and thofe none
of the moft considerable; yet it can be prejudicial to none, the
Author only excepted, and he can fuffer by it, with none nei-
ther but fuch as will not take the pains to read him in his own
Language; for fuch as cannot do it ought to rest satisfied, and
A 2 provided
provided the Subject be without reproach, are better with an ill Translation than none at all.

Such a one in plain truth is this; not that I am willing to confess I have much mislaid the sense of the Author; but though elegant enough for those times, 'tis a knotty piece in itself, and though wrapped up in very good sense, yet writ by the rough hand of a Soldier, and a rough one, and stuffed up with old musty Proverbs (the mode of wit it seems at that time) and such as we have not sometimes Proverbs of our own to render them by, and to English a Proverb without a Proverb, is to make that unpleasing, and almost unintelligible in one Language, that is quaint and elegant in another; to repair which I have in some places been necessitated almost to create Proverbs, or at least to render his after a Proverbial way, to make them a little like the Original.

But I could wish this was the worst fault the Reader will find in the Book; I am afraid it is not, and know also very well there are some others, for which no man living could provide a remedy (unless upon the Author's heads he would have made a History of his own) to wit, intolerable digressions, and those intolerably long, with so many, and so long-winded Apocryphies, included within tedious periods, as very much take from the grace of his Style (of it self a rude one) and strangely perplex the Reader; for which whether I should accuse Monieur de Montuc's want of Art (which he himself confesses) or the luxuriency of his fancy (which often hurries him from his subject) I am yet to seek.

I must also add, That though this Treatise have generally a very good reputation in the world, yet there are some, who are men of very great judgment, and who have no inclination to discountenance either good writings, or good men, that decry this Book for one of the vainest pieces that ever was writ; and indeed they have reason on their side, there being a continued thread of vanity and ostentation throughout the whole work, ou par tout on trouvera les Gaconades a bon marché. But the Author being a Gallic (to which Nation braving is as natural, as bravery) and the things he relates of himself being undeniably true, I conceive he ought to be excus'd, and the rather, because it is for the most part in vindication of himself from the ill offices and flanders of those little Monstres of the Court, of whom he so often complains, and gives himself the best description: a sort of vermin, that in truth have evermore insinuated themselves into all Courts of Princes, especially that of France, where the
the worthieft men in all Ages have ever been subject to the clandes

tine malice, and private calumny of such as durst not so much as have
lookt on, to have beheld the brave actions perform'd by
those they were not afraid to traduce, and bespatter at the distance
of an hundred leagues, and under the protection of their Ma-
stcr's presence and favour.

After all these objections which I have here set down, as well
to prevent others, as to excuse my self; I am now to tell you,
that had I not for all this thought this Book a very good
one, I should have found my self something else to do; and I
may venture to declare I think it so, since it has had so great a
reputation, with almost all sorts of men, that the truth of it in
no one particular (that I ever heard of) was ever disputed by any;
and that it has been allowed by all to be the best Soldiers Book,
that is, the best Book for the instruction of a Soldier that ever
was writ. Never certainly were Enterprizes design'd with more
judgment and resolution, nor ever carried on with greater bra-
very and conduct than all his were; besides the labour, hazard,
and diligence, with which they were ever executed, were such as
perhaps had never been practis'd before, nor, for ought I ever heard
or read, ever imitated by any Frenchman since: from whence I
am apt to conclude, that either Monfieur de Montluc was the great-
est Soldier of a Subject that ever was in France, or that the His-
torians of that Kingdom have not been so just to the rest, as he
has been to himself.

I cannot deny but that to an invincible spirit, and an inde-
fatigable constancy in suffering all the hardships of war, the fierc-
efulness of his nature, prompt, and perfectly Gafcon, or else his zeal
to Religion, and the service of his Prince, or both, made him
sometimes do things which seem'd bloody and cruel; but the neces-
sity of the time, and the growing faction of the Hugonots,
would have it so; neither do I think (I know not how discreet
I am in declaring so much) that Sacrilege and Rebellion can
be too roughly handled; and severity must needs appear a virtue,
where clemency would evidently have been a vice. As to the
rest, the Reader will find his Harangues well fitted to the severa
occasions, his Deliberations prudent, and well grounded, his In-
structions sound, his Arguments rational, his Descriptions plain
and intelligible, and the whole well enough coucht, from a hand
that was better acquainted with a Sword than a Pen, and by a
man whose design, as well as profession, was rather to do
things worthy to be written, than to write things worthy to be
read.

To
To conclude; I shall beg of the Reader in the behalf of the brave Author, to consider him a poor Gentleman, bred up to Arms, by which alone he pulst on his fortune to the highest degree of honor, without any addition of Letters, or other advantages of education, the ordinary foundations of greatness, than what he forg’d out of his own courage, and form’d out of his own natural parts, which were notwithstanding such as approu’d him a Captain of extraordinary valour and conduct, and made him moreover allow’d to be a man of wit, Characters which all the Historians do generally allow him, and particularly Davila, though he only here and there glances upon his name. For myself, I have nothing to say, but this, that although this be no elegant, it is nevertheless (if I mistake not) an useful piece; and though we have lost the use of Bows and Targets, yet design and diligence will be in fashion, so long as the practice of Arms shall endure. I expose my share of it then to every ones mercy, and good nature; such as will buy the Book, will keep me in countenance; ’tis no matter whether they take the pains to read it or no, for by that means my Bookseller’s business will be done, and as to the rest I shall not be much disappointed, my design being in plain truth (though I should be glad, I confess, and proud it might take) chiefly to pass away my own time, and to please my self.
S we see certain Countries yield particular fruits in great abundance, which are elsewhere rarely to be found; so it also seems that your Gascony does ordinarily produce an infinite number of great and valiant Captains, as a fruit that is natural and peculiar to that Climate, and that comparatively the other Provinces are in a manner barren. 'Tis to her Womb that the World stands oblig'd for those noble and illustrious Princes of the House of Foix, Albret, Armagnac, Cominge, Candalle, and Captaux de Buch. 'Tis to her that we stand indebted for Pothon, and la Hire, two happy Pillars, and singular Ornaments of the Arms of France. 'Tis she who in our dayes has acquainted the remotest Nations with the names of de Termes, de Bellegarde, de la Vallette, d'Aufflun, de Gondrin, Terride, Romegas, Coffains, Gohas, Tillader, Sarlabous, and divers other brave Gentlemen of the pure and true Soil of Gascony, without mentioning those at this day living, who generously enflam'd with the Trophies and Achievements of their brave Predecessors, are emulous of their glory, and put fair for an equal share of renown. 'Tis your Gascony (Gentlemen) that is the Magazine of Soldiers, the Nursery of Arms, the Flower and Choice of the most warlike Nobles, of the whole Earth, and the Mother of so many renowned Leaders, as may dispute the precedence of valour with the most celebrated Captains of the Greeks and Romans that ever were.

But
The French Printer to the Noblefs of uajcony.

But of all those who (descended from your noble Families) have adorned the practice of Arms, no one for Prowess, Experience, or Resolution did ever excel this invincible Cavalier Blaize de Montluc, Marshal of France. That Prerogative of Honor cannot be disputed with him, no more than the gifts Heaven was pleased to confer upon him of a prompt and marvelous vivacity of understanding; of a presient, and nevertheless a very revered prudence, which he discover'd upon the most sudden and surprizing occasions in the management of affairs, of an admirable memory, and so rich, as the like is rarely to be found, of a great facility of speech, strong, and bold; and full of incitements of honor in the ardours of Battel; and in affairs of State, of a grave and temperate eloquence, heightened and illustrated with Propositions, Reasons, and Arguments, and all accompanied with so clear and lively a judgment, that although he was deftitute of Letters, the beauty of his natural parts notwithstanding darkned the splendor of those, who to a long experience in affairs, had joyn'd a perfect and exact knowledge of the profoundest Arts and Mysteries, both of books and men.

The greatest part of you who knew him, and have often fought under his Ensign, stand in need of no other testimony than your own knowledge: but the younger sort, who never had the good fortune to see this great man, besides what they may have gather'd by report, will perfectly know and understand him by his own Commentaries, the actions whereof you have seen him perform when living, and which he dictated when sick, and languishing of that great Harquebuze shot which shatter'd his face at the Siege of Rabalsteins, where for a farewell to Arms he seru'd his Prince in the quality of Pioneer, Soldier, Captain, and General at once, after which from his Bed to his Grave this generous soul could never find any rest, which he was wont to say was his capital Enemy, and gave him occasion towards his end to command this Distick to be engrav'd upon his Tomb.

Cy deffous repofent les Os
De Montluc, qui n'eust onc repos.

Here with repoze Montluc lies blest,
Who living never could find rest.

Seeing then, that assisled by your valours, he has so fortunately perform'd so many glorious feats of Arms; I conceiv'd it but reasonable that this Dedication should address it self to you; that you might enjoy the fruits, and have the pleasure of reading those actions repeated in his Writings, and of seeing the names of your noble Ancestors recorded
to posterity in a Chronicle of Honor. And, if I mistake not, there will hardly be found a History more repleat with variety, more grateful to the Reader, and more rich in instructions for the conduct and direction both of Peace and War than this, where (I fancy at least) the difference betwixt a History compil'd by a sedentary man, bred up tenderly and delectably in the dust of old Studies and old Books, and one writ by an old Captain, and a Soldier brought up in the dust and smoke of Armies and Battels will easily be discern'd.

I know not what ancient Histories have the vertue in a little space to render those who read them with the greatest diligence and observation very wise and circumspect Leaders: but if any such there be, this, above all others, will easily obtain the precedence, and enforce you (generous Noblefs) of all the good and evil events that attend the fortune, or misfortune, the valour or the cowardize, the prudence or inconsideration of him who is Chief or General of an Army, or who is Prince or Sovereign of a mighty Kingdom. You have here wherewith to delight your fancy, to discretion your valour, to martialize your wisdom, and to form the true honor of a School of War. The Commentaries of this second Casax will make you Doctors in Military Discipline, and will serve you for Model, Mirror, and Example; they have no fictitious lustre, no affected artifice, no foreign ornament of borrowed beauty. 'Tis nothing but simple Truth that is nakedly presented before you.

These are the conceptions of a strong, sound, and healthful digestion, that relish of their original and native soil, bold, and vigorous conceptions, retaining yet the breath, vigour, and fierceness of the Author. This is he, who having the first arriv'd to the highest step of all the degrees and dignities of war, has highly promoted the honor of your Country both by his Sword and his Pen, and to such a degree, that the name of the Montluc's shall gloriously live in the memory of a long and successful posterity, manifesting without envy to succeeding Ages, that your Captain and Historian, as he knew how prudently to enterprize, and bravely to execute what he had design'd, was no les good at his Pen, but equally eminent in that faculty, to record with truth and judgment, what he had acted before with the greatest courage and conduct.
On the brave Mareschal de Montluc, and his Commentaries writ by his own hand.

Montluc, how far I am unfit
To praise thy valour, or thy wit,
Or give my suffrage to thy fame,
Who have my self so little name,
And can so ill thy worth express,
I blushing modestly confess;
Yet when I read their better lines,
Who to commend thy brave designs,
Their Panegyricks have set forth,
And do consider thy great worth;
Though what they write may be more high,
They yet fall short as well as I.

Who's is that Pen so well can write
As thou could'st both command, and fight?
Or whilst thou fought'st, who durst look on,
To make a true description?
None but thy self had heart to view
Those Acts thou hadst the heart to do,
Thy self must thy own deeds commend,
By thy own hand they must be pen'd,
Which skill'd alike in Pen and Sword,
At once must act, and must record.

Thus Cæsar in his Tent at night,
The Actions of the day did write,
And viewing what 'ad done before,
Emulous of himself, yet more,
And greater things perform'd, until
His arm had overdone his will,
So as to make him almost fit
To doubt the truth of what he writ.
Yet what he did, and writ, though more,
Than ere was done, or writ before;
Montluc by thee, and thee alone,
Are parallel'd, if not outdone,
And France in Ages yet to come,
Shall shew as great a man as Rome.
Hadst thou been living, and a man,
When that great Cæsar overran
The antient Gauls, though in a time,
When Soldiery was in its prime;
When the whole world in plumes were curl'd,
And he the Soldier of the world,
His conqu'ring Legions doubtless had
By thy as conqu'ring arms been fty'd:
And his proud Eagle that did soar.
To dare the trembling world before,

Whose
Whose Quarry Crowns and Kingdoms were,
Had met another Eagle here,
As much as she disdain'd the Lure,
Could fly as high, and stoop as sure.
Then to dispute the world's Command
You two had fought it hand to hand,
And there the Aquitanick Gaul
Maintain'd one glorious day for all.
But for one Age 't had been too much
'Thave had two Leaders, and two such;
Two for one world are sure enow,
And those at distant Ages too.
If to a Macedonian Boy
One world too little seem'd to enjoy;
One world for certain could not brook
At once a Cæsar, and Montluc,
But must give time for either's birth;
Nature had suffer'd else, and th' Earth
That truckled under each alone,
Under them both had sunk and gone.
Yet though their noble Names, alike
With wonder, and with terror strike;
Cæsar's, though greater in Command,
Must give Montluc's the better hand;
Who though a younger Son of Fame,
A greater has, and better Name.
With equal courage, but worse cause,
That trampled on his Country's Laws,
And like a bold, but treacherous friend,
Enslaved those he should defend;
Whilest this by no ambition sway'd
But what the love of glory made,
With equal bravery, and more true
Maintain'd the right that overthrow.
His Vict'ries as th' encreaft his power
Laid those for whom he fought still lower;
Abroad with their victorious Bands,
He conquer'd Provinces and Lands,
Whilest the world's conqu'ring Princess Rome
Was her own Servants slave at home.
Thy courage brave Montluc we find
To be of a more generous kind,
Thy spirit, loyal, as 't was brave,
Was evermore employ'd to save,
Or to enlarge thy Country's bounds,
Thine were the sweat, the blood, the wounds;
The toyl, the danger, and the pain;
But hers, and only hers the gain.
His wars were to oppress and grieve,
Thine to defend, or to relieve:
Yet each to glory had pretence,
Though such as shew'd the difference,
By their advantages, and harms
'Twixt Infidel and Christian Arms.

France, Piedmont, Tuscany, and Rome,
Have each a Trophy for thy Tomb:
Sienna too, that nature strain'd,
Only to honor thy command,
Proud of thy name will be content,
It self to be thy monument:
But thine own Guienne will deny
Those noble Relicks elsewhere lye;
But there enshrin'd now thou art dead,
Where (to its glory) thou wert bred.

O fruitful Gascony! whose fields
Produce what ever Nature yields.
Fertile in valour as in fruit,
And more than fruitful in repute,
How do I honor thy great Name,
For all those glorious Sons of Fame,
Which from thy fair womb taking birth,
Have overspread the spacious Earth.
Yet stands the world oblig'd for none,
Nor all thy Heroes more than one;
One brave Montluc had crown'd thee Queen,
Though all the rest had never been.

Past times admir'd this General,
The present do, and future shall;
Nay whilst there shall be men to read
The glorious actions of the dead,
Thy Book in Ages yet unborn
The noblest Archives shall adorn,
And with his Annals equal be,
Who fought, and writ the best but thee.

Charles Cotton.

On the Commentaries of Messire Blaize de Montluc.

To the Worthy Translator.

He that would aptly write of Warlike Men,
Should make his Ink of bloud, a Sword his Pen;
At least he muft Their Memories abuse
Who writes with less than Maro's mighty Muse;
All (Sir) that I could say on this great Theme
(The brave Montluc) would lessen his esteem;
Whose Laurels too much native Verdure have,
To need the praifes vulgar Chaplets crave:
His own bold hand, what it durft write, durft do,
Grappled with Enemies, and Oblivion too,
Hew'd its own Monument, and grav'd thereon
It's deep and durable Inscription.

To you (Sir) to whom the valiant Author owes
His second Life and Conquest o're his Foes,
Ill natur'd Foes, Time and Detraction,
What is a Strangers Contribution!
Who has not such a share of Vanity
To dream that one, who with such Industry
Obliges all the world, can be oblig'd by me.

Thomas Flatman.

On the Commentaries of Montluc translated.

I Never yet the French Tongue understood,
Which may (what e're their Fashions are) be good;
Yet such as I, by your industrious hand,
Come now them and their State to understand.
This, and your well-translated Eperron,
Make those brave Histories of France our own.
Sir, these are noble Works, and such as do
Name you Translator, and the Author too.
You are our Author, and our thanks to you
(As yours to their Historians) are due.
Nay ev'n the French themselves must thank you too:
For we (and we are the major part) who know
Nothing of them, but what is noise and shew.
Hard names for damn'd course Stuff, flinking Meat,
Adulterate Wine, strange Habits, Legs and Faces,
Might justly look on France, (not to speak worse)
To be of these the Mother, or the Nurse.
But us you undeceive, and do them right,
By these exact Translations which you write,
And we who understand no French, now find
You are both just to them, and to us kind.

R. Newcourt.

ERRATA.
ERRATA.

Page 1, line 20, r. to justify. p. 2, l. 24, r. and yet. p. 42, l. 50, r. the charge and honor. p. 5, l. 7, r. not for. p. 8, l. 32, r. and the. p. 11, l. 51, r. in, in. p. 12, l. penult. r. a fugitive. p. 15, l. 47, r. they. p. 19, l. 4, r. dine abroad. p. 22, l. 6, r. not design. p. 34, l. 17, r. by burning. p. 28, l. 43, r. de Montreque. p. 29, l. 22, r. at this time. l. 38, r. de Tande. p. 31, l. 35, r. de Montreque. p. 31, l. 39, r. de Fontarrelles. p. 39, l. 23, r. and me to Savillan. p. 41, l. 24, r. Monsieur d'Auffan. l. 40, r. knew the. p. 42, l. 14, r. could avoid. p. 45, l. 16, r. Recou to p. 31, l. 44, r. enough to do so. p. 54, l. 23, r. if they were. p. 56, l. 48, r. weary. p. 57, l. 11, r. fought. p. 14, l. fault. p. 59, l. 38, r. they advance. p. 61, l. 31, for d'Auffan. r. d'Aunen. p. 63, l. 10, for for now r. new. p. 65, l. 49, r. the Mareschal. p. 66, l. 13, r. the feast. p. 67, l. 46, r. when you are. p. 68, l. 11, r. took notice. p. 83, l. 57, r. we are. p. 91, l. 39, r. if they p. 126, l. 39, r. to scour. p. 130, l. 29, r. and that Captain St. Auban. p. 131, l. 37, r. which was w. p. 143, l. 35, r. were a-bout to. p. 150, l. 27, r. in their. p. 159, l. 12, r. inconsiderable. p. 161, l. 20, r. hateful word. p. 172, l. 59, and 60, r. a Trooper. p. 174, l. 30, r. the plain. p. 175, l. 40, and r. had moor'd them in the Ditch. p. 176, l. 15, r. and that would make. p. 177, l. 10, r. stop short. p. 184, l. 16, r. no body else. p. 193, l. 6, r. Cremona. p. 197, l. 36, r. du Tilfes. p. 209, l. 48, r. Quail. p. 211, l. 56, dele all. p. 222, l. 5, r. Commandr. p. 223, l. 2, r. in. p. 341, l. 25, r. delivered to him. p. 346, l. 9, r. Coral. p. 281, l. 49, r. la Malgure. p. 289, l. 54, r. Cabinet. l. 58, r. the Childern. p. 300, l. 45, r. repuls'd. p. 312, l. 40, r. best Currall. p. 313, l. 28, dele that. p. 314, l. 3, r. Chalois. p. 310, l. 2, r. suffering him. l. 34, r. to the friendship. p. 331, l. 23, r. I here. p. 332, l. 2, r. Comme after Field. l. 29, r. had sold. p. 333, l. 19, r. his wife. p. 335, l. 40, r. he, and p. 340, l. 48, r. we should. p. 344, l. 9, r. see the wife. p. 345, l. 36, r. and would never. p. 348, l. 11, r. Clergy would. l. 34, r. of which. p. 349, l. 47, r. and bad they. l. 49, r. they had bad. p. 357, l. 44, r. one near unto Thoulouse. p. 358, l. 11, r. the best friends I had. p. 359, l. 35, r. He had indeed. p. 366, l. 8, r. the Coins were broken. p. 364, l. 13, r. to the note of the wall. p. 365, l. 38, r. and that in safe. p. 376, l. 15, r. I am sure mine never did. p. 382, l. 13, r. subjests. l. 53, r. your blood. p. 389, l. 15, r. all other employments. p. 391, l. 49, r. M. Lord. p. 395, l. 44, r. then to Bourdeaux. p. 403, l. 44, r. 1st.
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THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaize de Montluc,
Mareschal of
FRANCE.
The First Book.

Being at the Age of three-score and fifteen, retir'd home to my own Houfe, there to seek some little Repofe after the infinite Pains and labours I had undergone, during the space of above fifty years, that I bore Arms for the several Kings my Masters, in which Service I pait all the Degrees and through all the Orders of Soldier, Ensign, Lieutenant, Captain, Camp-Maitre, Governor of Places, his Majesties Lieutenant in the Provinces of Tuscany and Guienne, and Mareschal of France: finding my felt maimed in almost all my Limbs, with Harquebuz-Shots, Cuts and Thrufhs with Pikes and Swords, and by that means rendred almost ufelefs and good for nothing, without Strength or hope ever to be cured of that great Harquebuz-Shot in my Face, and after having refign'd my Government of Guienne into his Majesties hands: I thought fit to employ the Remainder of my Life in a Description of the several Combats, wherein I have been personally engag'd in the space of two and fifty years, that I had the Honour to command: affuring my felf, that the Captains who fhall take the pains to read my Life, will therein meet with Paflages, that may be ufeful to them in the like Occasions, and of which fome Advantage may be made to the acquiring of Honour and Renown. And although I have in the several Engagements I have undertaken and fome of them perhaps without great Realion on my fide justifi'd my Proceedings) been exceedingly fortunate, and fuccefsful beyond all humane Arm; I would not yet any one fhould conceive that I attribute the Succefs or the Glory thereof to any other, than to God alone; and indeed whoever fhall consider the Dangers and Difficulties I have gone through and overcome, cannot but therein acknowledge his Almighty and immediate Arm. Neither have I ever fail'd to implore his Affiftance in all my Undertakings, and that with great Confidence in his Grace and Mercy, and Affurance of it; wherein his Divine Majefly has been pleafed fo far to be gratiously affifting to me, that I have never been defeated nor furpriz'd in any Exploit of War, where I have been in command; but on the contrary have ever carried away Victory and Honour. And it is very neceffary and fit, that all we who bear Arms, fhould ever consider and always confefs, that we, of our felves, can do nothing without his Divine Bounty, which infpires us with Courage, and supplies us with Strength to attempt and execute thofe great and hazardous Enterprizes which prefent themselves to our Undertaking.

And becaufe fome of thofe who fhall read thofe Commentaries (for it will be very hard to please all, though fome will fit a juft value upon my Book) may perhaps think it ftrange, and accuse me of Vain-Glory for writing my own Actions; and fay, that I ought in Modesty to have transferred that Work to another Hand: I fhall tell fuch once for all, that in writing the Truth, and attributing to God the Glory thereof, there
will be no harm done: Neither (besides that the Testimonies of several Men of Honour yet living will justify the Truth of what I shall deliver) can any one give a better Account of the Designs, Enterprizes, and Executions, and the Actions happening thereupon, than my self, who was an Eye-witness, and an Actor in them all; and who also design not herein to deprive any one of his due and particular Honour. The greatest Captain that ever liv’d was Cesar, and he has led me the way, having himself writ his own Commentaries, and being careful to record by Night the Actions he performed by Day. I would therefore by his Exemple contrive mine, how rude and impolitic forever (as coming from the hand of a Soldier, and moreover a Cesar, who has ever been more licentious to do, than to write or to speak well) Wherein shall be comprehended all the Exploits of War, in which I have either been personally engaged, or that have been performed by my Direction; and those beginning from my greener years, when I first came into the World; to signifies to such as I shall leave behind me, how reflefs I (who am at this day the eldest Captain in France) have ever been in the Search and Acquisition of Honour, in performing Services for the Kings my Masters, which was my sole and only end, ever flying all the Pleasures and Delights, which usually divert young men whom God has endowed with any commendable Qualities, and who are upon the point of their Advancement, from the Paths of true Virtue and undisturbed Greatness. A Book not intended however for the Learned Men of the World, they have Historians enough of their own, but for a Soldier, and wherein a Captain, and perhaps a Lieutenant of a Province may find something that may be worth his Observation. At the least I can affirm that I have written the Truth; having my Memory as good and entire at this instant as ever, and being as perfect in the Names both of Men and Places, as if all things had past but yesterday, as yet I never committed anything to Paper, for I never thought at such an Age as this, to undertake any thing of this kind: which whether I have well or ill performed, I refer my self to such, as shall do me the Honour to read my Book, which is properly an Account of my own Life.

To you therefore (Captains my Companions) it is, that this Treatise does principally address itself, to whom peradventure it may in some measure be useful. And you ought to believe that having so many years been in the same Command wherein you now are, and having so long discharged the Office of a Captain of Foot, and thirte of that of Camp Master and Colonel, I must needs have retain’d something of that Condition, and that in a long Experience I have seen great Honours confer’d upon some, and great Disgraces befall others of that Degree. There have been some who in my time have been cashier’d and degraded their Nobility, others who have loft their Lives upon a Scaffold, others dishonoured and dismiffed to their own Housés, without ever having been more regarded either by the King or any other: And on the contrary, I have seen others who have staff’d a Pike at six France pay, arrive at great Preferments, performing things so brave, and manifecting themselves men of so great Capacity, that several who in their Original have been no better than the Sons of poor labouring Men, have rais’d themselves above many of the Nobility by their Prowesses and Virtues. Of all which having my self been an Eye-Witness, I am able to give a precise and a true Account. And although I my self am a Gentleman by Birth, yet have I notwithstanding been rais’d to that degree of Honour wherein I now stand, as laurifly, and as much step by step, as any the poorest Soldier who has serv’d in this Kingdom these many years. For being born into the World the Son of a Gentleman, whose Father had made Ile of all his Estate, to only eight hundred or a thousand Livres yearly Revenue, and being the eldest of six Brothers that we were, I thought it principally concern’d me to illustrate the Name of Montue (which is that of our Family) as I have also done with as much Peril, and as many Hazards of my Life, as Soldier or Captain ever did; and that without ever having the least Reproach from those by whom I was commanded; but on the contrary with as much Favour and Esteem as ever any Captain had who bore Arms in the Armies, wherein I had the Honour to serve. Infomuch that whenever there happened any Enterprize of Importance, or Danger, the Kings Lieutenants, and Collonels, would as soon, or sooner, put me upon it, as any other Captain of the Army; of which the ensuing pages will give you sufficient Testimony.

From the time therefore that I was first advance’d to the Degree of an Ensign, I made it my business to understand the Duty of an Officer, and to learn to be wise by the Example of such as committed Overraths, or were otherwise negligent in their Command. To which purpose I first totally wean’d my self from Play, Drink, and Avarice; as knowing
knowing w'll, that all Captains of that Complexion, are so unfit ever to arrive at any thing of Great, as to be much more likely to fall into the before-nam'd Misfortunes. That Knowledge it was that made me positively resolve against all the three things, which Youth is very prone unto, and which are very prejudicial to the Reputation of a Chief. Of this Play is of such a Nature, that it subjeets a man, neither to do nor intend any other thing, and that whether he win or lose; for if you win, you are ever more solicitous to find out new Gentsellers, being perplex'd with an Opinion, that you shall fall win more, and continue in that Error until all be lost. Being redu'd to this point you run almost into Despair, and meditate nothing day nor night; but where and how to get more money to play again, and to try to recover your Losses by a better Hand. In which Condition how can you think to acquite your self of the Charge the King has put into your hands, when you shall wholly bend your Study, and employ your whole time in another thing, and instead of contriving how to over-reach your Enemy by laudable Stratagems of War, you plot nothing else, but how to ruin your Camrade and Friend by an infamous Cheat at Cards or Dice? This mufj of necedity wholly divert you from your Duty; whereas you ought to be continually amongst your Soldiers, and so frequent, as if possible to know every man by his distinct Name, and that for these two Ends, first, to prevent any Acts of Insolence in their Quarters, for which you may expect and fear a just Reproach from the Lieutenant of the Province or your own immediate Colonel: And in the next place to take care that there happen no Mutiny amongst them, nothing being more pernicious to a Company, nor of more dangeorous Consequence to an Army, than mutinous Spirits. And how can you possibly have an Eye to such Disorders, or give any tolerable Account of the Truth you posed in you, when your Heart shall be wholly bent upon Play; that will alarm you a hundred and a hundred times a day, and put you besides your self. Fly then (my dear Companions) fly I beseech you this hateful Vice, which I have often known to be the Ruine of many, not only in their Fortunes, but which is more, and that ought to be dearer, in their Honour and Reputation.

Now for what concerns Wine; if you be subject to debauch, you cannot avoid falling into as many and as great inconveniences as he that Plays; for nothing in the World so much stifles the understanding of a Man, and that inclines him so much to sleep, as Wine. If you drink but little you will confequently not eat too much, for Wine calls upon the Appetite to eat, that you may the longer enjoy the Pleasure of Drinking; so that in the end being full of Meat and Drink before you rise from Table, it will be necessary to go sleep, and perhaps at such a time when you ought to be amongst your Soldiers and Companions, near your Colonel and Camp-Majter, to enquire what News or Orders they have received from the Kings Lieutenant, that you may know when any Occasion is present'd, wherein you may employ your Valour and Wildom. To this; Excess in Wine brings along with it another and extreme Danger, which is, that a Captain being drunk knows not how himself to command, and lefs how to permit others to do it, but will fall to striking and beating his Soldiers without all Sense or Reason; whereas, if there were a just Occasion, he ought first to chastifie his Soldier with Remonstrances, mixt with some tart Menaces and Reproofs, giving him to understand, that if he relapse into the same Offence, he is to expect nothing but an exemplary Punishment. And is it not better to chastifie your Soldier with Words and Threats, than with Ballinadoes, Cuts and Thrusts, killing him or maiming of his Limbs which Wine will prompt you to do? Neither must you expect to be the more fear'd for such Utage of your men, but on the contrary mortally hated by all your Soldiers. And what rare Exploits can you think to perform with men that hate you? I beseech you believe me, for I have seen the Experience of it, as much as another of my Age, I have seen no less than four Captains die by the hands of their own Soldiers, who have affillimated them behind, for the ill Utage they have receiv'd at their hands. They are Men as we are, not Beasts, if we be Gentlemen, they are Soldiers; they have Arms in their Hands, which inspire Mettle into any man's Breef, that bears them. Wine is apt to make you unreasonably and bloody for the least Offence, and that without all manner of Discretion, for you are not your selves. Moreover, neither the Kings Lieutenant, nor your own Colonel, nor Camp-Majter will ever put you upon any Enterprize of Honour, that might perhaps procure your Advancement; but will say, Shall we entrust an Execution of this importance to such an one as will be drunk, when he ought to have his Wits about him to know and discern what he has to do? He will do nothing but throw away so many men, and by his ill Conduct bring upon us Loss and Confusion. O the vile Repute that this
Wine will brand you withal, when nothing of good shall be expected from you! Fly then (my Companions) fly then this Vice, equally hateful, and more healy, and scandalous, than the former.

A Captain likewise should in no manner be covetous; for though Wine and Play may most apply to term’d Companions, yet Avarice is also one of the Gang that occasions a million of Millichiefs, and brings as great or greater Inconveniences upon a Leader, as any other Vice whatever. For in the first place, if you suffer your felt to be carried away by this insatiable Thirst of getting, it is most certain, that you shall never have a Soldier worth any thing under your Command; all the good Men will avoid you, and report of you, that you value a French Crown more than a valiant Man; so that you shall never have men of any Resolution about you, but such as upon the first Occasion wherein you ought to give a Testimony of your Valour and Conduct, will leave you in the lurch, where you must either fly to your eternal Infamy, or stay to lose your Life, and that without any hopes notwithstanding, whether you live or die, ever to recover your Reputation. For if you be kind, though you have done bravely in your own person, every one will be apt to say, that your great Avarice brought you to your Ruine, for want of good men to stand faithfully by you; and if you have your felt by running away, be you sure you will imprint such a mark in your Fore-heads, as it will be hard ever to wash away; at least you will be oblig’d to hazard your Life upon all Occasions more than another man, to clear the Prejudice that all men will have against you, and to wipe away the Blemish wherewith you have spotted your Reputation; wherein ’tis great odds you will lose either Life or Limb. And after all (as it is the ordinary Recompense of men who are more than commonly adventurous upon such occasions) for the Reward of your Merit it shall be said, that the Defpair of your former Miscarriage, has path’d you upon the Execution you shall have perform’d, and not your own Bravery and Resolution. O how many more Misfortunes could I here reckon, that have befallen, and do daily befall Commanders, who have been and are tainted with this avaricious humor?

I know you will ask me now, what shall we do, if we do not lay up money, and clip the Soldiers Pay? When the War is at an end, we must go to the Hospitall, for neither the King nor any one else will regard us, and we are poor of our selves. But can you imagine that a wife and valiant Captain, a man of great Attempt and Execution shall be sent to starve in an Hospitall, as if such men flutter’d in a Camp by hundreds? It were well for the King and the whole Kingdom, if there were but a dozen such in an Army. Put forward then to get but a Leg amongst this dozen, and try to get in by your Valour, Wisdom, and Virtue. For these twelve cannot live for ever, and one being dead, though you cannot skew in your whole Body at that time, yet you may edge in the one half, and the next that dies, you are in. And you can then believe, that either the King or any of the Princes, who have taken cognizance of your Valour, will suffer you to go to the Hospitall? This is an Appreciation so unbecoming a wife and valiant Captain, that it is only suitable to Drunkards, Gamesters, and mean hide-bound fellows of no Value nor Account. And whoever applies himself to great and generous Actions, and has a care with Diligence and virtuous Resolution to exclude and banish from his Thoughts all the fore-mention’d Vices, nothing can be wanting to him. I have said that it were a great deal, if there were a dozen only such men in an Army; but if there were an hundred, yet the King is rich enough to provide that men of that Merit need not be sent to the Hospitall. Or suppose that the King could not suddenly provide for the support of such deferring men; there is notwithstanding no Prince, nor any other great Person, who has been engag’d in the War, where you shall have signalliz’d your selves for men of Honour, who will not be proud to receive and take some one into his Care and Protection, and that will not take hold of all occasions of doing you a good Office to the King, and of advancing you into some degree, and then on the other side, can you think the King will always continue you in the same Condition, or leave you in the same Command? Do not believe it, but assure your selves, that such men will be look’d after, on whom to confer the Care and Honour of greater Employments, who have honourably discharged those of lest moment and account.

I pray what was I, but a poor Soldier like one of you? What were, or what yet are so many valiant Captains yet living, for whom the King and all Mankind have a singular Esteem? Have we who are yet in being enrich’d our selves by mimicking from our Soldiers Pay? Have we purchase’d any great Estates out of the Theft of our Commands? I could name some of our own Country of Guienne (who could get nothing but
but I must know it, no more than I could unknown to them) who have never got five hundred Crowns by their Service; and yet are those men despis’d? Are they sent to the Hospital? The King, the Queen, the Monseigneur, all the Princes of the Blood, and all the Lords of the Court have a great Respect for these men, out of the eftem very one has of their Value, that they have got the flart of many great men in the Kingdom. Nay when they are in their own Country (where no man is a Prophet) they are there honour’d by men of all forts and conditions, not from the Families from whence they are defended, nor for the Poffeffions they enjoy: but upon the single account of their own Merit. Now there are some who perhaps will lay, If I do not purloin from the King, and poll from the Soldier, now whilst I am in Command, how shall I make Provision for my Children? To which I shall return. Would you enrich your Children with an ill Reputation and an infamous Name? A precious Inheritance you will leave them, when for fame of your Miscreations and Mifdeemours, they shall be forced to hang down their heads amongst the Great ones, from whom they should derive their Fortunes and receive honourable Commands. What Difference will there then be betwixt the Reception and Eftem the King and all the Princes will then make of the Sons of fuch Fathers as I have mentioned, and of yours, who will not dare to appear before Men of Honour, having their Faces covered with their Fathers Shame? But perhaps some one may fay, that I for my part, by the Places and Commands I have been invested withal by the King, have rais’d great Profits and got a great Effiace, and therefore may talk at my cafe: But I protest before Almighty God, and call him to witnesf, that in my whole Life I never had thirty Crowns more than my Pay; and what Condition fcover I have been in, or what honourable Commissions I have had, whether in Italy, or in France, I have ever been neccifitated to borrow money to carry me home.

At my Return from Sicily, where I had the Honour to command in the quality of the Kings Lieutenant, Monfeigneur the Marefechal de Stroffy gave me five hundred Crowns. When I returned a second time from Montalban, Monfeigneur Beauflar, who was our Treasurer, was fain to examine all the Purfes in Town to provide me three hundred and fifty Crowns to carry me to Ferrara, and yet I had no lefs than ten Gentlemen in my Company. The Duke of Ferrara furnish’d me with a Supplly when I put my felf into Verfailles, and afterwards to carry me to Lions, where I found in Catharine Joan the Poll-Masters hand, two or three thousand Francs that Mareineau had there depofited for me, of my Pay, with which I defrayed my Charges to Court. To a worthy and a brave man, nothing can ever be wanting. Now would I fain know, if for all this I ever went to the Hospital, and whether I have not advantaged my felf a hundred times more in ferving my Kings and Maf ters, in all Integrity and Loyalty, than by all the Tricks and Shifts I could have? Oh (my Companions) take example by thofe who for having been loyal in their Charges, can walk with their Faces credit before all the World, and are therefore honoured and eftem’d by all forts of men; and not by fuch who by the Confciences of their Crimes are constrained to hide their heads in their houfes, or that make their Poffertny blufh for them. Wealth will fall upon you when you least dream on’t, or expect it; and one Reward or Bounty from the King, is worth more than all the flarking Tricks, Thefts, and Larccnies of your whole Life.

O how happy are thofe Soldiers, who follow Leaders, that for their Prowefs and Virtue are eftem’d by all the World! How fecure are their Lives and Honours under fuch Captains, and into what Disasters and Difgraces do thofe frequently fall, who follow the more unworthy fort of men. For with the former you fhall learn and acquire Honour and Renown, that will raife you to an equal degree with your Chiefs, and on the contrary following the latter, you fhall learn nothing but Vices, or at leaft things of very little Value, and they will rather lead you on to the Ruine of your Lives, than to the Advancement of your Honour and the Improvement of your Name, there being nothing elze to learn’d of fuch as have no Valour nor Virtue in themselves. A man may ferve a long Apprenticeship under a bad Mafter, and perhaps, not be much the wiser when he has done: but provided you be free from the three fore-mentioned Vices, and that you have Honour in your Pofpect, it is impossible but that all things must succed with you; at leaft you will have the Satisfaction of a noble End, if you propofe to your felves to die like men of Honour, which is the ordinary Remompence of War, and what every brave Man should heartily wish.

There yet remains a fourth, which if you cannot wholly avoid, yet go to it as fal-
The Commentaries of Messire Blaize

Book I.

dom, and as soberly as you can, and without losing your selves in the Labyrinth, and that is, the Love of Women. Embark not by any means in that Affair, for it is utterly an Enemy to an heroick Spirit. Leave Love at home whilest Mars is in the field; you will afterwards have but too much leisure for those Delights. I can safely say, that never any fond Affection, or affectionate Folly of that kind could ever divert me from undertaking and executing what was given me in command. Such little Amoroso’s as these are fitter to handle a Ditaflf than a Sword. Love is a great Enemy to a Soldier, and besides the debauch and the time loft in those little Intrigues, it is an Occupation that begats a numberles number of Quarrels, and sometimels even with your dearest Friends. I have known more People light even upon this account, than upon the score of Honour. And what a horrid thing it is, that a man should forfeit his Reputation, and very often lose his Life for the Love of a Woman! As for you Soldiers, above all things I recommend to you the Obedience that you owe to your Commanders, to the end that you may one day learn how to command; for it is impossible that Soldier should ever know how to command, who has not first learnt to obey: And take notice, that the Virtues and Discretion of a Soldier are chiefly manifested in his Obedience, and in his Disobedience lies the Ruin of his Life and Honour. A refly Horfe never yet made good Proof. The Proverb will serve, and you ought not to flight the Advice I give you, if but in respect to my Experience, who have seen a great deal; and I muft needs be a very ignorant and fenfeles fellow, if in all this time of my Life, I have made no Observations of the Succeffes and Misfortunes both of the one and the other. But I have committed some to memory, and that is it which has given me occasion to write this Book in the latter end of my days.

Having in my greener years been bred up in the Family of Anthony Duke of Lorain, and now grown up towards a Man, I was prefently preferred to an Archer’s Place in the Dukes own Company, Monfieur Bayard being at that time Lieutenant to the fame. Not long after being enhand’d with the Report of the noble Feats of Arms every day perform’d in Italy, which in those days was the Scene of Action, I was posfess’d with a longing desire to visit that Country. To this end making a Journey into France, I made ftiff to procure of my Father a little Money and a Spanish Horfe, and without further delay began my Journey in order to my Design, leaving to Fortune the hopes of my future Advancement and Honour. About a days Journey from my Fathers houfe, and near unto Leisure, I turn’d a little out of my way to visit the Sieur de Guifcon, an ancient Gentleman who had long frequented Italy, of him to inform my felf at large of the State, Condition, Manners and Customs of that Country in order to my future Conduct. This Gentleman told me fo many things, and related to me fo many brave Exploits which were there every day perform’d, that without longer abode, or staying any where longer than to refreh my felf and my Horfe, I paft over the Alps, and took my way directly to Milan. Being come to Milan, I there found two Uncle’s of mine by my Mothers fide, call’d the Stiella’s, both of them men of great Reputation and Esteem, of which the one ferv’d under Monfieur de Lefjus, Brother to Monfieur de Lantres (the fame who was afterwards Marefchal of France, and then known by the Name of the Marefchal de Foix) by whom I was prefently put into an Archers place in his own Company, a Place of great Repute in those days, there being in those times feveral Lords and great Perfons who rode in Troops, and two or three who were Archers in this; but fince that Diſcipline is loft and grown degenerate, and all things are turn’d upsie down, without hopes that any man now alive shall ever fee them reftr’d to their former Eflate.

At this time the War betwixt Francis the First and the Emperour Charles the Fifth broke out again with greater Fury than before, the later to drive us out of Italy, and we to maintain our Footing there, though it was only to make it a place of Sepulture to a world of brave and valiant French. God Almighty rais’d up these two great Princes (wom Enemies to one another, and emulous of one anothers Greatness; an Emulation that has cost the Lives of two hundred thousand Perfons, and brought a million of Families to utter Ruin; when after all neither the one nor the other obtin’d any other advantage by the Diffpute, than the bare Repentance of having been the caufers of fo many Miseries, and of the Effusion of fo much Christian Blood. If God had pleas’d that these two Monarchs might have underſhoot one another, the whole Earth had trembled under their Arms; and Solyman who was contemporary with them, and who during their Contests enlarg’d his Empire on every fide, would have had enough to do to defend his own. The Emperour was, ‘tis true, a great and a magnanimous Prince, yet in nothing superiour to our Mafter, during his Life, faying
de Montluc, Mareschal of France

in a little better Success, and in that God gave him the Grace to bewail his Sins in a Convex, into which he retir'd himself two or three years before his Death. During the space of two and twenty months that this War continued, I had the good fortune to be an Eye-witness of several very brave Actions, which were very fit to fixation a raw Soldier, neither did I fail continually to present my Self in all places and upon all occasions, where I thought Honour was to be purchased at what price soever, and it is to be imagin'd I had my share of fighting, when I had no less than five horses kill'd under me in the short continuance of that Service, and of those two in two days, which Monfieur de Roqueiaure, who was Colon German to my Mother, was pleased to give me. For in this beginning of my armes I had the good fortune to gain so far upon the affections of the whole Company, that my horses being lost, every one was willing to help to remount me, and being moreover taken prisoner in Battel, I was soon after delivered by the procurement of my friends.

Let such therefore as intend to acquire honour by feats of Arms, resolve to shew their eyes to all hazards, and dangers whatever, in the first encounter where they shall happen to be present for that's the time when every one has his eyes fix'd upon them, to observe their behaviour, and thence to form a judgment of their future hopes. It in the beginning shall, by any handom action, signalize their courage, and boldnes, it lets a good mark upon them for ever, and not only makes them noted, and regarded by all; but moreover inspires them themselves with mettle, and vigour to perform more, and great things. Now you must know that in this War we left the Dutchy of Milian, Of which (though I do not pretend to be any great Clerk) I could write the true History, and should his Majesty command me, I would deliver the truth, and I am able to give as good an account (though I was my Self very young at that time,) as any man whatever in France, I mean of those passages where I had the fortune to be present, and no other; for I will write nothing by hearsay. But I intend not to bure my Self with a Relation of other mens actions, and less of the faults, and oversights by them committ'd, though they are as freth in my memory, as at that moment; and feeing that what I my Self perform'd in that Country, at that time, was in the quality of a private Soulidier only. I being not as yet step'd into Command I shall no longer insist upon this melancholy Subject, which has al.so been writ before by others; only this I shall make bold to affirm, that Monfieur de Lautrec was by no means to be blam'd, he having there performed all the parts of a good, and prudent General; and, who indeed was in himself one of the greatest men I ever knew. Neither shall I trouble my Self to give a narration of the Battel of the Boniga, in which I fought on foot, as also did Monfieur de Montmorancy, since Constable of France. A Battel that Monfieur de Lautrec was compelld to content unto, through the obstinacy of the Swift, quite contrary to his own judgment.

A Nation whose willfulness I have seen occasion the los of several places, & cause great inconveniences in his Majesties affairs. They are, to speak the trute, a very warlike people, and serve as it were for Bullwalks to an Army; but then they mult never want, either money, or victuaLs; for they are not to be paid with words.

After the unfortunate los of this fair Dutchy of Milian, all the forces returned back into France, and with them the Company of the said Mareschal de Foix, wherein I then had not only the place of a Man at arms; but moreover an Affiliation of an Archers pay. Sometime after the Emperor fet another Army on foot to recover Fourasville, wherupon our Company, and several others were ordered to repair to Borne to Monfieurs de Lautrec, who was his Majesties Lieutenant in Guinette. The said Sieur de Lautrec, that he might the better make head against the enemy, (who made a shew of attempting something upon the Frontier) made a sudden leavy of fourteen or fifteen Ensigns of Foot, which was the occasion that I (who ever had an inclination for foot service) entreated leave of Captain Sayas (who carried the Cornette in the absence of Captain Carbon his brother,) for three months only; that I might accept of an Ensign offer'd to me by Captain Clotte, who at last very unwillingly granted my finte, although he himself had first lent to Captain Carbon to sollicite it in my behalf. Suddenly after this (the Enemy being deeply reinforced with fresh supplies) la Clotte was commanded away to Borne, & a few days after that, Captain Carbon took the Companies of Monfieur de Lautrec, and the Mareschal his brother, with two Companies of Foot, to wit, that of Mgr. Comenge, and la Clotte to conduct us thorough the Woods straight to St. Jean de Luz, where the enemies Camp at that time lay. So soon as we were arrived at the top of a little Hill about half a quarter of

Five horses kill'd under Monfieur de Montluc.
of a League distant from Luz, (having already passed a little River by a wooden bridge, another half quarter of a League behind this little hill, at the foot whereof, and before us, there ran a rivulet of fifteen, or twenty paces broad, and deep to a man's girdle, joyning to which there is also a plain which extends it fell in an eddye defcent, down to the said Rivulet, from whence one may easily discover St. Jean de Luz, one of the finest Bourgs in all France, and planted upon the Margent of the Ocean Sea.) Captain Carbon who commanded the Party, leaving two Cornets upon this little hill, the one whereof was carried by Captain Sayas, which was ours, and the other by Captain d' Andouins, which was that of Monfieur de Lautrec (but both of them only in the absence, the one of Captain Carbon, the other of Captain Ar - tugalelle,) and only twenty horse with each, together with our two Companies of foot, took the rest of the Gens-d'armes, and with them Monfieur Gramont, the fame who afterwards dyed in the Kingdom of Naples, and who was at this time Lieutenant to the Company belonging to Monfieur de Lautrec.

With this Party Captain Carbon passed over the little River, and having divided his men into three Squadrons (as one might easily discover from the Hill where we stood) trotted along the plain directly towards St. Jean de Luz. Being come to the middle of the plain, he there made a halt for an hour, or more, whilst a Trumpet went twice, and sounded the Fanfare to the Enemy, after which being about to retreat, as not believing any one would stir out of the Enemies Camp, the forlorn which he had sent out three of their Squadrons on Horse, appearing upon their march, one upon the heels of another, and making directly towards Monfieur de Carbon. Of thefe the first that came up, presently, and smartly charg'd the foremost of ours, where there were many Launces broken on both sides; but more of ours, than theirs, for as much as in those times the Spaniards carried but few Launces, and those very flender, long, and pointed at both ends. During this charge Captain Carbon was leisurely drawing off the other two Squadrons towards the place where we were, when the second of the Enemies Squadrons coming up, and uniting with the first, beat our first to our second Squadron, commanded by Monfieur Gramont, where the skirmish was very hot, and a great many men thrown to ground both on the one side, and other, amongst whom were the Sceigneurs de Gramont, who had his horse killed under him, de Luppe Standard-bearer to Monfieur de Lautrec, de Poigrecc, who is since turn'd Hugonot, de la Fay de Xaintonge, who is yet living, and divers others. At the fame instant we discover'd another great Party of Horse advancing towards us a little on our left hand, at the sight of which Captain Carbon who carried our Colours came both of them running to me, and saying we are all lost, whereupon I told them, that it were better, than to conclude, to hazard fourscore, or an hundred Foot, to bring off our Horse who were engag'd. To which la Closte, and Mogrin made answer, that ventre would only occasion a greater loss, and that moreover they very much doubted the Souldiers would hardly be persuaded to go down, seeing death so manifest before their eyes. Now you must understand there was no one present at this discourse, laying the two forementioned Captains, and my self, our Foot standing drawn up fourteen, or fifteen paces behind; and it was not amiss, for I make a great question had they heard what we said, and seeing the Gens-d'armes in manifest danger to be lost, whether I should have been so cheerfully followed, as I was. And it is a good rule, as much as a man can to conceal from the Souldier the danger of any enterprise, if you intend to have them go briskly to their work. To this last objection of the two Captains, I made answer that I would run the hazard to lead them on, and that lost, or lost not, it was better to hazard, and to lose fourscore, or an hundred Foot, than all our Gens-d'armes. And thereupon without further deliberation (for long confutations are often the ruine of brave attempts,) I return'd back to the Souldiers, and the Captains with me (for the business required) laying to them only these few words, Come on, come on Comrades, let us go, and relieve our Gens-d'armes, and was thereupon follow'd by an hundred Foot of our own Company, who with very great resolution defended with me to the foot of the Hill, where at the head of my men I passed over the brook, and there deliver'd twenty of my men to be led by the Balfard of Aunzeh, a Gentleman who has nothing blemish'd the legitimate Sons of his race; though all of them men of singular bravery, and a remarkable valour.

Now you must know that the Company I commanded, was not other than Cross-bows, for at this time the use of the Harquebuz, had not as yet been introduced among
mongst us; only three, or four days before fix Gascon Harquebusiers came over to us from the Enemy, which I had received into my Company, having by good fortune been that day upon the Guard, at the great Gate of the City; and of these six, one was a native of the Territory of Montluc. Would to heaven that this accursed engine had never been invented, I had not then receiv'd those wounds which I now languish under, neither had so many valiant men been slain for the most part by the most pitiful fellows, and the greatest Cowards; Poltrons that had not dur'd to look those men in the face at hand, which at distance they laid dead with their confounded bullets: but it was the Devil's invention to make us murder one another. Being thus past the River, I order'd the Baillaud d'Auzan not to suffer his men to shoot, but only to present as if they intended to do it, to the end that he might favour mine, and give them time to discharge and retire again into their order. Now when I was under the foot of the Hill, I could not possibly see what our men did, but being advanced a little further into the plain, I saw all the Enemys three Squadrons drawn up into one body, and the great party on the left hand, marching upon a good round trot directly towards ours, who were rally'd, and foot arm'd, without being able either to advance forwards, or to retire back, by reason of some great plains that lay scatter'd in their Rear. Here it was that Captain Carbon (who had no Arms on, having before been wounded in his left arm by an Arquebuz shot) seeing me to near him, came up to me, and said, Oh! Montluc, my dear friend, charge up boldly, I will never false thee: Captain, said I, take you only care to save your self, and your Gener d'Armcs, at the same instant crying out, shoot, Comrades, at the head of these Horfe. I was not above a dozen paces distant from the Enemy when I gave them this Volley, by which (as it appear'd by the testimony of the Prisoners, who were taken a few days after) above fifty Horfes were kill'd, and wound'd, and two Troopers slain, an execution that a little cool'd their courage, and caus'd their Troops to make a halt. In the mean time Captain Carbon had leisure with his party to retire full gallop towards the brook I had pass'd over to relieve him, where such as had their horses loft, taking hold of the others horfe they fav'd themselves also, and all together pass'd over the River. Which haft they were necessitated to make, or otherwise the great party of Horse on the left hand, had charg'd them in the Flank, had they drawn more leisurely off. In the mean time under favour of the twenty Cross-bows of d'Auzan, who sustaine'd us, we rallied again, and gave another volley. So soon as Captain Carbon had pass'd the River with his Horfe, remounted Monsieur de Gramont, on another horse, and mounted the reft en Groupe, he commanded the said Sieur de Gramont to ride to the top of the hill, and in all haft to draw off the Ensigns both of horse and foot, at a round trot, directly to the other River, where the bridge was, that leads towards Bayonne. Which order being given he suddently turn'd back again towards me, having in his company an Italian call'd Signior Diamede, and the Sieur de Minabaut, where he found me retreating towards a ditch, upon the edge of a Marith, and of which I might be within some twelve, or fourteen paces, which not only hindered him from getting up to me, but moreover gave him enough to do to save himself. I notwithstanding in spite of the Enemy recovered the ditch of the Marith, being still shett'ed by d'Auzan, whom I command'd to climb over in great diligence, and there to make head, which he accordingly performed. The Spaniards in the mean time made a shew, as if they meant to charge, but they durst not attempt to break into me; neither were my fix Harquebusiers idle all this while, but did wonders with their shott, when having at laft retreat'd my men within five or six paces of the ditch, I caus'd them all in an instant to throw themselves into it, and under favour of d'Auzan, almost as suddainly to mount the ditch bank on the other side, over which we all got safe and found, saving three Soldiers, who were slaine with Harquebus shott, for not having been so nimble as the rest; and here it was that, as in a little fort, I made head against the Enemy. Now you must know, that that party of the Enemy which came up on the left hand, made a halt at the bank of the River, when they saw our Horse were already got half way up the hill, and those who had fought, and to whom I had given a stop at the ditch bank, were now upon their retreat home, when seeing three Squadrons of Harquebusiers coming along the plain, and making towards them with all the speed they could, it reviv'd their spirits, and inspir'd them with new courage to face about again. In the mean time (having also discover'd these fresh succours) began to shift along by the ditch, till being by the return of a corner of it, flipt out of their sight, I drew my men into a very narrow meadow, from whence at full speed I gain'd the foot.
foot of the hill I had defcended before, and having repafs'd the River, soon recoveryed the top of the mountain. The danger wherein I faw my felv to be, as well of the Horfe I had prefling upon my Rear, as of the Batallion of Infantry which I faw falt advancing towards me, did not however make me loofe my judgment in a time of fo great need; nor hinder me from difcerning and taking this opportunity for my retreat, during which I made the little handful of men I had march very clofe together; and by turns encouraging, and speaking to them, made them often face about and fubdue the Cavalry, who pursu'd me both with Crofs-bow, and Harquebuzes, when having gain'd the top of the hill, I drew into an Orchard, making falt the Gate on the inside, that the Horfe might not fo fuddainly enter, and by the favour of that, and feveral others planted with Apples, fill made on towards the Bridge, till I came to a little Church call'd Hauie, from whence I perceived the great road to be all covered over with the Enemies Horfe, there being nevertbeles a great ditch betwixt them and me, from whence I bellow'd upon them one Harquebuz, and Crofs-bow shot, which alfo very feldom fail'd of their eftect, and compell'd them (feeling they could not come up to me) fome to advance forwards, and others to retire. I then put fome of my men into the Church yard, thinking there again to make head; the greatest folly I committed throughout the whole action; for in the mean time a good number of their Horfe gliding along by the meadow ftraight towards the Bridge, were already advanc'd fo far, that I faw my felv totally enclos'd, without all manner of hope to escape, and to fave my felv.

Now fo foon as Captain Carbon had recover'd the Bridg, and that the Horfe, and Foot were all pafs'd over, he commanded Monfieur Gramont to ftaf round about, not only a trot, but a full gallop; for he already discover'd the Enemies Infantry in the Orchards, which I could not do; neither did I ever perceive them, till they began to shoot at me; and then I made a fign to my Soldiers in the Church yard to come, and draw up to me in the great high way. Captain Carbon in the interim, being he faw nothing of me, half concluded us all for kill'd, or taken, and yet feeing all the Enemies Troops of horfe both on the right hand, and on the left, making directly towards the Bridg, would leave Captain Campai (an admirable good Soldier) at the end of the Bridg with five and twenty horfe, and thirty Crofs-bows of Captain Megrin's Company, to try if there were any poiffible means to relieve me, were I yet alive, caufing the Bridg in the mean time to be broken down. Now because that Troop of the Enemies horfe which march'd on the right hand, made a great deal more haft towards the Bridg, than that of the left, I quitted the great high way, and under favour of a hedg made ftraight towards the River, where I was again to encounter the Horfe, which notwithstanding I made my way thorow, fhopt into the River, and in diftance of them all, paffed over to the other fide wherein, the banks of the River being high, favour'd me very much, they being too fteep for the horfe to get down, neither was our fhot of both forts idle in the mean time. At laft I recover'd the end of the Bridg, where I found Captain Campai very bulifh at work to break it, and who fo foon as he faw me, was very impoitant with me to fave my felv, at the fame time preffing me the Crapper of his horfe to that end: but he had no other anfwer from me, but this, that God had hitherto preferv'd me, and my Soldiers alfo, whom I was likewife resolv'd never to abandon, till I had firft brought them into a place of safety. Whilst we were in this difpute we were aware of the Spanifh Infantry coming direcdty towards the Bridg, when finding our felves too weak to stand the shock, Campai with the Crofs-bows of Captain Megrin took the Van in order to a retreat, and I remain'd in the Rear, having gain'd a ditch that enclos'd a little meadow, which was fufficient to defend me from the horfe, it being fo high, that they could not come to charge.

I had now nothing left me but my fix Harquebuzers, my Crofs-bows having alreadily spent all their Arrows; nevertbeles to fhow that their hearts were not down, I caus'd them to hold their Swords ready drawn in the one hand, and their Bows in the other to ferve instead of a Buckler. Now Captain Campai's men had broken down the greatest part of the Bridg before they went away, by reafon of which impedi ment the Cavalry could not fo foon come up to us, having been contraint'd to fodor the River two Harquebuzes shot on the right hand, whilst the Foot in the mean time with great difficulty fill'd it over one by one by the rails of the Bridg, a poffure wherein it had been a very eafe matter to defeat them; had I not foreseen that then the Cavalry would have come up to enclos'e me, and our honor depended upon
upon our retreat. Wherefore still getting ground, and from ditch to ditch, having gained about half a quarter of a league of way, I made a halt, that my men might not be out of breath, when looking back I perceive'd the Enemy had done so too, and saw by his countenance that he grew weary of the pursuit, a thing at which I was very much astonished and not a little glad, for in plain truth we were able to do no more, having taken a little Water and Cider, and some Maiz bread out of a few small houes we met upon the way. In the mean time Captain Campai sent out some Horse to see what was become of us, believing me to be either dead, or taken. And now behold us arriv'd in a place of safety, with the loss of only three men in the first ditch; and the brave Ballard d'Auxan, who by loytering something too long in a little houe by the Church was unfortunately lost.

In the interim of this bulle which continued pretty long, the alarm was carried to Monsieur de Lautrec to Bayonne, together with the news, that we were all totally defeated, at which he was exceedingly troubled, in regard of the ill conueniences that usually attend the flething and giving an Enemy blood in the beginning of a War. However he drew out presently into the field, and was advanced but a very little way, when he discover'd our Ensigns of Foot conducted by the Sieur de Gramont, marching upon the Road towards him, who, to loon as he came up, presently gave him an account of what had happened, and did me the honor to tell him, that I was the cause of their preparation; but that withall I was lost in the service.

Captain Carbon was not yet arriv'd, forasmuch as he had made a halt to stay for Captain Campai, from him to learn the issue of the business: but in the end he came up also, to whom Monsieur de Lautrec spoke these words. Well, Carbon, was this a time wherein to commit such a piece of folly as this? which I do assure you is not of so little moment, but that you have thereby endangered the making me lose this City of Bayonne, which you know to be a place of so great importance. To which Carbon made answer. Sir, I have committed a very great fault, and the greatest folly that ever I was guilty of in my whole life: to this hour the like disgrace has never befallen me; but seeing it has pleased God to preserve us from being defeated, I shall be safer for the time to come. Monsieur de Lautrec then demanded of him, if there was any news of me, to which he made answer, that he thought I was lost: but as they were returning forthwards to the City in expectation of further news, Captain Campai also arriv'd, who assured them that I was come safely off, relating withal the handflom retreat I had made, in despyte, and in the very teeth of the Enemy, with the loss of four men only, and that it was not possible, but that the Enemy must have lost a great number of men. I was no sooner come to my Quarters, but that a Gentleman was sent from Monsieur de Lautrec, to bring me to him, who entertained me with much kindnefs, and respect, as he could have done any Gentleman in the Kingdom, saying to me these words in Gascon; Montuc mon amic, ou a oblsideray jamai lou service qu'obre fait au Ray, & m'en fevira tant que vous vivrais. Which is, Monsieur, my friend, I will never forget the service you have this day performed for the King: I will be mindfull of it so long as I live. There is as much honor in a handflom retreat, as there is in good fighting, and this was a Lord who was not wont to care for many people; a fault that I have often observ'd in him; nevertheless he was pleas'd to express an extraordinary favor to me all the time we fate at supper, which also continued to me ever after, indomuch that calling me to mind four or five years after, he dispatched an express Courrier to me from Paris into Gascony with a Commission to raise a Company of Foot, entreating me to bear him company in his expedition to Naples, and has ever since put a greater value upon me, than I deferred. This was the first action I was ever in the quality of a Commander, and from whence I began to derive my reputation.

You Captains (my Camrades) who shall do me the honor to read my Life, take notice, that the thing in the world, which you ought most to desire, is to meet with a fair occasion wherein to manifest your courage in the first Sally of your Arms; for if in the beginning you shall prove successesful, you do (amongst others) two things. First you caufe your selves to be prai'd, and effectu'd by the great ones, by whose report you shall be recommended to the knowledg of the King himself, from whom we are to expect the recemmece of all our Services, and Labours: And in the next place, when the Soldier shall see a Captain who has behav'd himself well, and performed any notable thing at his first trial; all the valiant men will strive to be under his command, believing that so auspicious a beginning, cannot fail
of a prosperous issue; but that all things will succeed well with him, and that under such a man they shall never fail to be employ'd; for nothing can more spire a man of courage, than to be left at home to burn his limbs by the fire, whilst other men are employ'd abroad in honorable action. So that by this means you shall be sure always to be follow'd by brave men, with which you shall continue to get more honor, and proceed to greater reputation; and on the contrary, if you chance to be baffled in the beginning, whether through your Cowardice, or want of Conduct, all the good men will avoid you, and you will have none to lead, but the Lees, and Canaille of the Army, with whom (though you were the Heroe of the world) there will be no good to be done; nor other, than an ill repute to be acquire'd. My Exemple upon this occasion, may serve for something, wherein though perhaps there were no great matters perform'd, yet it is, that of little exploits of War, great uces are sometimes to be made. And remember, whenever you find your selves overmatch'd with an Enemy, that you can bridge, and hold at bay with the los of a few men, not to fear to hazard them. Fortune may be favourable to you, as she was to me; for I dare confidently say, that had not I presented my self to lead on these hundred Foot (which all play'd their parts admirably well) we had certainly had all the Enemies Cavalry upon our hands, which had been a power too great, for so few as we were to withstand.

The Enemies Camp soon after retir'd into Navarre, whereupon Monfieur de Lau tre disband'd the one half of his Companies, referring only the two Ensigns of Monfieur de Canna, and that of the Baron Jean de Canna, confinling each of only three hundred men (the first time they had ever been reduc'd to that number) they having formerly confin'd of five hundred, or a thousand; a device whereby the King's Treasury was very much relieved, as it fav'd the pay of so many Lieutenants, Ensigns, Serjeants, and other Officers: but withall the command of a good number of men, usually invited men of Condition, and Efstates into the Service, who at present disdain to accept of Commissions, where they fee so many pitiful Captainets, who are admitted into Command, without ever having throok a stroke.

At this time you must know Monfieur de Lau tre becom'd my Captains Company up on me, though I was then but twenty years of age, and leaving four Companies in Bayonne, took Pois, and went away to Court: which departure of his encouraged the Enemy to renew his Camp, and to lay Siege to Fontarabie, which they also took before his return. The loss of this place was occasion'd, either through the indiscretion, or the treachery of a Nephew to the Confiable of Navarre, and Son to the late Marechial de Navarre, who having been banish'd from Spain, for fiding with King Henry of Navarre, was, together with a Garrifon of four hundred men (Exiles like himself) put into this City, where he was at this time so well sollicited by his Uncle, that he revol'd to his side, by which means this place was lost, which otherwise had been impregnable, though the Enemy had made two great breaches in it; but being I was not there present, and that I will deliver nothing upon report, I shall say so more but this, that Captain Frangett, who surrender'd it up to the Spaniards, and who for not doing laid the blame to the said Don Pedro, was afterwards for his pains degrade at Lyons. The los of this place depriv'd us of very good footing we had in Spain. It was here that some years before, Monfieur de Lude won immortal glory, by enduring a whole years Siege in all the extremities that mankind can undergo, and he for so doing carried away honor, and reward, but Frangett in fury and rude; thus goes the world, and fortune. In the meantime, if any of the Princes, or the Kings Lieutenants shall vouchsafe to peruse this Book of mine (and perhaps they may read worse) let them take notice by this ex ample, and others that I have seen, and that I may perchance make mention of hereafter, that it is very dangerous to make use of a man, that has once abandon'd his own Prince, and natural Sovereign; not that he is to be rejected, when he flies into a mans arms for refuge, and protection; but he ought not by any means to have a place entrufft to him, with which he may at any time make his own peace, and refurn himself to his Princes favour. Or if they shall think fit to truft him, it ought not to be however till after by a long trial, he shall have manifest his fidelity, that there is no more quetion to be made of his Faith; and then in such a proceds of time, the Country, into which he shall come at first a stranger, or fugitive, and an Exile, will be grown natural and familiar to him, and he will have received benefits, and acquir'd such
such interdils, and poiffions, as may fix him there: and yet even then let it be at a sufficient distance from such as he may have had any private correspondenties, or secret practices withal: For by what I have heard from several of the Emperour's Captains, had Charles of Bourbon taken Marselles, and Frenone, the Emperor would never have committed so great an error, as to have entrufed them in his hands, though he had faithfully promis'd so to do. But let us proceed.

All these Foot Companies being disbanded, excepting those which were left in Garfion, I who had no mind to be immur'd within the walls of a City, again put my fall into the Company of Monfieur Le Marschal de Foix, wherein I continued till such time as King Francis went his expedition against Monfieur de Bourbon, who, together with the Marques of Pefara laid Siege to Marselles (which Sieur de Bour- bon, for an affront that had been offer'd to him, was revolte to the Emperour (there is nothing a great heart will not do in order to revenge) where seeing the King would permit the Marschal de Foix to carry no more, than twenty men at arms of his own Company along with him, and finding my self at my arrival to be excluded that election, and none of the number, I took such vnuff at it, that I went with five or fix Gentlemen, who did me the honor to bear me company, to be present at the Battail, with a resolution to fight volunteer amongst the Foot. But Monfieur de Bourbon after having lain fix weeks only before the City, rais'd the Siege. The Signior Ranco de Core, a Gentleman of Rome, a brave, and experience'd Captain, together with the Sieur de Brien were within, with a sufficient Garfion, his Majefly had thither sent for the defence of the Town; So that Monfieur de Bourbon found himfelf to be deceiv'd in his intelligence, and that he had reckon'd without his Hoff. The French did not as yet know what it was to rebell against their Prince; for so soon as he had notice of the Kings approach, he retir'd himfelf over the Mountains, and defended into Piedmont, by the Marquifate of Saluazo, and Pignerol, and not without very great lofs, fled away to Milan, which also both he, and the Viceroy of Naples, were contrain'd to abandon, and to fly out at one gate, whilst we entred in at another.

Signior Don Antonio de Leva (who was one of the greatfe Captains the Emperors had, and who I do believe had he not been hindered by the Gout (with which he was infinitely torment'd) would have furpafs'd all others of his time ) was chosen in this poffure of affairs to be put into Pavie, with a strong Garfion of German Soldiers, supposing that the King would infallibly fall upon that place, as in effect he did. The Siege continued for the space of eight months, in which time Monfieur de Bourbon went into Germany, where he fo better'd himfelf with the money he had bor- rowed from the Duke of Savoy, that he thence brought along with him ten thoufand German foot, together with four or five hundred men at arms from the Kingdom of Naples, with which Forces encamping himfelf at Lode, he came to offer the King Battail upon a St. Matthias day, our army being very much weakened as well by the length of the Siege, as by Sickness, with which it had been miferably infected. To which difadvantages the King had moreover unluckily disbanded three thoufand Grijfins command'd by a Collonel of their own called le grand Diarre, I suppose, to conftate the charges of the War. Oh that these little pieces of good Husbandry do very often occasion notable loffes! Alfo a few days before Monfieur d' Albaie was, by the King's command, departed with great Forces towards Rome, from thence to fall into the Kingdom of Naples: but in the end all vanifh'd away in fionke; for, to our great misfortune, we loft the Battail, and all thefe enterprizes came to nothing.

The Description of this Battail is already publish'd in fo many places, that it would be labour lost therein to waft my paper; I shall therefore only fay, that the butfins was not well carried in feveral places on our fide, which occasioned their ruine, who behav'd themfelves bett upon that Occafion. The King was taken prifoner, Monfieur the Marschal de Foix, both taken and wounded with an Arquebuzet shot in his thigh, which moreover enter'd into his belly, Monfieur de St. Paul taken, and wounded with thirteen wounds, with which he had been left for dead upon the place, and was stript to his thirt: but a Spaniard coming to cut off his Finger, for a King he could not otherwife pull off, he cried out, and being known, was carried with the said Marschal into Pavie, to the lodging of the Marquif de Scadafih; feveral other great Lords loft their Lives, as the Brother to the Duke of Lorain, the Admiral de Chambres, and many others taken, amongst whom were the King of Navarre, Mulieres de Nevers, de Montmorency, de Brien, and others: but I shall not take the memory
memory of any one for the loss of this Battel; nor fet a mark upon those who beha-
ved themselves ill enough, even in the presence of their King. During all the time
of my abode in the Army, I was continually with a Captain call'd Capitaine de Navarre,
without any pay, which Captain having the fortune to command the forlorn hope
in the day of Battel, intreated me to bear him Company, which accordingly I did, as
also the five Gentlemen who came in company with me. I was taken prisoner by
two Gentlemen of the Company of Don Antonio de Leva, who upon the Saturday
morning let me go, together with two of my Camrades; for they faw they were
likely to get no great treasure of me, the other three were killed in the Battel. Be-
ing now at liberty I retir'd my felf into the house of the Marechall, where Monsieur le
Marechal lay wounded. I found him with Monfieur de St-Pol, both together in one bed,
and Monfieur de Montfau, lodg'd in the fame Chamber, who was also wounded in his
leg. There I heard the difcourfe and dispute between Sieur Frederick de Bege, who was
prisoner, and Captain Suera, who belong'd to the Emperor upon the loss of this Battel,
who accused our French of many great overfights, particularly nominating several per-
fons, whose names I am willing to forbear: but I judge'd their opinions to be very good,
being both of them very great Soldiers, and what I then heard has since been服务区
to me upon several occasions; an ufe that every one ought to make of fuch contro-
versies, who intends to arrive at any degree of perfection in the practice of Arms. A
man must fee k only all occasions of prefenting himself at all encounters, and Bat-
tels, but mult moreover be curious to hear, and careful to retien the opinions,
and arguments of experienced men, concerning the faults, and overfights committed
by Commanders, and the los, or advantages to the one fide, and the other enfuing
thereupon; for it is good to learn to be wife and to become a good Mater at another
man's expence.

The Kingdom of France has long bewailed this unfortunate day, with
the losfs we have fullain'd, besides the captivity of this brave Prince, who thought to
have found fortune as favourable to him here, as he was at his Battel with the Swift: but
the play'd the baggage, and turn'd her tail; making him to know how inconvenient,
and of how dangerous confequence it is, to have the perfon of a King expos'd
to the uncertain event of Battel; considering that his los brings along with it the ru-
ine of his Kingdom. Almighty God nevertheless was pleas'd to look upon this with
an eye of pity, and to preferv'e it; for the Conquerors dazled with the rays of victo-
ry loft their understanding, and knew not how to follow their blow: otherwife had Mon-
fieur de Bourbon turn'd his Forces towards France, he would have put us all to our
Triumps.

The Monday following Monfieur de Bourbon gave orders that fuch as were taken pri-
soners, and had not wherewithal to pay their ransome, should avoid the Camp, and
return home to their own houses. Of which number I was one; for I had no great
treasure; he gave us indeed a Tronp of horfes, and a Company of Foot for our safe con
duct: but the Devil a penny or money, or a bit of bread: infomuch that not one of us, had
any thing but Turnips, and Cabbage-falks, which we broy'd upon the coals, to eat; 'till we came to Ambrun. Before our departure Monfieur le Marechal commanded me to commend him to Captain Carbon, and the elf of his friends, whom
he enter'd not to be defteated at this misfortune; but to roufe up their spirits, and
endeavour to do better than ever, and that they should go, and join themselves to
Monfieur de Launree his Brother. After which he made me a very notable remon-
ence, which was not ended without many tears, and yet deliver'd with a strong
accent, and an affured countenance, though he was very forfe wounded, and fo much
that the Friday following he died. I travel'd on foot as far as Besans in Languedoc,
where his Company then lay; whereof Monfieur d'Launree, after his death, gave one
Tertia to Captain Carbon, a command that he did not long enjoy; for soon after a
Villain native of Montpellier, who had favour'd the Camp of Monfieur de Bourbon,
kil'd him behind, as he was riding post upon the Road near unto Leva: At great a
lofs as has been of any Captain, who has die the hundred years; and one that
I do believe had he lived to the Wars, that we have fince seen, would have perfor-
mmed wonders, and many would have been made good Captains under his command:
For something was every day to be learn'd by following him, he being one of the moft
vigorous, and diligent Commanders, that I ever knew, a great undertaker, and very
recollect in the execution of what he undertook. Another Tertia was given to Cap-
tain Tigges de Auvry, who also did not keep it keep it long, for he shortly after
fell blind and die. The third Tertia he gave to Monfieur de Negrepeilffe, the Father to
him now living, of which a Colo German of mine called Captain Serrhus carried the
Enfign. In
In the mean time Madame the Queen Regent, Mother to the King, and with her all the confederate Princes of the Crown, had let several Treaties on foot, and laboured on all hands the Kings deliverance, with great integrity, and vigour, and to good effect, that in the end this mighty Emperor, who in his imagination had swallowed up the whole Kingdom of France, gain’d not so much as one inch of earth by his victory, and the King had the good fortune in his affliction to derive assistance even from those who at other times were his Enemies, yet to whom the Emperors greatness stood highly triumphant. His Majesty being at last returned home, and mindful of the injuries and indignities, had been offer’d to him during his captivity, having in vain tried all other ways to recover his Two sons out of the Emperors hands, was in the end constrain’d to have recourse to Arms, and to commence the War. And then it was that the expedition of Naples was set on foot under the command of Monfieur de Lautrec, who (as I have already told) dispatch’d a Courier to me into Gascony to raise a Company of Foot, which I also in a few days perform’d, and brought him between seven and eight hundred men, of which, four or five hundred were Harquebuters, though at that time there was but very few of them in France. Of these Montfieur de Ansoun entreated of me the one half, for the completing of his Company, which I granted him, and we made our division near to Alexander’s, which at this time was surrendered to the said Monfieur de Lautrec, who from thence sent Mefieurs de Gramont, and de Montpezat to besiege the Castle of Vigny: before which place, as we were making our approaches, and calling up trenches to plant the Artillery, I was hurt with a Harquebuz shot in my right leg, of which shot I remain’d lame a long time after, insomuch that I could not be at the storming of Pavia, which was carried by assault, and half burnt down to the ground. Nevertheless I caus’d my self to be carried in a Litter after the Camp, and before Monfieur de Lau
trec depart’d from Pisa to march away to Boulogne, I again began to walk.

Now near unto Aisly, there is a little town called Capljorne, seated upon the top of a Mountain, of so difficult access, that the ascent is very steep on all sides, going on the side of the two Gates, into which a great number of the Soldiers of the Country had withdrawn, and fortify’d themselves. The Count Pedro de Navarre, who was our Colonel, commanded our Gascon Companys to attack this Pofl, which we accordingly did, and assault’d the place. We caus’d some Manteletts to be made wherewith to approach the Wall, in which we made two holes, of capacity sufficient for a man calmly to enter in, about fifty or thereabouts paces distant one from the other: whereon I having made the one, I would my self needs be the first to enter at that place. The Enemy on the other side had in the mean time pull’d up the planks, and removed the boards, and tables from the roof of a Parlour into which this hole was made, and where they had plac’d a great tub full of stones. One of the Companies of Monfieur de Luppé our Lieutenant Colonel, and mine prepar’d to enter at this place, and now God had grant’d me the thing, that I had ever desired, which was to be present at an assault, there to enter the first man, or to lose my life: I therefore threw my self headlong into the Parlour, having on a Coat of Mail, such as the Germans us’d in those days, a Sword in my hand, a Targuette upon my arm, and a Morrion upon my head; but as those who were at my heels were press’d to get in after me, the Enemy pour’d the great tub of stones upon their heads, and trap’t them in the hole, by reason whereof the could not possibly follow. I therefore remain’d all alone within fighting at a door that went out into the street: but from the roof of the Parlour, which was unplanke’d, and laid open for that purpose, they pepper’d me in the mean time with an infinite number of Harquebuz shot, one of which piece’d my Targuette, and shoot my arm quite through, within four fingers of my hand, and another so batter’d the bone at the knitting of my arm and shoul
deur, that I lost all manner of feeling, so that letting my Targuette fall, I was constrain’d to retire towards my hole, against which I was born over by those who fought at the door of the Parlour: but to fortunately nevertheless for me, that my Soldiers had, by that means, opportunity made me tumble heels over head from the very top to the bottom of the Grasse, wherein rowling over the musses of the Stones, I again broke my already wounde arm in two places. So soon as my men had gathered me up, I told them, that I thought I had lost my arm behind me in the Town, when one of my Soldiers lifting it up from whence it hung, as in a Scarf, dangling upon my buttocks, and laying it over the other, put me into a little heart; after which, seeing the Sol
diers
The Commentaries of Mefire Blaize

Book I

diers of my own Company gather'd round about me, Oh my Camrades (said I) have I always us'd you to kindly, and ever loved you so well, to forfake me in such a time as this? which I said, not knowing how they had been hindred from following me in.

Upon this, my Lieutenant, who had almost been rifled to death in the hole, call'd la Bastide (Father to the Savillans now living, and one of the bravest Gentlemen in our Army) propos'd to two Bafque Captains call'd Marty and Ramone, who always quarter'd near unto my Company; that if they would with Ladders form'd by a Canton of the wall hard by, he would undertake, at the fame time, to enter by the hole it self, and either force his entry that way, or lose his life in the attempt. To which I also encouraged them, as much as my weakens would permit. The Ladders being therefore preftently brought, and ty'd together, because they proved too fhort, la Bastide made towards the hole, having fent to the other Captains to do as much to the other; but they did no great feats. In the interim that la Bastide was fighting within, having already gained the hole, Marty and Ramone gave a brave Scalado to the Canton, and with fo good fucces, that they beat the Enemy from the wall, and entered the Town. Of this being prefently advif'd, I fent to la Bastide to conjure him to fave me as many women and maids as he poftibly could, that they might not be violated (having in that devotion for a vow I had made to our Lady of Loretta, hoping that God, for this good act, would pleafe to be affiting to me) which he did, bringing fifteen or twenty, which were all fo that were faved; the Soldiers being fo animated to revenge the wounds I had receiv'd, and to expres their affection to me, that they killed all before them, fo much as to the very children, and moreover set the Town on fire. And although the Bishop of Afuly (this being a member of his Dioces) was very impor tant with Monfieur de Lautrec in behalf of the Town, the Soldiers could notwithstanding never be made to leave it, till they faw it reduced to Ashes. The next day I was carry'd to Afuly, where Monfieur de Lautrec fent Meſfieurs de Gramont, and de Montpezat to fec how I did, with whom he moreover fent two Chirurgeons the King had given him at the departure, the one called McGill Affigne, and the other Mafter George; who, after they had feen how miferably my arm was mangled, and fhard't, poftively pronounced, that there was no other way to fave my life, but to cut it off, the execution whereof was defer'd till the next morning. Monfieur de Lautrec thereupon commanded the faid Sieur de Montpezat and de Gramont to be preftent at the work, which they promifed they would, but not without fome difficulty, out of the friendhip they both had for me, especially the Sieur de Gramont. Now you must underftand that my Soldiers had, a few days before, taken prifonner a young man, a Chirurgeon, who had formerly belon'd to Monfieur de Boubout. This young fellow having underftood the determina tion to cut off my arm (for I had entertain'd him into my service) never ceaf'd to impor tune me, by no means to endure it, reprefting to me, that I was not, as yet, arrived to the one half of my age, and that I would with my felf' dead an hundred times a day, when I fhould come to be fentable of the want of an arm. The morning being come, the forementioned Lords, and the two Chirurgeons, and Physicians, came into my chamber with all their in ftruments, and plaiers, without more ceremony, or giving me fo much as leifure to repent, to cut off my arm, having in command from Monfieur de Lautrec to tell me, that I fhould not confider the los of an Arm, to fave my life; nor defpair of my fortune; for although his Majesty fhould not regard my service, nor take it into confideration to fettle a fubfifence for me, yet that nevertheless his wife, and himself, had forty thousand Livers a year revenue, wherewith to recompence my valour, and to provide that I fhould never want; only he withfled me to have patience, and to manifeft my courage upon this occasion. Every thing being now ready, and my arm going to be opened to be cut off, the young Chirurgeon standing behind my bed's head, never defifted preaching to me by no means to fuffer it, inform'd that (as God would have it) though I was prepared, and resolved to let them do what they would with me, he made me to alter my determination; whereupon, without doing any thing more, both the Lords, and the Chirurgeons return'd back to Monfieur de Lautrec to give him an account of the businefs, who (as they have of all them feveral times since allured me) faid these words. I am glad to hear be is fo resolved, and fhould also my felf have repented the caufing of it to be done; for bad he dyed, I fhould ever have felfinfed myself to have been the occafion of his death; and had he lived without an arm, I fhould never have look'd upon him, but with exceeding great trouble, to fet him in fuch a condition; let God therefore work his will.

Immediately
Book I. de Montluc, Mareschal of France.

Immediately after the two forenamed Chirurgions came to examine mine, whether or no he was sufficient to undertake the cure; for otherwise it was order’d, that one of them should remain with me, but they found him capable enough, to which they also added some instructions, what was to be done upon such accidents as might happen. The next day, which was the fourth after my hurt, Monfieur de Lintere caused me to be carried after him to Termes de breffe, where he left me in his own quarters, to the care of the man of the house, who was a Gentleman, and for the further assurance of my person, carried hostages with him, two of the most considerable men of the Town, whereof one was brother to the Gentleman of the house, affuring them, that if any the least foul play was offer’d to me, those two men should infallibly be hang’d.

In this place I remain’d two months and a half, lying continually upon my reins, inso much that my very back bone pierc’d thorough my skin, which is doubtless the greatest torment, that any one in the world can possibly endure; and although I have written in this narrative of my life, that I have been one of the most fortunate men, that have been born those many years, in that I have ever been victorious wherever I commanded, yet have I not been exempt from great wounds, and dangerous sicknesse, of which I have had as many, and as great, as any man ever had, who outlived them. God being still pleased to curb my pride, that I might know my self, and acknowledged all good, and evil to depend upon his pleasure: but all this notwithstanding has seen, four, morose, and choleric nature of my own (which favours a little, and too much of my native Soil) has evermore made me play one trick, or another of a Gaiety, which also I have no great reason to repent. So soon as my arm was come to a perfect supputation, they began to raise me out of Bed, having a little cushion under my arm, and both that, and my arm swath’d up close to my body. In this posture I continued a few days longer, until mounting a little Mule that I had, I caused my self to be carried before Naples, where our Camp was already set down, having hir’d out away a Gentleman of mine on foot to our Lady of Loreto to accomplish my vow, my self being in no condition to perform it. The pain I had suffer’d, was neither so insupportable, nor so great, as the affliction I had, not to have been present at the taking of Malphee, and other places; nor at the defeating of the Prince of Orange, who after the death of Monfieur de Bourbon (slain at the Sack of Rome) commanded the Imperial Army. Had not this valiant Prince (of deplorable memory, for the foulness of his revolt from his Lord, and Master) dyed in the very height of his Victories, I do believe he had sent us back the Popes into Avignon once again.

At my arrival at the Camp, Monfieur de Lintere, and all the other great persons of the Army, received me with great demonstrations of kindnes, and esteem, and particularly Count Pedro de Natura, who caus’d a confiscation to be settled upon me of the value of twelve hundred Duckets yearly revenue call’d la Tour de la Nunciade, one of the fairest Castles in all the Territory of Labour, and the first Baron of Naples; belonging to a rich Spaniard call’d Don Ferdinand. I then thought my self the greatest Lord in all the Army: but I found my self the poorest Rouge in the end, as you shall see by the continuation of this discourse. I could here dilate at full how the Kingdom of Naples was lost, after it was almost wholly conquer’d; a story that has been writ by many: but it is great pity they would not, or durst not relate the truth, being that Kings and Princes might have been taught to be wary by this Example, as not to suffer themselves to be imposed upon, and abus’d, as they very often are: but no body would have the great ones learn to be too wise, for then they could not play their own Games with them any more, as they commonly do. I shall therefore let it alone both for that I do not pretend to record the faults of other men, as also because I had no hand in these transactions, and shall only write my own Fortunes to serve for instruction to such as shall follow after, that the little Montlucs my sons have left me, may look with some kind of Glory into the life of their Grandfather, and aim at honorable things by his Example.

There were no great matters perform’d after my coming to the Camp, neither did they buifie themselves about any thing but the City of Naples, which also they intended to overcome by famine, and it must fuddainly have fallen into our hands, had it not been for the revolt of Andrea d’Avría, who sent to Count Philippis his Nephew to bring back his Gallies to Genoa, with which he kept the City of Naples to close block’d up by Sea, that a Cat could not have got in, which he immediately did, and thereupon an infinite of provision was put into the Town by Sea, whilst our Gallies delay’d to come. God forgive him who was the cause thereof, without which accident the Town had been our own, and consequently the whole Kingdom.
A great Naval victory obtained by Philippin d' Au ris. Philippin Lieutenant or Vice-Admiral to Andrea d'Auria, near unto Capo-dorso obtained a famous Naval Victory over Hugo de Moncada, and the Marquês de Guald, who came to the relief of Naples; but from this Victory proceeded our mine: for Philippin having sent his prisoners to his uncle to Genoa, and the King being importunate to have them deliver'd over to him, Andrea d'Auria would by no means part with them, complaining that he had already deliver'd up the Prince of Orange to the King, without any recompence; upon which occasion the Marquês de Guald (a man of as great dexterity, and cunning as any of his time, and a great Warrior) knew so well how to manage Andrea d'Auria's discontent, that in the end he turn'd his coat, and with twelve Gallies went over to the Emperor's side. The King our Master was well enough informed of all his practices, and might easily enough have prevented the mischief; but his heart was so great, and he was so highly offended with Auria, that he would never seek to him, whereof he repented at leisure: for he has since been the cause of many losses that have befall'n the King, and particularly of the Kingdom of Naples, Genoa, and other misfortunes. It seem'd as if the Sea flood in aw of this man; wherefore without a very great, and more than ordinary occasion, he was not fit to have been provoked, or disquieted: but perhaps the King might have some other reason.

In the end our Gallies arriv'd, and brought with them the Prince of Navarre, Brother to King Henry, with some few Gentlemen only of his train, who lived but three weeks after; for he came in the beginning of our sickness. At his landing Monfieur de Lautrec sent Michael Antonio Marquês de Saluzzo for his Convoy (for he landed a little below la Magdalene within half a mile of Naples) and with him a great part of the Gens d'Armer, with the black Italian Regiments, which were commanded by Count Hugues de Genze, since the death of Signior Horatio Bailbone, and had been the Companies of Signior Giovanni de Medicis, Father to the Duke of Florence that now is, who had been wounded in his leg; with a Harquebus shot before Pavie, being then in the Kings Service, and was thence carried to Florence, where he had his leg cut off, and thereof soon after dyed, and after his death the said Signior Horatio took upon him the command of his Companies. It seem'd that God would at that time some evil to the King, when he lay before Pavie. For in the first place some one advis'd him to feed away the Grifons, secondly to send Monfieur d'Albin to Rome with another part of the Army, and for the fail of all misfortunes God sent this mitigation to Signior Giovanni, who (to speak the truth) understood more of the affairs of War, than all the rest, who were about the King, having three thousand Foot under his command, the best that ever were in Italy, with three Cornes of horse, and I do verily believe (and there are several others of the same opinion) that, had he been well at the Battel, matters had not gone so ill as they did. Signior Horatio afterwards encourag'd the number a thousand men, which made up four thousand foot, who carried black Ensigns for the death of the said Signior Giovanni, and were moreover all put into mourning, from whence they deriv'd the name of the Black Regiments, and afterwards allotted themselves to the Marquês of Saluzzo, who temporiz'd for about two years in Italy, and about Florence, and afterwards join'd with our Army at Trages, or else at Nostra, I am not certain which, for that I lay at the same time wounded at Terms en Breffo.

But to return to the landing of the Prince of Navarre, because there was something of Action there performed wherein I had a share, I shall give an account of that business. Captain Artiguelaue (who was Colonel of five Gasfon Ensigns which were wont to be under Montel de Lappes, and of five others commanded by the Baron de Bernu) was commanded, as also was Captain de Bach, eldest son of the Family of Candale, to draw down to that place, and I also (poor wretch as I was) was one of the number. So soon as we were got down to the shore, the Marquês left all our Pikes behind a great Rampire, which the Count Pedro de Navarre had cauf'd to be call'd up, and that extended on the right hand, and on the left, for about half a mile in length. Clofetoadying to this was a great Portal of Stone, through which ten, or twelve men might march a breach, and that I do believe had been a Gate in former times, for the Arch, and other marks thereof were fill remaining; to the checks of which Portal, our Rampire was brought up, both on the one side, and the other. Our Battailon was drawn up about an hundred paces distant from this Portal, the Black Regiments some three hundred paces behind ours, and the greataft part of the Horse yet further behind them. Monfieur le Marquês, Monfieur le Captain, the Count Hugues, Captain Artiguelaue, and almost all the Captains as well Italians as Gasfon along with them, went down
down as well to facilitate, as to be present at the Princes Landing; which said Seigneur Captain had fix Ensigns, three of Piedmontaise, and three of Gascogne. They were so long about their landing, that they there spend three long hours; for they made the Prince to stay and dine abroad, before he came out of the Gallie. A little delay sometimes occasions a great mischief, and it had been better, that both he, and all the company with him had made a good sober fat: but the vanity of the world is such, that they think themselves undervalued if they do not move in all the formalities of State, and in so doing commit very often very great errors. It were more convenient to move in the Equipage of a simple Gentleman only, and not to Prince it at that rate, but to do well, than to stand upon such frivolous punctilios, and be the cause of any misadventure, or disorder.

Captain Artiguelaube in the mean time had placed me with threescore or fourscore Harquebutiers upon the cros of a high way very near to the Magnalaine, which is a great Church some hundred, or two hundred paces distant from the Gates of Naples; and upon another cros of the high way, on the left hand of me, there stood a little Oratory, two or three hundred Harquebutiers of the black Regiments, with an Ensign of Pikes. In the same place also, and a little on the one side, was placed the Company of Seigneur de Candale, consisting of two or three hundred Harquebutiers, about the hundred yard distant from, and left over against the place where I stood. Being thus upon my Guard I saw both horse and foot issuing out of Naples, and coming full drive to gain the Magnalaine, whereupon mounting a little Mule that I had, I galloped straight down to the water side. All the Lords and Gentlemen were as yet on board,carding, and complementing one another, to whom certain Skippers that were plying about in the bay, or between the Gallies and the Shore, I caused it to be cry'd out, that the Enemy was falling out of the Town by whole Troops to intercept them, and to recover the blind of the Magnalaine, and that they should think of fighting, if they so pleased; an intelligence at which some were directly in the mouth, for every one that sees a good face on the matter has no great inclama to fight. I presently return'd back to my men, and went up straight to the Magnalaine, from whence I discover'd the Enemies Horse falling out dilmounted, with the bridle's in the one hand, and their Laurens in the other, toppling as much as they could, to avoid being seen, as also did the Foot, who crept on all four behind the walls that enclosed the backside of the Church: I then presently gave my Mule to a Soldier, bidding him ride in all haste to acquaint Monticur de Candale, and Captain Artiguelaube therewith, whom he found already got on shore, and who upon my first advertisement, had cause a Galley to put it out to Sea, from whence they discover'd all that I had told them, which being in the Port they could not possibly do. This Galley upon the fight of mine being began to let fly whole broad-lides of Canon at us, one whereof kill'd two men of my Company close by me, and so near that the brains both of the one, and the other flew into my face. There was very great danger in that place, for all the bullets, as well of this Galley, as of the others, which did the same, play'd directly into the place where I was, insomuch that seeing them fall to continue their shot (for those of the Gallies took us for the Enemy) I was constrain'd to draw off my men into the ditches to secure them.

In the mean time they mounted the Prince in all haste on horseback, and made him to fave himself full speed towards the Camp, all his Gentlemen running after on foot. They had no great leisure to stay with us, for I believe being so lately come, they had no mind to dye. Their hast was so great that they had no time to land; either the Princes Baggage, or his Bed, and there were some, who were wise enough to keep themselves aboard the Gallies. But the Seigneur de Candale, and Count Hungre were men of another fort of merite, and plays upon the cros high way, where their men had been placed before, and Captain Artiguelaube went to the Battailon, that was drawn up behind the Rampire. The Game began with me, and I do not know whether it be my good or my evil fortune; but so it is that in all places where I have been, and I have evermore found my self in the thickest of the lists, and where the bullets ever first began. Now a Baud of Harquebutiers came directly towards me, running: and that because I had placed one part of my Harquebutiers behind a ditch bank that borders all along upon the high way, and the rest on the right and left hand in the ditches in line (which I did more for fear of the Artillery, which play'd from our own Gallies, than for any apprehension of the Enemy, and came within twenty paces of us, where we entertain'd them with a smart volley of all our shot, by which five or six of their men fell dead upon the ground, and the rest took their heels, and fled, we fol-
following after as far as the Magdaleine. There they rallied, and withdrew from the high way on their right hand, and on that side where Monfieur de Lavall of Dauphine stood, with his Company of Genr- d'Armes, he was Nephew to Monfieur de Bayard, and Father to Madame de Gorders, who is at this time living, and a very valiant Gentleman. Monfieur de Candalle, who had seen my Charge, and saw that the Enemy now all discovered themselves, and that both Horfe and Foot drew into a great Meadow, where Monfieur de Lavall stood; fearing they might charge me again, he sent me a supply of fifty Harqueбуze, just at the time when a Battaillon of German Foot presented themselves within twenty paces on my right hand. The Spanishe Harqueбуze in the mean time fir'd with great fury upon our Genr- d'Armes, who began to draw off at a good round trot towards the high way posseffed by Monfieur de Candalle, where there was a great overflight committed, which I will also give an account of, that such as shall read it, may make use of the example, when the chance of War (as at one time or another it may) shall perhaps reduce them to the same condition.

Count Hugues, and Monfieur de Candalle had drawn up their Pikes upon the great Road, without leaving room for the Cavalry to retire, and there was a necessity that Monfieur de Lavall must, in spite of his heart, pass that way, for betwixt Monfieur de Candalle and me there was a great ditch, that Horfe could not possibly get over. Had they left the Road open, and drawn themselves up in Battalia behind the ditch, they might have given a flop to the Enemies fury; and by that means Monfieur de Lavall, might at great ease have got off along by the high way, and have made an honorable retreat. So soon as the Enemy saw that Monfieur de Lavall was forced to his Trot they presently charg'd him both in flank, and rear, with both Horfe and Foot at once, when having thrown himself into the Road to get clear of this storm, he encountered those Pikes upon his way, where he was confined against his will to force his way thorough, and in so doing bore down, and trampled under foot all that flood before him; for our Pikes were drawn up so close that they had no room to open. This put all into confusion, and I was ready to run mad to see so great an absurdity committed; yet is not the blame jutly to be laid upon Monfieur de Candalle, he being very young, and having never been upon such a service before: but Count Hugues is highly to be condemned, who was an old Soldier, and undertook the discipline of War; yet I will not say but that he behaved himself with very great bravery in his own person: but it is not enough to be bold, and hardy, a man must also be wife, and foresee all that can happen, forasmuch as overflights are irreparable in matters of Arms, and final faults are oftentimes the occasion of very great losses, as it happened here to him, who had not provided against all adventures: For he was himself taken prisoner, as also Monfieur de Candalle, being wounded in his arm with a Harqueбуze shot. Three days after, the Enemy feeming he was not likely to live, lent him back to Monfieur de Laurere, who was his Kinsman, and the next day he died, and was buried at Breffe.

He was a brave, and a worthy young man as ever came out of the house of Foix, and would in time doubtless have been a great Soldier, had he lived to hold on as he had begun. I never knew man so industrious, and diligent to learn the practice of Arms of the old Captains, as this Lord was. To which effect he rendered himself as obsequious to the Count Pedro de Navarre, as the meanest of his Servants. He was inquisitive into the dealings of things, and informed himself of all, without fooling away his time about trifles, that other young men covet and love: and was more frequent at the Quarters of the Count Pedro de Navarre, than at those of Monfieur de Laurere; insomuch that the Count would always say, he was there training up a great Captain. And in truth when he was brought back into the Camp, the said Count kill'd him with tears in his eyes. It was a very great loss of him. All who were at the fame post were either kill'd, or taken, some excepted, who faved themfelves by the ditches, leaping from ditches to ditches, but thofe were very few, for the Enemy pursu'd their victory on that side very well.

I on my fide began to march along by the fide of a hedg, with my face still towards the German Foot, the letter evil of the two, and by good fortune both for me, and my Company the Enemy in my rear pursu'd us coldly enough. At my coming to the Portal I spoke of before, I there found a great Troop of the Enemies Horfe, commanded by Don Ferdinando de Gonzalez (for it was he who gave the charge) fo that to recover the Portal I must of necessity fight with a resolution either to pass thorough, or die. I made my men therefore to give them a volly of Harqueбуze shot, for I for
my part had nothing wherewith to fight, but my voice; upon which volly they made
me way, so that having pass'd the portal, I fac'd about, and stood firm. At which
time their Harquebusiers also came up, who at once altogether charged upon us, with
all their united power both of Horse and Foot; when seeing this torrent coming upon
me, I recover'd the back side of the Trench, with my Harquebusiers only, who had
faved themselves from the first encounter; which the Marqueses seeing, he was in so
great a perplexity, that he gave us all over for lost. I there disputed the portal a long
half hour from the back side of the Trench, for it remained free, as well on their side,
as on ours; they durst not attempt to pass, neither did we dare to approach it. If e-
ver Soldiers assaile the men, they did it at this time; for all that I had with me could
not arrive to above an hundred and fifty men. The Marques then came up to Captain
Artegauleua, to make him rise, they being all couched upon one knee, for had they
flood upright, the Spanish Foot had had them in their aim, and cried to him, Cap-
tain Artegauleua, I believe you rise, and charge, for we must of necellity pass the
Portal: But he returned him answer, that he could not do it without loosing the beft
of our men, as it was very true, for all the Spanish Foot were then come up. I was
clofe by the Portal, and heard all; but the Marqueses not satisfied with this answer,
sprung up to the Black Regiments, commanding them to march up towards the Portal,
which they accordingly did. I knew by the manner of their motion, what command
they had received, which was the reason that I flent out, and cried to Captain Ar-
tegauleua, Camrade, you are about to be disgraced for ever, for here are the Black
Regiments, that, upon my life, are making towards the Portal, to carry away the
honor of the service; at which words he flarted up (for the man wanted no courage) and ran
full drive towards the Portal, when seeing him come, I suddenly threw my arm before
the Portal, and pass'd with all those who followed me, marching straight towards the
Enemy, who were not above a hundred paces distant from us; we were immedi-
ately followed by the Foot, sent by the Marqueses: but as we were half pass'd thro-
ough, the Marques gave the word from hand to hand, to make a halt, and to advance
no further. The Enemy seeing us come on with such resolution, and the Cavalry
following in our Rear, thought it the wildef course to retire. I was by this time ad-
vanced where we were plying one another, with good round volleys of shot, at fifty
paces distance, and we had a good mind to fall on to the Sword, when the Marqueses,
and another Gentleman with him, came himself on horseback to stay me. I think he
did ill in it; for had we all pass'd thorough, we had certainly purfued them fighting
up to the very Gates of Naples. There was in this place very many on both fides bea-
ten to the ground, that never rose again, and I admire how I escap'd, but my hour was
not come.

That which occasioned the Marqueses to retire, was the fear he had of tempting for-
tune a second time; he was contented with what he had already loft, without being
willing to hazard any more; so that tired out, and over spent, we return'd to rep-
pals the Portal, that had been so long disputed, where a great many good men lay
dead upon the place. There it was that the Gentleman who was with the Marqueses,
when he came to command me to retire, I have forgot his name, I laid to him (for I
heard him very well) Monsieur, I now fee that the ancient proverb is true, which fays,
that one man is worth an hundred, and an hundred are not fo good as one: I fpeak it by this
Captain who has his arm in a scarf, and leans to the Rampire (for in truth I was quite
spent) for it must needs be acknowledged, that he is the only cafe of our prefervation.
I heard likewise well enough, though I took no notice of it, the Marqueses make him
this answer. That man will always do well wherever he is. A paffage, that although it be
to my honor, and my own commendation, I would however infer it here, without
bragging nevertheless, or vain glory. I have acquir'd honor enough besides: but this
may perhaps serve to excite the other Captains, who shall read my Life, to do the
fame upon the like occasion. And I must needs confefs that I was then better pleas'd
with this Character, that this Gentleman, and the faid Marques were pleas'd to give
me of, than if he had given me the beft Mannor in his poftition; though I was at
that time very poor. This commendation made my heart to well with courage, and
yet more when I was told, thatfone one had entertain'd Monsieur de Lauvere, and
the Prince with the fame difcourfe, all the time they fate at Supper. Thefe little points of
honor serve very much in matters of War, and are the caufe that when a man shall again
happen to be in the like fervice, he fears nothing: it is very true that men are some-
times miffaken, and gain nothing but blows: but there is no remedy for that, we muft
give and take.

You
You Captains, and Lords who lead men on to death (for War is nothing else) when you shall see a brave act performed by any of your followers, commend him in publick, and moreover relate it to others who were not present at the service: if his heart sit in a right place, he will value such a testimony more than all the treasures of the world; and upon the next occasion will thrive to do still better. But if (as too many do) you shall not design to regard, or to take notice of the bravest exploit can by man be performed, and look upon all things with an eye of disdain, you will find that you must repenance them by effects, since you would not vouchsafe to do it by word of mouth. I have ever treated the Captains to, who have been under my command, and even the meanest of my Soldiers; by which they thought themselves so obliged, that I could have made them turn their heads against a wall, and have stood firm in the most dangerous post in the world, as (for example) I did here.

This was the first misfortune, and the first disgrace, that had yet befallen us in all this Expedition. It seemed to all the world that the Prince of Navarre brought us all misadventures and mishaps: would to God he had flaid in Gafon, neither had it been the worse for him, who came only to end his days a great way from home, without doing any thing but taking a view of Naples. He dyed three weeks, or thereabouts, after his arrival, and was the occasion of the death of this brave young Lord (which I shall ever lament) who also had the honor to be his Kinman. Yet was not this all, for so soon as it was known that such a Prince was arrived, every one presently concluded that he had brought some considerable succours, and relief, at least money for the pay of the Army: but there was nothing of all this; for neither he, nor the Gallies brought us one man of recruit; nor any other thing, but his own retinue, and some few Gentlemen Volunteers; which was a great discouragement to our disheartened Army, and the Enemy, who were very well informed of all, took new heart at it; knowing very well by that, that the Waters of France were very low, when a Prince of his condition, came to such a Siege as this, in an equipage, as if he had only come abroad to see the world: but the fault ought not to lie at his door, they were too blame that sent him.

'Tis a great fault in Kings and Princes, who put men upon great attempts, to take so little care of those whom they know to be engaged in an enterprise of so great importance, as was this of the Sieur de Lantres: for the taking of Naples had very much affured the State of France, which, by that means would have had its arms at liberty for many years, and we should have disputed it long, had it once been ours, for we should have been made wise by our precedent losses. The King committed yet another oversight in not sending some hand from Troop of Gentlemen, and some considerable Body of Foot with this young Prince, the neglect of which (as I have already said) made our people believe, either that he did not much regard us, or that his hands were full, and that he had elsewhere enough to do. Wherein Monfieur de Lantres was by no means to be blamed, who never ceased to send dispatch after dispatch, and post after post, to give his Majesty an account of all; but I return to my self; for (as I have always declar'd) I will by no means play the Historian: if I should, I should have enough to do, and scarce know at which end to begin.

This was the last engagement where I had any thing to do, wherein though I did not command in chief, yet had I notwithstanding the command of a very good Company of Foot, and had my full share of the fight that was very handom; but not for all; which I have set down to acquit my self of my promise, to wit, that I would give a particular account of all those passages, wherein I had the honor to command: passing the rest lightly over, as I do the remainder of this unfortunate Siege, which we were left constrained to raise, Monfieur de Lantres being dead, to the great misfortune of all France, which never had a Captain endowed with better qualities than he was: but he was unhappy, and ill afflicted by the Kings, after His Majely had engaged him, as he did first at Milan, and now lately before Naples. For my part with that little that was saved, which was almost nothing, I return'd the greatest part of my journey on foot, with my arm in a scarfe (having above thirty Ells of Talfeeta about me, forasmuch as they had bound my arm and my body together with a cusion between) whithing a thousand times rather to die, than to live; for I had lost all my Matters and Friends, who knew, and lov'd me, being all dead, excepting Monfieur de Montpezat (the Father of this now living), and poor Don Pedro our Colonel taken, and carried prisoner into the Rock of Naples, where they put him to death, the Emperor having commanded, that for the reward of his revolt, they should cut off his head. He
was a man of great understanding, in whom Monseur de Lautrec (who confided in few persons) had a very great confidence. I do also believe (and am not finge in that opinion) that he counseled him ill in this War, but what we only judge by Events.

In this handfom equipage, I came home to my Father's house, where, poor Gentleman, I found him engaged in too many necessities of his own, to be in any capacity of much assisting me; forasmuch as his Father had fold three parts of four of the Estate of the Family, and had left the remainder charg'd with five children, by a second venture, beside us of my Fathers, who were no les than ten. By which any one may judge, in what necessities we who are come out of the Family of Montluc have been constrained to follow the fortunes of the world. And yet our house was not so contemptible, but that it had near upon five thoufh Livers yearly revenue belonging to it, before it was fold. To fit my felf in all points I was constrained to it; for three years at home, without being able to get any care for my arm, and after I was cur'd I was to begin the world again, as I did the first day I came out from a Page, and as a person unknown seek my fortune in all sorts of necessities, and with extream peril of my life. I prafce God for all, who in all the travails of my life, has ever been af- 

Upon the first motions of War King Charles insti- tuited his Legionnaires, which was a very fine invention, had it been well purfued (for a firft all our Laws, and Ordinances are obferved, and kept; but after a while neglected, and let down for it is the true and only way to have always a good Army on foot (as the Romans did) and to train up the people to War, though I know not whether that be good or evil. It has been much controverted, though I for my part had rather truft to my own people, than to strangers.

Of thefe the King gave one thousand to the Sénéchal of Thionville, Seigneur de Fainbois, who made him his Lieutenant Colonel, and although it was the Legions, and that he was Colonel, I nevertheless raised him all his Regiment in Guionne, and appointed him all fell Captains. Lieutenants, Enfignes, Serjeants, and Corporals. A great rumor was at that time spread over all France, that the Emperor through the great intelligences he had within, was, for the conquest of fuch, and to great a Kingdom coming up with waft, and invincible Forces; thinking at unawares to surprize the Kings, and in efrect he did advance as far as Provence. The King to oppose fo mighty, and fo powerful an Enemy, summoned in all his Forces from all parts; in or- der to which fummons, we used to extraordinary diligence (never was I ever flecclful) that our Regiment was the firft that arrived at Marfelles, where we found Monfeur de Barbezius (which was de la Rocbfoncourt) and Monfeur de Montceaux, whom the King had made his joyne Lieutenants there (the one having as much authority as the other) and the Seigneurs de Boitieres and de Villebon (Provolt of Paris) the Regiments of Monfeur le Grand Efnon Galleon, and of the faid Seigneur de Montceau, who came from Foffan all diftrifuted, having each of them a Curtal only; for by Artile at the furrender of the Eft Foffan (which was loft through the enormous, and perhaps unheard of Treachery of the Marquis of Sallento) they were oblig'd to leave their great houses behind. The Emperor being loon after come to Aix, the Legionary Regiments (confifling of a thoufand men each) of Monfeur de Fontailles (the Father of thofe now living) and of Monfeur d'Antigom, came presently up to us, as also thofe of Cruifable de Groyf, with feven Italian Companies. I am not certain whether the Regiment of Monfeur de Boitieres, and de Villebon were there, or not; but I very well remember that of the faid Seigneur de Barbezius, and fo long as the Emperor continued at Aix, we remained at Marfelles, where nothing however of Action past, but what I am now going to relate.

While the Emperor lay very long at Aix, in expectations of his great Canon, where with to come, and bater the walls of Marfelles, his provisions did every day more, and more waft, and diminish. In which point of time the King arriv'ed at Aix, where His Majesty was advertised, that it meant to be made to destroy some Mills the Emperor had fir'd into his hands towards Arles, and especially one within four Leagues of Aix, called the Mill of Arville, the Enemies Camp would then suffer for want of bread. Upon which advice the King committed the execution of the burning of thofe Mills about Arles, to the Baron de la Gardie, who had a Company of Foot, to Captain Thorins Standard-bearer to the Count de Tandes, and fome others, who accordingly executed the design. Which notwithstanding the Spies still brought word to the King, that he must also burn that of Arville; forasmuch as they alone ordinarily nourishe the Empe-
Emperors whole household only: but moreover the fix thousand old Spanifh Foot, which he always kept about his own person. His Majesty sent therefore several times to Meffieurs de Borbasieus, and de Montpezat to hazard a Regiment of men, to go, and burn the faid Mills of Auriolle.

The firft to whom they recommended the execution thereof, was to the foeforefaid Christophe le Goffi, who positively refused to undertake it, alledging that it was five Leagues to the aforefaid Mills, where they were to fight threefcore Guards, that were within it, and an entire Company that were quartered in the Town, for that he fhould have five Leagues to go, and as many to return, by means whereof he fhould going or coming be infallibly defeated upon the way, for the Emperor could not fail of intelligence, it being no more than four leagues only from the faid Auriolle to Aix; and on the other fide the Soldiers would never be able to travel ten long leagues without bating by the way. This anfwer was fent back to the King, who notwithstanding would not take it for currant pay; but on the contrary fent another more positive order, than the former, that it fhould be propofed to fome others, and that though a thousand men fhould be left in the Enterprize, yet let them not concern themselves, for the benefit that would accrue burning the Mills, would counterbalance the losf (such eafie Markets Princes make of the lives of men.)

Whereupon it was offer'd to Meffieurs de Pontevilles, who was once in mind to undertake it: but some of his friends representing to him his certain ruine in the attempt, he pafs'd backwards, and would by no means touch. All which being fent word of to His Majesty (who continually had the manifefl advantage the destroying of the other Mills had brought to His Majeflty affaires, reminded to him) he ftill petifited to prefer the aforefaid Lords, to fend fome one, or another to demolifh thefe. Now one day, after I had heard how difcontented the King was, and the excuses that had been alledg'd by thofe to whom it had lietherto been recommended (which in truth were very rational, and juft) I began to meditate with myfelf, which way I might execute this defign, and to confider, that if God would give me the grace to bring it about, it would be a means to bring me to the knowledge of the King, and to reftore me to the fame reputation and acquaintance, I had formerly acquif'd; and that now by three years idlenefs, and the length of my cure, was as good as vanifh'd and loft: for it is nothing to get a good repute, if a man do not uphold, and improve it. Having therefore taken with my elf a resolution to execute this defign, or to die in the attempt: I enrolm'd my elf at full of my Landlord of the Situation, and condition of the place where thefe Mills were: who told me that Auriolle was a little Town enclos'd with high walls, where there was a Cafle well fortifed, and a Bourg composed of many houses, with a fair ftreet thorough the middle of it, and at the end of the faid Bourg, which led from the Town towards the Mill, was a little on the left hand the Mill it fel. That at the Gate of the faid Town there was a Tower, which look'd directly down the great ftreet towards the Mill, before which no man could stand, without running great hazard of being either slain, or wounded; and that beyond the Mill was a little Church at the distance of about thirty, or forty paces. He told me moreover, that I was to go to Ambigins, two Leagues from Marfelles, and that from thence to Auriolle, it was three more, if we went by the Mountains which the Horfe could not poiffibly do; but muft be conftrained to go near upon a League about, where they were moreover to pass a River that was deep to the Saddle skirts, by reafon that the Bridges had been broken down.

My Landlord having told me all this, I confider'd, that if I fhould undertake this affair with a great party, I fhould be defeated; for the place being only four Leagues distant from the Emperor's Camp, he would have prefent intelligence, and would fend out his Horfe to intercept me in my return, as it also fell out; for immediately upon our coming to the Mill, the Captain of the Cafle disparchéd away in all haft to the Emperor. So that I confider'd it much better for me to undertake it with a small number of men, and thofe light and active fellows; to the end that if I did the work I went for, I might either have means to retire by one way or another; or at the worst if I fhould throw my felf away, and thofe who were with me, yet they being but a few, the City of Marfelles would by that mifcarriage be in no manner of danger to be loft, which was the thing moft difputed in the Council; whereas by lofing a thoufand or twelve hundred men, which were thought a neceffary proportion for such an Enterprize, the faid City might be expos'd to fome danger, especially in a time when they expected a Siege.

I then defir'd my Landlord to provide me three fellows, who were expert in the
Book I. de Montluc, Maréchal of France.

ways, to guide me by night to the said Auriolle, and so that, as near as could be guessed, they should bring me to the Mills two hours before day; which he accordingly did, when after having some time consulted with them, I found the men were fearful, and lost to go; but at last mine Host to encourage them, that they were all resolved, whereupon I gave to each of them a brace of Crowns, and caused them to be kept up in my lodging, which was about Noon; and having computed with my Landlord how many hours the nights were then long, we found, that provided I should set out about the twilight, I should have time enough to do my business.

All this being done, that my design might not be known, I went my self first to Monseigneur de Montpezat, to acquaint him with what I intended to do; and moreover that I was resolved to take with me no more, than fix score men only, which I would choose out of the Seneschall's Regiment, to which I was Lieutenant Colonel. In all places wherever I have been, I have still made it my study to discern betwixt the good men, and the bad, and to judge what they were able to do; for all men are not proper for all uses.

The said Sieur de Montpezat thought my resolution very strange, and out of friendship advised me not to do so ridiculous a thing, as to hazard my self with so few men; telling me, that I might as well have five hundred if I would. To which I made answer, that I would never demand five hundred men for the execution of an Enterprise, that I could better perform with six score, and tormented him so, that in the end he was constrained to go along with me to Monseigneur de Barbezieux, who yet thought it more strange, than the other, and would needs know of me my reasons and by what means I would execute this design with so few people. To whom I made answer, that I would not declare to any one living, which way I intended to proceed: but that nevertheless (if they so pleased) I would undertake it. Whereupon Monseigneur de Montpezat said to him, let him go; for though he should be lost, and all those with him, the City will not for that be in the more danger to be lost, and it will give His Majesty content. Monseigneur de Villenon who was present at the deliberation, laugh'd, and jeer'd at me, saying to Monseigneur de Barbezieux, let him go, he will infallibly take the Emperor, and we shall all be ashamed, when we see him bring him into the City the morrow morning. Now this man did not love me, for some words that had passed between us at the Port Royal; neither could I forbear to tell him, that he was like a dog in a manger, that would neither cat himself nor suffer others. All was pass'd over in jest though in plain truth, I was half angry, for a little spurring would serve to make me start.

The Seneschal de Tholouxe, my Colonel, adher'd to my opinion, whereupon I had immediate leave granted me to gochose out my fix score men, and no more, which I did, taking only one Centurion, and a Corporal, the rest were all Gentlemen, and to brave a Company, that they were better than five hundred others. It is not all to have a great number of men, they sometimes do more hurt than good, which made me entreat Monseigneur de Barbezieux to caufe the Gate of the City to be shut, being well a fair'd that other wise I should have more company than I defir'd; which he also did, and it happen'd well for another reason; for in less than an hour my design was spread all over the whole City.

Just at Sun-fet, I, with my fix score men, repair'd to the Gate, the wicket whereof was only open; but the street was so full of Soldiers, ready to go out with me, that I had much ado to distinguish my own, and was therefore contrain'd to make them all take hands, for I very well knew them every one. As I was going out of the Gate, Monseigneur de Tavannes (who was since Marechal of France, and at this time Standard-bearer to the Grand Ecujoyer Galliot) came to me with fifteen, or twenty Gentlemen of their own Company, telling me, that he, with those friends of his were come to offer themselves, resolved to run all hazards with me in the execution of my design. I used all the arguments I could to divert him from that resolution: but it was time, and labour lost; for both he, and those with him were all positively resolv'd. Meffeigneur de Barbezieux, de Montpezat, de Batieres, de Villenon, and the Seneschal de Tholouxe, were all without the Gate, and before the wicket, drawing us out one by one, when Monseigneur de Tavannes offering to pass, Monseigneur de Tavannes would not permit him, telling him, that he should be none of the party, and there some words, and a little anger pass'd, both on side and the other: but Monseigneur de Tavannes overcame at last, and pass'd the wicket; for which cause they detain'd from me fifteen or twenty men of those I had chosen: but I lost nothing by the exchange, only those disputes deferred the time fo long, that the night was shut up, before we began to march. Monseigneur de Castelpers Lieutenant to Monseigneur de Montpezat (who was my very particular friend) having heard how I had been taill'd, and jeer'd amongst them,
them, determin'd to get to horse, with some fifteen, or twenty men at arms of the said Company, being all very well mounted, and to that end had spoken to Monsieur de Montpezat at his going out of the Gate, to entreat him, that he would not be displeased if he made one in the Enterprise; telling him that I was aGaçon, and that if I fail'd in the attempt, it would beget matter of sport for the French, and they would laugh us to scorn. Monsieur de Montpezat was at first unwilling to it, but seeing him begin to grow into a little heat, at last contented, whereupon he presently ran to mount to horse; and there might be nineteen or twenty of the party.

Now to give a full account of this Enterprise, (which although it was not the conquest of Millan, may nevertheless be of some use to such as will make their advantage of it) so soon as we came to the Plan St Michel, I gave to Captain Belfiore (Centenier to our Company) threecore men, and therefore I kept for my feel (Monsieur de Tavannes, and his followers being compriz'd in that number) to whom I also deliver'd a good Guide, telling him withal, that he was not to come near me by a hundred paces, and that we would continually march at a good round rate. Which order being given, and Monsieur de Tavannes, and I beginning to fet forward, up comes Monsieur de Castelpers, of whose deliberation we till then knew nothing, forasmuch as it had been resolved upon at the very moment of our going out at the wicket, which hindered us another long half hour: but in the end we agreed, that he should go the Horse way, and gave him another of my Guides, which he mounted behind one of his men; so that we had three parties, and to every party a Guide. At our parting I gave him instructions, that so soon as he should arrive at the end of the Bourg, he should draw up behind the Church, for should they enter into the street, the Company quarter'd in the Town, would either kill them, or their horses; and that therefore he was not to appear, till first he heard us engag'd.

We now began to set forward, and marched all night, where as far as Aubsigaue, we found the way to be exceeding good: but from thence to Auriolle we were larin to crawl over the isles of Mountains, where, I believe, never any thing but Goats had gone before: by which abominable way, having got within half a quarter of a league of Auriolle, I made a halt, bidding Monsieur de Tavannes, to stay there for me, for I must go speak with Belfiore. I therefore went back, and met him within a hundred paces of us, or less; where speaking to him, and his Guide, I told him, that when he should arrive at the Bourg, he was by no means to follow me: but to march directly to the Gate of the Town, between the Boarg and the said Town, and make a stand at the Gate, it being necessary that he should gain two houses next adjoyning to the said Gate, which he must suddenly break into, to keep the Enemy from falling out to disturb us; and that there he was to stay, and fight, without taking any care to relieve us at all; after which order given to him, I moreover past the word from hand to hand, to all the Soldiers, that no one was to abandon the fight at the Gate, to come to us to the Mill; but that they were punctually to observe whatever Captain Belfiore should command them.

Returning then back to Monsieur de Tavannes, we again began to march, when being come near to the Caflle, under which, and close by the walls of the Town, we were of necessity to pass, their Centinels twice call'd out to us, Who goes there? to which we made no answer at all, but still went on our way, till coming close to the Bourg, we left the way that Captain Belfiore was to take, and flipt behind the houses of the said Bourg, when being come to the further end where the Mill stood, we were to defend two or three stone steps to enter into the street, where we found a Centinel, that never discover'd us, till we were within a Pikes length of him, and then he cry'd Quoive? to which I made answer in Spains, Es Raguen, (wherein I was mitaken, for the word was not then Es Raguen, but Impery) whereupon, without more ceremony he gave fire; but hit nothing.

The alarm being by this means given, Monsieur de Tavannes, and I threw our selves desperately into the street, and were bravely follow'd; where we found three or four of the Enemy without the door of the Mill: but they immediately ran in. The door of this Mill was made with two foldig leaves, both which were to be bolted fast with a great Iron Bar on the inside, one of these had a great Cheif behind it, and the other the forefaiid Bar held more than half shut, and had thefe fellows behind it. The Mill was full of men, both above stairs and below (for there was threecore men in it, with the Captain, who had no dependence upon the Governor of the Town, each of them having his command apart,) and we were one by one to enter this place.

Monsieur de Tavannes would very fain first have entred, and pres'd forward with that

The order of the Enterprise.
that intent; but I pulling him back by the arm, withheld him, and pushed in a Soldier that was behind me; the Enemy made but two Harquebusz shots, having leisure to do no more, being all fast asleep, excepting the three, or four, who had been placed as Centinels before the Mill door in the street. So soon as the Soldier was got in, I led to Monsieur de Tavannes, now enter if you will, which he presently did, and I after him, where we began to lay about us to some purpose, there being no more but one light only to fight by within. In this battle the Enemy by a pair of stone flairs of indiffernt wideness, recover'd the upper Rooms, where they hourly defended the said flairs from the floor above, whilst I in the mean time for a Soldier to tell the right, that were without, that they should get up upon the outside of the Mill, and uncovering the roof, shoot down upon their heads, which was immediately performed, so that the Enemy perceiving our men to be got upon the roof, and that they already let fly amongst them, they began to throw themselves into the water out of a window on the backside of the Mill: but we nevertheless mounted the flairs, and killed all those that remain'd, the Captain excepted, who with two wounds, and seven others all wounded, were taken prisoners. Hereupon I presently sent one away to Captain Bellarge, to bid him take courage, and stoutly to dispute the Gate of the Town, for the Mill was our own.

The Alarm in the mean time, in the Town was very great, and those within three times attempted to Sally: but our men held them so short, that they durst never open their Gates. I sent Captain Bellarge moreover most of my men to assist him, and in the mean time, with the reft, fell to burning the Mill, taking away all the Iron work, especially the Spindles, and Rinds, that it might not be repair'd again, never leaving it till it was entirely burnt down to the ground, and the Mill-flones rowld into the River. Now you must know that Captain Tavannes took it a little to heart, that I had pull'd him back by the arm, and ask'd me afterwards upon our returne, why I would not permit him to enter the first, suspecting I had more mind to give the honor of it to the Soldiers: to whom I made answer, that I knew he was not yet so crafty to save himself, as those old Soldiers were; and that moreover, that was not a place considerable enough for a man of his worth, and condition to dye in; but that he was to reserve himself for a noble breach, and not to lose his life in a paltry Mill.

Whilest these things were in doing, Monsieur de Castelpers arriv'd, and leaving his party behind the Church, came up to us on foot, and upon this the day began to appear: wherefore I entreated Monsieur de Tavannes, and de Castelpers to retire behind the Church (for the shot flew very thick in the street, where they could see any one past) telling them, that I would go draw off Bellarge; whereupon they both accordingly retir'd, and as I was drawing off our men one after another running down on both sides the street, Monsieur de Castelpers presented himself with his twenty Horse at the end of the street by the Church, wherein he did us very great service, for the Enemy might otherwise have fallyed upon us. I had only seven, or eight men hurt, who nevertheless were all able to march, one Gentleman only excepted, called Vigaux, whom we set upon an Ag of thoe we had found in the Mill, and presently began to retire towards the top of a mountain, which was almoft the same way by which Monsieur de Castelpers had come, when the Enemy discovering us to be so few, they all fallyed out in our Rear; but we had already gain'd the top of the Hill, when they arriv'd but at the foot of it, and before they recover'd the height, we were got into the valley on the other side, ready to climb another (there being many little hills in that place) and yet we never marched faster than a foot pace; and so went straight on to Abbeville.

I had given order to the Soldiers that went along with us, that every one should take with him a loaf of Bread, which they eat by the way, and I also had caus'd some few to be brought, which I divided amongst the Gens d' Armes of Monsieur de Tavannes, and we our selves eat as we went; which I here set down, to the end, that when any Captain shall go upon an Enterprize, where he is to have a long march, he may take example to caufe something to be brought along to eat, whereasby to refresh the Soldiers, that they may be the better able to hold out; for men are not made of Iron.

So soon as we were come to Abbeville, two leagues from Marselles, where we had thought to have halted, and to have taken some refreshment, we heard the Artillery of the Gallies, and of the Town, which at that distance seem'd to be volleys of Harquebuz shot; an Alarm that constrain'd us without further delay, or taking any
other refreshment, than what we had brought along with us, to march forwards, and to enter into contention amongst our selves what course we were best to take; we already took it for granted, that the Emperor was arriv'd before the Town, and that he would certainly fix down before it; and thence concluded it impossible for us to get in again, which made us often repent, and curse the enterprise that had put us out, the misfortune whereof was wholly laid to my charge, as the Author of all. In this uncertainty what course to take, Monsieur de Caffeliers was once resolved to go charge desperately thorough the Enemy's Camp, to get into the City; but when he came to acquaint us with his determination, we remonstrated to him, that that would be to throw himself away out of an humor, and that since we had together performed so brave a service, and with which the King would be so highly pleased, we ought likewise together either to perish, or to save our selves. Captain Treves Girdon to the Company of Monsieur de Montpezat, told him the fame, so that we concluded in the end to leave the great high way, and crosting the Mountains on the left hand, to fall down behind Notre Dame de la Garde, making account, that in cafe we could not enter into the City, the Captain of the said Citadell would receive us in there. So we turn'd out of the way, and it was well for us that we did so, for Vignaux, and les Fliers keeping on the great Road straight to Marfelles, had not gone on five hundred paces, but they met with four or five hundred Horfe, which the Emperor (having had intelligence from thofe of Auriolle of what had been done) had fent out to meet, and fight us upon the way; and had not the Emperor parted from Aix by night to go before Marfelles, fo that the Messengers of a long time could meet with no body to whom to deliver their errand, I do believe we had certainly been defeated; but the Emperor knew nothing of it, till break of day, whereupon he presently fent out thofe four or five hundred Horfe upon the Road to Aubaigne, who did no other harm to Vignaux, and thofe who were with him, but only took away their Arms.

In this manner we travell'd all day from mountain to mountain in the excutive heat, without finding one drop of water, in formuch that we were all ready to dye for thirft; all ways within light of the Emperor's Camp, and ever within hearing of the Skirmiſhes that were made before the Town, Monsieur de Caffeliers, and his Gend' d'Armes marching all the way on foot, as we did, and leading their horfes in their hands, till coming near to Notre Dame de la Garde, the Captain of the Caftle taking us for the Enemy, let fly three or four pieces of Canon at us, which forced us to shift behind the Rocks. From thence we made signs with our hats; but for all that he ceas'd not to thoot, till in the end, having fent out a Soldier to make a sign, fo soon as he understood who we were, he gave over thooting; and as we came before Notre Dame de la Garde, we faw the Emperor, who was retiring by the way he came, and Chriftophle Goaff, who had all day maintaine'd the Skirmiſh, beginning alfo to retreat towards the City. We then began to defend the Mountain, when fo foon as Monfieur de Barbezieux, and Monfieur de Montpezat (who, with fome other Captains, were standing without the Gates of the City,) had discover'd us, they would have gone in again, taking us for the Enemy; but fome body faying, that then thofe of the Caftle would have hot at us, the faid Sieur Montpezat prefently knew Monfieur de Caffeliers; and we thereupon arriv'd at the Gate of the City, where we were mildly caufed, efppecially when they heard of the good succes of our enterprize, and they talk'd with the Captain of the Mill, who was wounded in the arm, and in the head, and after every one retir'd to his own Quarters.

I made no manner of question, but that Monfieur de Barbezieux, fo foon as the King fould come to Marfelles, would have preftented me to His Majesty, and have told him, that I was the man who had perfornd' this exploit, that His Majesty might have taken notice of me: but he was fo far from doing me that friendhip, that on the contrary he attributed all the honor to himfelf, faying that it was he, who had laid the defign of this Enterprize, and had only deliver'd it to us to execute; and Monfieur de Montpezat was by ill fortune at that time very fick, and could fay nothing in my behalf, fo that I remain'd as much a stranger to the King, as ever. I came to know all this by the means of Henry King of Navezore, who told me that he himfelf had fen the Letters which the faid Sieur de Barbezieux had writ to the King to that eftect, wherein he attributed to himfelf the whole honor of that action. Monfieur de Lanteau would not have serv'd me fo; neither is it handfom to rob another man of his honor; and there is nothing that does more discourage a brave heart: but Monfieur de Fannieres, who is now living, can tell the truth. So it is, that the destroying of thofe Mills, both the one, and the other, efpacially thole
those of Auriolle, reduced the Emperor’s Camp to so great necessity, that they were
fain to eat the Corn pounded in a Mortar, after the manner of the Turks; and the
Grapes they ate put their Camp into so great a disorder, and brought so great a
Mortality amongst them, especially the Germans, that I verily believe there never re-
turn’d a thousand of them into their own Country, and this was the Issue of this mighty
preparation.

The Captains who shall read this relation, may perhaps observe, that in this En-
terprise there was more of Fortune, than of Reason, and that I went upon it as if it
were in the dark, though it was happily brought about: but I do notulpsect how-
ever, that any one will conclude it to be wholly an effect of my good fortune, but
will also take notice, that I forgot nothing of what was necessary to make the de-
sign succeed; and on the other side they may observe, that my principal security was,
that the Enemy within the Town by the Rule of War, ought not to fallily out of their
Garrison, till they should first discover what our Forces were, a thing in the obscur-
ity of the night, which they could very hardly do, all which notwithstanding, I did
not yet so much rely upon their discretion, but that I moreover put a bridle in their
mouths, which was Etoile, and his Company. A man must often hazard something,
for no one can be certain of the event. I concluded the conquest of the Mill for certain;
but I ever thought it would be a matter of great difficulty, and danger
to retreat.

Thus did the Emperor Charles, both with shade and loss, retire, where that great
Leader Anne de Montmorency (all that time Grand Maistre, and since Conneftable of
France) obtained renown. It was one of the greatest battles the Emperor ever re-
evived, and for grief thereof his great Captain Antonio de Leva (as was reported)
(see p. 15) death of
afterwards dyed. I have sometimes heard the Marquis de Grafted, that this ex-
ered to the Sole contrivance of the Earl Antonio de Leva, and yet both he and
his Master very well knew, what it was to attack a King of France in his own
Kingdom.

The Emperor being with his Forces retir’d, I would no longer continue Lieu-
tenant to the Sempach’s Regiment; who, had it lain in his power, would have re-
figur’d it wholly into my hands. Monifeur de Boisses then did me the honor to
make me an offer of his Guidon, which I likewise refused to accept, having set my
heart more upon the Foot, than upon Horse service. I had moreover an opinion,
that I should sooner rise to advancement in the Infantry, which was the reason that
I again return’d home, where having made some little stay, I would go into Piedmont
there to serve under Monfieur de Boissiéres, who was the Kings Lieutenant in that Pro-
vince, and in order thereunto went hitherto to Marselles, where I was six or seven months
detained by Monfieur de Lautre.

Some time after the Emperor rais’d an Army therewith to go and lay siege to Tho-
rone, and the King, at the same time, rais’d another to relieve it: whereupon I
immediately took post, and went to Court, where Monfieur le Grand Maistre gave me
a Foot Company, and another to Captain Gueuze, which we presently rais’d in, and
about Paris, and were both of us receiv’d into the Guards of Monfieur de Dauphin,
who was afterwards Henry the Second of France. The Army march’d presently away
to Hesdin, and to Anchin le Chateau, both which places were taken by the said Grand
Maistre, as also Saint Venant’s neither could the Imperialists do any good upon The-
rone, which Monfieur de Aminlans reliev’d in the very face of the Enemy, though
there was a diataller happened upon that occasion, thorough the heat, and vanity of
some young Gentlemen, who because they had a mind to break their Launces, would
needs indifferently seek the Enemy, by whom they were defeated, and all taken, both
Monfieur d’ Aminlans, and all the rest.

Soon after which the Imperialists retir’d and the King’s Army also: As for me,
seeing there was no great matters to be done thereabouts, I return’d presently after
Princesse, where I had left my great Horles, and my Armes: and where about ten
or fifteen days after, I receiv’d a Packet from the said Monfieur le Grand Maistre, where-
in there was a Commission to raise two Ensigns of Foot, and to march them away
into Piedmont, whither the King himself was also going in person to relieve Taras,
Monfieur de Boisses being there set up within it. I thereupon presently took Post to go
into Gavency, and made so good haste, that in eight days I had rais’d the two Com-
panies, of which I made Captain Menus my Lieutenant, when, being about Tholoye,
I left the men with him, and went away Post, having heard that Monfieur le Grand
Maistre was already arriv’d at Lyons, and that he march’d in great diligence to gain
the
the Pas de Suze, wherein he thow'd himself to be no novice in War; So that seeing I could not bring up my Companies time enough to be with him at that Engagement, I was resolv'd to be there alone: I could not however make so great haft, but that I found the King got before me to Sorges, and Monfieur le Grand Maj'ftr two days march further advance'd: where His Majefly commanded me to return to my command, and to come up with Ambres and Dampons, who had each of them two Companies more, telling me moreover, that we were to be commanded by Monfieur de Chavigny, and giving me further instructions that we were to fit down before Barfellonne, and to seize all the Towns thereabout into our hands.

So soon as I came to Marfelles, I had news brought me, that my two Companies had disbanded themselves; for (as the ambition of the world is great) Monfieur de Lienx my Brother had sent to my Lieutenant to defire him, that he would loyter a while in expectation of him up and down the Country thereabouts, forasmuch as he was railing a Foot Company, which he intended speedily to march away under the shadow of my Commission; to which my Lieutenant very indiscreetly confined, notwithstanding the promise he had made me to march five leagues a day. But as my Lieutenant had quitted the great Road, and turn'd aside towards Albigeois to spin out the time, he came at last to a Town call'd Pille, where the Inhabitants fent their Gates against him, which forc'd him to give an assault, as he did, and carried the place, with fo fluddain an execution, that although my faid Brother was then within a days march of him with his Company, yet would he not come up, till the business was done, where his Soldiers having fack'd the Town, and being by that means laden with booty, they were afterwards in fo great fear to march, that they all disbanded, and every one run home with his spoil to his own houfe. By which you may understand, that an officer ought very feldom to leave his command, if not upon extraordinary occasion, for the great defire I had to be one of the first, made me to abandon mine, which was the caufe of this disorder. I was therefore conftrain'd to fave two other Companies in Provence, wherein the Count favour'd me very much, fo that I had foon difpatch'd, mutter'd at Villevnuf or d'Avignon, and made fo great haft, that notwithstanding this accident I yet arriv'd at the Valleys two days fooner than Ambres, and Dampons, and took the Caffle, and the Town of Mieulan, where I made a halt in expectation of Monfieur de Chavigny, and the Companies of the faid Ambres, and Dampons, who difputed the paffage of Lancez, which they could never have obtained, for all the people of the Country were there gather'd together to defend it: but that the Spaniards who were at Barfellonne, and thofe who were gone to defend the paffage, hearing that I had taken Mieulan, retir'd by the Mountains (for I was perfeft of the great Road towards Barfellonne) and the common people hearing the faid Spaniards to retire, quitted the paffage by night, by means whereof they entered into it.

We then went to besiege Barfellonne, before which place we lay three weeks, where I receiv'd a Harquebuz shot through my left arm, but it never touch'd the bone, fo that I was prefently cur'd; after which the King having relieved Tuir, His Majefly return'd, and we for not having been prefent at the Service, were all three command'd back upon which order Monfieur d' Ambres went away Poit to his faid Majefly, with whom he prevailed fo far, that he was pleas'd to leave him one of his Companies; which when I understood with what difficulty he had obtain'd, I carried mine back into Provence, where having diftrifled them, I retir'd my felf to my own houfe. At which time there was also a ceffation (feeing no peace was to be made) concluded for ten years.

I thought fit to commit this to writing (though there be no great matter in it) to let the world fee, that I never refled long in a place; but was always ready at the first beat of Drum; for the days of Peace were whole years to me, fo impatient I was of lying idle. At the end of this War, the King was pleas'd to honor Monfieur le Grand Maj'ftr with the Office of Conneiable of France, an employment that has ever been vacant (as it is at this day) after the death of Monfieur de Montmorency. A thing that I conceive our Kings have purpofely fo ordered, as well to take away all occasion of Jealousie amongst the Princes, as alfo for the danger of entrusting fo great a power in one mans hands. Witness St. Pol, and Bourbon, the lat of which indeed was very faithful, and dy'd in his Majefly's service, ever approving himself a great, and prudent Captain: which testimony I am conftrain'd by truth to give of him, and by no other obligation that I have; for neither he, nor any of his were ever any friends of mine.

During
During the time of this Truce, I tryed (forsooth) to be a Courtier, but in vain, for I was never cut out for that employment. I have ever been too free, and too open hearted to live at Court, and I succeeded there accordingly. Now after the foul, and detest affillinate committed upon the persons of the Signours Fregeurce and Rincen, Embassadors for the King our Master, his Majesty incens'd at such an outrage, and for which he could obtain no manner of satisfaction, he resolv'd to break the Truce and to that end set two Armies on foot, one of which he gave to Monseur le Duc d'Orleans, which was design'd for Luxembourg, and the other to Monseur le Dauphin, who came into the County of Rojeflill to reduce it to his Fathers obedience, having Monseur d'Annebans (who since was Admiral) in company with him. I therefore hearing that the said Marechal was to take with him the Companies of Piedmont which were commanded by Monseur de Biiffac, and also an Engineer called Hieronimo Mariati, reputed the greatest man of Italy, for the besieging of places, I had a great defire to go to the Camp, to learn something of this famous Engineer. Where being accordingly come, I put my self under Monseur d'Affier, who commanded the Artillery in the abence of his Father, and who never felt'd from the said Hieronimo Mariati, by which means I happened to be at the approaches that were made before the City of Perpignan to which we had laded: but in two nights I perceiv'd that all he did signified nothing; for he begun the Trenches so far off, that in eight days the Canon could not be mounted, as he himself declared; to which I made answer, that in that time the Enemy would have fortified their City, four times as strong as it was on that fide. The King had for this Enterprise rais'd the bravest Army that ever my eyes beheld: it consisted of forty thousand Foot, two thousand men at Armes; and two thousand Light horse, with all necessary equipage for a considerable Body. Monseur Montbran had been the Author of the design: though not so secretly, but that Spain was before hand wholly poffeffed with the expectation of it: which notwithstanding, and that the Town was excellently well fortified, yet I dare boldly affirm that if the Marechal d'Annebans would have given credit to my words, he had infallibly done his business. I had taken a private view of it: for some years before this, Monseur le Connellable being gone to Lencate to treat a Peace with the Emperor's Deputy chauselle, he had sent me with General Bayard, and President Peyster (who was since Chancellor) to whom the Emperor's Deputy (at the intence of Monseur de Veli Embassador for the King) gave permission to go, and recreate themselves three or four days at the said Perpignan. At which time the said Connellable made me put my self into the habit of a Cook belonging to Monseur de Peyster, to the end, that under that disguise I might discovery the place, and yet I once thought my self to be discovery'd: however I found opportunity by the means of a Fleming servant to the said Peyster, which he had left behind him, to take an exact view of the place; for he had led me round the Town both without and within, so that I was able to make a report to the Connellable of all the strength, and defects of the said City; who was pleased to tell me thereupon, that I had made a perfect discovery, as by several others, who had long been inhabitants there, he had been credibly informed. Now you must know this was only a pretended divertisement of Peyster, and Bayard, who duft by no means take the Kings Engineer in their company, as the Connellable would have had them, fearing he might be discovery'd, and themselves, by that means, detain Prisoners: neither did they fail to relate to him afterwards the fright they were in when a Spanfis Captain chaleng'd me by my name: but I faced him out of the business, countering both my Country, and Language, and dissimbling better to understand how to handle a larding-pin, than a sword, and laying that I was a Cook to Monseur le President Peyster, who himself had not a word to say, for the terrible fear he was in least I should be discovery'd: but General Bayard laught the Spanisfis Captain out of his conceit, in private telling him, that he was not the first who had been so deceiv'd: but that the man he took me for was one of the best Captains the King of France had. At all this story the Connellable did only laught, but I very seriously told him, that he should never make me play the Spy, again so long as he liv'd. 'Tis an employment of too great danger, and that I have ever abhorred: but for the same reason I plaied the Cook to discovery the place; which I did exactly well, and that is the reason why I have laied, that had Monseur d'Annebans given credit to me, he had easely taken the Town; but he would rather believe a subornebetter Guion Mafon (which the Enemy had thrust out of Town on purpose, and had order'd to give him self up, only to amuse the Marechall, and to pertrude him to assault that part,
The Siege before Paris. The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize Book I.

which he did assault) and his Engineer, than any thing I could say. Infomuch that we did nothing either worth writing, or relating, which fell out so much the worse, as it was the Dauphin's first trial of Armes, who had a mind to do as well, as Monfieur d' Orleans his Brother, who took Luxemburg: but it was no fault of his. Two days before the Camp diflodg'd, the faid Marechal went round about the Town, where I shew'd Monfieur d' Eiffes who is yet living, th: place where I would have had them to have made their Attaque, and that very near at hand, though the Canon, and Harquebuzo that they liberally belêt'd up on us, might reasonably have made us fland aloof: which after he had seen he cry'd out, Good God, what an error! have we committed! but it was then too late to repent, for the relief was already entred in, and the time of the Rains was at hand, which would have damm'd up our retreat; and yet we had enough to do as it was to draw off our Artillery, to ill a place is that Country, for an Army to move in.

During the time of this Siege the Company of Monfieur Boleve, became vacant, which Monfieur le Dauphin lent to entreat for Boquai (who since is turn'd Hugonot) and I also wirt to Monfieur de Valence my Brother, who was then at the Court at Salers, where the King was lo discontented, by reason of the ill succefs of this enterpize, both with the Dauphin, and Monfieur de Annebant (who had also lent to solicite it in the behalf of another) that His Majesty would neither grant it to the one, nor the other: but was pleas'd to confer it upon me. The Camp being rais'd, Monfieur de Briffac had Captaining assign'd him for Garrifon, and Monfieur de l' Orge (Colonel of the Legionaries) Tuchant (the place to which they had drawn off all the ammunition of Corn that had been left in the Camp) assign'd him for his, Where three days after all the said Legionaries forsook him, nothing but their Captains remaining behind; thereupon lent to Monfieur Briffac, that if he did not come speedily to his relief, he should be constrain'd to abandon the said provifions, and to shift for himself: which made us march with all possible diligence, without being more then half a night only upon our way, and found him totally left alone, saving for Meffieurs de Denee, and Fontenilles, and their Servants.

Now there was a Caftle upon the Mountain towards Perpignan, about a League from Tuchant, and on the left hand of Milan, and the said Seigneur de Briffac and de l' Orge being gone out of the said Tuchant to hear Mafis at a little Chappel about a Crofs-bow shot from thence; at our coming out from Mafis we heard very many Harquebuzo shot at the said Caftle, and discover'd a great many men about it, with a great smoak of Powder, whereupon I ask'd Monfieur de Briffac, if he were pleas'd that I should go thither with thirty or forty of my men, to see what the matter was; who prefently gave me leave fo to do: wherefore without any more delay, I prefently lent la Moyenne my Lieutenant, to get them together, and to bring me a horfe, which being fuddainly brought, I march'd directly towards the Caftle. Le Peloux wo was Lieu- tenant to Monfieur de Briffac had a defire to follow after, as had also Monbasin, St. Laurens (a Bretot) and Fabrice, being all Laurence-paffaders belonging to the Company of the faid Seigneur, together with fifty or threefcore Soldiers of the fame. I made very great haft, when fo soon as the Enemy had discovered me, as I was beginning to clmb the Mountain, they retreated down the other side into a plain which lies below Taras- vel, where they clapt themselves down under the Olive trees, to stay for the reft of their fellows, that they had left behind them at Milan. The Captain of the Caftle was Barennes, an Archer of the Kings Guard, who had been place there by Monfieur de Montpezat, and whilst the said Barennes was shewing me the Enemy, appear'd Peloux with his Soldiers, and with them a Gentleman called Chamant, a very brave man, so that although we knew the Enemy to be above four hundred men (as we were also affured by Barennes) we neverthelesfs concluded to go, and fight them.

This place was all Rock tufted over with a little Cofe, thorough we were to past to get to them, wherefore we agreed, that Peloux should take a little path on the right hand, and I another on the left, and that the fight which came up to them, in the plain, should fall upon thirr., the one in the Front, and the other in the Rear; which we had no sooner concluded, but that the Enemy rose up, and we dis- covered them. I plainly at our cafe. Monbasin, Chamant, St. Laurens, and Fabrice who were all on horfepoak, would needs go along with me, at which Peloux was a little dis- contented, forasmuch as they all belong'd to Monfieur Briffac, as he himself did, excepting Chamant, who belonged to Monfieur le Dauphin. Artiguedieu, and Barennes likewise went in my Company.

From
From the very beginning of our descent, the Enemy lost fight of us, and we of them, by reason of the wood, and of the Valley, which was very large. Le Peloux with his Guide took his way, and I mine, when so soon as I came into the Plain, I was as good as my word, for I charg’d the Enemy thorough and thorough; breaking in after such a manner amongst them, that above twenty of them at this encounter were left dead upon the place, and we purfued them firing... as far as the bank of the River, which might be some four hundred paces or more: But when they saw us t’obey few, they rallied, and as I was about to retire, march’d directly up to me, whereupon I made a halt, as they did also at the distance of four or five Pikes length only from one another, a thing that I never saw done before. As for Peloux, when he was got to the middle of the Mountain, he began to think that I had taken the better way, which made him suddainly to turn off, and to follow my steps: and fortune also fell so well for me, that as we were Pike to Pike, and Harquebus to Harquebus, at the distance I have already said, glimmering and snarling at one another, A brisk skir: like two Maffins when they are going to fight, Peloux and his Company appear’d in mail, the plain; which so soon as the Enemy saw, they turn’d the point of their Pikes towards us, and their faces towards the River, and so fell to matching off, whilst we purfued pricking them forward with our Pikes, and pelting them with our Harquebus shot in their Rear: but they march’d so very close, that we could no more break into them as before: and when they came to the bank of the River they made a halt, facing about and charging their Pikes against us, so that although Peloux, and his Company made all the halt they could to come in to our relief, we were nevertheless constrain’d to retire fifteen or twenty paces from the Enemy, who immediately all on a thrump leapt into the River, and through water middle deep, pas’d over to the other side. Munafis in this engagement was hurt with a Harquebus shot in his hand, by which he remain’d lame ever after, St Lawrence and Fabrice had their horses kill’d under them, and mine was wounded with two thrusts of a Pike; La Moyenne, my Lieutenant, was wounded with two Harquebus shots in one arm, Chamar, who was light’d off his horse, had three thrusts of Pikes in his two thighs, and Areguedien one Harquebus shot, and one thrust of a Pike in one thigh; to be short, of betwixt thirty and five and thirty that we were, there remain’d only five or fix un-hurt, and only three dead upon the place. The Enemy lost one Serjeant of great repute amongst them, together with twenty or five and twenty others kill’d, and above thirty wounded, as we were told the next day by two Gafon Soldiers who came over to us. In the mean time Melleurs de Brijlac and de l’Orge doubting it would fall out as it did, mounted to horsie, and came so opportunely to the Castle of Tantavel, that they saw all the fight, and were in so great despair at the Charge I had made, that they gave us twice or thrice for lost: an’ very forlye rebuked Peloux, for not having observ’d the agreement we had concluded amongst us; which if he had done, we had infallibly cut them all to pieces, and brought away their two Colours; yet I am apt to believe it might not be altogether his fault (for he was a very brave Gentleman) but his Guides that led him the worse way, as Peloux himself since told me. However so it fell out, that the field was mine, with the los’ of three men only, and not one of the Gentlemen dyed.

Soon after the Baron de la Garde came to mine with the Turkis Army, conducted by Barbarossa, which consist’d of an hundred or fix score Gallies, a thing that all the Chris- tian Princes who took part with the Emperor, made a hainous butnife of, that the King our Master shou’d call in the Turk to his assistance, though I am of opinion that towards an Enemy all advantages are good; and for my part (God forgive me) if I could call all the Devils in Hell to beat out the brains of an Enemy, that would beat out mine, I would do it with all my heart. Upon this occasion Monsieur de Valence, my Brother, was dispatch’d away to Venice to palliate and excuse this proceeding of ours to the Republick, who of all others seem’d to be most offended at it; and the King would by no means lose their Alliance; who made them an Oration in Italian, which I have thought fit to insert here, until he shall think fit to oblige us with his own History; for I cannot believe that a man of so great learning, as he is reputed to be, will dye without writing something; since I who know nothing at all, take upon me to scribble. The Oration was this.
The Emperor, having been the cause of all the ruins, miseries, and calamities, which have befallen Christendom for these many years, it is a thing (most illustrious Prince) which to every one ought to appear exceeding strange, that his Ministers should be so impudent, and forefront, as to lay the blame thereof to the thrice Christian King, my Lord and Master, and unjustly condemn him for keeping an Ambassador resident in the Court of Constantinople: For I would fain ask those people, whether they can imagine that the practices which have been set on foot by the Command of the Emperor, and the King of the Romans with the Grand Signor for ten years past, have been kept so secret, that the greatest part of Christendom are not fully informed thereof. Does not every one know what Truces, and what treaties of Peace (not general, but particular) have been concluded, and what offers have been several times made to pay yearly a vast Tribute to the Great Turk, for the Kingdom of Hungary? and yet he makes it a case of Confidence to endure, that a little King should hold that Kingdom under the favour and protection of the Turk, as a thing inconsistent with Christianity, and subduing a Christian Prince? To which I could truly add, that at the time when the Peace was concluded between your most Serene Republick and the Turk, the King of the Romans, by the secret practices of his Agents, did all that in him lay, to hinder that Treaty, as by the several Letters and Dispatches that have been interchanged, does most manifestly appear.

The same Ministers of the Emperor do think also, that they discharges themselves from all blame, in keeping a clatter, and forcing their Pofts and Gazettes, (as their manner it) with observations of the long abode that the Naval Army of the Grand Signor has, for some months, made in the Ports of France, and under that pretence would, by their passionate calumnies, impose upon the world a new Article of Faith, to mislead, that no Prince, for his own defence, either can or ought to derive succours from such, as are of a Religion contrary to his own; not taking notice, that in condemning the King, my Lord and Master, they at the same time accuse David, a valiant King, and a holy Prophet, who seeing himself perfecuted by Saul, fled away to Achish, who was an Idolater, and a professed Enemy to the Law of God; and not only so, but some time after, moreover rankâ€™d himself in the Squadrons of the Infidels, even then, when they went to fight with the people of his own Religion. They also condemn Aâ€™ King of Juda, who called into his aid the King of Syria, to deliver him from the oppression of the King of Israel. They moreover reproach Constantine, a most Christian Prince, and he, who of all the Emperors, has left deferred of the Christian Commonwealth, who in most of his expeditions, carried along with him a great number of Idolatrous Goths in his Army. They likewise take Boniface, so highly commended by St. Augustine in his Epitaphs, who, for his own defence, and perhaps to revenge some injury received, called into Affrick the Vandals, professed enemies to our Religion.

They calumniate Naxtees (the slave of Julianian, a very valiant, but, above all, a very religious Captain, as may be concluded from the testimony of Saint Gregory, and also by the Churches he has built, both in this illustrious City, and that of Ravenna,) who called in the Lumbards to his aid, a people, at that time, abhorring the name of Christian. Arcadius Emperor of Constantiopolis (allowed by all Historians for a Prince equally religious, and wise) having in the latter end of his days a desire to subtilize some Governor, and Preacher, that might be sufficient to preserve the Dignity and Authority of the Empire, turned his thoughts towards the King of Perlia, an Idolater, and entreated him in his last Will to accept the Title, and Protection both of his Son, and the Empire. A choice that was singularly approved by all the Christian Princes of that time, and so much the more, for that the King of Perlia not only accepted the charge, but moreover worthily acquitted himself of his trust to the hour of his death. Before Heraclius sufferâ€™d himself to be infected with the poison of Heresy, he served himself in an infinite number of Wars with Saracen Soldiers, Bali, and Constantiopolis sent to John Emperor of Constanitoplis, took Apulia, and Calabria, by the means and assistance of a great number of Saracens, which themselves had first driven out of the Isle of Candia. I could say as much of Frederick, who by the help of the Saracens, Larded it over the greatest part of Italy. I could prefix before you the Example of Henry, and Frederick, brothers to the King of Cafell, who in the time of Pope Clement the fourth, accompanied with Conradin, called the Saracens, both by land and sea, not for the security and defence of their own Country, but to drive the French out of Italy, and with the same Army of Barbarians, in a short time, made themselves Masters of a great part of Sicily. I could speak of Ludovico Sforza, who with several other Princes of Italy, made use of the Forces of Bazaret.

What shall I say of Maximilian of the house of Austria, who not to defend himself, but to raise your state (most illustrious Senators) tryed to nautical, and succite the Turk against you.
you, to your great prejudice and ruine? as it is faithfully recorded by Signior Andrea Mocenigo, one of your own Historians, together with the remedies you were fain to appoy in that exigency, and disjufis. If ye neither natural reafon, nor examples drawn from holy Scripture, and Christian History were fufficient to confirm you in, or to persuade you into the truth of this cause, I could accompany them with fcarce others, which I am willing to omit, both because IML not tire your Lordship's patience, and also for that I believe there can remain no mafter of example in you, confidering, that, by the Examples before alluded. I have already difcouvered the weak foundation of that Article of Faith, lately forged by the Imperialifts, to ferve for their own ends. And which is more, I do say, and will maintain, that the moft Christian King, my Lord and Sovereign, by the Example of fo many renowned and religious Princes, may, without any prejudice to the place he holds, or to the Title of moft Christian, which he bears, serve himself in all affairs and necessitie, with the aid and affifrance of the Grand Signior, And if this with truth and reafon may be underftood of all his necessary affairs; how much more ought his moft Christian Majesty, not only to be excufed, but highly applauded, who for no need, how great ever he has to defend himself, for no Single revenge His Majesty might defire for fo many injuries done, and fo many wrongs received, so many affifances, and flaugthers executed upon his people, by the Emperor, or by his procurement, would accept of no other succours, but only thofe which we by experience fee are to all Christians, of greater utility, than disadvantage? And if any one of thofe who adhere to the Emperor's party should demand how the Turkifh Army can remain in our Ports, no left for the benefit of Italy, than for our own particular convenience? I could ask him by way of answer, which may be fure that Christendom has received any detriment by our having received, and refifled this Naval Army in our Havens? To which I am certain the reffital, and moft affifiance of the Imperial party could return me no anfwer, unlefs it were one who delights to argue for controversia fabe, and takes more pleafure in hearing himself talk, than that he has really a defire to enter into a formal examination of things, to underftand the negotiation, and to be informed of the reasons thereof: But that we may not leave any thing that may beg the least imaginable doubts in the minds of fuch, as are not perfectly informed of this Affair, I shall handle the point as facciantly, and with as much brevity, as I can.

So oft as your Serenity has, by the Emperor's Embassadors, been applied unto, for leave to pass thorough the Territories of any of your Sovereigny, with his Alman, Italian, or Spanish Forces, immediately therupon there have been heard a thousand outcries, and complaints of Rapes, Affifiances, and other Riots and disorders of their Soldiers, and it is but a few months fince, that the Germans, who pretended to go to Carignan to keep their Eafter, to undo the villany of thofe, who before had fo barbaroufly treated your Subjects in their poffefs, and fo treafuriously cheated them of their Eftates, difplayed part of their rage, and Infulted against the Church, to the great disgrace, and contempt of Christian Religion, cutting off the ears, &fe, and arms of the Crucifix, and other Images representing the Saints who are in Heaven.

This numerous and mighty Army (moft Serene Prince) departed from Confantinople, being composed of Soldiers who were strangers to our Religion, and being defign'd, and accordingly fent for the relief of the King, my Lord and Maker, faved thorough the midst of your Islands, Landed in the Dominions of the Church, passed thorough the Territories of the Sermons, and Genoefes (people both of them, greater favourers of the Emperor's Greatnes, than friends to their own proper liberty) yet is it not to be perceived, nor can any man be found to complain of any infults offered to him; but on the contrary, all men have been treated with all humanity, and free passage granted to all thofe they met upon the Sea, and infmall payment made for all the provisions they were neceffitated to take for the support of the Army upon their March. An effed of moderation in this rough sort of men, which might juftly be attributed to the presence, and deferency of Captain Polein, the King's Embassador; and with fo great advantage to him, that never in times past, did either Turkifh or Christian Army behave themselves so modestly upon fuch an occasion.

Who is he (moft Serene Prince) that can, or will deny, that hath not this Army been entertained by the King, my Maker, for the defence of his Frontier, Christendom had been affifted by to its infinite damage? Who is he that will not judge, that this Army (its puifance confirmed) must have triumph'd over an infinite number of Christian Souls, together with fome City of great importance, had not we converted that power to our own advantage, which otherwise must necofarily have succeeded to the general advancement of the Grand Signior's affairs, and to the private benefit of his Captains, who are Extents to our Faith? This Army then being a Body difpof'd to Enterprise; and capable of performing high exploits, any man of a sound judgment will confefs, that it hath been of much greater advantage to Christendom, that it has been employed in the service of his Majesty, my King and Masters, than that they had march'd to invade the Christian borders upon their own account. So that besides that it was needful
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize  

Book I.

needed, and necessary for the King, my Master, to serve himself with this Army, therewith to collate the influence of the Emperor's people, who had already seized upon four of his Galeries at Toulon, it may moreover be affirmed without reply, that to this private benefit of ours, is con-joyned the public utility of all Christendom.

I flatter myself (most Serene Prince) clearly to have demonstrated to you, and to have confirmed by evident reasons, and incontestable Arguments, these two principal things. First that the King without prejudice to his title of most Christian, has accepted the faculties that have been sent him by the Grand Signior: and in the second place, that these faculties fast have been of greater profit, than disadvantage to the Christ in Common-need: to which I shall add a third, and that with as much brevity, as the importance of the subject will permit; and that is, that the King's Majesty has not accepted these forces, either out of any ambition of Rule, or out of revenge for injuries received; neither to enrich himself with the fruits of others; nor to recover what has been unjustly espied from himself; but has only entertained them for his own defence, that is (Illustrious Senators) for the defence of his Kingdom, which the Emperor both by open violence, and clandestine practice, by all sorts of intelligences, and treacheries, contrary to all reason and justice, has evermore laboured to overthrow; and yet his Ministers are not ashamed to say, that his Cæsarican Majesty has had no other motive to invade the Kingdom of France, but only to break the friendship that was said to be contracted between the Kings Majesty, and the Grand Signior. O tender Confidences! O holy pretences! fit indeed to declare the credulous, and ignorant, but that will hardly pass (Illustrious Senators) with you, who in your admirable and celebrated wisdom, even before I could open my lips, must needs be satisfied in your own bosoms of the contrary, and in your prudence easily discern the foundation of this War to have been no other than a design to raise that Kingdom, which for these thousand years past has approved itself the true and willing refuge of the oppressed, and the only Sanctuary of all sorts of afflicted persons. I would fain know of these men, who intent these fabulous Arguments, what holy motive of Faith forc'd on the Emperor, combined with the King of England, to invade France on the side of Champagne and Picardy, an expedition that only ended in the burning of some few inconsiderable Villages, and the Siege of Mezières, very dishonorable for him? What devotion prick'd him on, at a time when Italy liv'd in peace, and affurance, by reason that Naples, Milan, Florence, and Genoa were possis'd by several Princes, to come and mingle all things into discord and confusion? What Religion (I say) moved him to league and combine himself with Pope Leo, to ravish away the state of Milan, which in a direct line of succession appertain'd to the Children of my King and Master? What mighty zeal for Religion prompt'd him to cause our King to be murder'd by means of a Prince of France, whom, to that end, he had harboured with prayers and tears? when seeing his execrable practice, (before it came to execution) to be wholly detested, be sent the Seigneur de Bourbon, with an infinite number of people into France, in hope to effect that by open force, which (the bounty and providence of God not permitting him) by secret treacheries he could not bring to pass? What inspiration of the holy Ghost might it be, that seven years since conducted the Emperor, with seventeen thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, to invade the Kingdom of France, then, when he entered by Picardy, and Provence? What command of the Gospel can ever be found out, such as these men have found, who make a show of so great devotion to the Christian Name, that can justify to the world the confederacy between the Emperor and the King of England, officially the said King by the proper solicitations, and pursuit of his Cæsarican Majesty, being at that time by the Pope declared a Schismatic, a Heretic, and a Rebel? A confederacy that cannot be baptiz'd by the name of a necessary cause: but an unjust, wicked, and detestable confederacy completed between them two, to the end that they might divide between them a Christian, and a Catholic Kingdom; which in all times, when any occasion has presented itself for the propagation of our Faith, has ever been d'self prodigious, both of its Blood, and Treasure.

But the whole world (most Serene Princes) were too little to satisfy his appetite of Rule; so precipitiously is he hurried on by his Ambition and Revenge. Would not have been sensible of the baseless affront put upon him by the English King in the perfom of his Aunts, had not the desire to sollicitate all Christendom transported him to forget that outrage? How often, to frustrate the Turkish attempts, and to prevent the manifest ruin of Hungary and Germany, have means been tried, and endeavours used, to procure a peace and union amongst these Princes, and still in vain? Whereas now all particular animosities, and private interests, the respect to Religion, the common desire of liberty, the obligation of so many benefits anciently received from our Forefathers, and of late from us, laid aside, and forgot; they are, to our great prejudice, confederated, and united like Herod and Pilate, who from mortal Enemies that they were, became friends, and Associates only in order to the perfecution of Jesus Christ.

Shall then this Emperor (most Serene Prince) go about to possis'h himself of the Kingdom of France
Book I. de Montluc, Marshal of France.

France, and to offend this King, who, after so many injuries received, so amicably and so freely confented to the ten years Truce? shall the Emperor go about to raise this Prince, who, after having been so many times undeservedly invaded in his own Kingdom, and as it were coming from the Spheres of that most illustrious and serene Dauphin, his son (so basely by the Emperor's corruptions poysted) nevertheless with the rest of his Children, and Princes of the Blood, at the peril of his life, went even into the Emperors own Gally, by that security to manifest to him, how much the peace, so necessary to all Christendom, was by his Majesty coveted and desired? Shall the Emperor go about to raise, burn, and put to spoil this Kingdom, in his passage through which, he was so welcome, treated, honored and cared for, as if he had been an Angel descended from Heaven? Shall he attempt, by all undue and all violent ways, to make himself Sovereign of this Kingdom wherein for fifty days together, by the courts, and bounty of the King, my Lord and Master, he saw himself more highly honoured, and respected, than their own natural Prince, with a power to command all things more absolute, than if he had been in his own Palace? Shall the Almains go about to make Hinds, and Slaves of those, who for the conservation of the German liberty, have so liberally exposed themselves, at the vast expense, and loss of their substance, and the effusion of their own blood? Shall the Germans and the English go about to raise the Religion, that we with our valiant Armies, and by the Doctrine of an infinite number of men, eminent for piety and learning, have affected and publish'd to all the world? Shall the Spaniards a people whom so often, and by dint of Arms we have reduced to the Christian Faith, go about in revenge to compel us to forgo that Religion, which so long, and with so great honor to the name of Christ, we have maintained and upheld? If it must be so that (contrary to all duty and right) we must be abandoned by the rest of the Christian world (which God avert), we who are the Subjects of the King, my Lord and Master, may with great reason and justice, cry unto God for vengeance against them all, for so foul an ingratitude.

These are returns, by no means suitable to the merits of our Forefathers, for, having by the divine assistance gained so many signal victories for Christendom under the conduct of Charles Martel in those times when they fought with, and cut in pieces fifty thousand Saracens, that were come into Spain. These are by no means fit rewards for the defeat of our Ancestors, who (by the favour of the Almighty) acquired great advantages for Christendom, at the time, when, by their Forces under the conduct of Charlemain the Infidels and Saracens were driven both out of Spain, and a great part of Asia. These are by no means acknowledgments proportionable to the reputation our people by the grace of God acquired in the time of Urban the second, who without any difficulty, or the least contradiction, dispersed our King, his Princes, Nobility, Gentry, and generally the whole body of the Kingdom, against the adversaries of our Faith, informed that altogether, and through our assistance they conquered the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Holy Land. These are by no means fit remonstrances for the defect of so many expeditions against the enemies of our Faith, fortunately undertaken by our Progenitors, under the Reigns of Philip and Charles of Valois. And when his Holiness shall see so many Nations confederated, with a militeious intent to ruining the rest of Christendom, and resolved to oppress this Kingdom, which of all others has been merited of the Christian Commonwealth, I cannot doubt, but that he will lend us rich succours, and assistance as shall judge necessary for our protection, and defence. And should his Holiness do otherwise, he would do very much against himself, and contrary to the duty of an Italian, a Christian, and a Prelate. Of an Italian, forsooch as our Holy Father doth very well understand, that the sovereigns, and calamity of Italy, can proceed from no other accident, than from the ruining and desolation of the Kingdom of France: Of a Christian forsooch as the name of Christ having in all Ages been defended and propagated by this Kingdom, and it being at this time invaded by the means and ambition of the Emperor, and so many Nations strangers to our Religion, it cannot in this exigency be defended by any but this, as are no very good friends to the Christian Faith: Of a Prelate forsooch as it were contrary to the duty of his Holiness, being, as he is, thoroughly informed, and very well in his own knowledge assured, that the Emperor, in his own will, and resolution to subjugate both the French, Italians, and all other Christians, would never hearken to any overture of accommodation, that has by his Holines been proposed to him. If there on the contrary the King my Master (equally defirous of his own, and the public quiet) has often offered to submit all his interests, and differences to the judgment of our Holy Father. To discharge then the office of a true Prelate, and a true Judge, he may not take arms against him, who has not the confidence to deny, but that he is the sole protector of the publick peace, and the universal good? Which though his Holiness should forbear to do, ye to preserve his ingratitude in this respect, the very bones of Gregory the third, Stephen the second, Adrian the first, Stephen the fourth, Gregory the ninth, Galatius the second, Innocent the second, Eugenius the first, Innocent the fourth, Urban, and several other Popes would start up; who being perfected, partly by
the Enemies of the Faith, and partly by the Emperors, have been relitiged by the Forces of this most Christian Kingdom, and by the Treasurie of this Crown, as the sacred Anchor of all Christianitie, and have been protected, and restored to the holy Chair. The bouses and affairs of Pope Clement would rise up, who being, contrary to all reason, and equity, reduced to the extreme calamity by the Emperors (who at this very time, allied and confederated with Hereticks, prepare, and stirr up so many Tragedies, for good, and true Christians) was delivered from all his oppressions by the arms of the King my Master, and that at the price of a great number of his people.

I do not believe (Illustrious Senators) that you have in the least forgot the Union, and Alliance, which for seven years past has been so inviolably observed between your Illustrious Republick, and the Crown of France. Can you forget the first league that was maintaine by you and us in the Last Wars? Neither can you have forgot that Enterprize wherein you, and we, in short time, conquered Constantinople. Can you then endure, that a Nation your forefathers have loved, honored, and esteemed, should be reckoned by the means of your Enemies; a people with whom (neither you, nor we being degenerated from the nature of our Predecessors) you may yet expect to perform more exploits; and such as may be for the enlargement of your own Dominions, and the universal benefit of all Christianitie. I hope you consider (Illustrious Senators) with your wonted prudence, that if (as God forbid) any farther accident should befall the King, my Lord and Master, the liberty of your most serene Republick, would be without all manner of Remedy, exposed as a prey to him, who aims at nothing less, than to subdue us both to the same dire fate, as those who have ever been waited for the defence of the common liberty. Which though you should not do, yet the very bosom of our forefathers would rise up in our favour; those Ancestors who seeing Philip Maria Vittoni to have subdued Genoa, and already to have reduced all Tuscany to a deplorable condition, not able to suffer so great an injustice, nor to permit the Territories of so great Princes to be intrusted by so dangerous an Enemy, with the Affiance of the Florentines, retook Genoa, and by this means, not only restaur'd and repellet the Ambition of that Tyrant, but moreover with the singular applause, and obligation of all Italy, recovered Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona.

I flatter my self by the remembrance of so many glorious actions, and by so many great examples of the French fidelity, piety, and honor, to have been so happy, as to have removed all difficulties, and impediments, wherewith the calamities of those of the Imperial party your Lordships may have been preassisted, and as a most humble servant to you all, do beseech, and conjure you (most Illustrious Senators) to consider the miserable estate of Italy, and generally of all Christianitie, and before you resolve or declare for either party, not only to bear the most Reverend, and Illustrious Cardinal of Ferrara: but also thoroughly to weigh, and examine what he shall propose to you in the behalf of the King my Master. And once more most humbly beseech your Serene Highness, with your accustomed Prudence to consider the Emperor, not only as the cause of the main, and majesty of Italy: but moreover to look upon him as the Insubdactor of the liberty of this most Serene Republick. Acknowledge, acknowledge, I beseech you, the House of Austria for your Capital Enemy, and such a one, as has at all times used all sorts of endeavor to encroach upon, and to uproot the Territories and Dominions of others, and especially those of your most Serene Republick. And on the contrary that most Christian King, my Lord, and Master, for your ancient, faithful, and affectionate friend, and remember with what promptitude, and alacrity, he has ever divided his Forces with you, for the recovery of your places unjustly possessed by thieves of the House of Austria, of which the recovery of Brescia, and Verona may serve for a sufficient proof. Neither is there any cause to fear, that such a friendship can by any means suffer itself to be violated, or disjoined; forasmuch as there having been between that Crown of France, and this Illustrious Republick no kind of difference, either ancient, or of later date, and the one holding nothing of the other, the occasions most conveniently be wanting upon which the amities of Princes do ordinarily dissolve: but on the other side, their Unity, Allegiances, and Conformities are such that the reuse of the one does threaten, and almost affirme the calamity, and dissipation of the other.

What opinion the Senate might retain of so nice an affair, I am not able to say, neither do I know whether my Brothers eloquence made them approve of a thing, at which they had before been so highly scandaliz'd: but this I know, that I have ever heard that action highly cenfur'd both then and since: and in plain truth, I do believe our affairs were not much better'd by it, but it is not for me to meddle with so great affairs. So soon as these mighty succours of the Turk arrived, every one thought the whole Earth had not been capable to receive them; such judgments men make of things before they come to be tried.

Montier d'Anguisin, who was at that time the Kings Lieutenant in Provence, having gathered
gathered together some Ensigns of Provençals, came to sit down before Nice; where a great Battery had been made, the assault was given by the Turkis, and Provençals together: but they were repulsed. In the end the Town surrendered, but not the Castle. In the mean time the Duke of Savoy solicited the Marquis de Gages for relief, who accordingly with a good Army put himself into the Field. The Turkis very much delighted our people, yet I do not believe they could beat us number for number: they are, 'tis true, stronger men, more obedient and more patient of any hardship, than we are; but I cannot allow them to be more valiant: they have indeed one advantage over us: which is, that they fludy nothing but War. Barbarofas at this Siege was very much displeased, and couht out very tart and passionat language, especially when we were constrained to borrow of him powder, and bullet, infomuch that he reimbarked himself, and departed, without doing any great feats, as also the winter indeed drew on; but they Barbarofas did behaved themselves very civilly towards all our Confederates in their retreat, and the gaited. Provençals likewise disbanded.

I had forgot to tel you, that after the ill success at Perpignan, the King sent us orders to march straight away into Piedmont, and Monfieur de Anneckant (who was Admiral) went to beleoge Cony, where we sped as ill as at Perpignan, and were very well drub'd giving the assault, for not having well discover'd the breach; and where I saw the brave and valiant Captain Santo Pedro Corfo behave himself admirably well, who was almost wounded to death. The said Admiral having taken some few little places, and seeing the winter at hand, returned back into France, leaving Monfieur de Boisseres in the quality of the King's Lieutenant there, whom he sent to Garrison at Genay; and we to Servilans, where Monfieur de Termes was Governor, who was very glad of our coming, for he fleed in need of us. During our abode there, several attempts were made both upon Turins, and upon us, and we likewise attempted something upon the Enemy, wherein our fortune was sometimes better and sometimes worse: but there being nothing that particularly concerned me, I shall passe them over; and indeed should I give a relation of all the Actions wherein I have been engaged, I should never have done.

After that the Turkis were retir'd, as has been said, the Duke of Savoy, and the Marquis de Gages laid Siege to Mondrevi, where the Seigneur de Dres, a Piedmontois was Governor, having with him four Italian Companies, and two of Swift, who there behaved themselves exceedingly well, though it be none of their trade to keep places, and there were given two or three Scaladins. Monfieur de l'Offuire, had no possible means to relieve it, for the King had at that time very few Soldiers in Piedmont, and the Swift, who had left their Captains and Lieutenants with Canon shots, began to mutiny against the Seigneur de Dres, the Governor, infomuch that he was constrained to capitulate. Now you may know, that the Marquis de Gages (who was one of the most cautious and subtle Captains of his time) to take from him all hopes of relief, had counterfeited Letters from Monfieur de l'Offuire, wherein he writ him word to shift the belt he could for himself, there being no possibility to relieve him: which coming to the Governors hands, and the cheat not being to be discover'd, and the Swift at the same time beginning to mutiny, he surrendered the Town upon condition, to march away with Bag, and Baggage. However the Articles (to the great dishonor of the Marquis de Gages) were very ill observed, and the Seigneur de Dres purfued, who faw'd himself upon a Spanishe Horse, and it was well for him that he did so, for all the Gold in Europe would not have faved his life, for the hatred of Duke of Savoy had conceived against him, being that he, who was his Subject, had revoluted to the Enemies side. Twas said that he made his escape in the habit of a Priest by the means of an Italian Soldier, who had formerly serv'd him: but I believe it was after the manner I have related: but this I can say without lying, that he was one of the bravest men, and the greatest Wits, that ever came out of Piedmont, and dyed afterwards very honorably at the Battel of Seringale.

The same day that Mondrevi was surrender'd, I had departed from Servilans (to the great regret of Monfieur de Termes) with five and twenty Foot, to try if I could find means to put my Eft into it, for with a great party it would be a matter of extraordinary difficulty; and took with me a Guide, who would undertake to conduct me by the deep vallies, and by a River that runs by Mondrevi, in which we were to march a great way together, the water being but knee deep, and I do believe by that way I might have got in, though it would have signified nothing if I had, forasmuch as I must have done as the rest did, considering that the strangers by their number gave the Law: but they dearly paid for't, many of them being malfacr'd at their marching out of
A combat near Manfpar.

The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize

Book I.

The Town. I had moreover drawn out ten Soldiers, over and above my five and twenty, to convoy me over the Manfpar, a place so call'd, and within half a mile of Maremes, where a man should hardly ever fail of meeting some of the Garrison of Foffan. And above, and on the right hand of Manfpar, there floor an empty Inn, from whence one might discover all that came from Savillan straight to Cairos, and from Cairos to the faid Savillan. As I defended therefore into the plain that leads directly to Manfpar, I was there aware of three score Italian Soldiers of Fofsan, that were scouting towards that Inn, which stands upon an eminence, and prefently faw the Party move, who made haft to gain the Manfpar on that fide towards Cairos, to fight me in that ftraight, which made me turn off on the right hand with intent to fall upon their Rear, fo foon as I should arrive at the Inn; when they perceiving my deign, endeavour'd to recover the road of Fofsan to retire: but I purfued them to clofe, that I con'rain'd them to take a houfe, which had a fable directly oppofite to it, to which I let fire, who thereupon feeing themselves loft, they began to cry out for Quarter, cafting themselves headlong, some out of the Windows, and some by the door, of which my Soldiers dispatch'd fome in revenge of one of their companions, very much beloved by them, who was kill'd, and two more wounded, the reft I bent back to Savillan bound together with match, for as much as they were more in number, than we that took them. I went thence, flipt to Cairos, and at the Mill below Cairos found Monfieur de Central, Governor of the faid Cairos, who told me that Montdevi was furrender'd, having yet the Letters in his hand, that had been fent him to that effect. I then prefently turned about to recover Savillan, and to carry the news to Monfieur de Termes, that he might fend it to Monfieur de Butieres: but as I was on this fide Cairos, and upon the skirts of the plain near unto some houfes there called les Rodies, looking behind me I faw a Troop of Horfe, which came from downwards of Fofsan, along by the meadow leading towards Albe which they then held: which made me halt at thefe houfes, to fee what they would do; in which proufe, they drawing nearer, discover'd me; and attempted to come up to me by a little alicant there was, enclosed with hedges on either fide: but when I faw them advance half up the Alicant, I bent out four or five Harquebuflers, who, firing upon them, shot one of their Horfes, whereupon they very foonly changed about. Which I feeing, and concluding it was for fear, advanced boldly into the plain, where I had not march'd five hundred paces, but I discover'd them again in the faid plain (for they had paffed a little lower out of fight) being fourteen Launcers, and eight Harquebuflers on horseback, with another who came after leading the wounded horfe. I had in all but five and twenty Soldiers, of which feven were Pike's, and Captain Fata's and my felf each of us a Halbert on our necks: Their Harquebuflers came up at a good round trot to charge us, firing all the way as they came, as fome of ours also did at them, and their Launces made a flew as if they would charge in amongst us; but it was very faintly; for upon the firing of our Harquebuflers they made a halt, and gave way, at which we took heart, and march'd boldly up to them with good fhirt claps of Harquebuzo fhot, upon which one of their men falling dead to the ground, they very foonly left him behind them, and defcending once more into the plain retreated directly towards Albe. And thus I retir'd to Savillan, it being two hours within night before I got thishor, which I thought fit to commit to writing, to the end, that other Captains may take example whenever Horfe comes to charge the Foot, never to spend more than half of their shot, and referve the other half for the left extrarm, which being oberv'd, they can very hardly be defeated without killing a great number of the Enemy, who will never venture to break in whilft they fee the Harquebuziers ready prefent'd to fire upon them; who being refolute men, by the favour of any little bulk, or brake, will hold the Cavalry long in play, the one ftill firing whilst the other is charging again. For our parts we were all refolv'd never to yield; but rather to fight it out with the fword, fearing they would revenge what we had done in the morning, for the four horfe that eafial'd to Fofsan had carried back the news of their defeat.

So foon as Monfieur de Termes underfoold that Montdevi was taken, he resolve'd in the morning to put himfelf into Beme, which he accordingly did, where being arriv'd he there found two companies of Swiffe, which were there in Garrison (having receiv'd alfo the others of Mondevi) who immediately abandoned Beme, and went to Cairos, leaving only the Count's own Company, another of Italians, and that of Captain Renovare. From thence Monfieur de Termes dispatch'd away a Meffenger to me on horseback, writing me word, that if ever I would do the King a timely fervice, I fhould immediately come away; and this was the next day after the faid Seigneur arrived at Beme, which was Sunday, and we were but juft come from Mafs.

After
After therefore having eaten a fnap or two, I immediately put my felf into the field to go theither; yet could I not make fo much haft, but that it was above three hours within night before I got theither; it being neceffary for me to pafs thorough uneafie valleys, forasmuch as we believ'd the Town already to be besieged, all the Enemies Camp being a mile from Bern, but three little miles from Bome, and they having skirmifh'd all the day before the Town. By a good fortune Monfieur de St. Julian Colonel of the Swiflje, was at the faid Bome, it being his Garrison, and Monfieur d'Auffan also, who was come to give him a vifit, and to fee what would be the issue of the Siege of Mondev; but it was impoffible for the faid St. Julian to detain the Swife for I met all the four Companies already within half a mile of Caiiras. I had so much honor done me, that both the Count, and the Countefs his Mother, together with feveral other great perfonages came to meet me at the Gates of the City, who were very glad of my coming, excepting in the morning to be befieged; but two days after my arrival their Camp march'd away toward Triffla, having cafl a Bridge over the River, near to Foflan; and the morning that the Camp mov'd, five or fix light hofe of Monfieur de Termes, and four or five Gentlemen belonging to the Count de Bome (who ferv'd for Guides) with five or fix Harquebutiers on hornback of mine, went in pursuit of their Camp. It was to great a shift that they could fcare one another, which was the reafon that they went to the very head of their Artillery, and took the Commiitary (whom they call the Captain of the Artillery:) and the day before Meffieurs de Termes, d'Auffan, and de St. Julian were gone away, having had intelligence that the Enemy were making this Bridge; wherefor Monfieur de St. Julian went straight to Caiiras, where the Swife likewife would not abide, but went thence to Carignan; Monfieur de Termes who doubted alfo they might go to Savannah, of which he was Governor, went thither, and Meffieurs d'Auffan went in great haft directly to Turin; In short every one was in fear of his own charge.

The faid Bridge was further advance'd than was imagin'd, for thofe of Foflan made it in three or four days, that their Camp lay at Cavern, and at the time that the Commiitary was taken, the grreateft part of the Army was already pafs'd over, and was encamp'd towards Maranes, particularly the Batallon of the Germans, who were quarter'd in the Castle, and the out-houfes of the Palace of Meffire Phillibert Cauhens, a Gentleman of Savannah.

Monfieur de Termes had brought with him to Bome Monfieur de Cailiac, the Commiitary of the Artillery, who would needs fay with me out of reftpect to the great friendship betwixt us (which does yet continue) and we were in delfair of ever getting any thing out of the faid Commiitary prisoner, till it grew to be very late, and then he told, and affured us, that the Army was gone to befiege Savannah: At which Monfieur de Cailiac and I were almoft at our wits end; for the faid Sieur de Cailiac had his residence more at the faid Savannah, than at any other place, and I alfo, being it was my Garrison, and where I had continued for seven or eight months before. In the end we both of us resolv'd to go put our felves into it at all hazards and adventures that might befal. I had five and twenty Soldiers of mine own on hornback, which I took together with four or five more of Monfieur de Termes, which he had left at Bome (to the great grief of the Count, who would never be perfuaded to permit Captain Fatras, and the reft of the Company to depart) and about two hours within night, we arriv'd at Caiiras, where we spoke with Monfieur Central, whom we found in a very great chafe, for that the Swife haft that day forfak him, and he told us that it was very great odds we fhould find the Camp lodg'd in the Countrey houfes belonging to Savannah, the Germans excepted, who were quarter'd as I have faid, and took up all the place betwixt that and Maranes, thorough which we were to pafs; for my other way it was all ditches and Rivolets very troubloufem to pafs, efpecially having no Guide with us, which we had not provided our felves of, by reafon we all of us very well know the ordinary way. However we pafs'd thorough the middle of the Village of Maranes, without any encounter at all (forasmuch as the Enemies Cavalry was yet about Foflan) and we came to Savannah, about two hours after midnight, where at the Gate of the Town we found Captain Cha-rettz, Brother to Bagemar, whom Monfieur de Termes lent to Monfieur Bélibert, defiring him to affure him, that we were all resolv'd to dye, or to preferve the place.

Monfieur de Cailiac, and I then went to find Monfieur de Termes at his Quarters, where flating upon him before he heard any thing of us, we found him writing down the order of the Siege, with his back towards the door, which being open, he never heard nor faw us, till I coming behind him, and taking him in my arms faid to him, Did you think to play this Farce without us? at which he suddeily flart up, and leapt about my neck, being fcarce able to utter a word for joy, and likewife embrac'd Monfieur de Cailiac, telling me, that he with'd he had given half his efface, my Company was there alfo with
The Commentaries of Meffire Blaize

Book I.

... to which I made answer, that I would make them fly; provided he would fuddily find a messenger to carry a Letter to my Lieutenant Captain Favus; and immediately hereupon we dispatch'd thither a Footman of his, who before noon got to Bére, where so soon as the said Captain Favus had read my Letter, he presently went to acquaint the Count, that he must of necessity depart. The Count was again very important with him to stay; but nevertheless he march'd out about three of the Clock in the afternoon, and left the Flag of my Ensign as he pass'd by Cairar with Monfieur Cental, who plainly told him that he must not expect to pass without fighting, to which he made answer, that it was also all he did desire. We had given instructions to the Footman, that so soon as he should come to the end of the plain, he should lead him straight towards the Mill of the said Meffir Philibert, which was about a Marquèzube shot distant from his Palace, and that then he should follow on along the side of the River, preparing himself to fight at the said Mill, not doubting but that he would there certainly meet with the Germans; but that nevertheless if he would avoid fighting, he should by all means do it, and make it his only business to get into the Town. A caution that was very much in season, for the Germans had dilfog'd the very morning that we pass'd by, and were encamp'd at Marennes; but about two hours after midnight he safely arriv'd, which redoubled the joy, not of Monfieur de Termes only; but moreover of all the other Captains and Soldiers, and the Inhabitants of the Town; for to say the truth, I had one of the beef, and the fullest Companies in all Piedmont. And indeed I would never have other than the beef men I could choose, for when once I perceiv'd any one not to be right, I ever found one pretence or another to be rid of him.

Two hours before day, Monfieur de Termes had news brought him that the Duke of Savoy, and the Marquis de Gustuf were come that very night to Cavillermor, two miles from Savillan; which made us still more confident that the Camp was advancing with a resolution to besiege us, because they planted themselves upon the way by which we were to receive our relief; and fo soon as the day began to appear there came from Marennes to give us notice, that all the Infantry was upon the Road towards Moniron, and descended into the plain of St. Fré, taking the way rather towards Carignan, than Savillan, of which we had full more and more intelligence.

I then begg'd of Monfieur de Termes to give me leave to go outwards Cavillermor, to follow in the Rear of their Horde, which he presently granted, causing Captain Mons his Ensign with fifty Launces to mount to horfe. Now in the time that I was gone to Bére, our Colonel Monfieur de Tais had sent the Companies of Boguedamar and the Baron de Nicolas in great diligence to Savillan, and my own men being weary, I took only Captain Favus, and those who had come in with me, who were pretty well refeth'd, and some forty of the others, that were come overnight. Captain Lienard at that time Lieutenant to Gaborret with thirty or forty of his Company, and Captain Bruyl the Baron's Ensign, who (as I was very lately affur'd) is yeeling, and has since been shot in the leg of which he is lame (as I am told) with as many of the Company of the said Baron, and went straight to Cavillermor, along the banks of a great River, leading to the said Cavillermor, and on the left hand the great high way, when being advanc'd within half a mile of the Town, I was overtaken by one of Captain Gaborret's men, whom he had lent to me, to desire I would stay a little for him, he being mounting to horfe to come after me with all possible speed. I therefore made a halt, but (as he was ever very tedious and flow) he made us there to tarry for him above a long quarter of an hour, and so unhappily for me, that had I held on my way without staying for him, I had met with the Duke of Savoy at a little Chappel without Cavillermor, towards Savillan, where he wasat Mais, with only five and twenty Horde for his Guard, the Marquis being gone away with all the Cavalry towards Rouy, and already advanc'd above a long mile from thence upon his way. Thus a little delay oftentimes causeth a great inconvenience, otherwise we had at this time perhaps light of a good booby; but so soon as the said Gaborret came up to us, I went on, and came presently to Cavillermor, where the people of the Town enform'd me, that the said Duke could not yet be above half a mile from thence, which made both Captain Mons, and me and all the Soldiers ready to eat our own flesh, to think what a prize we had lost through the negligence of Gaborret, whom to his face we curt'd to all the Devils of Hell.

After we had hereflaid a pretty space, not knowing what we should resolve to do, we at last began to put our selves upon our return home, when the intelligence we had from Marennes coming into my head, I presently alter'd that resolution, and took the way through the Meadows that leads towards that plain, still hearing the Drums of
of the Enemies Camp both before and behind us at the same time; for it is not above half a mile from Ca"lemor to the fight of the plain, and so soon as we came within sight of it, we discover'd three or four Laccius that follow'd the Camp. Two or three of our light horse spur'd out to take them, and accordingly brought them in, by whom we learn'd that after them follow'd two Ensigns of Foot, and a troop of Horse commanded by Moniteur de la Trinité: the said two Companies of Foot were those of the Coane Pedro d'Appata Governor of Follan, which were conducted by a Lieutenant of his call'd Captain Alcmán, and the Horfe were command'd by the said Seigneur de Trinité, together with the ammunition, bread, and a good part of the baggage of the Camp, whereof a great deal belonged to the Germans and Spaniards, and was guarded by fifty Soldiers of the one nation, and as many of the other; so that they might be seen four hundred horses of carriage, or more, and fourscore and ten wagons laden with provision, and the equipage belonging to the Artillery.

Captain Mons thereupon went out to discover Moniteur de la Trinité, and went so near, that he had his horfe tho' under him, who pretently returning back said these words to me; Captain Montluc, yonder is enough for us both to give, and to take. Whereupon I suddenly leap'd upon a little Mare of one of my Soldiers, and taking one of my Sergeants with twenty Harquebusiers along with me, went my self to discover the Enemy, who making no reckoning of those few Horse they had seen, still with Drums beating, held on their March; when being come pretty near, I saw a multitude of men and horses marching along the plain, which was the Baggage, and the Waggons, and afterwards upon the eminence on that side where I was, perceiv'd the two Ensigns and the Horse upon their March, and counted the Foot to be betwixt three and four hundred men, and likewise the Horse to be betwixt thirty, and five and thirty Lances; which having done I presently return'd back to Captain Mons, and told him, that having miss'd one great good fortune, we were now to attempt another, to which he made answer that he was ready to do whatever I would command him. Whereupon I desir'd him to stay for me, while I went to speak to my Soldiers, which he did, and I spur'd away to them. Captain Garret was with the said Captain Mons on horseback, and Captain Favas, Lysard, and le Breuil conducted the Foot, when coming up to them, I spoke both to them, and to the Soldiers, telling them, that as God had deprived us of one good fortune, he had put another into our hands, and that although the Enemy were at this time three times as many as we were, yet if we resolv'd to fight them upon so fair an occasion, we were unworthy the name of Soldiers, as well out of respect to the honor we should acquire thereby, as in regard to the Riches we faw exposed before us, which was no contemptible prize. To which all the three Captains made answer, that it was their opinion we ought to fight, whereupon, raising my voice, I spoke to the Soldiers saying, Well fellow Soldiers, are you of the same opinion with these Captains? I for my part have already told you mine, that we ought to fight, and assure your selves we shall beat them, for my mind tells me so, which has never fail'd me in any thing I have ever undertook, therefore I pray Gentlemen conclude them already as good as our own.

Now it was a custom I always had, to make the Soldiers believe, that I had a certain kind of preface, whenever it came upon me, I was sure to overcome: a thing that I only pretended to amuse the Soldiers, that they might think themselves secure of the victory, and have ever found an advantage by it; for my confidence often emboldned the most timorous, and simple fellows, say sometimes the most crafty knaves amongst them are easy to be gull'd, as there were, who therewith upon one voice cry'd out, Let us fight Captain, let us fight. I then declar'd to them, that I would place four of my Pikes in the Rear, to keep every one from flinching back, which if any one should offer to do, they should kill him, with which they were very well content; but I had much ado to make the said Pikes so fall behind, according to that agreement, so ardently forward was every one to be the first to fight, though it was very necessary they should do so, for that evermore disorders are most likely to happen in the Rear.

I then began to march, when so soon as the Enemy discover'd the Foot, they made a halt upon the edge of a great hollow, that had in the process of time been worn by the land floods, which stretch'd it self in length till it ended under the Hill where we were. I saw them in the plain with their Lances all advance'd, not offering to move, and saw also Captain Alcmán upon a little gray Nag, who plac'd his Pikes all in file along the hollow, and then spur'd up to the Waggons to draw them up at the end of the hollow, and then to the Baggage placing them behind, and afterwards to the Horse, by which order and diligence, I knew him to be a brave man, and fell to consider with my self, what would be the issue of the fight, of which I now began to be in some doubt, through
thorough the good order of this Chief. I nevertheless nothing alter'd my resolution; but whilst Captain *Aucans* was but ordering his Barrack, I was as diligent to order mine, giving the Harquebusiers to Captain *Gabaret*, who was on horseback. And you must take notice, that the Enemies Foot was upon the top of the hollow directly over against us. I took then the three Captains with the Pikes, and left order with the Harquebusiers by no means to shoot till they came within the distance of four Pikes, and to Captain *Gabaret* by all means to fee this order observ'd, which he also did. I then depriv'd Captain *Mon* to lend me five and twenty of his Lanceurs to help me to kill; for they were so many that in a whole day, though they had one hand tyed behind them, we should have had much ado to dispatch them, and with the rest he was to fight their Cavalry, though they were a great many more then ours. To which hereafter contented, and gave five and twenty of his Lanceurs to the younger *Tillades* (the fame who is now call'd *Monseur de SainteVeno*) and moreover to Captain *Tiron* some light horse of the said Company, who are both of them yet living, as also several others, who were of the fame Troop.

These orders being given, all of us both Foot and Horse march'd direcdly towards the Enemy, and when I expected their Harquebusiers should have thrown themselves into the hollow, so soon as they should see our men come full drive upon them, they quite contrary march'd straight up to our men, and all at a clap gave fire within less than four Pikes length of one another. Now I had given order to our men, that so soon as they had power'd in their shot, without standing to charge again, they should run up to them, and fall to the Sword, which they also did, and I wish the Pikes ran to the end of the hollow, and fell in desperately amongst them. In the mean time *Tiron* and *Tillades* charg'd *Monseur de Trinlat*, and put him to rout, and our Harquebusiers and theirs threw themselves altogether into the hollow: but ours had the upper hand, and our Pike men had thrown away their Pikes, and were fallen to cut with the Sword, and so courageously fighting we came all up to the Wagons, Captain *Mon*, and all, which were all over'tound in a moment, and all our men put to flight towards two houses which stood in the bottom of the plain, where, still pursuing our Victory, and the Horfe still firing amongst them, very few of them reach'd the houses. At the houses some particular men were taken to Quarter: but of the rest very few were sav'd, and those who were left alive were so grievously wound'd, that I do verily believe they had little benefit of their mercy.

Our *Geni d'Armes* in those days wore great cutting Fauchions, wherewith to lop off armes of Male, and to cleave Morions, and indeed in my life I never saw such blows given. As for the Cavalry they were all taken running away towards *Foffan*, Monseur *de Trinlat* excepted, and five others, who being better mounted than the rest, escaped; though young *Tillades* with two others only pursu'd him within two Harquebuse shots of *Foffan*, and took one who attended one of the Colours, which the Ensign that carried it, had thrown upon the neck of him who carried off his horse. Presently after we began to march, leading off the Wagons, and Baggage, which were of necessity to return by the same way they had come from *Marennes*, forasmuch as the Carriages could pass no other way, and there I saw to great a disorder amongst our people, that had twenty of the Enemies horse turn'd back upon us, we had certainly been defeated; for all the Soldiers both Foot and Horse were so laden with Baggage, and with hores they had taken, that it had been impossible for Captain *Mon* to have rally'd so much as one Lance, or I two Harquebusiers: incomuch that we left all the dead uninrified and untouch'd, but the Country people of *Marennes* came thither pretendly after, and performed that office for them, and have since several times told us, that they got there above two thousand Crowns; for not above three or four days before, those two Captains had mutter'd for three months. The booty is very often the occasion of mine, wherefore Captains ought to be exceeding careful, especially when they know there are enemies Garrisons near at hand, that may fall out upon them; though it is a very hard thing to take order in, for the sake of the Soldier is such, that he oftentimes quails under his burthen, and no reason will serve his turn.

After this defeat we return'd to *Sevillan*, where we found that two Country fellows had given an Alarm to Monseur *de Tirmes*, having brought him news that we were all defeated, and indeed we found him almost at his wits end, but afterwards he was the most overjoy'd man, that ever he had been in his life. There a man might have had flesh enough good cheap; for we took above forty *German* Whores and more than twenty *Spanishe*, which kind of Carret was the greatest cause of our disorder. We had an intention to have thar'd all the spoil equally amongst us, and found that we were but an hundred forty and five men, and fifty horse, but every one begg'd that he might keep what
what he had gotten, promising upon that condition to make me a present, forasmuch as I had not made it my business to look after spoil, which I contented to, letting every one was content, and they gave me fix hundred crowns, as also the horse prefixed Captaine Mons, but how much I am not able to say, and this we did that day in the rear of their camp. Of our people there was plain upon the place one soldier only belonging to captain Burton, with five or six more hurs, and one corporal of mines, who all recovered. There were great many both of the horse and foot yet living, who were present at this business, who when they shall read this book, I am sure will not give me the lie. I cannot remember (which I wonder at my self for) whether Monsieur de Caillac was with us at the engagement or no, or whether Monsieur de Termes did not detain him at home, but I am sure that if he was not there, he was in savillan, and may very well remember all this to be true.

Now the design of the Marquis of Guise soon discovered it self, which was to put himself into Carignan, and there to raise a fort, and leave in it a strong garrison of foot, as he did, and the very day that I gave them this defeat he encamp'd at a village near Carmagnolle, on the right hand of the road from Reveurs to the said Carmagnolle (I have forgot the name) and at midnight sent the greatest part of his cavalry to get over the bridge at Lombricaffe, over which an hour or two before there had pass'd two light horse of Monsieur de Termes (who had been with us at the fight, and were follow'd away with their horses, fearing they should be made to discover) who gave intelligence to Monsieur d'Auffan, and Signior Francesco Bernardino, who were both at Carignan, sent thither by Monsieur de Boitieres, on purpose to dissuade that place, calling to mind that Monsieur de Termes, and the said Signior Francesco had told him four months before, that the Marquis would do so, and possest himself in it on the raising of some fortifications there, which would be very prejudicial to the King's service.

I had nothing to do to write this, if it were not for a caution to the young captains, who shall read this book, that they must never attempt to retrieve at the head of an army, to which they are not strong enough to give battle. But (as I was saying) so soon as the light horse had spoke with Monsieur d'Auffan, and told him of the defeat we had given them, he had a great mind (as his heart was in a right place) to do something else before he retired; but the said Signior Francesco understanding by these light horse where the Enemy was, presently concluded, that by break of day they would certainly be upon them, which made him very important to Monsieur d'Auffan to retire: but he would by no means hearken to him, and so soon as day appeared, they saw the Marquis de Guise, all the infantry, and part of the horse marching all along the side of the river, when the Marquis advancing he caus'd Monsieur d'Auffan to be talk'd with, only to hold him in play, which Signior Francesco perceiving, call'd out to him, that the Marquis did only this to amuse him; but he was deaf as before, and would believe nothing (a man cannot avoid his destiny) till two light horse he had sent out upon the road towards Lombricaffe, came and brought him an account of the truth: but it was too late, for already the greatest part of their cavalry was got over. There was but two boats there, but they were very large, and they had begun to pass an hour after midnight.

Upon this Monsieur d'Auffan commanded Signior Francesco to retire as far as the bridge of Loges, and there to make a halt, which he did. Foot he had none, but the chevalier Ascals, with his single company, to whom he gave order to march softly, after the said Signior Francesco, and halt very often to reliefe him, if occasion were, which he accordingly obeyed, when on a sudden came up fifty or three score of the Enemies horse to begin the skirmish: it is very true, that besides his own troop, and that of Signior Francesco, he had thirty launchers of the company of Monsieur de Termes, commanded by the elder Tillislet, which had parted from Monsieur de Termes seven or eight days before, by the command of Monsieur de Boitieres, and at his entreaty to lend them, which the said Monsieur de Termes very much repented after, wanting them himself, at the time when he expected a siege: the said Seigneur d'Auffan then began himself also to retire, dividing his men into three squadrons, whom the enemy follow'd very close; his lieutenant, call'd Hieronymo Magrin, commanded the first squadron, whom the enemy sometimes beat up to the second, commanded by Monsieur de Auffan, and otherwheres the said Hieronymo recharg'd the enemy, who were continually supplied by a great number of freth men, and who, as they found themselves the stronger, charg'd Captain Hieronymo with might and main, driving him back into the squadron of Monsieur d'Auffan, who thereupon gave a charge, and repell'd the said enemies up to their main body, which again charg'd the said Seigneur d'Auffan, and beat him back to the foremost, Captain Tillislet, and at the same time another troop of the enemy, besides others,
those, who came upon the Gallop, charg’d the said Tilladet, who was advance’d to relieve Monseigneur d’Anjou, so that the Enemy was four times stronger in Horse than we were, and forth supplies, as they landed, still came up to them, infomuch that all was put to rout and confusion, Monseigneur d’Anjou beaten down to ground his Lieutenant, and above fifty more taken prisoners, Captain Tilladet twice taken, and refixed by his men, who closing together, and often facing about, made good their retreat in spite of the Enemy even to the Bridge of Loger. Signior Francesco Bernardin, who stood drawn up close by the Bridge, seeing this current coming upon him, and knowing that he with his Troop was not sufficient to remedy the disorder, took it into consideration, and pass’d over the Bridge, where he again made head, by which means a great many more of our People fa’d themselves, who under his protection fa’d about at the end of the said Bridge. In the mean time the Chevalier Abél, who had taken his way a little on the left hand, was still retreating a foot pace, and often made a halt, which was the reason that he could never recover the Bridge; for one part of the Enemy seeing the victory already secure, ran up to him, who having seen all our Cavalry routed and defeated, any man may judge what courage he, or his men, could have, who were all cut to pieces, their Colours taken, and himself upon a little horse very hardly escap’d.

After this manner was Monseigneur d’Anjou defeated, more out of vanity to do some notable feat, than out of any default of courage or conduct; for in the first place he order’d his Troops so well, that they all fought, and secondly himself was taken, overthrown to ground, with his Sword bloody in his hand, for his horse was killed under him; and would have been satisfied with reason, he had never enter’d into dispute with Signior Francesco Bernardin, who had perform’d all, both in his person, and conduct, that a brave Leader ought to do. But the King, after the said Seigneur d’Anjou was fet at liberty, made them friends; for Signior Francesco had sent him a Challenge for the wrong he had done him, in reporting to the Marquis de Guasto, and elsewhere, that he had abandon’d him in time of need: but Monseigneur d’Anjou made him an honorable satisfaction, and indeed both the one and the other had very well perform’d their duty, though had Monseigneur d’Anjou taken the advice of Signior Francesco, he had not been defeated; neither was it reasonable, that he should throw himself away to no purpose, when he saw it was too late to repair the fault committed in deterring the time of their retreat so long, as at last to be forc’d to do it in the face of an Army. I could give several examples of it, if it were convenient to do, where the advice of retreating at the head of an Army, has been fatal, as it was here, witness Marchant, where Monseigneur le Maréchal de Sartozzy left the Battail, not for want of courage, for he was there desperately wounded; nor through default of conduct, for he had order’d his men for his retreat to Lussignan, as well as any man upon earth could have done. I could also instance the Seigneur Marino de Santa Flora, who left me almost all my Cavalry near unto Piume, in attempting the same at the head of an Army. Many others out of inconsideration have committed the same error, as I have already instanc’d, and I could name several others, which would be too tedious to recount. But I beseech you, fellow Captains, despise not my counsel, for many brave and prudent Leaders having lost themselves after this manner, no good is to be expected. A man is only to attempt what he can, and ought to do, and not attack his Enemy, and offer to retreat in the face of an Army stronger than himself.

The Marquis de Guasto, at the same instant, with all his Camp, pass’d the Bridge, and put himself into Carignan, where he design’d a Fort enclosing the Bourg within it, which he was not long in doing, forasmuch as the ditches that enclosed the said Bourg and the City, very much contributed to the work; and he there left two thousand Spaniards, and as many German Foot, with Signior Pedro de Colonna to command them: wherein, in truth, he made a very prudent choice, and deceived none in the good opinion they had conceiv’d of him; for he was a man of great judgment and valour: having then left Cañar de Naples at Carmaneglia with some Ensigns of Italian (the number of which I have forgot) and two thousand Germans; and at Recome, four Ensigns of Spaniards; (that is to say, Luis Quichadon, Don Juan de Guiberra, Mandella, and Argilera) and his Cavalry at Pingaite, Vina, and Vigna, he afterwards (having first sent back the remainder of his Camp to Quire), and the Duke of Savoy to Verceil) retir’d himself to Milan.

A notable enterprise carried on by a Merchant.

Sometime after Monseignuer de Tormes carried on an enterprise, that was never discove-
friend, and servant to Monfieur de Termes, and a good French man, called Graunchin, who, coming from Barges to Savillan, was taken by some light horse belonging to Count Pedro d'Appure, Governor of Fosfan, and being a prisoner was sometimes threatened to be hang'd, and sometimes promised to be put to ransom, with such great uncertainty, that the poor man for seven or eight days together was in despair of his life: but in the end he thought himself to send word to the Count, that if he would be pleased to give him leave to talk with him, he would propose things that should be both for his advantage and his honor. The Count thereupon sent for him, where, being come, Graunchin told him, that it should only be think of himself if he were not Lord of Barges, for that it was in his power to deliver up the Castle into his hands, the City not being strong at all. The Count greedily listened to this enterprise, presently clos'd with him about it, agreeing and concluding, that Graunchin should deliver up his wife and his son in hostage; and the said Graunchin proposed the manner of it to be thus: saying, that he was very intimate with the Captain of the Castle, and that the provisions that were put into it ever pass'd thorough his hands, and that moreover he had a share in some little Trade they had betwixt them, to wit, betwixt the said Captain of the Castle, called La Mole, and himself; and that the Scotchman, who kept the Keys of the Castle, was his very intimate friend, whom he also had more caus'd to get some amongst them, and whom he was certain he could make firm to his purpose; nor the Captain of La Mole nevertheless; but that he was sick of a Quaran Ague, that held him fifteen or twenty hours together; so that he almost continually kept his bed; and that to come he should be at liberty, he would go and complain to Monfieur de Termes of two men that were reputed Imperialists, who had told him, and given the Enemy intelligence of his Journey, and that after having left his wife and his son in hostages, he would go and demand justice of Monfieur de Bistieres, by the mediation of Monfieur de Termes, and then would go to Barges to the Castle, and thereupon a Sunday morning he would cause fifteen or twenty Soldiers that La Mole had there, to go out (leaving only the Scotchman, the Barber, and the Cook within,) to take those who had told him, as they should be, as the first Maids in the morning, and in the mean time the Count should cause forty Soldiers to march, who before day should place themselves in ambush in a little Capele about an Harquebus-shot distant from the Postern Gate, and that so soon as it should be time for them to come, he would set a white Flag over the said Postern. Now there was a Priest of Barges, who being bani'd thence, lived at Fosfan, that was a great friend to Graunchin, and had labour'd very much for his deliverance, and he also was called into the Council, where amongst them it was concluded, that the said Priest on a night appointed, should come to a little wood the half way betwixt Barges and Fosfan, where he was to whistle, to give notice that he was there, and that if he had corrupted the Scots, he should bring him along with him, to resolve amongst themselves how the business should be further carried on.

Things being thus concluded, Graunchin wrote a Letter to Monfieur de Termes, wherein he intreated him to procure for him a safe-conduct from Monfieur de Bistieres, that his Wife and his Son might come to Fosfan, there to remain pledges for him, for he prevailed so far by the intercession of certain of his friends, that the Count was at last content to dismiss him upon a ransom of six hundred Crowns; but that if he were not abroad, and at liberty, no man would buy his goods, out of which he was to raise that sum; which safe-conduct if he should obtain in his behalf, he defir'd he would please to deliver it to a friend of his he nam'd in Savillan, to whom he also had writ to desire him to make what hast he could to send his Wife and Son to the said Fosfan.

All this being accordingly procur'd, and done, and the said Graunchin set at liberty, he forthwith came to Savillan to find out Monfieur de Termes, to whom he gave an account of the whole business. Whereupon Monfieur de Termes (who already began to feel himself falling sick of a disease that commonly held him fourteen or fifteen days at a time,) sent for me, to whom he communicated the enterprise, where it was by us all three concluded, that Graunchin should go talk with Monfieur de Bistieres, and inform him at large of the whole design. To which purpose Monfieur de Termes gave him a Letter to Monfieur de Bistieres, who, having received and read it, made no great matter of the business, only writing back to Monfieur de Termes, that if he knew Graunchin to be a man fit to be trusted, he might do as he thought fit: by which flight answer Monfieur de Termes enter'd into an opinion, that Monfieur de Bistieres would be glad he should receive some bailee, or affront, (and indeed he did not much love him) which
which made him once in mind to break off the design, and to meddle no more in it: but seeing the said Granuchin almost in despair to think, that the business should not go forward, and I being more concern'd than he, that such an opportunity of trapping the Enemy should be lost, earnestly entreated Monsieur de Termes to leave the whole business to my care; which he made great difficulty to grant; ever fearing, that should any thing happen amiss, Monsieur de Bâtillers would do him a contrefte to the King, as the custom is: for when any one bears a man a grudge, he is glad when he commits any oversight, that the Master may have occasion to be offended, and to remove him from his command; condemning him for that he would not be govern'd by the wife; but in the end with much importunity, he was content to refer the management of the busines to wholly to my discretion.

The said Granuchin departed then to go to Barges, where he made discovery of all to Captain la Mothe and the Scotch man, to whom Monsieur de Termes wrote also, and the night appointed being come, they both went out, and alone (for Granuchin was very well acquainted with the way) and came to the wood, where they found the Priest; with whom they agreed, first that the said Count should acquit Granuchin of his random, giving him as much as the Soldiers, that took him, had taken from him, and moreover appoint him an Apartment in the Castle with the Captain he should put into it, with a certain Pension for his support; and secondly that he should marry the Scotch man to an Inheretrix there was in Barges, and also find out some handom employment for him, forasmuch as he was never after to return either into Scotland, or into France. All which was agreed and concluded between them, and moreover that the Priest should bring all these Articles sign'd and seal'd with the Arms of the said Count to a Summer house in the fields belonging to the Brother of the said Priest, to which he sometimes repair'd a nights; and that the Sunday following the business should be put in execution.

Having accordingly received all these obligations, Granuchin returned again to Savillon, where he gave us an account of all, and shew'd us the Bond. Now there was only three days to Sunday, wherefore we made him prudently to return, having first agreed that he should bring along with him two Guides of the very best he could find out; not that he should however discover any thing to them of the busines, but only shew them some counterfeit Letters, wherein mention should be made of some Wine he had bought for me.

The Guides came accordingly by Saturday noon to Savillon, when, seeing them come, I took Captain Favas my Lieutenant apart, and privately in my chamber communicated to him the whole design, telling him whilch, that I had made choice of him for the execution of it; which he made no scruple to undertake (for he had mettle enough) and it was agreed that he should eye the Guides together, and that they were by no means to enter into any high way, or Road: but to march cross the fields. We had much ado to persuade the Guides to this, forasmuch as they were to pass three or four Rivers, and there was Snow and Ice all along, so that we were above three hours disputing this way: but in the end the two Guides were content, to each of which I gave ten Crowns, and moreover a very good Supper.

We were of advice, that we should not take many men, that less notice might be taken; and at that time we were making a Rampire at that Gate towards Fossan, where, in order to that work, we had broken down a little part of the wall, and made a Bridge over the Gaffe, over which to bring in earth from without. By this breach I put out Captain Favas, and with him four and thirty more only, and so soon as we were without, we tyed the Guides for being lost, and so he set forewards. Now the Enemies affignation, and ours was at the same hour; so that Granuchin had directed them the way on the right hand to come to this Cople, and ours he had ordered to march on the left hand, near to the walls of the City; who, so soon as they were come to the Fossan, there found Granuchin and the Scotch ready to receive them, it being the hour that the Scotch man us'd to fland Centinel over the said Fossan; so that they were never discover'd, and he disposed them into a Cellar of the Castle, where he had prepar'd a Charcoal fire, with some Bread and Wine. In the mean time the day began to break, and as the Bell rang to low Mass in the Town, the Scotch, and Granuchin commanded all the Soldiers in the Castle to go take these two men (that Granuchin had accused to have betrayed him) at Mass, so that there remain'd no more in the Castle, but only la Mothe himself, his valet de Chambre, who also trayl'd a Pike, the Butler, the Cook, the Scotch man and Granuchin.

The Scotch then pull'd up the Bridge, and call'd our Captain Favas, making him to skulk behind certain Bavins in the base Court, kneeling upon one knee, which being done, they
they went to set up the white Flag upon the Poftern; soon after the Priest arrrov'd, and with him about forty Soldiers, who were no sooner entered in, but the Scotch man shut the Gate, and at the same instant Captain Favas and his Company flew upon them, who made some little resistance, insomuch that seven or eight of them were slain; but Granuchin liv'd the Priest, and would not endure he should have the least injury offered to him. In the mean time a Country fellow, as he was coming from a little house below the Castle, saw the Spanifeh Soldiers with their red crosses enter in at the Poftern Gate, and thereupon ran down into the Town to give the Alarm, and to tell them that the Castle was betray'd; as which news, the Soldiers who had been sent out to take the scouts at Molf, would have return'd into the Castle; but there shot at them, though so high as not to hurt them, taking upon them to be enemies, and crying out Imperi, Imperi, Savoy, Savoy, which was the reason that the Soldiers fled away to Pignerol, carrying news to Monfieur de Boitieres, that Granuchin had betrayed the Castle, and that the Enemy was within it. Monfieur de Boitieres thereupon in a very great fury, dispatched away a Courier to Monfieur de Termes, who lay sick in his bed, and almost distracted at the disfaster, often crying out, Ah Monfieur Montres you have mind'd me, would to God I had never hearkened to you: and in this err' we continued till the Wednesday following. In the mean time the Soldiers who had enter'd were clapt up in the Cellar, my Soldiers taking the Red Crosses, and moreover setting up a white Flag with a Red Cross upon a Tower of the Castle, and crying out nothing but Imperi, Imperi.

Things being in this posture, Granuchin immediately made the Priest to subcribe a Letter, wherein he had writ to the Count, that he should come, and take possession of the Town and Castle, for that Granuchin had kept his word with him, and then sent for a Labourer, who was tenant to the Brother of the said Priest, to whom he caus'd the Letter to be given by the Priest himself, saying, and swearing to him, that if he made any kind of Sign, either in giving the Letter, or otherwise, that he would presently kill him; making him moreover deliver several things to the messenger by word of mouth; The fellow went away, and upon a mare of his own made all the haste he could to Pefian, it being but twelve miles only, immediately upon whose coming the Count stol'n that night to send away a Corporal of his call'd Janin, with five and twenty of the bravest men of all his Company, who about break of day arrrov'd at Barges. So soon as he came to the Castle, Granuchin, the Priest, and the Scots were ready to let him in at the foresaid Poftern, whilst Captain Favas went to plant himself behind the Bavins as before, although Granuchin was in something long in opening the Gate, both because he would clearly see, and observe whether the Priest made any sign, and also for that he had a mind thefe of the City should fee them enter: when so soon as it was broad day, he opened the Poftern, telling them that the Soldiers who came in with the Priest were laid to sleep, being tie'd out with the long labour they had suste'n'd the day before, and so soon as they were all in, the Scots suddenly clapt to the Gate, and as suddenly Captain Favas start up, and fell upon them, without giving them time, sav'g a very few, to give fire to their Harquebuszes, as ours did, who had them all ready; nevertheless they defended themselves with their Swords, so that six of mine were hurt, and fifteen or sixteen of this Company were slain upon the place, of which Corporal Janin was one (which was a very great misfortune to us) together with a Brother of his, the rest were led into the Cellar by two and two together, for there were already more prisoners in the Castle, than Soldiers of our own.

Now this fight continuing longer than the former, the Enemy in fighting still cried out Imperi, and ours France; insomuch that their cities reach'd down into the City, and especially the rattle of the Harquebuz that, so that to avoid being so soon discover'd, their design being to Train the Count thither (for to that end stend all the Force) they all got upon the walls of the Castle, and from thence cried out Imperi and Savoy, having on their red crosses, as I said before. Now the Country fellow that had been sent with the Letter to the Count, did not return with those men up to the Castle, but stood at his Master's Country house by the way, wherefore he was again suddenly sent for, and another Letter deliver'd to him by the hands of the Priest to carry to the said Count to Pefian, wherein he gave him to understand, that Corporal Janin was so weary he could not write, but that he had given him in charge to render him an account of all, and that he was laid down to sleep. So soon as the Count had read this Letter, he put on a resolution to go, not the next day which was Tuesday, but the Wednesday following (when God intends to punish us, he deprives us of our understandings, as it happened.
happened here in the case of this Gentleman.) The Count in the first place was reputed one of the most circumspect (and as wise as valiant) Leaders they had in their whole Army, which notwithstanding he suffered himself to be gull'd by two Letters from this Priest, especially the last, which he ought by no means to have relied upon; nor to have given credit to anything, without having first seen something under his Corporal's own hand, and should have consider'd whether or no it were a plausible excuse, so, that the said Corporal was laid down to sleep. But we are all blind when we have once set our hearts upon any thing of moment. Believe me, Gentleman, you that are great undertakers of Enterprises, you ought maturely to consider all things, and weigh every the least circumstance, for if you be fable, your Enemy may be as crafty as you. *A trompeur trompeur et demy,* says the Proverb, *Harm watch harm cach,* And *The cunning snape may meet with his match.* But that which most of all deceived the Count was, that the Tuesday chofe of the Town, who thought themselves to be become Imperialists, and yet in some doubts by reason of the various cries they had heard during the fight, had sent five or six women to the Castle under colour of selling Cakes, Apples, and Chefnuts, to see if they could discover any thing of treason (for all those that remain'd in the Town had already taken the Red Cross;) whom so soon as our people faw coming up the Hill, they prettily dupped their buffets, and resolutely to set a good face on the matter, went to let down the little draw bridge to let them in. My Soldiers then fell to walking up and down the base Court with their red crofes, all faving three or four that made very good Spaniards, who fell to talk with the Women, and bought some of their Wares, taking upon them to be Spaniards, insomuch that they afterwards returning to the Town, affur'd the Inhabitants that there was no deceit in the bufines: and moreover brought a Letter which *la Maîte* wrote to a friend in the Town, wherein he entreated him to go to Moniteur de Batieres, and to tell him, that he had never confented to Granduchin's treachery; which Letter he delivered to one of the Women, knowing very well, that the party to whom it was directed, was not there to be found; but would be one of the first to run away, as being a very good French man: but their design was, that the Letter should fall into the hands of thofe of the Imperial party, as accordingly it did.

As the Count was coming on Wednesday morning, our people in the Castle disco
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Book I.  de Montluc, Mareschal of France.

He was prevented by the Bastard of Buxtorf, call'd Janot (yet living, and then of my Company) who by misfortune being he either could not, or would not, get over the wall to lay hands upon him, let fly at him an Harqueflueze, which taking the default of his Arms, went into his belly, piercing through his bowels almost to the other side, of which he sunk down to the ground. Captain Fussac took his Nephew, and another the Trumpet, but the other Gentleman escap'd down the Hill, crying out that the Count was either kill'd or taken; whereupon the Lieutenant, and all his Company skated to horse in great fear, that they never look'd behind them till they came to Foissan. Had it not fallen out that Janot at the second entry had not been slain, they had not only escap'd the Count, and by degrees all his whole Troop (for they might have compelld him to have (pox to them, with a dagger at his rons ready to stab him should he make a sign) but moreover might perhaps from hence have spun some contrivance against Foissan it self; for one Enterprize draws on another.

These things being done, they in the evening dispatched away Captain Milbas (a Gentleman of my Company) to bring me the news, and to relate to me from point to point how all things had pass'd; together with a Letter from the said Count, wherein he entreated me, seeing he was my prisoner, and that greater advantage was to be made of his life than of his death, to do him the courtei, as to send him with all speed a Physician, a Chirurgeon, and an Apothecary. Captain Milbas arriv'd just at the time that they open'd the Gates of the City, so that he found me putting on my cloaths, and there related to me the whole busines, thereby delivering me from the great anxiety, and trouble wherein from Sunday till Wednesday I had continually remain'd: for though I was really concerned for the place, yet I was much more afflictcd for the loss of my Lieutenant, and my Soldiers, who were most of them Gentlemen, and all very brave men. Immediately upon the news, I ran to Montfieur de Termes his Lodging, whom I found sick a bed: but I dare say, that neither he nor I were ever so overjoy'd; for we both very well knew, that had it fallen out otherwise, there were Rods in pis. So soon as I departed from him, I presently sent away a Physician, a Chirurgeon, and an Apothecary, whom I mounted upon three horses of my own for the spedes; neither did they either stop or stay until they came thither; but it was impossible to have him, for he die'd about midnight, and was brought to Savillan, whom every one had a desire to see, even Montfieur de Termes himself, as sick as he was, and he was very much lamented by all. The next day I sent the Body to Foissan, but sent the Nephew, and Trumpet with the rest that were taken prisoners at Barges, until they should send me back the Wife, and Son of the said Grambie, which the next day they did, and I also deliver'd up all the Prisoners.

I beseech you, Captains, you who shall see and hear this Relation, to consider whether or no this was a stratagem for a Merchant; believe me, the eldest Captain would have been pouzled, and have had enough to carry it on with so much dexterity, and resolution as he did; wherein although Captain Fussac was the performer of it, when it came to execution; nevertheless the Merchant was not only the original contriver, but also a principal Actor throughout the whole busines, having the heart in order to his revenge, to expose his Wife and Son to the extremest danger. In reading of which (fellows in Arms) you may learn diligence with temper, and take notice what slights, and policy were used, and continued for the space of four days together, such as no man either of theirs, (or which is more, of our own) could possibly discover, both parties being held equally suspended. The Count for a prudent Cavalier, behav'd himself herein with very great levity, especially upon the second Letter; but he repair'd his fault when he refused to enter the Castle, without first seeing his man; though that caution giv'n nothing as it fell out. Whenever therefore you delign an enterprize, weigh every thing, and never go hand over head; and without precipitating your selves, or being too cai of believe upon light foundations, judge and consider whether there be any appearance, or likelihood in the thing; for I have seen more deceived than otherwise; and whatever assurance is given you or whatever promises may be made, be sure to raise your Counter-battery, and never rely to wholly upon him, who is to carry on the work, but that you have still a reserve to secure your venture, should his faith or conduct fail. It is not, I confess, well done to condemn him who has the management of an affair, if it do not succeed; for men should always be attempting however they speed, and his or miss his all on, provided there be neither treaft nor absurdity in the case. Men must try, and fail; for being we are to confide in men, no one can see into their hearts.
hearts: but however go warily to work. I have ever been of opinion (and do think that every good Captain ought to have the same) that it is better to assaile a place upon a surprize, where no one is privy to the design, than to have perhaps some Traytor for your Guide; for as much as you are certain there can be no counter-treason against you; and though you fail, you retire with the les danger, for your enemy can have laid no ambuscades to enrap you.

Cesar de Naples, being this day at Carmagnolle, had there news brought to him of the Comte’s death, and death, at which he was extremely afflict; and to secure Foffan, would send thither three Companies of Italians, which had formerly been in Garrifon there, to wit, that of Blafe de Somme & Neapolitan, that of Beftisfia & Millaneis, and that of Rauffame & Piedmontois, who nevertheless refused foolishly to depart (fearing we would fight them by the way) and would not stir till they might have a good and strong Convoy; and the Germans he had with him would not be perfuaded to go, by which means he was constrain’d to fend to Reconn to the four Spanifh Companies which were in Garrifon there; that is to lay, that de Don Juan de Guerra & Camp-Mafter, of Lyons, de Quiachados, Aquilbert, and Mendoca, which made it two days before they durft set out to march. In the mean time Monfieur de Terms was advertis’d by his Spy, that the faid Italian Companies were to feeforth the next morning, to go put themselves into Foffan, and that they were to have two Troops of Horfe to conduct them: but he had heard nothing that the Spaniards were to go.

The faid Seigneur was at this time but newly recovered of his fickness, who the fame morning Communicated the affair to me, and at the very instant we concluded to draw four hundred Foot out of all our Companies, all pick’d and choice men, to wit, two hundred Harquebufferoes, and as many Pikes wearing Corflets. Captain Tillelade (who had loft but two or three of all his Launces) was not yet return’d to Savilly, which was the reafon that Monfieur de Terms his Company was not to ftrong; and on the other fide Monfieur de Bellgardo his Lieutenant was gone to his own house, and had taken fome few with him, by which means Captain Monfieur could make but fourfcore Horfe in all; and the Spy told us, that the Italian Companies were to take the fame way by which their Army had march’d when they went to Carignan, which was by the Plain, where we before had fought the Italians. We therefore concluded to take the way of Maremmes, and to be there before them; when as we were going out of the Town Monfieur de Cental arriv’d, who came from Cental, having with him fifteen Launces of Seigneur Maree, and twenty Harquebufferoes on horfeback, which hinder’d us a little, forasmuch as he entreated Monfieur de Terms to give him a little time to bair his horfe, for he was alto of necessity to pafs the fame way we were defign’d to march, to go to his Government of Cairo. To whom we made anfwer, that we would go but very softly before, and fay for him at Maremmes; but that he should make fift; for in cafe we fould hear the Enemy was paffing by, we could not fay for him. Monfieur de Terms had once a great mind to have gone along with us himfelf; but we entreated him not to do it, both because he had been fo lately fick, and also that the Town being left in a manner naked, fhou’d any misfortune happen to us, it would be in great danger to be loft.

Being come to Maremmes, we there made a halí, faying for Monfieur Cental, where we order’d our Barrail in this manner, to wit, that the Captains Gabarret and Bargo should lead the two hundred Corflets, and the two hundred Harquebufferoes, with whom I prefently took the Vanne, the Corflets following affer, and to march’d out of the Village. Captain Monfieur de Cental divided his Horfe into Troops: but to whom he gave the first: I am not able to lay, they being all Camrades, but I do believe it was either to Maffes, Monfieur de Tarent, or the younger Tillelade; and when we had march’d a little way, before we would difcover our felves to the valley, thorough which the Enemy was paff’d, we made a ftrand. I then took a Gentleman along with me call’d la Garde (he being on horfeback) and advance’d a little forward to difcover the valley, where prefently on the other fide in the plain of Boche, (a Castle belonging to the Caffellano of Savoy) I difcover’d the three Italian Companies, and the Cavalry marching directly towards Foffan. At which I was ready to run mad, cursing Monfieur de Cental, and the hour that ever he came, thinking there had been no more than thofe I faw on the other fide, who were already got a great way before us; when being about to return to tell the refi, that they were already pafs’d, and looking down into the valley (for before I had only look’d into the plain on the other fide) I difcover’d the Spanifh Foot fhewing them to la Garde (who before saw them no more than I) having almost all of them yellow breeches; and moreover faw their Arms glitter against the Sun, by
by which we knew they were Corflets. We never dream'd of meeting any more than the three Italian Companies only, so that we had not by accident made some stay in expectation of Monfieur Central, we had met the Spaniards and the Italians together, and do verily believe had been defeated, considering what defence the Spaniards made alone. I presently then went and gave the rest of the Captains an account of what I had seen, advising them withal, by no means as yet to discover themselves; for the Spaniards had made a halt, and stood still. I also began to lose sight of the Italians, who march'd directly to Fossoy; it was a very great oversight in them to separate themselves at so great a distance from one another; la Garde then return'd, and told me, that Monfieur Central was coming hard by, bringing a Trooper along with him, whom I made to stay above, keeping always his eye on the Italians, which I, with la Garde, went down to number their men, who let fly some Harquebuzes at me; but notwithstanding went so near, that I made shift to count them, to bewitch four and five hundred men at the most, and presently return'd to the top of the Hill, where I saw their Cavalry returning towards them, having left the Italians, who were already a great way off, and clean out of sight. I then sent the Soldier to my Companions to bid them presently march, for the Spaniards began to beat their Drums to return. The Troops of Horse they had were those of the Count de Saint Martin d' Egl, Kinman to the Duke of Ferrara, who himself was not there, but his Lieutenant only, and of Cavallers a Spaniard. Their Companies of Foot were those of Don Juan de Guicher, Aguiler, and Mendace, with one half of that of Louis de Gui- cheden, he with the other half having put himself into the Caffle of Recife. Here Monfieur de Central and Captain Mons came up to me, they two only, and saw as well as I, that the said Spaniards put themselves into file, which we judg'd to be eleven or thirteen in File, and in the mean time their Cavalry came up to them.

Now they had already discover'd us, although they had hitherto seen no more than five; and for my part was particularly known, when I went down to discover, by the Sergeant of Meudon, who had been taken at the defeat of the Italians, and deliver'd three days after; whereupon they plac'd all their Cavalry before, and only twenty or five and twenty Harquebuzers at the head of them, a great Company at the head of their Pikes, and the remainder in the Rear, in which order with Drums beating they began to march.

I took my Harquebuzers which I divided into three Squadrions, the first whereof I gave to Captain Lienard, the second to le Palla Lieutenant to Monfieur de Corte, who had his two Companies at Savillam, and I my self led the third in the Rear of them, the Corflets following after; where, at the first coming up, I had la Garde killed by my side. The Enemy still held on their march, without making any show of breaking, firing upon us all the way with very great fury, and we also upon them, so that I was constrain'd to call Captain Lienard to come and join with me, forasmuch as a Squadrion of Harquebuzers was drawn off from their Front, to reinforce their Rear. I likewise call'd up le Palla, and after they had march'd on till they came within sight of the Caffle of St. Fré, which was three miles, or more, continually plying us with their Harquebuzer Shot. I had once almost put them to rout; at the passing over a great ditch, near to a Count where was a bafe Court, where we pursu'd them so close, that we came to the Sword, whereupon twenty or five and twenty of them leap'd into the base Court, and there some of ours falling in pell-mell amongst them, they were all cut to pieces, whist in the interim of that execution, the reft got over the ditch: Our Cavalry had thought to have charg'd them, but did not, being keep'd off by the Harquebuzer Shot, by which many of their horses were slain, and as for Captain Gabarres and Baron, they commit't an error, who, seeing us in the ditch, all shuff'd pell-mell together, forsook their horses, and took their Pikes, yet could they not come up in time, which if they had, and that the Corflets could have march'd at the rate the Harquebuzers did, they had there been infallibly defeat'd; but it was not possible, being hinder'd by the weight of their Arms, so that the Enemy march'd on, still ridding ground, till being come near to a little Bridge of Brick, I left our Harquebuzers still fighting, and gallop'd to our Cavalry, that was in three Bodies, Monfieur de Central leading his own, which still keeping at distance out of the reach of the shot march'd sometimes before, and sometimes a little on one side, to whom, coming up to him, I say'd, 4th Monfieur de Central will you not charge? do you not see that the Enemy will escape us, if they once get over that Bridge, and immediately recover the wood of St. Fré? if which they do, we are never more worthy to bear Arms, and for my part I will from this hour forsake them. Who in a great fury made anwer, that it fluck not nor at him, but that I was to speak to Captain Mons, which I also did, saying to him these words. Hoc Cam- niude! must we this day receive so great a disgrace, and lose so fair an opportunity, because your Horse will not charge? Who thereupon anwer'd, What would you have as do, your Cor-
flights cannot come up to the fight, would you have no fight alone? To which I made answer, swearing for rage, that I had no need of Corsets, wishing they were all at Savillan, since they could not come up to fight; he then laid to me, go speak to the foremost Troop, and in the mean time I will advance; I then spurred to them, where I began to remonstrate to Monseur de Termes his Gentlemen, that it was not above nine or ten days since we had fought with the Italians, and beaten them, and now that we should fight with the Spaniards to obtain greater honor, must they escape from us? Who thereupon with one voice all cried out, It does not flick at us, It does not flick at us. I then asked them if they would promise me to charge so soon as I should have made the Harquebusiers break themselves to their Swords, to run in upon them, which they did affure me they would upon pain of their lives. There was at that time amongst them a Nephew of mine call’d Serillae (who after was Lieutenant to Monseur de Cygypre et Parma), and there taken prisoner with him, and since slain at Montepulcian, and, in truth, amongst these thirty Launtes there were the best men that Monseur de Termes had in all his Troop) to whom I said; Serillae, thou art my Nephew, but if thou dost not charge in the first man amongst them, I henceforth disclaim thee, and thou shalt none more be any King’s man of mine; who immediately return’d me answer, You shall presently see, Uncle, whether I will or no. Which said he clapt down his Beaver, as also did all the rest, to charge. I then cried out to them to stay a little, till I first got up to my men, and thereupon ran to my Harquebusiers, where being come, I told them, that it was now no longer time to flourish, but that we must fall on to the Sword. Captains, my Canaryades, whenever you shall happen to be at such a feast as this, pref your followers, speak first to one, and then to another, lift off your selves, and doubt not but by this means you will render them valiant throughout, if they but half so before. They all on a sudden clapt’ds hands to their Swords, when so soon as Captain Mons, who was a little before, and Monseur de Cental, who was on one side, saw the first Troop pluck down their Beavers, and saw me run to the Harquebusiers, and in an instant their Swords in their hands, they knew very well that I had met with Lads of merit, and began to draw near. I for my part lighted on my horse, taking a Halbert in my hand (which was my usual weapon in fight) and all of us ran headlong to throw our selves in amongst the Enemy. Serillae was as good as his word, for he charg’d in the first, as they all confess’d, where his horse was kill’d at the head of the Enemies Harquebusiers, and our own Horse, with seven Harquebusiers Shore, Tilladers, Levies, Tincones, Monseur les Mauvans, and les Mezes, all Gascen Gentlemen of the same Troop, and companions of the said Serillae, charg’d the Horse thorough and thorough, whom they overturn’d upon the head of their own Foot. Monseur de Cental also charg’d in the Flank, quite thorough both Horse and Foot, Captain Mons charg’d likewise on the other side, so that they were all overthrown, and routed both Horse and Foot. And there we began to lay about us, above four score or an hundred men being left dead upon the place. Rosalles, Captain to one of the two Troops of Light Horse, with four others got away, as also did Don Juan de Galibaria upon a Turk with his Page only, who happened to be on horseback, being shot through the band, of which he ever after remain’d lame, and I do believe is yet living.

This is the true relation of this fight, as it pass’d, there being several at this day alive, who were present at it, and I desire no other testimony to prove whether I have fail’d in one tittle of the truth. Monseur de Cental carried away prisoner with him the Lieutenant of the Count St. Martin, he having been taken by some of his people, together with some others both of Horse and Foot, and with us went Captain Aguillere, and Monsieur the Lieutenant of Rosalles, he that carried the Cornette, and he that carried that of the Count Saint Martin, (though they had not their Colours with them) and all the rest both of Horse and Foot to Savillan. In ten days were all these three Actions performed, to wit, the rout of the Italians, the death of Count Pedro d’ Apparte at Boffan, and this defeat of the Spaniards. I must needs therefore say, for what concerns my self, that if ever God accompanied the fortune of a man, he went along with mine; and do sedately believe, that had he not put to his Almighty Arm, we had been overthrown. But he sent us Cental, who defer’d the time in very good season for us, which had it fallen out otherwise, a more furious combat had never been heard of than that had been; for if they were brave and hardy, we were nothing indebted to them. Ours was a marvellous sprightly little Body, and (that I may leave nothing imperfect) I would not that any one should imagine, that the Corsets came not up to the fight for want of courage, nothing hindering them from advancing so fast as need requir’d, but the weight of their Arms: for we had scarce made an end, when they arriv’d upon the place of Bessat, curing their arms, that had hinder’d them from having part of the feast.

Now these three Companies and a half of Spaniards thus defeated, the three that went to Boffan,
those who were retir'd with the Duke of Savoy, and the Marquis de Guast, and the four thousand German and Spanish Foot, which were left in Carignan, had altogether very much weakened the Enemies Camp; so that after some time Monsieur de Beuieres retir'd (having Monsieur de Tair and de St. Julien with him) to draw all his Forces in the several Garnisons together, to make a flying Army. To this end he sent me order, with my own Company, the two Companies of Monsieur de Carces, and that of Count Landriano an Illion, to meet him at Piguerel. He also sent to Monsieur de Terms, that he should only keep two Companies with him at Savillan, namely those of Cabaret, and Baron; where also the Quarters were so good, that the forenamed Gentlemen were very glad, that Monsieur de Terms invited them to stay with him. I will write a word or two to ferre for a caution to my fellow Captains and to shew them, that they ought to consider all the inconveniences that may happen to them, and to provide remedies against every accident that may befall.

Monsieur de Terms had a mind to perform an expidit at Castillonelle in the Marquisate of Saluzzo, upon three Ensigns of the Enemies, that had put themselves into three Palaces, one close by another, having Ballidon the Streets in such manner, that they could go from one Palace to another, within their own Limits, and his design was to kill two Birds with one Stone; that is, to accompany me as far as Castillonelle, and with two field pieces he intended to carry along with him to force the Palaces, and that from thence I should go on to Piguerel, and he (taking the two Companies of Baron and Nicholas to guard the Artillery) would return to Savillan. Now all the Enemies Forces were quarter'd at Pintoons, Vinon, and Vivon, and in two or three adjacent places, so that I had no great stomach to this enterprise, forasmuch as the Enemies Strength lying (so to say) in the said Castillonelle, they might in five or six hours time have intelligence of any thing should there be attempted, and consequently in as much more be upon us: But Monsieur de Terms, who had for his heart upon this design, would hear no argument of mine to the contrary, especially being that not four months before Monsieur de Anjou and St. Julien had at the same place defeated two Companies, and taken their Captains, where I was present with them, they having borrowed me of Monsieur de Beuieres, and my Company also: but I represented to him, that these were the same Captains, that having paid their ransoms, were newly come out of prison, and who having seen the error whereby they had lost themselves before, had doublets now provided against such surprises. For after a man has once been trap'd in a place, he must have a damnable thick skull, if, when he shall be again expos'd to the same danger, he look not better about him than before, and become wise at his own cost. And I have heard great Captains say, that it is convenient to be beaten sometimes, because a man becomes more circumspect by his disasters: but I am very glad that I never was, and had rather learn to be wise at another man's expense than my own.

All my remonstrances could do no good, so that in the beginning of the night we began to march, and an hour before day arrived at the place. Monsieur de Terms then planted his Cannon within an hundred and sixty paces of one of the Palaces, which the Baron and Nicholas immediately undertook to guard, and Captain Paulin, the Count de Landriano and my self were to fight. I won one of the Palaces, not that which was batter'd by the Artillery, but by breaking thorough from house to house, till at last I had broke a hole into the Palace it self, thorough which nevertheless they kept me from entering (besides I very well remembered the Hole where I had been so well cudgel'd, in the voyage to Naples) which made me set fire to a little house adjoining to the said Palace. They then retir'd into one of the others, the fight having continued until two of the clock in the afternoon, without any other laying to a helping hand, save our four Companies only, I there left fifteen or sixteen of my men, Moniteur de Carces as many of his, and the Count de Landriano escap'd not foot-free. We had no-with-standing compell'd them to quit the other, which the Artillery had batter'd, and to retire to the third; where, being we were to unmall two Gates, some were of opinion not to make any further attempts, but that Monsieur de Terms should return with all speed to Savillan, and I, with my four Companies to take my way directly to Piguerel, which (to my great grief) was concluded; for I would either have made an end, or, with the remainder of my men, have perish'd in the attempt. And it is a vice that has ever been observ'd in me, that I have always been too obstinate in fight: but let them all say what they will, I have ever done better than worse. But Monsieur de Terms contented to give over, fearing he might lose some Captain, for which he might afterwards receive a rebate, the King's Lieutenant having no knowledge of the enterprise; and I march'd on straight to Borges. When I came to Bourg the night fell upon me, and I had yet three long miles of plain to march over, before I could come to Caubers, where I intended.
ded to bait, and to take three or four hours repose; when being entered into the Plain, I sent Captain Lionard (who was with me) to go speak with Monsieur de Buitieres, to know what kind of way it was to Cabours (for I had never been in that Country before) who brought me word that it was all plain. I then made a halt, and fell to discourse with Captain Lionard, that we had set out from Savillant the night before, that in seven or eight hours Caifor de Naples might have intelligence of our motion, and that two days before it had been known all over Savillant, that I was to go to Pignerol; of which Caifor de Naples might have notice, and it was not above fix or seven miles to Pigner, where the greatest part of their Cavalry lay, wherefore we could not possibly pass over this plain without running a manifet danger, which (especially in the night, where there is no flame) we might without any dishonor avoid. Captain Lionard confess'd that all this might be, but that nevertheless I had no other way to go, unless I would go three or four miles about, and pass the straight near to the source, where he thought we should however meet with water. Upon this my Guides overbearing our discourse, told me that there was water up to the middle of the thigh, and there was not a man amongst them, but was of contrary opinion to mine: but I, contrary to the opinion of all, turn'd on the left hand, and took the way directly towards the Mountain, finding the water, by good fortune, but knee deep, so that we recover'd the side of the Mountain leading straight to Barges, whether we did not however expect to come till break of day; which we did without sleeping from the day we set out: For the evening we slept not, at night we began to march, all day long we fought at the Palaces, and the night after we March'd to Barges, which was eight and forty hours. I have done the like without sleeping five or six times in my life, and have taken thirty several times. You must (fellow Soldiers) ensure your selves to labour and hardship, with your sleeping, or eating, to the end, that in time of need, you may support all sorts of toil, and travel with patience.

Now you must know, that my suspicion was not vain, for Caifor de Naples, having had intelligence of our design, parted from Carmagnolle with five hundred Harquebussers on horseback, drawing out of Vium and Pigrier five hundred Horse, with which he came, and laid an Ambuscado in the middle of the plain, about a Cross-bow shot on the one side of my way, where he lay all night; so that when I came to Barges, a little after Sun-rise, as I was just laid down to sleep, I heard the Artillery of Cabours, which shot at them as they went off; for they were of necessity to pass by the Suburb of the said Cabours. I was not certainly 

enform'd of this Ambuscado, till three days after my coming to Pignerol, that Monsieur de Buitieres put himself into the field, at which time we went directly to Pignerol, to force the Cavalry that were there, for Foot they had none at all; where we gain'd the houses adjoining to the Gate; but being we could not enter the Town, our Camp retrenched a mile off, and in the night the Cavalry secretly abandoned the place; in such manner that at break of day, when we had thought to have gone on to the assault (Monsieur de Buitieres, having sent for two pieces of Canon from Pignerol) we found no body there, and the place totally empty. The same also did those of Vium, Pigrier, and the other places, withdrawing themselves to Carmagnolle.

I thought fit to discourse this affair, and commit this passage to writing to releave our Captains (since that they may look upon them, and whenever they shall find themselves engaged upon the same account, may carefully compute, what time the Enemy may have wherein to be advertis'd of their motion, and also what time is requir'd wherein to make their retreat. Wherupon if you shall find, that your Enemy has time enough to take you upon your march, and that you are not strong enough to fight them, never scruple to turn out of your way, for the trouble of going three or four leagues about; for it is better to be wary, than to be kill'd or taken. You must not only have your eye at watch, but your understanding also.

To under your vigilance and care, that your Soldiers repose, consider therefore every thing that may happen, always measuring the time, and taking things at the worst, and despise not your Enemy. If you have the art, with cheerful and frolick expessions to cajole and rout up the Soldiers, by times representing him the danger of a little delay, you may make them do what you list, and without giving them leisure to sleep, convey them and your soldiers into a place of safety, without engaging your honor, as several, whom I have known taken a bed a la Francois (as the laying is) have done. Our Nation cannot suffer long, as the Spaniard and German cants; yet is not the fault in the air of France; nor in the nature of the people, but in the Chief. I am a French man, impatient (they lay) and moreover a Gafcon, who exceed the other French in cholera and impatience, as I think they do in valor; yet have I ever been patient of all sorts of toil and suffering, as much as any other could be, and have known several of my time, and others whom I have bred, that have endure'd and harden'd themselves to all pain and travel, and believe me (you that com-

The nature of the French.
command in arms) if you yourselves be such, you will make your soldiers the same in time. I am fare, had not I done so, I had been killed or taken. But let us return to our Subject.

The next day we went to pafs the River of Pau, over which we made a Bridge of Wagons for the Foot only, the Horse fording it over at great ease, it being no more than belly deep; we were all night in passing, and at break of day when they were almost all gone over, I with a Company of Harquebusiers went up close to the Town, where I fell to skirmishing, having some Horse also with me. Caesar of Naples then immediately put his men in order to quit Carmagnolle, and began to march, retiring towards a River there to retreat to Quiri. Wherehad it not been that our Cavalry fetch'd a great compass to get clear of the ditches, we had certainly faile, and perhaps defeated them, as (to say the truth) we might have done however, had some been to dispose. I'm sure it stuck not at our Companies; nor at Monfsieur de Tais; But Monfsieur le President Birague, if he will speak the truth, knows very well where the fought lay, for he was then in the Army with Monfsieur de Boitieres, and both heard and saw all they said and did, and knows very well that I with two hundred Harquebusiers pursu'd them upon their retreat, firing all the way for above a mile and a half together, and ready to tear my flesh to fee how faintly they advance'd, which fiew'd they had no great fkomage to fight.

'Tis an ill thing when a General is in fear of being beaten, and whoever goes timorously to work will never do any thing to purpofe: had there been no greater men in the Company than my-self, without trifling after that manner, I had done as I did by the Spanish arks, which I defeated but fifteen days before. There were a great many excuses however on all sides, why we did not fight, and not only there, but all through all Piedmont, where they spoke of us God knows with what Characters of honor. After the report of this Courage (for it can be call'd by no other name) was spread abroad, Monfsieur de Boitieres was not very well satisfied with himself: but I'll leave this discourse, and fall upon some other Subject; only this I must say, that the world had after, no great opinion of him; he was ill obayed, and worse respected: if there was any fault on his part or not, I leave others to judge, and there are enough yet living, that can tell better than I; yet was he a prudent and a good Cavalier: but God makes no body perfect at all points.

Three or four days after came Ludovico de Birague, who propos'd an enterprize to Monfsieur de Boitieres, which was, that in case he would leave Monfsieur de Tais about Boulonge (where he was Governor) with seven, or eight Companies of Foot, that then he would engage to take Colfain, St. Germain, and St. Jago; a thing that, because Monfsieur de Boitieres was upon the design of breaking the Bridge at Carignan, he made very great difficulty to content unto, until the said Bridge should first be broken down: but Monfsieur de Tais being come with his own Company, and the two Companies of the Baron de Nicolas, it was concluded amongst them, that Monfsieur de Tais might be power'd to go with Signior Loudine, with fve Ensigns, being that still there would remain five or six; the three Companies of Monfsieur de Dros, which he had again recruited, and seven or eight others of Italians. I do not well remember whether Monfsieur de Strassat was himself yet arrived or no, for the last nam'd were his men: but it may suffice, that we made up, what French and Italians, eighteen Ensigns besides the Swifte. It was therefore concluded in the Council, that before they should take in hand the breaking of the Bridge, they should first fee how the enterprize of the said Signior Ludovico should succeed, which should be mischace, and that they were defeated, all Piedmont would be in very great danger. But in a few days after news was brought to Monfsieur Boitieres, that they had taken St. Germain and St. Jago, with four or five other little ended Towns. Neither must I forget that Monfsieur de Tais fliffy infifted to have had me along with him, informing that there arose some dispute about it: But Monfsieur de Boitieres protested he would not undertake to break the Bridge unless I was there: Monfsieur de Tais, Monfsieur d' Auffan, the President Birague, and Signior Francisco Bernardin stood very high on Monfsieur Boitieres his sides so that I was constrained to stay, very much against my will, having a very great desire to have gone along with Monfsieur de Tais, both because he lov'd me, and had as great confidence in me as any Captain of the Regiment; as also that he was a man of exceeding great mettle, and would seek all occasions of fighting: however the forementioned news being brought, the breaking of the Bridge was concluded, and after this manner.

It was order'd that I with five or six Companies of Goumiers, should go fight the hundred Germain, and hundred Spaniards that had every night kept Guard at the end of the Bridge, ever since our Army had been at Pinges. To which I made answer, that I would not have so many; for being to pafs thorough narrow ways, to great a number of men would make to very long a File, that the fifth part of them could never come up to I fight:
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize  

Book I.

fight: and in short, that I would only have an hundred Harquebufiers, and an hundred Corflets, to be equal to the Enemy; not doubting, but, before the Game was done, to make it appear, that our Nation were as good, as either German or Spaniard: but whilfe that Boguedemar, la Palla, and another Captain (whose name I have forgot) fhould bring all the rest of the men after, at the diftance of three hundred paces, to affift me in cafe the Enemy fhould fallly out of Carignan, to relieve their own people. Which acordingly was left to my difcretion.

There was a house on the left hand the Bridge, which it was order'd the Italian (who might be between twelve and fourteen Ensigns) fhould poifefs themfelves of, to favour me, fhould the Enemy make a Sally; that Monfieur de Bolfieres fhould advance with all the Cavalry, and the Swif$ within half a mile; that Captain Labardac fhould advance on the other fide of the River, with two pieces of Canon, to make fome fhot at a little house which was on the Bridge end on our fide, where the Enemy kept their Guard, and that Monfieur de Salede (who but a little before was come over to us) with three or four fore Country fellows (every one bringing a hitter along with him) fhould attempt to break the Bridge. For whom alfo seven or eight Boats were prepared whereby to convey themfelves under the faid Bridge, where they were to cut the Pofts, not quite thourgh, but to the thicknefs of a man's leg, and that being done, to cut the long beams that supported the Bridge above, which dividing from one another the Pillars would totter and break of themfelves; they had moreover certain fire works deliver'd to them, which they were made to believe, being applied to the Pillars, would in a fhort time burn them down to the water. Every one then going to execute the orders they had received; I with my two hundred men, chofen out of all the Companies, went full drive directly towards the Bridge, where I could not however fo soon arrive, but that the Canon had already made one fhot at the little house, had broken into it, and kill'd a German, whom at my coming I found there not quite dead. And although it was night, yet the Moon fhone out fo clear that we might fally fee from the one end to the other, faving that by intervals there fell a mift, which continued fometimes half an hour, and fometimes left, during which we could not fee a yards diftance from us.

Now either frighted at the report of the Canon, or at the noife I made at the house (it being not above an hundred paces diftant from the Bridge) the Enemy took their heels, and fled away towards Carignan, after whom I fent fome Harquebufe fhot: but follow'd no further than the end of the Bridge. At the fame time alfo Monfieur de Salede, with his Boors and his Boats, arriv'd underneith, who at his flift coming prefently fatned his artificial fires to the Pillars: but it was only fo much time thrown away, and he muft of force make the fellows fall to with their Axes, who having try'd their Boats faft to the faid Pillars, began to lay on at that end where the Swif$ were, cutting on ftraight towards me, who kept the other end of the Bridge towards the Enemy.

This fury of the Clowns lafted for four long hours, continually lying on upon the Pillars, inoffmuth that though they were rank'd four and four together, and of a very great thicknefs, yet before we had any difturbfance, they were all cut to the very place where I was. Monfieur de Salede ever caufed one Company to refi themfelves upon the Bank of the River, where he had cauf'd a little fire to be made, and from hour to hour made them to relive one another; during which employment, the Enemy fent our thirty or forty Harquebufiers to difcover what we were doing, just at a time when the Fog fell, whom I could neither fee nor hear for the noife of the axes, till they were got within four Pikes length of me, and let fly amongit us, which having done they immediately retir'd; yet could they not fee us by reafon of the mift. Meffeirs de Ternes then and de Moneins with three or four horfe came up to us to know the meaning of the Harquebufe fhots; and fent back to Monfieur de Bolfieres to tell him that it was nothing, and that for them we nothing defifed from the work, themfelves alone still remaining with me. They had not flaid an hour but that the mift again began to fall, and the Enemy as fon return'd upon us, that is to fay, fix hundred Spaniards chofen men, and fix hundred German Pikes, Pedro de Colonne (as I have fince underftood) having order'd the business thus. That two hundred Harquebufiers again chofen out of the fix hundred fhoild charge full drive directly upon us, the other four hundred to march at an hundred paces diftance, in the Rear of them, and the fix hundred Germans two hundred paces after all. Now I had plac'd the Captains who led the Ensigns after me, againft a great ditch bank fome two hundred paces behind me, and fometimes Captain Favas my Lieutenant, and fometimes Boguedemar came to me to fee what we did, and again return'd back to their place. On that fide of the Bridge towards the Swif$ we prefadventure had broke down fome twenty paces, having began to cut the beams above, and foun'd that as the Bridge divided it fell down for fcrvent or twenty
twenty paces together, which gave us hope that we should make an end of the work. In the mean time Monfsieur de S. Lecq Bill made the Pillars to be cut over again, yet not quite thorough; but only a little more than before, which was the reason that he had divided his workmen into three parts, whereas one was in the Boat, the other upon the Bridge cutting the Traverse beams, and ten or twelve by the fire side. As God is pleased sometimes to be afflicting men, he this night wrought a real miracle; for in the first place, the two hundred Harquebusiers came up to me, finding me in such a posture, that scarce one Soldier had his match cock’d, for they went by turns ten or a dozen at a time to the Country men, fire to warm their hands, having two Centurions one a hundred paces from me, upon the way towards the City and not doubting that the Italians on their side would also have the same, for they were a little nearer than 1; but it was a little on one side. How they order’d their business I cannot tell, for I had no more than my two Centurions, who came running in to me, and as they came in with the Alarm, the Spaniards also arriv’d crying out Spain, Spain, all the two hundred Harquebusiers firing upon us together. Whereupon Monfsieur de Torres and de Monsieur being on horseback, and alone, ran unto Monfsieur de Boiitiers, who had already seen the beginning of the disorder; and wrote that almost all the three hundred men I had at the end of the Bridge ran away straight to the Ensigns; and on a sudden the Ensigns also fled, and in like manner at the same time the Italians who were on our left hand did the same, neither once looking behind them till they came to the head of the Cavalry, where Monfsieur de Boiitiers himself stood. Our word was St. Pierre, but that did me no good; seeing which, I began to cry out Montluc, Montluc, you cursed cowardly whelps will you forfake me thus? By good fortune I had with me thirty or forty young Gentlemen, who had never hair on their faces, the hautemefl and the bravest youth that ever was seen in one body: Company, who thought I had run away with the rest: but hearing my voice, returned immediately towards me; with whom, without staying for any more, I charg’d straight to the place, from whence the fire came whizzing by our ears; but to see another was impossible for the mist that fell, together with the thick smoke that was mixt with fire, and in running up to them my men discharg’d all together, crying out France, as they cry’d out Spain, and I dare affirm that we find’d at least three Pikes distance, by which charge their two hundred Harquebusiers were overthurn’d upon the four hundred, and all of them upon the fix hundred Germans; so that all in rout, and confusion, they fled full speed towards the City, for they could not discern what we were. I pursu’d them about two hundred paces: but my pursuit was interrupted, by the great noise in our Camp (I never heard the like) you would have sworn they had been all stark flaring mad, crying and bawling upon one another: yet these great bawlers are none of the greatest fighters. There are a sort of men who baffle up and down, call, command, and keep a great clatter, and in the mean time for one step advance, retire two paces backward: but this hideous noise was the reason, that I could never discover the enemies’ disorder; neither could they discover ours, by reason of the great outcry they made, at their entrance into the City, which was no other than a Postern near to the Cellar, into which three or four men only could march abreast. Thus then I return’d to the end of the Bridge, where I found Monfsieur de Salcedo all alone, with ten or a dozen of the Country fellows whole turn it was to left for the others that were in the Boats, cut the Ropes, and fled away with the current of the River straight to Monte-Diir, where I in the top that were cutting the Traverse beams, on that side towards the Swiffe leaving their axes and hatchets upon the Bridge, cast themselves into the water, which was there no more than half deep, they being not yet come to the depth of the River. The Swiffe, likewise, who heard this dismal noise, fell running towards Carmagnole, having an opinion that both we and all our Camp were in a rout, and taking the two Cannons along with them made as the last they possibly could to recover Carmagnole. I sent one of my Soldiers after the run-aways, to enquire news of my Lieutenant Captain Favas, whom he met (having rallied thirty or forty of his men) returning towards the Bridge, to see what was become of me, believing me to be slain, who presently discharge’d away to Bagnedemas, la Palma and some other Captains, who had made a halt, rallying some part of their men, whom he cautioned in all haste to march directly towards the Bridge, telling them, that I had beaten back the Enemy, whom they thereupon came at a good rate, to seek me. Captain Favas was the first that came, all torn and tattered like a scarecrow; forasmuch as the crow all ran over his belly as he thought to have rallied who found Monfsieur de Salcedo and me at the end of the Bridge consulting what we were best to do. So soon as he came he gave us an account of his fortune, and that of the rest of his companions, when seeing him so accoustred, we turn’d all into laughter; but the hubbub in our Camp continued above a long hour after.
The other Captains being come up to us, we concluded to make an end of breaking down the Bridge; or there to lose our lives: whereupon I pretently took fifty or threcscore Soldiers, and Monsieur de Salesde the ten or twelve Country fellows he had left, giving order to Captain Favas, Bagnemandar and de Palou to remain at the end of the Bridge, and to see our Centinels almost as far as the Gates of the City. I believe'd that the Italians notwithstanding the hury-bury in our Camp, were yet at their poft, and therefore commanded Captain Favas himself to go and see if they were there or no; who at his return found, that I had cauied fifteen or twenty Soldiers to take up the axes the Peasants had left upon the Bridge, who, together with the ten or twelve Country fellows, were cutting the crofs beams above, where he told us, that he had been at the house, but that he had found no body there. This news put us a little to a fland, what we were to beft to do: but nevertheless we flipt not to execute our former resolution; and fo soon as the tumult was a little over, came Meffieurs de Termes and de Moniens, who brought me a Command from Mr. de Botieres immediately to retire. The said Sieur de Moniens alighted from his horse, for Monfieur de Termes could not for his Gout, and came to me on foot, where he found that since the disorder, we had at two cuttings made above thirty paces of the Bridge to fall, and were falling upon the third, each of them being fifteen, or twenty paces long; who thereupon return'd to Monfieur de Botieres to acquaint him how all things had pafs'd, Monfieur de Salesde having left almost all his Peasants: but that our Soldiers had taken their axes, with which they did wonders in cutting, and that all the Captains and Soldiers, Monfieur de Salesde and I were resolved to die rather than depart from thence, till fift the Bridge was totally broken down. Monfieur de Botieres thereupon fent him back to prcft me for any lost, that might happen contrary to his command; which the faid Sieur de Moniens did, telling us moreover, that the faid Sieur de Botieres was already upon his march to return, though he halted within a mile of us; which I conceive he did to the end, that by that means he might draw me off; for he wanted no courage, but he was always in fear to loc. Whoever is of that humor, may perhaps make a shift to fave himself, but shall never achieve any great conquests. Monfieur de Termes had made a fift at the end of the Bridge, fo soon as he had heard Monfieur de Botieres to be upon his march, and return'd no more back with Monfieur de Moniens to carry my answer; but prefently fent orders to his Company not to fir from the place where he had left them, and fo we cut on all the remainder of the night, till within an hour of day, that we march'd towards the little house upon the Hill. Monfieur de Moniens return'd again to us, just at the infant when the laft blow was given, and Monfieur de Termes ran to his Company, to caufe them to advance a little towards us, that they might favour our retreat, and Monfieur de Moniens ran towards Monfieur de Botieres, whom he found expeeting his return; fo that having deprived the Enemy of a great convenience, we retir'd without any manner of impediment at all. I was willing to commit this to writing, not to magnifie my felf for any great valour in this Action; but to manifeft to all the world, how God has ever been pleased to conduct my fortune. I was neither to great a Fop, nor to fool hardly, but that could I have fet the Enemy, I fhould have retir'd, and perhaps have run away as faft as the reft, and it had been madnels, and not valour to have flaid. Neither is there any blame attends a rational fear, when there is great occasion; and I fhould never have been fo feneilefs, as with thirty or forty Foot only to have fiock the fight.

Captains by this may take exemple, never to run away; or (to put it into a better phrase) to make a haft retreat, without firft discovering who there is to purifie them, and moreover having leen them, to attempt all ways of opposition till they fhall fee there is no good to be done. For after all the means that God has given to men been employed, and to no purpofe; then flight is neither shamefull nor unworthy; but believe me (Gentlemen) if you do not employ it all, every one will be ready to lay (may, even tho'fe who have run away with you) if he had done this, or if he had done that, the mischiefe had been prevented, and things had fallen out better than they did; and each a one vapours moft and speaks higheft, who perhaps was himfelf the fift that ran away. Thus fhall the reputation of a man of honor (let him be as brave as he will) be brought into difpute with all the world. When there is no more to be done, a man ought not to be obfinate, but to give way to fortune, which does not always fieme. A man is no lefs worthy of blame for wilfully loosing himfelf, when he may retir, and fees himfelf at the laft extremity, than he who shamefully runs away at the firft encounter: Yet the one is more dirty than the other; and the difference there is between them, that the one will make you reputed rash and hair-brain'd, and the other a Poltron and a Coward. Both extremes are to be avoided. You are never to enter into thefe ridiculours and feneilefs revolutions, but when you fee your felves fallen into the hands of a barbarous and mercilefs Enemy; and there indeed you are to fight
it to the last gasp, and sell your skin as dear as you can. One desperate man is worth ten others. But to fly, as they did here, without seeing who pursues you, is infamous and unworthy the courage of a man. It’s true that the French man is accurs’d for one thing, that is, that he runs and fights for company: and to do others as well as they. There are ill workmen of all Trades. Now after the place was lunatred, I will tell you how I came to know the Enemies disorder. It was by the people of Carignan themselves, and from Signor Pedro de Colonna’s own mouth, who related it to Sanjane, in the presence of Captain Remward, who conducted him to the King by the command of Monfieur d’Anguien, according to his capitulation after the Battle of Sersadelle, which you shall have an account of in its proper place.

The breaking of this Bridge was not undertaken but upon very mature consideration, and the Enemy soon after began to be very much diffirs’d, being no relief was to be had from Quieres, as before they had every night duly received. So soon as Monfieur de Tais and Signor Ludavico de Birage had heard the success of this enterprise of the Bridge, they sent word to Monfieur de Boitieres, that if he would come into those parts where they were, they believ’d they might carry Ivree. Whereupon both Monfieur de Boitieres and his Council were of opinion, that he should go, leaving Garrisons at Pingues, Vluna, Vignon and other places, nearest to Carignan. And as I remember Monfieur d’Auffun, with twelve or fourteen Italian Ensigns, and three or four of ours, his own and some other Troops of Horse (which I have forgot) remain’d behind to command in chief. The Enemy had no Horse at all at Carignan, which was the reason they were kept to short on every side.

Monfieur de Boitieres then departed, with Meffieurs de Termes, de St. Juliens, President Biraga, and the Sieur de Mame’, and went to join Forces at St. Jago and St. Germaine, and afterwards sate down before Ivree, where we did jut nothing, because it was not possible to break the Caufey that dam’d up the water; which thing could it have been, we had inallantly taken the place, forasmuch as there was no other defence but the River on that side: but we were constrain’d to let it alone, and to go to besiege St. Martin, which also we took upon composition, after it had found out two or three hundred Canon shot; and some other place thereabouts. And as we were returning towards Chis, in the interim of the Siege of Ivree, Monfieur de Boitieres had notice given him, that Monfieur d’Auffun was coming to command in his stead.

The King, in truth, was highly diffisfied with him; both for that he had suffer’d Carignan to be much leisure to be fortified, and also upon other particular accounts. A man must walk very upright to satisfy all the world. The said Sieur de Boitieres was however very angry at it; and ’twas said thereupon withdrew from before Ivree in despair, which otherwise in the end ’twas thought he might have taken: but I am not of that opinion. So it was that Monfieur d’Anguien arrived, bringing with him for suppers seven Companies of Swiss, commanded by a Colonel call’d de Baron; and, as I remember, it was at this time, that Monfieur de Dros with seven or eight Ensigns, what of Provincials and Italians, came up also, and Monfieur de Boitieres retir’d to his own house in Dunphine. There is much to do in this world, and those who are in great command are never without vexation; for if they be two adventurous, and come by the worst, they are look’d upon as fools and madmen; if redious and flow, they are despited, nay reproach’d Cowards; the wife therefore are to oblige a mean betwixt both. Our Malters in the mean time will not be paid with these disconrages, they expect to have their businness done, but we must ever be prating, and confusing others, when were in the same condition we should find we had enough to do.
THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Meslire Blaize de Montluc,
MARESCHAL OF
FRANCE.

The Second Book.

The arrival of this brave and generous Prince, which promised great successes under his conduct, he being endued with an infinite number of shining qualities, as being gentle, affable, valiant, wife and liberal; all the French and all those who bore arms in our favour, did very much rejoice, and particularly I, because he had a kindness for me, and was pleased to set a higher esteem upon me than I could any way deserve. After he had taken a view of all the Forces, Magazines and Places that we held, and that he had taken order for all things after the best manner he could, about the beginning of March he dispatch’d me away to the King, to give his Majesty an account how affairs stood, and withal to acquaint him, that the Marquis de Guast was raising a very great Army, to whom new succours of Germans were also sent, and moreover that the Prince of Salerno was also coming from Naples with six or seven thousand Italians under his command. It was at this time when the Emperor and the King of England were agreed, and combin’d together join’d to invade the Kingdom of France, which they had also divided between them. I had waited at Court near upon three weeks for my dispatch, having already acquired my self of my Commission, which was in him only to demand some succours of the King, and to obtain leave to fight a Battle. And about the end of the said Month came Letters also to the King from Monfieur d’Anguieu, wherein he gave him notice that seven thousand Germans were already arriv’d at Milan, of the best of those the Emperor had had before Landreit, where there were seven Regiments of them; but being he could not at that time fight with the King, he command’d the seven Colonels to choose each a thousand out of their respective Regiments, ordering them to leave their Lieutenants to get their Regiments ready, and to lend them into Italy to join with the Marquis de Guast. Wherefore the said Monfieur d’Anguieu humbly besought his Majesty to send me speedily away to him, and also required him, that he would please to do something for me, as a reward for my former services, and an encouragement to more for the time to come. Upon which Letter his Majesty was pleased to confer upon me the Office of a Gentleman Waiter (which in those times was no ordinary favour; nor so cheap as now a day) and made me to wait upon him at Dinner, commanding me in the afternoon to make my self ready to return into Piedmont, which I accordingly did. About two of the Clock Monfieur de Aumont sent for me to come to the King, who was already entered into the Council, where there was alittle Monfieur de St. Pol the Admiral, Monfieur le Grand Escurier, Galliot, Monfieur de Buiffy (since grand Escurier) and two or three others, whom I have forgot, together with the Dauphin who stood behind the Kings Chair; and none of them were for, but the King himself, Monfieur de St. Pol, who lathard by him, and the Admiral on the other side of the Table over against the said Sieur de St. Pol.
Book II. The Commentaries of Meflie Blaize, &c.

So soon as I came into the Chamber, the King said to me, Montluc, I would have you return into Piedmont to carry my determination, and that of my Council to Monfieur d'Anguken, and will that you bear the difficulties we make of giving him leave to fight a Battle according to his desire, and thereupon commanded Monfieur de St. Pol to speak. The said Monfieur de St. Pol then began to lay open the enterprise of the Emperor, and the King of England, who within fix or seven weeks were determin'd to enter into the Kingdom, the one on the one fide and the other on the other; so that Monfieur d'Anguken left the Battle, the whole Kingdom would be in danger to be left: for as much as all the Kings hopes (for what concerned his Foe) refided in the Regiments he had in Piedmont, for that in France there were no other but what were now Legionary Soldiers, and that therefore it was much better, and more safe to preserve the Kingdom than Piedmont, concerning which they were to be on the defensive part, and by no means to hazard a Battle, the los hereof would not only lose Piedmont; but moreover give the Enemy footing on that fide of the Kingdom. The Admiral said the fame, and all the reft, every one arguing according to his own fancy. I twitted'd to speak, and offering to interrupt Monfieur de Gallon as he was delivering his opinion, Monfieur de St. Pol made a fign to me with his hand, laying not too faf, not too faf, which made me hold my peace, and I faw the King laugh. Monfieur le Dauphin faid nothing, I believe it is not the cuftom, though the King would have him prefent, that he might hear; for before Princes there are evermore very eloquent debates, but not always the foundefl determinations; for they never speak but by halves, and always footh their Maffyfmons, for which reafon I fhou'd make a very fevy Courier; for I muft ever speak as I think. The King then faid these words to me, Monfieur, have you heard the Reafon for which I cannot give Monfieur d'Anguken leave to fight? to which I made anfwer, that I had both heard and weigh'd them very well; but that if his Majefly would pleafe to give me leave to deliver my opinion, I would very gladly do it: not that nevertheless for that his Majefly fhou'd any way alter what had already been determin'd in his Council. His Majefly then told me that he would permit me fo to do, and that I might freely fay whatsoever I would. Whereupon I began after this manner, I remember it as well it had been but three days ago, God has given me a very great memory in thefe kind of things, for which I render him hearty thanks; for it is a great contentment to me now that I have nothing else to do, to recollect my former fortunes, and to call to mind the former paffages of my life, to fer them truly down without any manner of addition; for be they good or bad you fhall have them as they are.

SIR,

Think my felf exceedingly happy, as well that you are pleased I fhall deliver my poor opinion upon a fubjeft that has already been debated in your Majefly's Council, as also that I am to fpeak to a Warlike King; for both before your Majefly was call'd to this great charge, which God has confer'd upon You, and after this, you have as much tempted the fortune of War, as any King that ever rule'd in France, and that without sparing your own Royal Person any more than the meaneft Gentleman of your Kingdom; wherefore I need not fear freely to deliver my opinion, being to fpeak both to a King and a Soldier. (Here the Dauphin, who ftood behind the Kings Chair, and jutf over againft me, gave me a nod with his head, by which I gu'd he would have me to fpeak boldly, and that gave me the greater affurance, though, in plain truth, I had ever confidence enough, and never fhould fear'd my mouth.) Sir, I faid I, we are between five and fix thoufand Gafons upon the Life, for Gafons. Your Majefly knows that the Companies are never fully compleat, neither can all ever be at the Battle; but make account we fhall be fix thoufand, and five or fix hundred Gafons compleat, that I dare make good to your Majefly upon my Honor: Of fefte every Captain and Soldier will prefent you with a Life of all their names, and the places from whence we come, and will engage our heads to you, all of us to fight in the day of Battle, if your Majefly will pleafe to grant it, and give us leave to fight. 'Tis the only thing we have fo long expelted and defir'd, without fearing this up and down from place to place, and hiding our heads in corners. Believe me, Sir, the world has not more refolute Soldiers than these are, they defire nothing more than once to come to the decision of Arms. To feethe there are thir-teen Ensigns of Swift: Of which the fix of St Julian I know much better than thofe of Sieur le Baron, which Fourny commands, yet I have feen them all miftaken, and there may be as many of them as of ours. These will make you the fame promife we do, who are your natural Subjects, and deliver in the names of all to be fent to their Cantons, to the end that if any man fail in his duty, he may be call'd for, and degraded from all praftice of Arms for ever. A condition to which we are all ready to submit, as they affured me at my departure.
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize

Book II.

And being of the fame Nation, I make no doubt but thefe of le Baron will do the fame. Your Majefly may have taken notice of them all before Landryez. Here then, Sir, are nine thousand men, or more, on which you may depend, and offure your felf that they will fight to the laft gasp of their lives. As for the Italians and Provençalz which are under Meflire des Cres, and also the Fribourgerz that came to us before Irece; I fhall not take upon me to become security for them, but I hope they will all do as well as we, effentially when they shall fee how we lay about us (at which I lift up my arm (in the counterfets of speaking) as if I were going to strike, whereat the King (mif'd.) You should alfo, Sir, have four hundred men at arms in Piedmont, of whom there may well be three hundred, and as many Archers, as well disposed as we. You have four Captainz of Light horfe, which are Meflire des Termes, d' Auffun, Francisco Bernardino and Maure, each of which ought to have two hundred Light horfe, and amongst them all they will furnish you with five or fix hundred Horfe, all which are ambitious to manifest the zeal they have to your Service. I know what they are, and what they will do very well. The King then began to be a little angry to hear that the Companies of the Gemi' Armes were not all compleat; but I told him that it was impoffible; for ashamed as some of them had obtained leave of their Captainz to go home to their own houfes to refresh themselves, and others were fick: but that if his Majefly would pleafe to give leave to thofe Gentlemen who would beg it of him, to be prefent at the Battel, they would very well Supply that deficiency. Since then, Sir, laf'd I, (continuing my difcourfe) that I am fo happy as to fpeak before a Soldier King, who would you have to kill ten thousand Poft, and a thousand or twelve hundred Horfe, all refufe to overcome or dye? Such men as these, and fince they are not foceefly defeated: neither are they Novices in War. We have have feveral times attaqué the Enemy upon equal terms, and for the moft part beaten them. And I dare boldly fay that bad we all of us one army by'd behind us, it would not be in the power of the Enemy to kill us all in a whole day time, without lofing the greaft part of their Army, and the chiefez of their men. Imagine then when we have both our arms at liberty, and our weapons in our hands, how eafe it will be to beat us. Truly, Sir, I have heard great Captainz difcourfe, and fay that an Army of twelve or fifteen thousand men is fufficient to confront an Army of thirty thousand; for 'tis not the croft but the courage that overcomes, and in a Battel the one half of them never comes to fight. We defire no more than we have, let us deal it out. (The Dauphin all this while flood laughing behind the King's Chair, and fih'd me with his eyes.) No, Sir, these are not men to be beaten, and if thefe Lords who have fpoken, had once feeen them at their work, they would alter their opinion, and fo would your Majefly too. These are not men to be dazing in a Garrison, they require an Enemy, and have a mind to fhew their valour; they lay leafe of you to fight, and if you deny them, you take away their spirits, and give it to your Enemies, who will be puffed with vanity to fee themselves fear'd, and your own Army shall wander away to nothing. By what I have heard, Sir, all that these Lords fumble at, who have deliver'd their opinions before you, is the apprehenfion of lofing the Battel, and that makes them always cry, if we lofe, if we lofe; but I have not heard one of them tell you, if we win, what great advantages will thereby accrue. For Gods fake, Sir, fear not to grant our request, and let me not return with fuch a fhame upon me, that men fhall fay you dure not truft the hazard of a Battel in our hands, who fo voluntarily and cheerfully make a tender of our lives to do you service.

The King who had very attentively heard me, and that was delighted at my fentiments, turned his eyes towards Meflire de St Pol, who therupon faid to him, Sir, will you alter your determination at the imporlonty of this Coxcomb, that cares for nothing but fighting, and has no fence of the misfortune; nor the inconveniences that the lof of a Battel would bring upon you? Believe me, Sir, 'tis a thing of too great importance to be refer'd to the difterefion of a young hair-brained Gaflon. To whom I made answer in thefe very words. My Lord, affure your felf I am neither a Braggadocio nor fo arrant a Coxcomb as you take me for; neither do I fay this out of Bravado, and if you pleafe to call to mind all the intelligences his Majefly has received since we return'd from Perpignan into Piedmont, you will find that wherever we encountered the Enemy, whether on horfeback or on foot, we have always beaten them, except when Monfieur d'Auffun was defeated; who also miscarried through no other default than for attempting to retreat at the head of an Army, which a prudent Captain never ought to do. It is not yet three months (I am sure you have heard it, for it is known to all the world) since the two brave Combats we fought both on foot and on horfeback in the plain over again' St Fréz, fife against the Italians, and since againft the Spaniards, and both in ten days time, and Monfieur d'Auffun fifteen days before he was taken, fought and defeated an entire Regiment of
of Germans. Consider then we that are in heart, and they in fear; we that are Conquerors, and they beaten; we who despise them, whilst they tremble at us: what difference there is between us. When should it be that the King should give us leave to fight, if not now, thus we are in this condition in Piedmont? It must not be when we have been beaten, that his Majesty ought to do it: but now that we are in breath, and feliz’d with congiurt. Neither is there any thought to be taken, save only to take good heed that we afflict them not in a Fortres as we did at the Boscque: but Monsieur d’ Anguken has too many good and experienced Captains about him to commit such an error; and there will be no other question, if our men should tempt them into the open field, where there shall be neither bridge nor ditch to hinder us from coming to grappling with them, and then, Sir, you shall hear news of one of the most furious Battles that ever was fought, and I must humbly beseech your Majesty to expect no other news but that of a great and glorious victory, which if God give us the grace to obtain (as I hold my self assur’d we shall) you will so fro the Emperor and the King of England in the midst of their Career, that they shall not know which way to turn them. The Dauphin full continued laughing more than before, and still making signs, which gave me still the greater assurance to speak: All the rest then spoke every one in his turn, and said, that his Majesty ought by no means to rely upon my words: only the Admiral said nothing but smiled; and I believe he perceived the signs the Dauphin made me, they being almost opposite to one another; But Monsieur de St. Pol reply’d again, saying to the King: What, Sir, it seems you have a mind to alter your determination, and to be led away at the persuasion of this frantic fool: to which the King made answer, By my Faith, Cozen, he has given me so great reasons, and so well represented to me the courage of my Soldiers, that I know not what to say. To which Monsieur de St. Pol reply’d, Nay, Sir, I see you are already chang’d; (now he could not see the signs the Dauphin made me, as the Admiral could, for he had his back towards him) whereupon the King directing his speech to the Admiral, ask’d him what he thought of the business, who again smiling return’d his Majesty this answer, Sir, will you confess the truth? You have a great mind to give them leave to fight, which if they do, I dare not assure you either of victory or disgrace; for God alone only knows what the issue will be: I dare pass my life and reputation, that all those he has named to you will fight like men of honor; for I know their bravery very well, as having had the honour to command them. Do only one thing, Sir, (for we see you are already half overcome,) and that you rather encline to a Battel than otherwise) address your self to Almighty God, and humbly beg of him, in this perplexity, to assist you with his Counsel, what you were left to do. Which having said, the King, throwing his Bonnet upon the Table, lift up his eyes towards heaven, and, joining his hands, said, My God, I beseech thee, that thou wilt be pleased to direct me this day what I ought to do for the preservation of my Kingdom, and let all be to thy honour and glory. Which having said, the Admiral ask’d him, I beseech you, Sir, what opinion are you now of? When the King, after a little pause, turning towards me, with great vehemency cry’d out, Let them fight, let them fight. Why then, says the Admiral, there is no more to be said, if you lose the Battel, you alone are the cause, and if you overcome the same, and alone shall enjoy the satisfaction, having alone conVinced it. This being said, the King and all the rest arose, and I was ready to leap out of my skin for joy. The King then fell to talking with the Admiral about my dispatch, and to take order for our Pay which was a great deal in arrear. Monsieur de Words of Mr. St. Pol in the mean time drew near unto me, and smiling said, thou madest Devil, thou wilt de St. Pol to be the cause either of the greatest good or the greates mischief that can possibly befal the Sieur de King (now you must know that the said Sieur de St. Pol had not spoken any thing for any ill that he bore me, for he lov’d me as well as any Captain in France, and of old, having known me at the time when I serv’d under Marechal de Follax) and moreover told me, that it was very necessary I should speak to all the Captains and Soldiers, and tell them that the confidence his Majesty repoi’d in our worth and valour had made him confide to permit us to fight, and not reason, considering the condition he was then in. To whom I reply’d, My Lord, I most humbly beseech you not to fear or so much as doubt but Monsieur’s and that we shall win the Battel, and assure your self, that the first news you will hear will be, better, that we have made them all into a Frizeeff, and may eat them if we will. The King The King’s then came to me and laid his hand upon my Shoulder, saying, Monsuc, recommend me laying to the to my Cozen d’ Anguken and to all the Captains in those parts, of what Nation fav’r, and Sieur de Mont tell them that the great confidence I have in their fidelity and valour has made me confide that that they shall fight, extremiting to serve me very well upon this occasion, for I never seen to speak so much need again as at this present, that now therefore is the time, wherein they are to manifest the kindness they have for me, and that I will fuddainly send them the money they desire, To which I made answer, Sir, I shall obey your commands, and this His answer: will
will be a cordial to cheer them, and a spur to the good disposition they already have to fight, and I must humbly beseech your Majesty, not to remain in doubt concerning the issue of our fight, for that will only discompose your spirits; but cheer up your self in expectation of the good news you will shortly hear of us; for my mind presages well, and it never yet deceived me; and thereupon, killing his hand, I took my leave of his Majesty. The Admiral then bid me go and stay for him in the Wardrobe, and whether it was Monseigneur de Marchebrant or Monseigneur Bayard that went down with me, I cannot tell: but going out, I found at the door Meffieurs de Dampierre, de St. Andre, and d'Affiers, with three or four others, who demanded of me, if I carried leave to Monseigneur d' Anguier to fight, to whom I made answer in Gueson, hardest harm aux piez, & partes; go in presently, if you have any stomach to the entertainment, before the Admiral depart from the King, which they accordingly did, and there was some dispute about their leave: but in the end his Majesty conferred they should go: which nothing impair'd their feast; for after them came above a hundred Gentlemen post to be present at the Battel. Amongst others the Sieurs de Jarnac and de Chatillon, since Admiral, the Son of the Admiral d'Annebaut, the Vidame of Chartres, and several others; of which not one was plain in the Battel, save only Monseigneur d'Affiers, whom I lov'd more than my own heart, and Chamaian who was wounded when I fought the Spaniards in the plain of Perpignan; some others there were that were hurt, but none that dyed. There is not a Prince in the world, who has to frank a Gentry as ours has, the least smile of their King will enflame the coldest constitution, without any thought of fear, to convert Mills and Vineyards into Horfes and Arms, and they go Volunteers to dye in that bed which we Soldiers call the bed of honor.

Being arrived soon after at the Camp, I acquainted my self of my charge towards Monseigneur d'Anguier, and presented him my Letters from the King, who was infinitely overjoy'd, and embracing me in his arms, said these very words: I know very well that that would not bring us peace, and turning to the Gentlemen about him, Well my Masters, said he, the King is pleased to gratify our desires, we must go. I then gave him an account of the difficulty I had met with, in obtaining that leave, and that the King himself was the only cause of it, which ought the more to encourage us to behave our selves bravely in the Battel. He was moreover very glad when I told him, that the forementioned Lords were coming after me, being certain that several others would also follow after them, as they did. Bidding me by all means go discharge my self of my Majesties commands to all the Colonels, Captains of the Gens d'Armes, Lighthorfe and Foots, which I did, not observing one that did not mirthily rejoice, when I gave them to understand, what assurance I had given the King of the victory. Neither did I tarriye my self with speaking to the Officers only; but moreover went amongst the Soldiers, affuring them that we should all be highly recompenced by the King, making the matter something better than it was; for a man must now and then lye a little for his Master. During the time of my absence Monseigneur d'Anguier had block'd up Carignan, being he could not carry it by fine force without infinite loss, quartering in the mean time at Vimins and Carmagnolle, and soon after the arrival of thee Gentleman, the Marquis de Gaill departed with his Camp upon Good Friday from Ais, and came to lodge at the Mountain near Carmagnolle, and upon Easter day remov'd his Camp to Cerizoles. The Company of the Count de Tendre, was this day upon the Guard, to which Captain Vanrines was Lieutenant, who sent word to Monseigneur d'Anguier, that the Camp was upon their march, and that their drums were plainly heard. Monseigneur d'Anguier thereupon commanded me presently to mount to horse, and to go in all haste to discover them, and to bring him certain intelligence of their motion, which I alfo did, Captain Vanrines giving me twenty Launcers for my Guard. I went so far that I discover'd the Cavalry, who march'd through the Woods belonging to the Abbey of Dessefardis, and heard the Drums, some marching before and some following after, which put me to a fland to guess what the meaning of this order might be. At my return I found Monseigneur d'Anguier, Meffieurs de Chatillon, de Dampierre, de St. Andre, D'Affiers, (the Father of thee now living) d'Affiers and de Jarnac, in the Chamber of the said Seigneur d'Anguier, talking with him, having cau'd their Arms to be brought and laid upon the Beds in the said Chamber, where I made a report to him of what I had seen, whereupon all the Gentleman ey'd out to him, Let us go, Sir, let us go to fight to day, for it is a good day, and God will assist us. Upon which the said Seigneur commanded me to go bid Meffieurs de Tais and de St. Julien to draw out their Regiments into the field, at the same time sending another Gentleman to the Gens d'Armes and the Light horfe to do the fame, which was perform'd in an instant, and we drew out of Carmagnolle into a plain leading
toward Cerizolles, where we were all drawn up into Battle. Monseur de Mailly, Master of the Ordinance, was there ready with his Artillery, as soon as any of us all, and we heard the Enemies Drums almost as plainly as we heard our own. In my life did I never see so cheerful an Army, nor Soldiers so well disposed to fight, as this of ours was, excepting some of the great ones of the Army, who were evermore perfecting Monseur d' Anguien, not to put into the hazard of a day, representing to him what a blow it would be to the King should he lose the Battle, which might perhaps occasion the loss of the Kingdom of France; and others were still persuading him that he ought to fight, the King having granted leave, and expecting he should now do so; for that amongst them they put this poor Prince, being yet very young, into so great a perplexity, that he feared which way to turn him, nor what to do. You may imagine whether I was not mightily pleased with these doings, and whether I would not have spoke at mouth, had I had to do with my march; neither as it was could I altogether forbear. The Lords who were lately come from Court, were all for fighting, and I could very well name both the one and the other, if I so pleased; but I had rather to do it, for I have not taken my Pen in hand to blemish any one: but the Admiral Chetillom and Monseur de Jarnac, who are both living, know it as well as I. Both the one and the other had reason for what they said, and were not provoked by any fear of their own persons; but only the apprehension of losing all with them; and some perhaps (as I have often seen) argue against their own inclinations, and the plurality of voices, to the end that if any thing fall amiss, they may afterwards say, I was of a contrary opinion.

I told him as much, but I was not to be moved. Oh there is great cunning in drowning in our trade especially of all others. Just as we should have marched to go to fight, four or five drew Monseur d' Anguien aside, alighting from their horses, where they entertain'd him walking up and down for above half an hour, whilst every one gasht their teeth for rage that they did not march: in the end the result of all was, that all the Regiments of Foot should return to their Quarters, and also the Artillery and the Gens d' Armes, and that Monseur d' Anguien with four or five hundred Horse, and some of the Captains of his Council, should go to the plain of Cerizolles to discover the Enemies Camp; that I should bring after him four hundred Harquebufers, and all the reft to retire to their Quarters. I then saw a world of people ready to run mad for vexation, and do verily believe that if God had so pleas'd that Monseur d' Anguien had March'd according to his determination, he would have won the Battle with very little difficulty; for the Drums that I had heard return into the Enemies Rear, were all the Spansh Foot, who went back to draw off two pieces of Canon, which were set fall in such manner that they could not be flir'd either backward or forward; so that we had nothing to fight with but the Germans, the Italians and the Horse, aon which, nor even the Marquis himself, could have escap'd us. But after we had stood above three hours facing the Enemy, which were in a plain betwixt Sommetiers and Cerizolles, who expected no other but to fight; (and the Marquis told Monseur de Termes since (being a prisoner) as he has affured me, that he was never in his life in so great a fear of being loft as that day, for his chiefest hopes was in the Spansh Harquebufers) Monseur d' Anguien return'd back to Carmagnolle as discontented as ever Prince was, and at the defeat of a Wood, as we were upon our return to the said Carmagnolle, I told him as we did along, Meffeurs de Dampierre and de St. Andre by, these words; Sir, Sir, this morning what you arefe what you have done of God Almighty more than what he has this day given you; which is to find the Enemy have so much defir'd in the open field, where there was neither hedge nor ditch to distress you? but I perceive you are more inclin'd to believe those who counsel you not to fight than Mr. d' Anguine, those who advise you to it. At which time he fell to swear and curse, saying, that hereafter, as he would believe no one but himself, by which I well perceived him to be nettled, so that full going on to appease him, I said, No Sir, no, in God name believe no body but your self; for we all know very well that you desire nothing more then to fight, and God will prosper you, and so went on to fright to Carmagnolle, next to the blood, remembering what I had so largely promis'd to the King in his Council. So soon as the said Seigneur came to Carmagnolle, he presently calld a Council of War, and at my arrival found our whole Regiment both Officers and Soldiers up to the ears in mutiny, demanding their pay: but they held them in hand with the coming of Monseur Langey, who brought some money along with him. I was then entertained by Monseur de la Molle the elder, who commanded two Ensigns, and the next day was plain, to speak to Monseur d' Anguine in the behalf of all; and that he would bear the blame, and as we were all sitting in the Hall, by fortune Meffeurs de Dampierre and de St. André.
Andre came in, and finding all in mutiny said to us these words: Have a little patience I beseech you, till Monseur d'Anguien rise from the Council (and I do believe they had been talking to him by the way, for I found him riding betwixt them) and so they entered into the Chamber, where they flaid not long, but came out again. Monseur de Dampierre came out first, who, because Monseur d'Anguien immediately followed him, looking at me, he laid his finger upon his mouth, for a sign that I should say nothing, and Monseur d'Anguien all in rage went straight to his Chamber, and the other Colonels and Captains every one to his own quarters; but we fir'd not from hence. Presently after Meffieurs de Dampierre and de St. Andre came out into the Hall, and said to us these words: Get you home to your Quarters, and prepare your selves, for to morrow we must fight; as they came out we take notice of those who were for fighting, all of them smiling upon us, by which also we guess'd before hand how the matter went. In the evening when I accompanied Monseur de Dampierre to his lodging, he told me the whole story, and what Monseur d'Anguien had propounded to the Council, insulating upon the Error he saw he had committed in not fighting, by which he had lost an advantage that he could not again recover, entreating them all to consider of it, and to relive upon a Battel. Whereupon some fell again to discourse the same thing they had said before, of what a loss it would be to the King, with many other reasons to divert him from that resolution; and others maintain'd the same opinion they had ever done, that he ought to put it to a Battel: But Monseur d'Anguien, who saw himself fallen into the same disputation before, broke out in a violent passion, saying, that he was resolved to fight at what price soever, and that if any one should any more dispute the contrary, he should never think so well of that man again, so long as he live'd. Whereupon one in the Company, who before had so highly argued against it, made answer: O Sir, is it then a resolution you have taken that you will fight? Yes, replied Monseur d'Anguien, then says the other there is no more to be said; and thereupon it was concluded, that every one should repair to his command; and that an hour before day, we should be all in the same Plain where we had been the day before, to march directly towards the Enemy, wherever he was to be found, which was accordingly perform'd, some reconnoitring in the mean time to the Captains and Soldiers, that it would be out of season to stand upon telling them out their pay in the face of the Enemy, and that they were to stay till the Battel was over, which was only a device to amuse those who were so importunate for their Pay.

Now being we had the day before left the Enemy in the Plain betwixt Sommervoe and Cerizalles, Monseur d'Anguien did not very well know whether they might be at Sommervoe or at Cerizalles, notwithstanding that the Governor of Sommervoe had sent word, that the Camp intended to quarter there. Signior Francisco Bernardin therefore sent out three or four of his Light horse towards the said Cerizalles, who went so near that they discover'd their Camp, which was already in arms, and the Drums beginning to beat. That which had made them return to Cerizalles, was to stay for the Spanish Foot, who were gone for the two pieces of Canon, as has been said before. Monseur de Termes likewise sent out again three or four of his people also, and in the mean time we march'd underneath towards Sommervoe; but so soon as the Light horse return'd with the same intelligence, we turn'd on the left hand, and came up into the Plain, where the whole Army was, and there made a halt. And there Monseur d'Anguien and Monseur de Tais gave me all the Harquebussers to lead, for which honor I returned him my most humble thanks, telling him that I hoped, by God's assistance, to acquit myself so well of my charge, that he should remain satisfied with my service; and faid as much to Monseur de Tais, who was my Colonel, and who came and commanded all the Captains and Lieutenants, that I would take, to obey me equally with himself.

I then took four Lieutenants, namely le Brule' (whom I have mentioned before) le Gasquet, Captain Liennard and Captain Favas, who was my own Lieutenant. To Favas and Liennard I gave the right wing, and my self with the two other took the left, leading towards the little houle, that was afterwards so much dispir'd; and it was ordered that the Swife which were commanded by Monseur de Bottieres (who a little before the rumor of the Battel had been recall'd from his own houle) and we should fight together in the Vanguard: the Battel was to be conducted by Monseur d'Anguien, having under his Cornet all the young Lords that came from Court, and the Rear-guard was commanded by Monseur d'Ampiere, wherein were four thousand Frisowers, and three thousand Italians, led by the Sieur de Dros and des Cres, together with all the Guidons and Archers of Companies. Now there was a little Eminence; that dipt towards Cerizalles and Sommervoe, which was all on a little Copie, but not very thick: The first of the Enemy
Book II. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

my that we saw enter into the Plain to come towards us, were the seven thousand Italians conducted by the Prince of Salerno, and in the flank of them three hundred Launciers, commanded by Radolpho Baglione, who belonged to the great Duke of Florence. The skirmish began by this little Hill, on the descent whereof the Enem... The beginning had made a halt full over against us, and so soon as the skirmish was begun, I gave bing of the one Squadron to Captain Brueille, being that which was nearest to me, and the hind Barzel, and to Captain Gasquet, about two hundred paces distant from the other, and of my own I gave forty or fifty Harquebuziers to a Sergeant of mine called Arnaud de St. Clair, a valiant man and one that very well understood his business, and my self fell for a reserve. Being at the forefaid little house, I discover'd three or four Companies of Spanish Harquebuziers, who came full drive to poiffe themselves of the house, and in the mean time Favas and Lionard fought the Italians in the valley on the right hand. The skirmish grew hot on both sides, the Enemy one while beating me up to the house, and I again other whilst driving them back to their own party; for they had another that was come up to second the first, and it seem'd as if we had been playing at Bafe: but in the end I was constrain'd to call Captain Brueille up to me, for I saw all their Foot embodi together, with a Troop of Horse to flank them. Now had I not so much as one horse with me, notwithstanding that I had advertis'd Monfieur d'Anguinet that their Cavalry was also with the Harquebuziers that came to me. Let it suffice, that of a long time no body came, intimuch that I was constrain'd to quit the house; but not without a great dispute, which continued for a very great space. I then sent back Captain Brueille to his place, the skirmish continued for almost four fouts without intermission, and never did men acquit themselves better. Monfieur d'Anguinet then sent Monfieur d'Auffun unto me, command iting me to poiffe my self of the house, which was neither of advantage nor disadvantage to me; to whom I made anwer, Go and tell Monfieur d'Anguinet that he must then send me some Horse, to fight these Horse that flank their Harquebuziers (which he also saw as well as I) for I am not to fight Horse and Foot together in the open field. He then faid to me, It is enough for me that I have told you, and so return'd to carry back my anwer to Monfieur d'Anguinet; who therupon sent Monfieur de Moncins to tell me, that one way or another he would that I should regain it, with whom also came the Seigneur Ca-

Now I had discover'd their German Foot and their Artillery, and as I was retiring Monfieur de Termes and Signior Franciscus Bernardin came, and plac'd themselves on the
The right hand of our Battailon, and upon the skirt of the Hill (which was very straight) and over against the Battailon of the Italians; for their Lancers were exactly opposite to our Pikes. Monsieur de Baisieres with his Company, and that of the Count de Tande advanced on the left hand of our Battailon, and the Swiffe were three or four score paces behind us, and a little on the one side: In the mean time our Harquebusiers that were conducted by Lienard and Captain Fixon sometimes beat back the Enemy as far as their main Battailon, and sometimes the Enemy repelld them up to ours. I saw then that I must of necessity disarm our Battailon of the Harquebusiers that made our flank on that side where Monsieur de Baisieres stood, and give them to them, where with to make a Charge, which they did, and with great fury beat them up to their Battailon; and it was high time; for their Harquebusiers had almost gain'd the flank of our Horfe. I therefore ran up to them, and we began a furious skirmihsh, which was great, and obstinately fought, for all our Squadrons were closed up together, and it continued a long hour or more.

Now the Enemy had placed their Canon by the side of the little houfe, which playd directly into our Battailon; Monsieur de Mailly then advanced with ours and placing himself close by us, began to shoot at those of the Enemy by the little houfe; for there we maintain the skirmithsh he could not do it, without killing our own men; when, looking towards our own Battailon, I saw Monsieur de Tais, who began to march with his Pikes, chag'd directly towards the Italians; whereupon I ran up to him, saying, Whither do you go, Sir, whither do you go, you will lose the Battel; for here are all the Germans coming to fight you, and will charge into your flank. The Captains were the occasion of this, who called not to cry out to him, Sir, lead us on to fight; for it is better for us to dye hard to hand, than stand still here to be killed with the Canon. This that cerryfes the moft of any thing, and ofteentimes begetts more fcarce than it does harm; but however it was, that he was pleas'd to be call'd by me, and I entreated him to make men kneel on one knee, with their Pikes down; for I saw the Swiffe behind laid at their full length squire to the ground, as hard as to be feen; and from him I ran to the Harquebusiers. The Enemies Harquebusiers by this time were beginning to retire behind the houfe, when, as I was going up to charge directly up to them, I discover'd the Front of the Germans Battailon, and could command the Captains Brueille and Gasquet to retire by degrees towards the Artillery, for we were to make room for the Pikes to come up to the fight, and I went to our Battel, where being come, I faid to my men thefe words.

Oh my fellow Soldiers let us now fight bravely, and if we win the Battel we get a great renown, than any of our Nation ever did; It was never yet read in History, that ever the Gauls fought the Germans Pike to Pike, but that the Germans defeated them, and to set this honorable mark upon our felves, that we are better men than our Anceftors, this glory ought to infpire us with a double courage to fight, fo as to overcome, or dye, and make our Enemies know what kind of men we are. Remember, Camerades, the message the King sent to us, and what a glory it will be to present our felves before him after the victo- ry. Now, Sir, I said to Monsieur de Tais, it is time to rise, which he suddenly did, and I began to cry out aloud, Gentlemen, it may be there are not many here who have ever been in a Battel before, and therefore let me tell you, that if we take our Pikes by the hinder end, and fight at the length of the Pike, we shall be defeated; for the Germans are more dextrous at this kind of fight than we are: but you must take your Pikes by the middle as the Swiffe do, and run head-long to force and penetrate in the middle of them, and you shall fee how confounded they will be. Monsieur de Tais then cryed out to me to go along the Battailon, and make them all handle their Pikes after this manner, which I accordingly did, and now we were all ready for the Encounter.

The Germans march'd at a great rate directly towards us, and I ran to put my self before the Battailon, where I alighted from my horfe; for I ever had a Laquer at the head of the Battailon ready with my Pike; and as Monsieur de Tais and the rest of the Captains saw me on foot, they all cry'd out at once, Get up, Captain Monsieur, get up again, and you shall lead us on to the fight. To whom I made anfwer, that if it was my fate to dye that day, I could not dye in a more honorable place than in their Company, with my Pike in my hand. I then call'd to Captain la Barre, who was Serjeant Major, that he should always be flitting about the Battailon, when we came to grapple, and that he and the Serjeants behind and on the fides should never cease crying, put home, Soldiers, put home, to the end that they might push on one another.

The Germans came up to us at a very round rate, infomuch that their Battailon being very great, they could not possibly follow; so that we faw great windows in their body, and several Ensigns a good way behind, and all on a fuddain flung'd in among them,
them, a good many of us at least, for as well on their side, as ours, all the first Ranks, either with path of Pikes or the Shock at the encounter, were overthrown; neither is it possible amongst Foot to let a greater fury; the second Rank and the third were the cause of our victory; for the left so pushed them on, that they fell in upon the heels of one another, and as ours pressed in, the Enemy was still driven back: I was never in my life so active and light as that day, and it stood me upon so to be; for above three times I was beaten down to my knees. The Swisse were very fly and cunning; for till they saw us within ten or a dozen Pikes length of one another, they never rode; but then like savage Beasts they rush'd into their flank, and Monsieur de Battice was broken in at the * Canton. Monsieur de Termes and Signior Francesco in the mean time charg'd Redolpho Baglione, whom they overthrew, and put his Cavalry to rout. The Italians, who saw their Cavalry broken, and the Languedoc and Germans overthrown and routed, began to take the defense of the valley, and as fast as they could to make directly towards the Wood, Monsieur de Termes had his horse killed under him at the first encounter, and by ill fortune his leg was so far engaged under him in the fall, that it was not possible for him to ride, so that he was there by the Italians Termes taken, and carried away Prisoner, and to lay the truth, his legs were none of prisoner, the left.

Now you are to take notice, that the Marquis de Gnauf had composed a Battailon of five thousand Pikes, namely two thousand Spaniards and three thousand Germans, out of the number of six thousand, being the fame that Count Lannion had brought into Spain, where he had remain'd ten years, or more, and who all spoke as good Spanish as natural Spaniards. He had formed this Battailon only toTaw away the Gafcon; for he said that he feared our Battailon more than any of the other, and had an opinion that his Germans (being all chosen men) would beat our Swift. He had placed three hundred Harquebusiers only in the nature of a forlorn hope, at the head of this Battailon, which he refered to the fornamed effect, and all the rest maintain'd the skirmish. Now as he was by the little house on the same side with the Germans, the Marquis he saw the Fribourgers, who were all arm'd in white, and took them for the Gafcons, de Gnaus, and thereupon said to his men, Hermano, hermanos, aqui estan todos Gaccons, farras á ellos. They were not gone two hundred paces from him, but that he perceived our Battailon, which start up, and saw his error when it was too late to help it, for we all wore black arms.

This Battailon of five thousand Pikes march'd then at a good round rate directly upon the Fribourgers, and they were of necessity to pass hard by Monsieur d'Anguina, who by some body or other was very ill advis'd; for as they pass'd by he charg'd with his Gene d'Armes quite thorough their Battailon in the Flank, and there were plain and wounded a great many brave and worthy men, and some of very considerable equality, as Monsieur d'Ajfer, le Sieur de la Richotourn, with several others, and yet more at the second charge; there were some who pass'd and repass'd quite thorough and thorough; but all they clos'd up again, and in that manner came up to the Fribourgers Battailon, who were soon overthrown without so much as flanding one Path of Pike, and there died all their Captains and Lieutenants who were in the first rank and the right fled straight to Meurier des Crois; but this Battailon of Spaniards and Germans fell at a very great rate purfued their victory, and overthrew the said Sieur des Crois, who there dyed and all his Captains with him; neither could Monsieur d'Anguina any way relieve them, forasmuch as all the horse almost of his Cavalry, in these two furies, but incollateral charges were wounded and walk'd forth and fairly over the field towards the Enemy. He was then in the height of despair, and curt the hour that ever he was born, seeing the overthrow of his Foot, and that he him self had scarce an hundred Horse left to sustain the shock, so much that Monsieur de Pignon of Montpelier (a Gentleman of his) assured me, that he twice turn'd the point of his Sword into his Gorget, to have offered violence to himself, and himself told me at his return, that he was then in such a condition, he should have been glad any one who should have run him through. The Romans might have done so; but I do not think it becomes a Christian. Every one at that time pass'd his censure upon it according to his own fancy. For our parts we were as well as heart could wish, and as much pleas'd as the Enemy was afflietted; but let us return to the blows, for there were yet both to give and to take. The cowardice of the Fribourgers occasion'd a great loss on that side of the field; in my life I never saw such great lubbers as those were, unworthy ever to bear Arms, if they have not learnt more courage since. They are indeed neighbours to the Swisse, but there is no more comparison between them than between a Spanish Horse and an Ass. It is not all to have a great number
number of men upon the lift; but to have those that are true bred; for a hundred of them are worth a thousand of the other. And a brave and valiant Captain with a thousand men, that he knows he may trust to, will pass over the belles of four thousand.

After the same manner that Monfieur d' Anguien had seen his people massacred before his eyes, without any power to relieve them, did the Marquis de Guast behold his people also trampled under foot by an equal fortune, so wanting the play'd on both hands with these two Generals; for as he saw Rodolpho Baglione and his Germans, both of them routed and overthrown, he took his horse and retreated towards Naj. Monfieur de St. Julien, who that day discharged the Office of Camp-Master and Colonel of the Swifts, was on horseback (and, to say the truth, he was but weak of peron and wanted strength to support any great burden of arms on foot) saw their Battalil overthrown on the one side and ours on the other, and before he went to Monfieur d' Anguien saw us Swifts and Galions amongst the five thousand Spaniards and Germans, killing on all hands. And then it was that he turned back and overtook Monfieur d' Anguien near to the Wood that leads towards Carmagnolle; but very poorly accompanied, and cried out to him, Sir, Sir, face about, for the Battle is won, the Marquis de Guast is routed, and all his Italians and Germans cut to pieces. Now this Battalil of the Spaniards and Germans had already made a halt, giving themselves for lost, when they saw neither Horse nor Foot of their own come up to them; by which they very well knew that they had lost the Battle, and began to take on the right hand straight towards the mountain from whence they had departed the day before. I thought I had been the cunningest in all the whole Army, having contriv'd to place a row of Harquebusiers between the first and second rank, to kill all the Captains first, and had said to Monfieur de Tais three or four days before, that before any of ours should fall, I would kill all their Captains in the first rank: but I would not tell him the secret till he had given me the command of the Harquebusiers, and then he called to him Burre the Sergeant Major, bidding him presently make choice of the Harquebusiers, and to place them after that manner. Upon my faith I had never seen nor heard of the like before, and thought my self to be the first Inventor of it; but we found that they were as crafty as we, for they had also done the same thing, who never shot more than ours, till they came within a Pikes length, and there was a very great slaughter, not a shot being miss'd but it wrought its effect.

So soon as Monfieur d' Anguien understood the Battle to be won; which before (by the defeat of those on his side of the field; and those cowardly Frienagers, to encourage whom he had done all that in him lay) he had given over for lost; he presently put himself in the Rear of those Germans and Spaniards; which as he was doing, several of those who had taken fright, and were shifting for themselves, rallied up to him, some of which now appeared wonderful eager of the pursuit, who had run away but a little before, and others had broke their bridles on purpose to lay the fault of their own fear upon the the poor horses, who by this means were to bear more than the weight of their Masters. He had a little before the Battle, by good fortune, sent to Savillan for three Companies of very good Italian Foot, to be present at the business, who being as far as Recons upon their way from thence heard the thunder of the Artillery, by which being assured that the Battle was begun, they mounted all the Harquebusiers they could on horseback, and coming all the way a gallop, arrived in so opportune a season, that they found Monfieur d' Anguien in pursuit of the Enemy, not having one Harquebusier in company with him, where, alighting from their horses, they put themselves in the Rear of them, whilst the said Seigneur d' Anguien with his Cavalry, one while in their Flank and another in their Front, still pulled on the victory. Here then sent a Trooper to us in all haste, to bid us turn that way, for there was more work to do, which meifengers found us at the Chappel Yard, the Gate of Cerisiales, having just made an end of killing with so great fury a slaughter, that not to much as one man remained alive, for we had a Colonel call'd Alphono de Mandraca Brother to the Cardinal de Trent, who being laid amongst the dead with seven or eight wounds upon him, could not a light horse belonging to Monfieur de Termes, as he came thorough the dead bodies, saw him, being yet alive, but stript stark naked, spoke to him, and caused him to be carried to Carmagnolle, to redeem Monfieur de Termes in case he should recover and live, as he afterwards did. The Swifts, in killing and laying on with their two-handed Swords, still cied out Monsieur, Monsieur, where those of their Nation had received no quarter, and in short, all that made head against us on our side of the field were slain.
We had no sooner received the command from Monsieur d'Anguien, but that immediately the Battaillon of the Swisse and ours turn'd towards him: I never saw two Battaillons so soon reunited as these were; for of our selves we rallied, and drew up into Battalia as we went, marching all the way side by side. In this posture the Enemy, who went off at a great rate, firing all the way, and by that means keeping the horse at distance, discovered us coming up to them, who so soon as they saw us advanced within five or six paces, and the Cavalry in their front ready to charge in amongst them, they threw down their Pikes, surrendering themselves to the horse: but here the Game began, some killing and others endeavoring to save, there being some who had fifteen or twenty men about him, still getting as far as they could from the crowd, for fear of us Foot, who had a mind to have cut all their throats; neither could the Cavalry so well defend them, but that above half of them were slain; for as many as we could lay our hands on were dispatch'd. Now you shall know what became of me.

Monsieur de Valence, my Brother, had sent me a Turkish horse from Venice, one of the fleetest Courters that ever I yet saw; and I had an opinion which all the world could not dispusfe me of, that we should win the Battle, wherefore I gave my said horse to a servant I had, an old Soldier, in whom I repose a very great confidence; bidding him be sure always to keep behind our Battaillon of Pikes, and telling him that if it pleased God I did escape from the skirmish, I would then alight, and engage with the Pikes, and that when we came to close, if he should see our Battaillon overthrown, then that he might conclude me to be slain, and should save himself upon the horse; and on the contrary, if he should see us prevail over the Enemies Battaillon, then he should follow, (without offering to break in) in the Rear of our Battaillon, when so soon as I should be certain of the victory, I would leave the execution, and come to take my horse to pursue the Cavalry, and try to take some prisoner of Condition.

I had a whimmy came into my head that I should take the Marquis de Guafto, or dye in the attempt, trusting to the swifness of my horse; for which I had already in my imagination swallow'd a mighty random, or at least some remarkable recompence from the King. Having then a while follow'd the victory, I stay'd behind, thinking to find my man; and indeed I was so weary with fighting, running, and moreover to spend with straining my voice to encourage the Soldiers, that I was able to do no more, when I was assaulted by two great multif Germans, who had thought prettily to have done my busines; but having rid my self of one of them, the other beat him to his heels, but he went not very far; in truth I there saw very brave blows given. I then went to seek out that Son of a whore my man; but the Devil a man that I could find, for as the Enemies Artillery plaid upon our Battaillon, and very often shot over, the shot falling behind it, had remov'd my Gentleman from the place where I thought to find him; who very directly went, and put himself behind the Swisse; when seeing the disorder of the Frisonsers and Spaniards, he very learndly concluded us to be in the same condition, and thereupon fled back as far as Carmagnolle. Thus are men oftentimes deceived in their choice; for I should never have suspected that this fellow would so soon have had his heart in his breeches, and have run away with so little ado. I then found Captain Mons, having no more than one servant only with him, who had done a great deal better than mine; for he had kept a little pad Nag ready for him, upon which he took me up behind him, for I was extremely weary, and so we pass'd on, still seeing the Germans knock'd down all the way as we went, till being sent for by Monsieur d'Anguien, we both alighted and went on foot, till the entire defeat of the Germans and Spaniards; when prettily I saw my man come back, calling him a hundred Rogues and Cowards, for so badly running away; who reply'd that he had not done it alone, but in company with better men and better clad than himself, and that he had only run away to hear them company; by which pleasant answer my anger was appeas'd, and upon my word he hit upon it in a lucky hour; for I was very near showing him a trick of a Gafcon.

We then rallied together some twenty or five and twenty Horse, what of those of Monsieur de Termes, of Signior Francisco Bernardina and the Sieur de Mous; and rid a round gallop after the Marquis de Guafto, and with us moreover a Gentleman whose name I have forgot, but he was one of those who came out from Court to be at the Battal, and as we went we met by the way two light horse leading prisoner Signior Carlo de Gonzaga, whom they had taken in the rear of the Enemies party, which still more encourag'd us to purs forward. So soon as we came to near to the Enemy as to discover what posture they were in, we perceived that they were rallied and closed up.
The Enemy rallies upon their retreat.

The Sire de Montluc
Knighted upon the place of Battal by Monsieur d'Anguien.

The Sire de Montluc dis-contented.

to the Crupper, still marching on in very good order, at a good round trot, and their Lances ready in the Rest. Which made me say to those of our Company, these people are ready for us, and therefore I do not think it convenient to charge in amongst them, lest instead of taking some of the chief of them, it fare with us as with the Scotch man who took a Tartar. So that we return'd without attempting any thing more upon them; but I am yet of opinion, that had not that rashly man of mine play'd me that dog-trick I had taken some man or other of Command amongst them. As we were upon our return, the Gentleman I spoke of before accosting me, said these words, Jefu! Caprain Montluc, what danger was this Battel in once to day of being left? To which I (who had neither seen nor heard of any disorder, and thought that the left we had defeated had been Those of Carignan, who were drawn out of their Garrison to be present at the Battel) made answear, why, which way were we in any danger, seeing that all day we have had the victory in our hands? I perceive then, said he, that you know nothing of the disorder has happened, and chertupon told me all that had befallen in the Battel, As God shall help me, I do believe, that he had given me two flags with a dagger, I should not have held, for my heart was shrunk up, and I was sick at the news, in which fright I continued for three nights after, starting up in my sleep, and dreaming continually of a defeat.

Thus then we arriv'd at the Camp, where Monsieur d'Anguien was, to whom I went, and making my horse curvet, said to him sportingly these words; What think you, Sir, am I not as pretty a fellow on horseback as I am on foot? to which he made answear (though yet very melancholy) you will always behave your self very well, both in the one posture and in the other, and bowing his body was pleased to embrace me in his arms, and knighted me upon the place; an honour I shall be proud of so long as I live, both for being perform'd upon the field of Battel, and by the hand of so generous and so great a Prince. Accursed be he that basely deprived us of him. But no more of that; I then said to him, Sir, have I forced you to do it to your satisfaction? (for Monsieur de Tais had already told him, that I had fought with them on foot) to which he replied, Yes, Captain Montluc, and so well that I will never forget how bravely you have behaved your self; neither, do I assure you, will I conceal it from the King. Why then, Sir, said I, it lies in your power to do me the greatest kindness that ever you can do a poor Gentleman so long as you live: At which words, drawing me apart, that no body might hear, he asked me what it was that I would have him do for me, to which I made answear, that it was to dispatch me suddenly away with news of the success of the Battel to the King; telling him withal, that it was an office more properly belonging to me than any other, considering what I had said to his Majesty and his Council, to obtain leave to fight; and that the last words I had said to the King were, that he was only to expect news of the victory. To which, turning towards me, he made answear, that it was all the reason in the world, and that I should be sent before any other. And so all the Army returned victorious to Carmagnolle: but as I expected to have been sent away post in the night, I was told that Monsieur Defords had gained every one to speak for him, that he might go. Monsieur de Tais had also pasted his word to me; but in the end he suffered himself to be overcome, as also did Monsieur d'Anguien, which was the greatest misfortune that possibly could have befallen me: for having overcome the King's Council and their deliberation, and that his Majesty had done me the honor to confedent to my opinion; here to have carried him the certain news of what I had promised and affur'd him so few days before, I leave every one to judge whether I should have been welcome or no; and what wrong I had done me, especially having been that day in a great and honorable command, and acquited my self of it to my Generals content. It had been a great good fortune for me, and also a great honor, to have carried to the King what I had before promised, and affur'd him of; there was however no remedy, and I was forced to submit, though they had much ado to appease me: but it was to no purpose to be angry or to complain of the injury was done me. I have since repented me a thousand times that I did not steal away the fame night, which if I had done, I would have broke my neck or have been the first that should have brought the news to the King, and I am confident, he would not only himself have taken it in good part, but moreover have made my peace with others. But I, from that time forward, gave over all thoughts of advancement, and never after expected to come to any thing, which made me beg leave of Monsieur d'Anguien to be dismis'd, that I might return into my own Country. Which said Seigneur promised me great matters (knowing me to be discontented) and Monsieur de Tais did the same, using all the persuasions he could to make me stay: but I press'd my departure so much that at last I obtain'd leave, upon my promise to return; and for
further assurance of me, the said Sieur d'Anguin made me accept a Commission from him for the speedy raising of one thousand or twelve hundred foot, to bring into Piedmont, to recruit the Companies, for in plain truth we had left a great many men.

Now I shall tell you what advantages accrued to the King from this victory, which I only had from Monseur de Termes, to whom the Marquis de Guefit had told it, lying wounded in bed of a Harquebuz shot in his thigh. He told him that the great advantages that enter the Kingdom of France, each on his own side, and that the Emperor had sent him the seven thousand Germans purposely to make him so strong, that Monseur d'Anguin might not dare to fight him, and afterwards to march directly to Lombras there to throw a Bridge over the River, and to put into Carignan the provisions that he brought along with him, and as much more as he could provide besides, and thence to draw out the four thousand Spanish and German foot, who were to return towards Iver, leaving four thousand Italians in their stead; which being done, he was to fend back the seven German Colonels, with their Regiments to the Emperor. That then there would still remain with him in his Camp five thousand Germans, and as many Spaniards, with which at the same time, that the King of England should enter the Kingdom, he was to defend by the valley of Offla, thorough which he should march straight to Lyons, where he should meet no body to oppose him but the Inhabitants of the City, nor any Fortresses at all; where lying between the two Rivers he might command all the territories of the Duke of Savoy, together with Dauphine and Provence. All this was told me by Monseur de Termes after his return; an enterprise that had not been hard to execute had we not won the Battle, in which berwixt twelve and fifteen thousand men of the Enemy were slain. The victory was very important, both in respect of the Prifoners, which were many of them very considerable, as also for the Baggage, which was exceedingly rich; and besides many places surrendered out of fear, and in the end Carignan it left, of which I shall not meddle with the particulars, because I was not present at the surrender. Had they known how to make their advantage of this Battle, Millan had been in a totering condition: but we never knew how to improve our victories to the best. It is also very true that the King had at this time enough to do to defend his Kingdom, from two such powerful enemies.

His Majesty having intelligence of the great preparation that was made both by the one and other, withdrew the greatest part of his Forces out of Piedmont, where I arrived at the time when Monseur de Tais had received a command to bring away all the men he could; for I never could lay long at home, and never hated anything so much as my own house, so that although I had once put on a resolution (for the wrong that had been done me) never to go any more into that Country, yet when it came too I could not forbear to go. Monseur de Tais had made choice of two and twenty Ensigns, the Companies whereof were now very well recruited; to which he moreover raised a new Company, which, at my request, he was pleased to give to Captain Ceftegelouso, who had been afflicted to me in the raising, and conducting of my men, and had formerly carried my Ensign in the Kingdom of Naples. And to we began to set forwars towards France, dividing our Companies into five and five. Of these I had the fifth Division, and went before to Susanne, to prevent the Soldiers from getting thither before us, and to take order for the provisions, much of which I found upon the way going thither, which made me redouble my diligence. I arrived in the night two hours before day, at Villeanne, and at the Inn where I alighted, found Signior Pedro de Colonna, whom Captain Renouward carried prisoner to the King, according to the capitulation at Carignan. They were already got up and the said Captain Renouward carried me into the Chamber of the said Signior, who at my coming told me, that he underflood it was I who had broken the Bridge at Carignan, and that had commanded the Harquebuizers at the Battel. After which, falling into discourse concerning the said Bridge, I told him, that had his people followed their fortune, they had found no body to fight with, but my self and some forty men at most; and that our whole Camp was in so great disorder, that had he pursued them, we had all been detainted; and Captain Renouward also assured him, what I said was true. At which, after a little pause turning towards me he said: E voi dite che si la nostra Gente seguo hauessi la sua fortuna: ma hauessi a combattere piu da voi co guarrante soldati, & hauessimo posse in fuga tutta la nostra gente. Io vi dii che si voi hauessi seguito la nostra no' hauessi messo fuori di Carignan, per che la mia gente hauia pigliato il sopravento.
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize  
Book II

The strength of France.

... in England, who was fallen off from his obedience to the holy Chair, out of despair; which two Princes (as it was said) had divided the Kingdom (for so both the Marquis de Guast told Monseur de Ternes, and I have since heard the same from an English Gentleman at Boulogne) but however it was but disputing the bear skin. France well mixed within it self can never be conquer'd till after the loss of a dozen Battels, considering the brave Gentry whereof it is fruitful, and the strong places wherewith it abounds. And I conceive they are decy'd who say, that Paris being taken, France is lost. It is indeed the Treasury of the Kingdom, and an unexhausted Magazine, where all the richest of the whole Nation unlade their Treasure, and I do believe in the whole world there is not such a City, for 'tis an old saying, that there is not a Crown in Paris but yields ten Sols revenue once a year; but there are so many other Cities, and strong places in the Kingdom, as are sufficient to destroy thirty Armies. So that it would be easy to rally together, and to recover that from them again, before they could conquer the rest; unleas the Conqueror would depopulate his own Kingdom, to repeople his new Conquest. I say this because the design of the King of England was to run directly up to Paris, whilft the Emperor should enter into Champagne. The Forces of these two Princes being jointed consist'd of fourscore thousand Foot and twenty thousand Horse, with a prodigious train of Artillery, by which any man may judge whether our King had not enough to do, and whether it was not high time to look about him. Without all doubt these poor Princes have greater care and trouble upon them than the inferior forts of men; and I am of opinion the King did very well to call back his Forces out of Piedmont, though some are pleased to say, that the State of Milan might otherwise have been won, and that the Emperor would have been necessitated to have called back his Forces out of France to defend that Ductys; but all this depended upon event. So it was that God would not suffer these Princes to agree berwixt themselves, each of them being bent upon his own particular advantage; and I have often heard, and sometimes seen, that when two Princes jointly undertake the Conquest of a Kingdom, they never agree.
agree: for each of them is always injurious of being ever reach’d by his companion, and evermore jealous of another. I have nor, I confess, much conversed with Books; but I have heard say, that after this manner we first left the Kingdom of Naples, and were cheated by the King of Spain. This presumption and jealousy at this time we preferred to, as it has at other times done several others, as the Historians report. For my part, I should more apprehend one great thing than two who would divide the Cake between them, there will always be some exceptions taken, and two Nations do not easily agree, as you see here. The English King came and lay down before Boulogne, which was safely surrendered to him by the Sieur de Vertou, who left his life for his labour: an example that ought to be set before all such as undertake the defence of strong holds. This by no means pleased the Spaniard, who reap’d no advantage by it, and saw very well that his confederate would only intend his own business.

Our Colonel, Monseur de Tais, brought three and twenty English to the King, being all the same which had been at the Battel, having one new Company; but I fell sick at Troyes, and came not up to the Army, till they were advanced near to Boulogne, where the said Sieur de Tais delivered me the Patent his Majesty had lent me for the Office of Camp-Master; but there was nothing done worthy remembrance, till the Camisado of Boulogne. As we arrived near to la Marquise, the Donphin who commanded the Army had intelligence that it was three or four days since the Town fell, had been taken (though he knew it before) and that the King of England was embarked and gone for England. It is to be presumed that this Prince had made such haste away only to avoid fighting, forasmuch as he had left all things in great disorder; for in the last place we found all his Artillery before the Town in a Meadow, that lies upon the defcent towards the Tower of Orde, secondly there was found above thirty Casks full of Cordel’s which he had caused to be brought out of Germany, therewith to arm his Soldiers, which he had left, for the defence of the Town; thirdly he had left all the ammunition of visible, as Corn, Wines, and other things to eat in the lower Town, in such sort that if Monseur de Téligny be yet living (as I am told he is) the Father of this who is a Huguenot, and who created the peace during these troubles, and was taken upon the Camisado in the lower Town, (where not one man but himself escaped alive) he will bear witness that there was not in the highest Town provision to serve four days, for himself told it me.

The occasion of the Camisado was this. A Son in law of the Marechal de Bies, The Camisado, (not this fine Monseur de Vertou, but another who has the same name) came to find at Béthune, Monseur de Tais, and told him that a Spy of his, who came from Boulogne, had assured him, that as yet nothing had been remov’d to the higher Town, but that all still remained below, and that if they would speedily attempt to take the lower Town (which might easily be done) they would in eight days time have the upper come out to them with ropes about their necks; and that if Monseur de Tais so pleased, he would in the morning lead him, where he might himself discover all: the Spy moreover affirming, that as yet not one breach in the wall was repaired; but that all lay open as if it were a village.

Upon this information Monseur de Tais was impatient to go to take a view of all, and took me along with him, together with this Son in law of the Marechal. We might be about a hundred Horse drawn out of the several Troops, and just at the break of day we arrived before the Town, leaving the Tower of Orde some two or three hundred paces on the right hand, and saw five or six Pavillons upon the defence in the great high way leading to the Gate of the City. We were no more than five or six Horse only, Monseur de Tais having left the rest behind a little Hill. This Son in law of the Marechal, and I therefore went down to the first Pavilion, and passed close by it into the Camp on the left hand, till we came to the second, from whence we discovered all their Artillery, at no further distance than four or five hundred paces only; neither did we see any more than three or four English Soldiers that were walking up and down by the Canon, and in the foreaid second Pavilion we heard them jabber English. The Marechal’s Son in law then made me return back to Monseur de Tais, who immediately upon my telling him what we had seen, went down with me to the place from whence I came, and there with the foreaid Gentleman stood still. In the mean time it grew to be fair broad day, so that the Centinels very well perceived us to be none of their own people, and therefore presently gave the alarm: but for all that we saw not a man offer to fall out of the Tower (I have indeed since been told that Dondelain, whom Monseur de Tais and the Sieur de Mon-
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize  

Book II

whom Monfieur de St. Pol had bred up of a Page, had the Guard at the Tower) and so we return'd.

Monfieur de Tais then with the said Gentleman presently went to find out the Dasphin, and Monfieur d'Orleans, where it was concluded, that the next morning at break of day a Camifado should be given, and that Monfieur de Tais, with our Companies, should give the first order by three Breaches that were in the wall, on that side where we had been to discover; which were Breaches that had only been made for pleasure. The Rheingrave then entreated the Dauphin that he and his Germans might go on with us to the Assault; but Monfieur de Tais had already promised Count Pedemarie, that he would speak to the Dauphin to give him leave to go on with us, which was a very great misfortune: for had the Germans gone on with us to the Breach, the Enemy had never fir'd one Shot, which would have invited a great many more to come in to our Relief much sooner than they did.

We set out in the night with thirs over our Arms, and met the Rheingrave with his Germans ready and resolved to pass over a Bridge of Brick there was near unto la Marquis, which resolution he was not to be persuaded from; but would pass over after us, what promise ever he had made to the Count. Of which Monfieur de Tais sent present word to the Dauphin, and whilst they were in dispute about it, came the Admiral Annebaut, who so far prevailed with the Rheingrave, that at last he was persuaded to retire behind, giving us leave to pass, and the Italians after us; but for his own part he would not stir from the Batail of the Geni d'Armes, that was drawn up near to la Marquis and Monfieur Dampierre also, who was Colonel of the Grisants, came up as far as the Tower of Orde, where he drew up his men into Batail. Now Monfieur de Tais had given me one part of his men with them to fall on by the high way on his right hand, being the same he had discover'd the day before. I then charg'd up straight to the Artillery, and those who remain'd with Monfieur de Tais and the Italians fell on by the three breaches, which they bravely carried; and being there was neither Gate not breach on that side where the Artillery was, I was fain to go all along by the wall on that side towards the River, where I at last found a breach of some ten or twelve paces wide, which I entered without any manner of opposition, and went straight to the Church: where I saw no Captain of ours, save one only, who was running along by the River directly to the formentioned breaches, and him I call'd to, but he heard me not.

Now you must know that Monfieur de Tais was wounded, and enforce'd to retire; what became of Count Pedemarie I know not: but I was afterwards told that all the Captains, both Gascouins and Germans, were gone out of the Town, and had made no stay there, by reason of an Alarm, that the English had recovered the breaches by the outside of the Town, as it was true: but there were of them not above two hundred men, that were fell out on the outside from the higher Town: and I was moreover told that it was Dandelot, who fled from the Tower of Orde straight to the Town. All our Ensigns were left in the Town, but I never perceived any thing of all this: for had I seen the disorder, I do believe, I should have done as the rest did, I will not pretend to be braver than I am. Before the Church I found two Italian Captains only with their Companies and Colour's, where so soon as I arrived, I fell to assaulting three or four houses, and forced them, wherein was a great number of English, and most of them without arms; some of which were clad in white and red, others in black and yellow, and a great many Soldiers also without those colours; but I soon understood that all those in Liveries were Pioneers, because they had no Arms, as the other had, who defended themselves, and so, that above two hundred of them were slain in the houses. Then march'd straight to the Church, where I found the said Italian Captains (the one call'd Cesare Porto, and the other Hieronymo Megina, and with these Italian Mutieurs D'andelo et de Novaius, who was Lieutenant to Monfieur de Niumer) asking them where all our Captains were, who returned me answer, that they knew not what was become of them. I then began to perceive there was some disorder in the cafe, not seeing one man of all our Companies; excepting those who were enter'd with me, and about sixty or three score others, who had fled behind to plunder, and were rallied to me at the assait of the houses: whist I was considering with my self what the matter should be, all on a sudden there came a great number of English full drive directly upon us, as we stood before the Church, and in the street adjoining, crying out, Who goes there? to which I made answer in English, A friend, a friend. (For of all the Languages that are learned amongst us, I have learn'd some words, and the Italian and Spanioh passably well, which has sometimes been very useful to me) but the English proceeding...
Book II. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

ceeding to further Interrogatories, they soon put me to the end of my Latin; by which perceiving what we were, they pretend to tell us, crying out, Kill, kill, kill! Then I called out to the Italian Captains, saying, * Aiutate mi, e fate affitere il tu, no bigono l'atto mi in core a. Which having said, I ran full drive upon them, who immediately fad about, and purfued them, laying on their rear to the end of the Street, where they turned off on the right hand along by the wall of the upper Town; whence they discharged us some small pieces, and a whole Cloud of Arrows. I then retir'd back to the Italians, where I was no sooner come and settled in my former order, but that they return'd to charge me again: but I had taken a little heart, having found them so easily to run away, and therefore gave them leave to come up close to us, where I then charg'd them, and we thought they ran away with greater facility than before; therefore retir'd once more before the Church; but then there fell such a furious Storm of Rain, that it seem'd as if God Almighty had been dispos'd to drown us all; during which shower there came upon us twenty English of ours from one of the breaches, at which they had entred, not having above six Soldiers with them; and I might have about as many Ensigns with me. One of the Ensigns then told me that the Breaches were all taken, and that the Captains were round away: which having heard, I deist'd the two Italian Captains that they should a while make good that Canton, where the Church flour'd (for there was a wall before the door of it) and I would go confpire the Breach by which I had entred, which so soon as I should recover, I would fend them word, that they might draw oft and come to me, and if preadventure the Enemy in the mean time, should come up to them, that then they should remember what they had seen me do, and boldly charge them.

I then went to the breach, where I saw already ten or twelve English got thicker, two of which follow upon their defence, but one of the ruff, some leap'd over the Breach, and others flipt on the right hand along the inside of the wall, and so soon as we were got out, we saw moreover fifteen or twenty that came running towards us, along the outside of the wall, and seeing us run'd on the right hand towards the other breaches, by which our people before had entred. I then enter'd a Gentleman of Burgundy (whole name I have forget, who was mounted upon a horse he had taken, that he would go to Caesar Porto and Hieronimo Mogrin to call them away, which he was very willing to do, provided I would promise to stay for him, which I affur'd him upon my life I would do, and that dead or alive he should fend me at this Breach. The Rain still continued more and more violent, when the said Gentleman returning, told me that he could not possibly get to them; and that they were eather retreat'd into the Church, or all dead. when beholding on a fuddain three or four hundred English came at a good round trot directly upon us all along by the wall, just as we were upon the point to enter again to go relieve the Italians: but seeing them come full drive upon us, we were constrain'd to alter that resolution.

Meflieurs d' Andelot, de Noveillers, this Burgundian Gentleman and three or four others had never stirr'd from my side, from the time they had first met me before the Church (and it was well for them, for if they had they had gone to pot with the ruff) and as the English came on in this fury, there ar'd a hubbub amongst us, some crying out to me to fly towards the River, and others towards the Mountain; but upon the infiant I retir'd to remonstrate to them, What have you to do to go to the Mountain? in our way thefher we muft of neceffity pas clofe by the higher Town; for to go directly to the River, do you not fee that it is rising, and get too high already that we shall be all drown'd? let no one therefore think any more of it, but let us make our felves ready, for we muft fight these people. Whereupon Monfieur d' Andelot cry'd aloud, I, Captain Montluc, I pray you let us fight them; for that is the left. He was a man of very great courage, and 'tis great pity he afterwards turn'd Huguenot; for I do believe he was one of the bravest Gentlemen in the Kingdom. We therefore March'd directly up to them, when so soon as we came within four or five Pikes length of them, they let fly a great shower of Arrows upon us, and we ran up to them to push a Pike; for there were but two Harquebuttes that fired, and immediately they faced about, and flid the fame way they came. We follow'd after, and very close, and when they came to the Canton of the Tower towards their own men, who keep almost all our Ensigns enclo'd, they feeing them come, and we pursu'd in the rear of them, quitted the Breaches to relieve their own men, and rallying all together came running directly upon us, who were all at the foot of the Mountain of the Tower.
of Ordre. I then cried to Monfieur d'Andelot, and to all the Ensigns and Soldiers, Get away as fast as you can and climb the Mountain; for I, for my own part, with four or five Pikes, would stay to see the event of all, retiring towards a Rivulet which was by the Artillery. So soon as the English had quitted the breach, to come to us, our Ensigns leap'd out of the Town towards the valley, by which they had come, and being got to the foot of the Mountain, where Monfieur d'Andelot and the Ensigns were marching up, the Enemy faw that our Ensigns were again past over the Breaches, and that the said Andelot with the other Ensigns were got half way up the Hill; they then thought to turn after the others, as they did, but could never overtake above eight or ten Soldiers at the moft, whom they cut all to pieces. Five or six English then came up to me, and I past the Rivulet, where the Water was more than knee deep above the Banks. They befow'd me Arrows upon me, and shot them into the Targeter, and another thorough a sleeve of Mail I wore upon my right arm; for which part of the Booby I carried home to my Quarters, and having received them, went to mount the Hill on the backside of the Tower of Ordre. Monfieur de Dauphin, having with him Monfieur d'Orleans and the Admiral, made his Lancifeners to march to relieve us within the Town; but before they could come near the disorder was already hapned, and they found Monfieurs d'Andelot and de Novailles with the Ensigns, who were got up to the top of the Mountain.

In the interim of this confusion the Vidame de Chartres, and my Brother Monfieur de Lieux, advance'd as far as the bottom of the Hill, to fee if they could learn any news of me; but they were bent back with a vengeance, and told the Dauphin that they did certainly believe I was slain within the Town: forasmuch as they had seen all the Captains, me only excepted; and whilst they were in this difeaffe Monfieur d'Andelot arrived, of whom the Dauphin demanded if he knew what was become of me, to whom he made answer, that I had been the prefervation of him and all those that were with him: but that (it feem'd) I had not known how to save my felf, which I might have done, if I had fo pleafed, as well as the rest. The faid Sieur d'Andelot conclufed me for dead, believing that I had suffered my felf to be snap'd about their Artillery, or by a Ship that lay upon the Rivulet I passed over; but I was no fuch fool: for I call God to Witness, and let him punifh me according to my perjury, if of all that day I ever left my underftanding, and it was a great bleffing that God was pleafed to preferve it to me entire; for had I left my judgement, we had received a very great disgrace, which we could neither have concealed nor excufed, and I had been in great danger never to have been a Marechal of France. We had loft all our Ensigns, and thofe that carried them withall, which neverthelefs God gave me the grace to fave. When a man is once poffeffed with fear, and that he lofes his judgement, as all men in a fright do, he knows not what he does, and it is the principal thing you are to beg at the hands of Almighty God, to preferve your underftanding entire; for what danger there may be, there is still one way or other to get off, and perhaps to your honor: But when fear has once poffeffed your judgement, God ye good even! you think you are flying towards the poof, when you are running towards the prow, and for one Enemy you think you have ten before your eyes, as drunkards do, who fee a thousand candles at once. Oh! 'tis a wonderful advantage to a man of our Trade, when his danger does not deprive him of his fence, he may then take his opportunity, and avoid both fham and ruin.

In the evening I went to the Dauphin for the Word, because Monfieur de Taiz himself was wounded and could not go; when, fo foon as I came into his preffence, Monfieur d'Orleans, who always delighted to left with me (as the Dauphin also himfelf sometimes would do) began to fing the Camifado of Bullen, and the aflault of Crepy, for the old Soldiers of Piedmont; jeering and pointing at me with his finger: at which I began to be angry, and fell to curting thofe who had been the caufe; at which the Dauphin laugh'd, and at left faid to me: Montluc, Montluc, in plain truth, you cap- tains can by no means excuse it, that you have not carried your felves very ill. Which way, Sir, (faid I) can you conceive me to be any way in fault? if I knew my felf to be guilty I would at this instant go, and caufe my felf to be killed in the Town; but in truth we were a company of Cossombs, to venture our lives in your service. Whereupon he faid No, No, I do not mean you, for you were the left Captain that came out of the Town, and above an hour after all the rest. He gave me very well to understand, when he came to King, that I had not fail'd of my duty, by the value he was ever pleafed to put upon me; for when he went his expedition into Piedmont, he fent an express Courrier to fetch me from my own houfe, to which I had retired my felf by reason
of a certain pique, that Madame d'Eftampes had conceived against me, about the quarrel between Messieurs de Chaffaignère, and de Jarne. A man has evermore one good office or another done him at Court, and the misthief on't is, the women evermore rule the roft: but I shall not take upon me to be a Reformer, Madame d'Eftampes sent better men than my left packing from Court, who have made no boasits of it: but I wonder at our brave Historians that they dare not tell the truth.

This was the success of the Camisado of Boulogne, whereas the Camp follow'd after us, they might all have quarrell'd in the Town, and in four or five days (as I have already said) the higher Town had been our own. Let any one ask Messier de Teligny, if he be the man who was taken prisoner there, and see whether he will tell a lie. I do not know who was the caufe that the Dolphin did not march, but I shall always affirm that he ought to have done it, and know also very well that it did not stick to him; but it was to enter into difputes to say any more of that busines. Had they come, the English would not have known which way to turn them. I discover'd them to be men of very little heart, and believe them to be better at Sea than by Land.

The Dolphin seeing the Winter draw on (having left Monfieur le Marefchal de Bies at Montferriville, to bridile and keep Boulogne in aw) return'd back to the King, who also had concluded a Peace with the Emperor: all this great preparation, and those invincible forces, to our great good fortune, diminishing through the ill intelligence between these two Princes, I mean the Spaniard and the English. Evil befal him that will ever love the one, or the other. Three months after I quitted my command of Camp-matter, to go to defend a little estate that had been left me by an Uncle of mine. I had much ado to obtain leave of the King to go; but in the end the Admiral wroth so effectually in my behalf, that it was granted upon condition that I would promise him to take upon me the same employment in cafe the faid Admiral should have the command of the Army. He fail'd not of that command, nor thereupon to summon me upon my promise I had made him, but obtain'd a Commission from the King (which he fent me) to be Camp-matter to fifty or threcfore Ensigns that his Majesty would fit on foot for the English voyage. I brought the men accordingly to Havre de Grès, where I delivered them into the hands of Monfieur de Tais. We then put to sea, Our Navy consisted of above two hundred and fifty sail, and the most beautiful Ships that ever eyes beheld, with their Gallies. The ardent defire the King had to revenge himfelf on the King of England made him enter into a very vast expence, which in the end serv'd to very little purpose, although we first landed, and afterwards fought the English upon the sea, where many Ships were funk on both sides: When at our fetting out I faw the great Carrick (which was certainly the goodlie Veffel in the world) burn'd down to the water, I had no great opinion of our Enterprise. But being that I for my particular perform'd nothing in that expedition worthy remembrance, and that moreover a perfect account of that Naval Engagement has been given by others, I shall let it alone to give a Narrative of the conquest of the Territory of Oye: and indeed our busines lies more properly by land than by water; where I do not know that our Nation has ever obtain'd any great victories.

So soon as we were return'd from the Coaft of England, and dilembar'd at Havre de Grès, the Admiral went to attend the King, and Monfieur de Tais went along with him, carrying all the Companies to the Fort of Ontrean before Boulogne, where Captain Villefranche had been left with the old Companies in the quality of Camp-matter, he having been put into the Command that I had formerly quitted. The Marechal de Bies his Majefty's Lieutenant in that Country, had nothing to do, as Monfieur de St Germain, whom the King had given him for an alfiant, can very well witness; for all the Pioneers had forfook him, and were fohn away, as is usual with thole rafcally people, if they be not narrowly look't unto; and yet had he all the Courtine leading towards the Bridge of Brick to make. Of which affair though there be no sighting in the cafe, I think fit to give an account in this place, that it may serve for an example to others in command, upon the like occasion.

The Marechall being frequently solicited by the King to put this forte into a posture of defence to block up Boulogne, told me that there was a necessity the Soldiers should work, since the Pioneers were wanting; of which accordingly carried word to the Captains, and they from me to the Soldiers, who all at once flately deny'd to do it, saying They were Soldiers, and no Pioneers. With this answer the Marechal was highly offended, and in great anxiety what to do, and almost as the Courtine remained open, and that the King of England had sent fresh supplies of men into Etyden. Wherefore the Marechal having sent throughout all the Country for Pioneers, and none being to be got, I contriv'd a way to make the Soldiers work, which was by giving them five
pence a day, the ordinary pay given to the Pioneers. The Marechal very readily consented to the motion, but notwithstanding I could not find one who would once put his hand to the work. Seeing therefore their refusal, to invite them by my example, I took my own Company, that of Monseur de Lieux my Brother, with those of Captain Labebon my Brother-in-law, and Captain Labit my Cousin German, for whose I knew doubt not refuse me. We wanted no tools, for the Marechal had made provision of very great store, and moreover the Pioneers who were run away, had left all theirs in a great Tense, which the Marechal had caused to be set up at that purpose. So soon as I came to the Courtn I began my self to to break ground, and after me all the Captains. I had caused a Barrel of wine to be brought to the place, and with it my dinner, which I had order'd to be much greater than ordinary, and the Captains also had brought theirs along with them, together with a Sack full of pence which I shew'd to the Soldiers; and after having wrought a fence every Captain din'd with his own Company, and to every Soldier we gave half a loaf, some wine and a little flesh; of which also we were more liberal to some than to others, pretending they had taken more pains than their fellows, on purpose to encourage them; and so soon as we had din'd we again fell to our work, singing and plying our business until late in the evening, infomuch that I would have thought we had never dined any other Trade. So soon as we got over, three Treasurers of the Army paid to every man five folles, and at our return to our Tents, the other Soldiers by way of division call'd ours Pioneers and Delvers. The next morning Captain Forces come to tell me, that all his men alfo would come to the work, and those of his Brother likewise (who is also yet living) all which I receiv'd, and we did as the day before; the third day they would all come, so that in eight days time we had finish'd the whole Courtn; and all the Engengers told Monseur de St. Germain (who himself had never flir'd from the work) that my Soldiers had done more in eight days, than four times so many Pioneers would have done in five weeks. And obferve that Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns fluck all the while as clofe to the work, as the meanefl Soldier did, and serv'd as inciters to the refi.

I thought it fit to commit this Exemple to writing, to let the Captains fee, that it is not the Soldiers fault, if they do not perform whatsoever you would have them do: but then you must get the knack to make them do it cheerfully, and with a good will, and not by force; put your hands firft to the work yourfelves, and your Soldiers will for thame follow your exmole, and do more than you would have them do. But if you come to ill words and blows, it must be when out of fpirit they refufe to do a thing to which they are no ways oblig'd; and to that we are indeed fometimes by neceffity con-

One, O Comrades, how ofien have I, seeing the Soldier weary, and ready to faint, alighted from my horse to walk with them on foot, to encourage them to make a long march! How often have I drank water with them, that they might cheerfully fuffer by my example.

Believe me, Gentlemen, that all depends upon yourfelves, and that your Soldiers will conform themselves to your humour, as it is ordinarily feen. There is a mean in all things, fometimes a little roughnefs is very requisite, but then it must not be again a whole Company, butfone particular perfon, who would grumble, and hinder the refi that are well difposed. I have ere now made some fufpicious refaits feel my anger of which I now repent me.

Some time after the Marechal de Bliz would attempt to feize upon, and lay waste the Territory of Oys, having in vain tryed to tempe the Engilfe to a Battail. All our new Companies therefore march'd, for the old fir'd not out of the Fort, but were keep'd there to guard it, and the Marechal took fix or seven pieces of great Artillery along with him; so that we let our secrets in the beginning of the night, and went to some little Villages that had formerly been burn'd. This Enterprize was taken in hand contrary to the opinion of all the Captains in the Army, out of the hope the faid Marechal had to bring it to a Battail, which had drawn feveral Princes and Lords to come from the Court: Where after there was no more hopes of drawing the English into the field, the Marechal deliberated to take fome Forts from them in the Country of Oys. Now fo soon as they drew very near to one of thofe Forts, the Marechal, Meiffieurs de Brilta, and de Tan, drew themfelves apart (I think Monfeur de Ebre was with them, being then newly come out of prifon) Monfeur de Bordillon, and three or four others (whom names I have forgot) and got up to a little eminence under the shade of a Tree, from thence peeping and confidering which of the faid Battalions, that were oppofite to us, they should affault; and in the mean time I cauf'd all our Ensigns to make a halt for the left, which were yet a league behind. Now you muft know I had never been there till this time; neither
neither have I ever been there since, but to the best of my memory I shall describe the
surrounding of the place.
I was to defend about thirty or forty paces, to enter into a great Meadow, where on Description of
my right hand there was one Baftion, and on my left hand, at the distance of a good the English
Harquebuzer shot, another, and so conseqently all along the Courtine leading towards Calley Fort.
(which Courtine was only of earth, and about two fathoms high) there was also two great
Ditches, with water middle deep, and between the two Ditches there was a Terrace
of earth. Whilst they were in cohabitation under this Tree on my left hand, I took Capt-
tain Favas, and la Moyenne, having both been my Lieuteantes, and about 300 Harquebuz-
ners, to whom I gave the leading of the first Division, and I stood behind in the Rea
of them. There presently fell out of the Fort an hundred or fixcore English, who sallowed upon
came into the Meadow, having planted five or fix Musketers upon their Terrets, between the
English

Book II. de Montluc, Marechal of France. 83

Ditches, and ply’d us smartly with their shot, having left between the said Baftions
and Ditches a little path, by which one man only could march a breadth, to enter in, and
sally out of their Fort, confident, it seems, that under favour of their Muskets, these
of ours on the outside would not dare to charge them. Our men began then to Harque-
bus it at a good smart rate, and they to let fly their arrows: but me-thought they had
still an eye towards their retreat; wherefore being mounted on a little pad Nag, I came
up to the Capaines, and said these words to them. Camrades, these people are mainly
enclin’d to retreat, and I see it is out of a confidence they have in their Muskets,
charge then briskly through and through, and I will second you. I needed not to bid
them twice, for before I could return to the head of my men, I saw them together
by the cars, and in a moment the English put to flight: wherefore I hope my men from
falling on, to make firm in cafe any more should sally out. This little path was some-
thing narrow, and adjoyning to the Baftion, under which the one part of them fled
the rest called themselves into the Ditches in fo great huff, that they had not leisure
to carry off all their Muskets, for our Soldiers leap into the water as soon as they,
and brought away four of them; and there were four or five of the said Soldiers that pafs’d
over the said Terrace, and the other Ditch, to the very foot of the Courtine, who brought
me word that the greatest depth of water was in the first Ditch; for the other next the
Courtine was not above knee deep. I then presently spoke to the Captains, Favas and
la Moyenne, that they should draw up my Division and theirs together, and finding
Captain Auroqui, and almost all the other Captains entered them them to make two
Divisions of theirs; for that loon as I had spoken with Monfieur de Tais, I would go
on to an Assault. They then told me, that they wanted near half of their Soldiers, who
were not yet come up, to which I made answer, that it was no matter, noticing that with
those we had we could do our business, who thereupon without further reply began to
divide themselves into two Bodies, and I ran to speak with Monfieur de Tais, whom I
found with the Marechal and the reft, and said to him; Let us go, Sir, let us go to the
Assault, for we shall carry the Courtine, I have tafted them, and find, that they have more
mind to run than fight. The Marechal then said to me, What is it you say Monfieur
Luc, would to God we were certain presenty to carry it with all the Artillery we have.
Whereupon I answered him aloud; we shall have shrunghed them all before your Artillery
can come up to us, and taking Monfieur de Tais by the arm, said to him; Let us go, Sir, the Sieur:
you have believ’d me at other times, and have not repented, neither shall you repent you of
this. I have discover’d by these approaches, that these people are little worth. Let us go
then, answered he, and as we were entering into the Meadow, we already found out
our two Divisions of Pikes and Harquebuzers separated apart. Look you, Sir, then said I,
take your choice which band you will fight, whether on that of this Ensign over against
the Baftion below, or on that of the Ensign opposite to these I have fought with: who
thereupon said to me, fights you that Body you have already attack’d, and I will go fight
the other, and so we parted.
So soon as the Marechal de Biez saw us begin to march, he (as Monfieur de Boldillon
told me afterwards) said these words; now shall we see if Tais with his Gafcons be so
brave as he pretends. Then called all the Sergeants of my Division, laying to them aloud
at the head of our Battal; Two Sergeants have ever been accustomed, when we go to fight,
to be in the Flanks behind, but I will have you now fight in the first Rank. Do you see that
Ensign there? if you do not win it, as many as I shall meet sinking off in my way as I
goe, I shall make bold to cut his hampfers; you know I am pretty desirous that way; then
turning towards the Captains, I said, and you, Camrades, if I am not there as soon as they,
do you eat mine. I then ran to Captain Favas and la Moyenne (who might be at the di-
stance of some thirty paces) and laid to them, March, and throw your felves heading into the
Ditch,
Ditch, and in an instant return'd to my men, when having *kilt the ground, I ran straight up to the Ditches, making the Sergeants full to march before, and passing over the fift and the second, came up to the foot of the Courtn. I then said to the Sergeants, 

*ACeremo-

Help one another, help one another with your Halberts to get up, which they speedily did, and others pull'd them on behind, throwing them headlong into the Fort : I had also a Halbert in my hand. In the mean time arriv'd all the Captains and Pikes, who found me making a great show of endeavouring to get up with my Halbert, holding with my left hand by the wood ; when fom of them, not knowing who I was, took me by the breech, and pull'd me quite over on the other side, making me by that means more va-niant than I intended to be; for what I did was only to encourage the fett to get over: but that fellow, whatever he was, made me forget my policy, and take a leap that I had no intent to have taken; and indeed in my whole life I did never see people to foon get over a Courtn. After I had taken this leap, Captain Eaves and la Moyenne, who were in the Ditch of the Battalion, put themselves into the little path, and past on the other side into the Battalion, when all they found within it they put to the fword.

Monfieur de Tais, who went on to his encounter, seeing us scrambling up the Courtn, threw himself into the Ditches of the other Fort, when the English seeing their people put to flight, and we entering into it, quitted the Fort, and ran away as falt as they could towards Calice, The Marefchal this while seeing us run on to bravely upon the Enemy, cried out (as I was told after) Oh heavens! they are already got in; whereupon the Sigeuners de Briffac and de Bordillou came full speed upon the fpu, and the said Sigeun de Briffac General of the Horfe, put his horfe into the little path, where one man could not very easy pass, stretching out his legs as full length upon the horse's neck, at whiles the other over Monfieur de Bordillou after him, and after them follow'd some forty or fifty horfe, all leading their horfes in their hands. Monfieur de Briffac then presently came up to me, whom he found drawing up all the men into Battalion, believing that we should be fought with, and that those of Calice would certainly issue out to relieve their men. I had got an Ensign we had won upon my shoulder, which in his presence I refird'd to the Sergeant who had taken it, bidding him go and carry it to Monfieur de Tais, which he did, and the faid Sigeur de Tais to loon as he had receiv'd it, sent it by the fame Sergeant to the Marefchal, who was very busy with his Pioneers, breaking down the Courtn (which was only of earth,) to make way for the General Armes to pass over; and now we were all within, Artillery and all; as soon as we were all arriv'd, Mifeure de Briffac and de Bordillou, with the forty or fifty horfe that had entred with them, took the right hand toward the States which separate the County of Artois from the County of Oye, where they met with forty or fifty of the English, bearing Launtes, who presently began to retir full gallop towards Calice. Monfieur de Briffac was jealous, that thefe had only run away to draw him into some Ambufcade, and therefore made a halt, fending out Caffegene to discover a little valley that was on his left hand; which faid Caffegene prefently brought him word that he had taken above 400 horfe, but it was no fuch thing, thofe he faw being none other than Country-men and women of the neighbouring Villages, who were flying towards Calice; which was a great misfortune; for otherwife Monfieur de Briffac had purfued them, and they were all the Cavalry that the Enemy had in Calice, which had been no incoferable defeat. A General of all things ought always to fend out an old Soldier, or some one whofe intelligence he may absolutely rely upon, to discover; for men of little experience foon take the alarm, and fancy Buffles to be Batraillons. I will not fay that Caffegene was no Soldier, but upon my word he here committed a very great error.

*ACeremo-

Our Cavalry being got over the Breach, the Marefchal had caufed to be made, Mon-fieur de Tais would himfelf lead the Harquebuzers, ordering me to remain with the Battal of Pikes. There were ten or twelve Ensigns which retir'd towards Calice, and had been coming to have difputed our entry, which, could they have come up in time, had found us enough to do, with our Artillery and all, as the Marefchal had told me when I went to call Monfieur de Tais to go on to the Aulfade: and although I know very well at whom it fluck, that we did not fight them ten or twelve Ensigns, I will however for-bear commiting it to writing, forasmuch as in delivering the truth, I should be ob-li-g'd to speak ill of fome particular persons, and thofe none of the leaft, which I will by no means do: But if Monfieur de St. Cine (who was Lieutenant to fifty men at arms belonging to Monfieur Bolfi, who died Grand Encayer) were alive, he could tell where the fault lay, for he was there grievously wounded, had his horfe kill'd under him, and above forty horfes more of the fame Troop kill'd and wounded. There fol-
low'd a great quarrel upon it, which proceeded so far as almost to bring two men to fight in Lifts. It was indeed a most infamous cowardice, and of great prejudice to his Majesties service; for had those been defeated, there had no body been left in Calais but old men and women, and I have since heard the Marechal de Biez-say, that had those Ensigns been cut off, with his Artillery he had taken the Town in two days. But seeing those people to be retreated safe into the City, they concluded to retire, which two days after we did; as also the feaon of the year began to settle into very great rain.

Let me tell you Captains, you ought not disdain to learn something of me, who am the oldest Captain in France, and who have been in as many Battles, or more, as any Captain of Europe, as you will judge at the end of my Book. Know therefore that the reasons which induc'd me to attempt this assault, were these. First, because I had felt the pulse of the English at my first arrival, and found them a very easy Enemy. Secondly, because they had abandon'd their Fortifications, which we gain'd, having the Batteries that serv'd them for a Flanker. Thirdly, because from the little emergence where I had made a hade before I went down into the Meadow, I had seen coming along the Plain on the infide toward Calais a great number of people coming from thence, and observ'd all the Courtoyre to be full of men, by which I saw it was high time to fall on; and for a fourth reason, because I found that in the Ditch next to the Courtoyre there was very little water, and from the said Ditch to the said Courtoyre it wasbут two good steps, where the Soldiers might stand well enough, and with a little help of their Pikes or Halberts, and the affiance of one another (the Courtoyre being no more than two fadoms high) we should carry the place. When (Captains) therefore your eye shall have discharg'd its office in discovering the number of your Enemy, and the strength of the place where he is, and that you have call'd, and found him apt to fly, charge him whilst he is in the fear you have put him withal, for you give him time to recover his senses, and to forget his fright, you will be more often in danger of being beaten, than likely to beat. Wherefore you ought evermore to pursuie him in his fear, without giving him leisure to re-assume his courage, and carry always about you the Motto of Alexander the Great, which is: 

"Defer not that till to narrow then canst do to day; for many things fall out between the lip and the ear, especially in war, and then it will be too late to say, I should never have thought it."

You shall execute many things in your heart, which, if you give yourselves leisure to consider of, you will think of it thrice before you once attempt it. Push home then, ventur.e, and do not give your Enemies leisure to consult together, for one will encourage another.

Being return'd to the Fort of Onistown; there was hardly a day past that the English did not come to tickle us upon the defcent towards the Sea, and would commonly brave our people up to our very Canons, which was within ten or twelve paces of the Fort: and we were all abus'd by what we had heard our Predecessors say, that one English man would always beat two French men, and that the English would never run away, nor never yield. I had retain'd something of the Camilla of Bulfin, and of the buttlets of Oye, and therefore said one day to Monfieur de Taiz, that I would discover to him the mystery of the English, and wherefore they were reputed so hardy: which was, that they all carried arms of little reach, and therefore were necessitated to come up close to us to loose their arrows, which otherwise would do no execution: whereas we who were accustomed to fire our Harquebuzes at a great distance, seeing the Enemy use another manner of fight, thought theee near approaches of theirs very strange, imputing their running on at this confident rate to absolute bravery: but I will lay them an Ambuscado, and then you shall see if I am in the right or not, and whether a Gaienc be not as good as an English man. In ancient time their Fathers and ours were neighbours.

I then chose out six score men, Harquebuzzes and Pikes, with some Halberts amongst them, and lodg'd them in a hollow which the water had made, lying below on the right hand of the Fort, and sent Captain Chace at the time when it was low water, straight to some little houses which were upon the Banks of the River almost over against the Town to skirmish with them, with instructions that so soon as he should see them pass the River, he should begin to retire, and give them leave to make a charge. Which he accordingly did: but it fortum'd so, that he was wounded in one of his arms with a Harquebuz thor, and the Soldiers took him and carried him back to the Fort, so that the skirmish remained without a head. The English were soon aware of it, and gave them a very brisk charge, driving them on fighting up to the very Canon. Seeing then our men to ill handled, I start up out of my Ambuscado sooner then I should have done, running on full drive directly up to them, commanding the Soldiers not to shoot, till they came within the distance of their arrows. They were two or three hundred men, having
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize

Book II.

having some Italian Harquebuzeers amongst them, which made me heartily repent that I had made my Ambuscado no stronger: but it was now past remedy, and too soon as they faw me coming towards them, they left the pursuit of the others, and came to charge upon me. We marcht straight up to them, and so soon as they were come up within arrow shot, our Harquebuzeers gave their volley all at once, and then clapt their hands to their swords, as I had commanded, and we ran on to come to blows; but so soon as we came within two or three pikes length, they turn'd their backs with as great facility as any Nation that ever I faw, and we pursued them as far as the River, close by the Town, and there were four or five of our Soldiers who followed them to the other side. I then made a halt at the ruins of the little houses, where I rally'd my people together again, some of whom were left by the way behind, who were not able to run fo fast as thefe. Monsieur de Tais had been all, and was fally'd out of the Fort to relieve the Artillery, to whom I came up to him, I faid, Look you, did I not tell you how it would be? we must either conclude that the English of former times were more valiant than those of this present age, or that we are better men than our forefathers. I know not which of the two it is. In good earnest, faid Monsieur de Tais, these people retreat in very great hift: I fhall never again have fo good an opinion of the English, as I have had hitherto. No Sir, faid I, you must know that the English who antiently of old to beat the French, were half Gafcons, for they married into Gascony, and fo bred good Soldiers; but now that race is worn out, and there are no more the fame men they were.

From this time forwards our people had no more the fame opinion, nor the fame fear of the English, that before. Therefore (Captains) as much as you can, keep your Soldiers from apprehending an Enemy; for if they once conceive an extraordinary opinion of their valour, they ever go on to fight in fear of being defeated. You are neither to defpife your Enemy, neither should your Soldiers think them to be more valiant than themselves. Ever after this change I obferv'd our men always to go on more cheerfully to attack the English, and came fill up clofe to them; and let any one remember when the Marechal de Birc fought them betwixt the Fort of Anderlot, and the Town, whether our people needed to be intreated to fall on. The faid Sir de Birc there perform'd the part of a very valiant Gentleman, for when his Cavalry were all run off the Field, he came alone to put himfelf in the head of our Battalion, and alighted, taking a Pike in his hand to go on to the fight, from whence he came off with very great honor. I my felf was not there, and therefore fhall fay nothing of it, for two or three months after our return out of the County of Oye, I had ask'd leave of Monsieur de Tais to go to Court; but the Historians in the mean time are very unjust to conceal fuch brave actions, and that was a very remarkable one in this old Cavalier. Being at Court I preval'd fo far with the Admiral, that he prevailed to diftinguifh the King, as far as much as I had refuf'd the office of Camp-Mafter upon no other terms, but only command in the ftraight Expedition that the Admiral should go upon; and having remain'd a monfth at Court, attending the King in the quality of one of his Gentlemen Waiters (who was now grown old, and melancholic, and did not care for, as he had went to do, only once he talk'd with me about the Barrail of Sires-le-bus, being at Pountin-Bleau) I took my leave of his Majesty, and never faw him after. I then return'd into Gascony, from whence I never flipt 'd till King Henry by the death of his Father was become King, having all that while been oppreffed with troubles and ficknefs. And that is the reafon why I can give you no account of the furrender of Bulle, which the King of England by the obfervation of France the fift, was constrain'd to quit for some consideration in mony. A little after he died, and our King lay'd but a very little behind him, We muft all die; but this Surrer of Bulle hapened in the reign of King Henry, my good Mafter, who succeeded his Father.

Our new King having peace with the Emperor, and after the redelivery of Bulle, being also friends with the King of England, it feem'd that our arms were likely long to raff by the walls; and indeed, if these two Princes fell in, France may be at refh. After having continued fome time at home, the King was pleaf'd to call me away, and to give me the command of Camp-Mafter, and the government of Montfeclair under the Prince of Malsbo his Lieutenant-General in Piedmont, Monsieur de Bouvron being our Colonel: here I remember me very well, and if there who have govern'd fince had lov'd me as well as he, I had had as much riches and honour as any Gentleman that has come out of Gascony these many years. I there remain'd eighteen moneths, without doing any thing all the while worthy to be remembred; for I will write nothing, but that wherein I had some command. Having obtain'd leave to retire my felf to my own house, I return'd into Gascony, where I heard a little while after, that by reason of the age and infirmity of...
of the Prince of *Malphé*, the King was about to send thither *Monseur de Briffac* in the quality of his Lieutenent General there, which was the occasion that Captain *Tildes* (who had also been dismiss) and my self went together to Court, where at our coming, we found that the said Sieur had taken his leave of the King in order to his journey. We then presented our selves before his Majesty, who very graciously received us; and to the *Confiable*, who was return'd to Court, and in greater favour than ever in the time of King Francis; which many did hardly believe he would have been: but the Ladies had now left their credit, and others were entred in. Immediately upon our comming his said Majesty, who was all this time in a little Town betwixt *Milan* and *Paris*, called *Villemont Saint George*, commanded us to go to *Paris*, and repair to *Monseur Briffac*. The next day after our arrival, the said *Sieur de Briffac* departed, being very glad that we were come to him, and so we went as far as *Suce*, where we found the Prince of *Malphé*, who had put himself upon his way, to come to end his life in *France*, as also within an hour after our arrival he died. Which, though I serv'd some time under his command, is all I shall say of him, having very little opportunity to know more of him, than what I have taken upon trust; and it is a great misfortune to a Captain, so often to change his General; for before you can come to be thoroughly acquainted with him, you are old; and new friendships, and new acquaintance are troublesome. *Monseur de Briffac* *Monseur de* presently hereupon dispatch'd away *Monseur de Forqueuse* to the King with an account of all, whom his Majestie sent speedily back again with the Patent of Marechal of *France*, which he was pleased to confer upon him.

We lay idle five or six months without any war; but it is hard for two so great Princes, and so near neighbours, to continue long without coming to arms, and indeed soon after an occasion presented it self: the King having taken upon him the protection of Duke *Oltavio*, whom the Pope, and the Emperor his Father in Law, would deprive of his Duke-dome. In order whereunto *Don Ferrand of Gonzaga* had laid siege to *Parma*, wherein was *Monseur de Termes*, and to *Miranda* where *Monseur de Sanjac* command'd, who there acquitt'd very great reputation, for having worthily acquitted and approved himself a singular good Captain, as in truth he was; which he has also manifestly in all places where ever he has been. He was one of the best Harle-men that ever was in *France*; but being I can give no account of these affairs, but by report only; nor of what passed at these two Sieges, I shall let them alone.

The King having intelligence that the Emperors forces were wholly taken up in *Parma*, sent to the Marechal de *Briffac*, that he should break the Peace, and upon the rupture to attempt to surprize some Town or other upon the Frontier, which he did. For he took *Quiers* and *St. Damian*: but the attempt upon *Cairas* did not succeed, as did the other two. *Monseur de Baffé* went to execute that of *St. Damian*, which he surpriz'd betwixt break of day and Sun rife, and the Marechal himself executed that of *Quiers* after the manner I am going to relate, and I think *Monseur le President de Burgoyne*, who was there present, will in this Book find that I have not much misst it in the relation. *Monseur d'Amfia* was chosen to goe execute the design upon *Cairas*, who took with him the Baron de *Cappi*, and two or three other French Companies, together with *Monseur de Genval*, and some Italians. The Scalado was given with great fury; but they were as well receiv'd. There died one of the Brothers of *Monseur de Charry*, who was gone as far as *Savillain*, and being in their way as they marcht in the night, went along with them, and mounted a ladder the full man, from which he was beaten down. He was ill enough followed, as it was said. In the mean time *Monseur de Baffé* took some Companies with him, with which by break of day he arriv'd within half a mile of *St. Damian*; they were once upon the point to return, feeing they should be discover'd before they could come to the place, but in the end marcht on to try their fortune. The custom of *St. Damian* was, that the Soldiers constantly open'd the Gates every morning at break of day, to let all the people out to work, and afterwards placed some Centinels upon the wall, so that the Sieur de Baffé enter'd with his ladders into the Gate, and had rest'd them to the wall before he was discover'd. The Captains mounted frist, and before they were efp'y'd by any, the one half of our people were got into the Town, where there was only one foot Company, which retired into the Castle, where there was not provision for one day, and in the morning yielded up themselves. By which, Captains, you may see of how great importance it is to be careful never to leave a wall naked of Centinels, or at least to have them upon some Tower or Gate, especally about break of day, for that is the time of greatest danger. People are weary of watching their walls, but your Enemy is not weary of watching his opportunity. All these three enterprises of *Cairas*, *St. Damian* and *Quiers* should have been
been executed in one night; and indeed whoever will break a Peace, or a Truce, let him do all the execution he can, and make all the noise at one clap; for if he go piece by piece, he is certain to lose either a leg or a wing.

Three days before the Marechal had been in consultation about the manner how to execute this enterprise upon Quiers, at which Council were affilting Maitreurs de Bonviet, President Biruge, Francesco Bernardino, de Baffi, and d’Anuff; and I cannot certainly say whether Sieur Ludovic de Biruge was present or not; but I am almost confident he was, for as much as the Marechal resolved upon nothing without his advice, he being a man of most approved judgment. It was there concluded that we should give a Scalado on the upper side by the Vineyards upon the way from Agnaffe to Quiers. I had no fancy to this Scalado, neither did I think it likely to take effect, which made me entreat the Marechal, that seeing he was himself resolved to go in person upon this design, and that it was the first place he had undertaken since his Lieutenancy, it might be ordered so, as to succeed, and redound to his honour: for if in his first trial he should fail of success, men commonly judging of things by the event, would look upon it as an illomen, and be apt to suspect his fortune, which is a very great prejudice to a man in supreme command. That therefore he should with great secrecy cause four or five pieces of Canon to march all night, that they might arrive at the same time that the Scalado should be given at the Port Joane, and so by one way or the other he would not fail to carry the place; for since he was resolved to attempt it, he was to try all ways conducing to the end proposed. Now the Artillery was already mounted on carriages, and fit for present service, before the Castle of Turin; for so soon as the Marechal understood that his Majesty had taken upon him the protection of the Duke of Parma, and that the war was already broke out in those parts, he made no question but the tempest would soon fall upon him, and therefore had wisely made his preparations before hand, that he might not be seek in time of need, being indeed one of the most prudent and circumspect Commanders that I ever knew.

This advice of mine suffered a great dispute; for it was objected that in one night the Artillery could not be drawn to Quiers, and that all the three enterprises would be discovered by the rattle of the Carriages, and the noises of the drivers of the Artillery: but in the end it was concluded that at Vepers the Gates of Turin should be shut, and that Ocen should be taken about Rivol and Vithamis, and should be all brought in the Evening into the City, and great Guards kept at the Gates, to the end that no one living should shut out. It was moreover concluded, that I at the same hour should draw some Canon, and the great Culverine out of the Castle of Montedillier, and should take the Oxen belonging to the Gentlemen and Citizens of Montedillier which graz’d on the further side of the Bridge towards the Lodges. They made account that by one of the clock at night the Artillery would be at Montedillier, by the way beyond the Bridge, and Moniteur de Calac and I were to fly together to convey the Artillery with my Company, and the Marechal, Maitreurs de Bonviet, and Francesco Bernardino would go the other way with all the rest of the Foot. The said Marechal allo left me Moniteur de Pignagni with his Company, and another, who were to go before us with the Pioneers, and ten Gabions that we took with us from the Castle of Montedillier, in which order we arriv’d both the one and the other at the time appointed before Quiers. But the Camelot vanished into a smoak; for as much as all the ladders prov’d too short, and the Graffe was much deeper than had been reported to the Marechal: which was the reason that we all turn’d to the Port Joane, where we found that they had already filled the Gabions, and were ready to hedge the Canon for Battery. The Marechal’s good fortune began here to discover it self; for had the ladders been of a sufficient length, and that we had gone on to the Affault, all the Citizens as well as the Soldiers were resolute to defend their wells to the last man; so that in my opinion we should have been very well swing’d, and beaten off; for as much as they would neither suffer themselves to be surpriz’d by night, nor taken by force: and we could not carry our design to close, but that they had had notice of it the day before; so that it had been no hard matter for them to give us a repulse, which perhaps might have discourag’d them to do, as they afterward did. Don Ferrand at his departure from thence had left an Italian Governor with three Companies, and had drawn all the Spanish foot, to take them along with him to Parma.

Our Battery having for some space play’d against the Town, wrought its effect, and made a breach on the left hand of the Port Joane: but there fell thereupon to violate a form of rain as almost spoil all our work: yet notwithstanding by eleven of the clock the breach was eight or ten paces wide. Hereupon the Inhabitants of the Town, who desired nothing more than a fair opportunity of putting themselves into the Kings obedience, by
by reason of the ill usage they had received from the Spaniards, began to ask the Governor if he thought himself sufficient with his Soldiers to withstand the Assault; to whom he made answer, that he was, provided the Town-men also would take arms to assist him. Whereupon they plainly told him, that they would not do it, and moreover that they had not been so well entreated by the Spaniards, as they should take arms against the French. By which answer the Governor, who was an understanding man, perceived himself to be lodg’d between his Lord and his Lady, and doubted that those of the Town were more likely to assure him than otherwise, which made him say to them, Have a little patience friends, and I will make such a Capitulation with the Marshal, as shall preserve you from any injury, and be honourable for our selves; and thereupon caused a Trumpet to sound a parley, sending out a man to define the Marshal, that he would send him Signior Francisco Bernardino, and the Signeur de Montfaucon, and in the mean time cause his Battery to cease. The Marshal immediately then sent to us to give over shooting, which we accordingly did; and it was thereupon agreed, that the Governor should send out two or three in Hostage, and that then the two forenamed should enter in to Capitulate, and I think President Birague went in with them, by reason he would not the Town should be sack’d, his Wife being a Daughter of Quiers, and the most part of the Gentry in the Town being by that means ally’d to him: but that I may not lie, I am not certain whether he went a third or no. Neither would the Marshal himself by any means, that any violence should be offer’d to them, this would be an example to the other places that were in the Enemies possession, to draw them on, that when they should happen to be in the like conditions, out of consideration of the Civility he should shew to those of Quiers, they might be the more inclin’d to take part with the French.

The great difficulty that happen’d betwixt our Deputies and the Governor, and Inhabitants, was that the said Governor, it being already almost night, said he could not possibly retreat to Aft, and consequently should be in danger of being defeated by the way, wherefore he desired that the Surrender might be deferred till the next day: The Marshal who footed upon thorns, fearing left this night they might be releav’d from Aft, demanded then to have La Roquette deliver’d up to him, to put into it three men, and that they should choose out of our Captains any one whom they would, to enter in with them; in the mean time making our Companies still advance nearer to the Breach, which the Governor having notice of, he himself came upon the wall of the Roquette, where he call’d to me, entreating me to make the Soldiers retire, and telling me that they had concluded with the Marshal. The conclusion of which agreement was, that they were to march away with Bag and Baggage, their Colours fueld up, without beat of Drum the next morning; and for further assurance it was agreed, that La Roquette should be put into our hands. The Town then sent to the Marshal to entreat, that I, with the three foremen might be put into it; for I had in Piedmont acquird the reputation of a man of good discipline, to prevent all sorts of disorder in the Soldiers: and I order’d it so well here, that not any one of the Citizens left the worth of a straw. The avarice of a little plunder does oftentimes turn the hearts of such as otherwise are enclin’d to favour ones party. This business was very well consider’d by the Marshal; for that very night 400 Harquebuzers fett out from Aft to try if they could get into the Town; but they met intelligence by the way, that we were possed of la Roquette, which made them return. There was one error committed in this business; for it was proposed in the Council, that without doubt the Enemy would come to us at the report of this Siege, and that therefore at the same time the Roquette should be deliver’d up to us, we should send out a good strong party to go the patronille on the high way towards Aft, which had it been done as it ought to have been, we had certainly cut off this Relief.

The next morning Monseur de Bonivet who was encamp’d upon the road of Andrezan, with fifteen or twenty Gentlemen in company with him came to Quiers, just at the time when the Italians were marching out of the Town, who being entred in, flayed at the Gate to see them march away, when so soon as they were gone, Monseur de Bonivet being under the second Gate to enter into the City, and the Marshal having command’d me not to suffer any person whatsoever to enter till he himself was first come in, I heard my Lieutenant very loud and angry at the Breach, where I had placed him to watch, that none should pass in that way; at which Monseur de Bonivet said to me, there is some disorder, whereupon I presently ran to the place, and found that they were Thieves of the very Town of Quiers it self, who would have entred in to pillage the City at which going hastily down the Breach to fall upon them, the ruins of the wall made my feet slip from under me, so that I fell upon my left side amongst the Roves, with
to great violence, that I put my hip out of joint. I do think that all the tortures in the world are not comparable to this, by reason of a little nerve we have in that joint, where the bones are all ench'd into one another, which was extended, in so much that I have never walked upright since; but have ever had pain more or less, notwithstanding all the baths and other remedies I could use to remove it. Monfieur de Bonivet cau'd me to be carried by the Soldiers into a Lodging, and I before had brought in the Quartermasters, who were ordering the Quarters. About an hour after I was hurt the Marechal enter'd the City, and did me the honour to alight at my lodging to see me, expressing as much sorrow for my mischance as if I had been his own Brother; and indeed he heartily lov'd, and had a very great esteem for me. During our abode there he came three times to keep his Council at my Beds head, as Preident Birague, who is yet living can witness. He took great delight to hear men discours'd in his presence, but in few words; and if any one said anything, he would presently demand his reason. At the said Quiers, and at Montcaillier I kept my bed two months and a half of this unlucky fall.

Don Ferrand leaving the war of Parms, came to Ais to draw his Forces together, thereof to form the Body of an Army, having left in Parmesan Signior Carlos and the Marquis de Vint. The King having notice thereof, commanded the Admiral that he should in all hast send away six of his Companies to the Marechal de Brissac, which were conduct'd by Captain Ynard, who at that time was Sergeant Major only. Monfieur d'Amale, who was General of the horse, came also, as did Monfieur de Nume a few days after; and presently after him Meflieurs d'Auguier, and the Prince of Conde, Brothers, then Monfieur de Montmortery, who is now Marechal of France, and eldest Son of the Constable Monfieur le Comte de Charmy, and his Brother Monfieur de la Rochefoucault, having a great number of Gentlemen of very good quality in their Train, info much that three Companies of foot being quarter'd in Quiers, the Marechal was constrain'd to dislodge them to accommodate the Princes, and the Lords of their Train. Certainly there is not a braver Nobility in the world than the French, nor more ready to put foot in the flirtup for the service of their Prince; but then you must take them in the heart. Certain days after their arrival the Marechal laid a design to go and take the Castle of Laus, which Garrison very much infold the Road betwixt Suce and Turin, by reason of a valley that extends itself from Laus to the high way, so that the Soldiers of the said Laus were almost continually there, having a little Castle in the mid way, that serv'd them for a retreat. The Marechal then sent for me to Montcaillier, whither six weeks after my fall I had cau'd my self to be conveyed in a litter upon whose summons I made my self to be set upon a little Mule, and with extreme pain arrived at Quiers, every day striv'n by little and little to walk. Behold these were the successe of the taking of Quiers and St. Damian, and I will now give an account of the taking of Laus.

The Marechal then, and all the Camp (wherein were all the above-named Princes and Lords) march'd directly to Laus, and because there are some of them yet living, who love me, and others that have an unkindness for me, I will come as near to truth as my memory will give me leave, to the end that those who hate me, may have no occasion to reprehend me, speaking the truth; and that the rest who love me, may take delight in reading what I have done, and call me to their remembrance, for the Historians I fee mence the matter.

The Marechal with all the Camp went before, leaving me with five Ensigns of foot, and the Masters of the Ordnance, Meflieurs de Callas and du Nogier, who were also at the taking of Quiers, to conduct the Artillery. The day after he depart'd from Quiers he arriv'd at Laus about noon, and we with the Artillery came up in the beginning of the night. The Bourg of Laus is large, and enclosed with curious walls; the Marechal took up his quarters in another Bourg, about a mile distant from the said Laus, and round about him the Gen's d'Arms, and all the Cavalry. All the Princes and Lords would be quarter'd in the Bourg of Laus, with some French and Italian Companies of foot; and particularly Monfieur de Bonivet, with his Colonel Company. At their arrival they went to the foot of the Mountain, on the right hand as you come out of the Bourg. The Sergeant Major had already got to the top of the said Mountain behind the Castle round about which were very great precipices, and especially behind it, where the Marechal was of necessity to go to take a view of the Place. There is nothing but precipice, faving in the front of the Castle, which looks towards the Town, and there were two great Bul-warks, and the Gate of the Castle between them. To plant the Artillery there, was only to lose so much time, and to place it on that side by which we came, we should be enforce'd to point the Muzzle of the Canon upward, so that it could batter but one half of the wall,
wall, and besides we were to climb above a thousand paces, with the greatest difficulty imaginable; before we could come to the foot of the said wall. On the right hand it was the same, and behind the worst of all: for falling hence, a man should tumble headlong a quarter of a mile down into the River. By reason of which great difficulty of bringing up Canon behind the said Castle, where there was a little even plot of some twenty or five and twenty paces broad, the Enemy had made no other fortification on that side, saving that they had cut a paltry Dutch of about half a pikes depth in the Rock, with two Ravellons on either side, that flanket the Dutch; and it had not been above three months before, that one of the Emperors Engineers had been there, and had declared, that it was not possible for all mankind to bring up Artillery, either by this side, or any of the others, if they did not plant it on the Town side, before the Gate of the Castle, which also would be too much labour left.

The Marechal at his first arrival with all the Princes and Lords, and the Engineers he had with him, went to take a view of the backside of the Castle, up an ascent of above 300 paces, and as unsafe ones as ever they went in their lives, where after they had discover'd, and remain'd above two hours upon the place, they all concluded it impossible to be taken. At night I came with the Artillery, when it was presently told me, that the next day we were to return back again; at which I was very much daunted; but was so intolerably torment'd with my hip, that I presently threw my fel on a Matrass, and saw not the Marechal that night; for he was gone back to his Quarters, very much displeas'd with some who before had reprehended the Enterprise so easily to him, and would undertake to bring about, and yeer when it came to the path concluded it impossible. In the morning he came again, and again went to view the place; but the more they looked, the worse they like'd, and still discovered greater difficulties than before. Just as I had dined Messieurs de Pignyges, de l'Oncq, and de Pinu, came to seek me out, and told me, that the resolution was concluded to return, and that I would not be unwilling to it, if I had seen the place, putting so many whimseys into my head, that they got me upon my little Mule, and carried me behind the ridge of the Mountain, where Harquezueb shots were very good cheap, unless a man took on the right hand towards the River, and there it was hard to pass, and more hard to discover any thing; and both the Marechal and all the Princes had gone up, and come down at the foot of the Enemies shot. Whom God defends is well defended. I have seen the time when a thousand Harquezueb shot have been discharged within an hundred paces of me, and done me no harm: but we all four made such shift, that at last we got up to the top, and they led me the same way by which the Marechal and all his Company had ascended and defended before.

I will here set down for an exemple to those that shall follow after us, how I found the thing feasible, and which way Canon was to be got up to this level; not however without very great difficulty: but by hard fowr it appeared to be, we concluded to bring up the Artillery to the top of the Mountain, and there to plant it in Batterie. In the first place to look up from the foot of the Mountain to the height of it, was a perpendicular the Angels themselves would have enough to do to climb; but I began to take notice, that making one advance of about an hundred paces, to a little place which might be some ten paces in circumference, that there we might have conveniency to rest the Piece, for the little place was almost even. I then conceived that we might make another Stage, crossing over on the left hand towards the Castle, to another little even spot, that was sufficient to repose the Canon, and afterwards that we were to make another Stage, crossing again to the right hand to another level spot; and from thence indeed we had the altent something steep to the backside of the Castle; but we should before have got past all the Rocks and Precipices.

By all these three Rising-places we defended the Mountain in great danger of our necks, where I shewed them, that each of them was to undertake to advance the Cannon from one reposing place to another, which they took especial notice of, and afterwards remounted me upon my Mule; for before they had led me all the way under the Arms like a Bride, and so we went directly to the Marechal's Quarters, where I found them all in Council, to take order for our return. So soon as I came into the room, the Marechal said to me, How now Monseur de Montluc, where have you been? I have sent for you twice to come to the Council, that you might hear the determination we have made to return. You must carry back the Artillery by the same way you came. To which I made answer, What Sir, will you return without taking this place, that is a resolution unworthy Monseur de Brilliac? I have been to view the place, and by the same way that you have viewed it your self, and do assure you that we will bring up the Artillery to the top of the Mountain. He then told me, that it must be God alone that must work.
such a miracle, for that it was not in the power of man to do it; to which I made answer, that I was not God, and yet that I would undertake to bring them up. He then said to me, yes in eight or ten days time perhaps with the help of Engine, and in the mean time Don Ferrand, who is at Verceil, shall gather together all the Forces he can make, both in the field, and out of the Garrisons, and come to give us Battle; who has 3000 Germans, and I have neither Germans nor Swits to match him. Sir, then I said: I will pawn to you my life and my honour, in two mornings to plant you four Pieces of Canon ready mounted on the back sides of the Castles; now notwithstanding which I was still harping up on the 3000 Germans; at which growing at last a little angry, I said, Do you make so great account of Don Ferrand’s Germans? The Admiral has here six Companies commanded by Captain Ynard, Monfieur de Bonivert shall give him four more of his, with which Engages he shall undertake to fight the Germans, and Monfieur de Bonivert with the remainder of his shall fight the Spaniards. Our Italians will engage to fight theirs, and for Cavalry you have (reckoning the Train of the Princes) a third part more than Don Ferrand. If Captain Ynard bid rather fight with the Spaniards than the Germans, Monfieur de Bonivert and I will fight them, and let him take his choice. To which Captain Ynard made answer, that he was ready to fight either the one or the other, as the Marechal should please to appoint; Monfieur de Bonivert also said, it was all one to him, wherupon I said, and must we then make such a piece of matter of the Germans? I dare lay a good wager of three thousand, fifteen hundred have more a totter to their arrows, whereas our Soldiers have most of them breeches of Velvet and Satin, and think themselves all Gentlemen. Seeing then themselves so well clad as they are, shall they be afraid to fight with the Germans? let them but come to us once, and we shall handle them as we did at Cerfolles.

Monfieur de Montmorancy then stood up, and said, Sir, Monfieur de Montluc is an old Captain, methinks you ought to give credit to what he says; to which the Marechal made answer. You do not know him so well as I, for he will never think any thing impossible, and one time or another will make us lose all; wherupon I made answer again, that where I saw a difficulty I fear’d my skin as much as another; but that in this I could discover no inconvenience at all. Monfieur de Nemours then spoke, and said, Sir, let him have his own way for once, and see what he will do; Monseurs the Prince of Conde, and Monseur d’Auguen laid as much, and Monseur d’Ammaile the same. Monseur de Gurnart who is now Marechal of France, and Monseur de la Rochefoucault, the Count de Charrny, the Sieurs de la Fayette, and de Terville, were all of the same opinion: which the Marechal seeing, said, Well Gentlemen, I perceive you have all a desire that we should play the fools; let us do so then, for I intend to let you see, that I am as great a one as any of you all. And thus I got the victory against the whole Council.

Things being thus concluded I said to Monseur de Nemours, Sir, it will be necessary that you Princes and Lords put your helping hands to this business, and lead the Soldiers the way, to the end that if you would think away, and avoid the great toil and labour they are to undergo for the execution of the thing in question, we may reproach them, that the Princes and Lords put their bands before them. In the mean-time I told him, that it would do well if he so pleas’d, that he with his own Company should take a Canon he him self had brought thither with him, and conduct it to the foot of the Mountain, who answer’d me, that he would very willingly do it. Now the Artillery was of necessity to be drawn thorough the Town, and they were moreover constrain’d to break three or four Corners of houses, to draw them out, and also to level a little defent at the going out of the Town, from whence they fell into a plain way to the very foot of the Mountain upon which the Caste flood, about a thousand paces distant from the City. I said as much to Monseur d’Auguen, and the Prince of Conde, who very readily conented to take upon them the charge of other two, to whom also Monseur de Montmorancy very frankly offer’d himself. As to the fourth piece of Canon, I cannot remember who it was, that undertook the care of that, for it was not Monseur d’Ammaile, being he was go to back to his Quarters to the horse with the Marechal: but however it was they refled not of all night, till by Torch-light they had brought the Artillery to the foot of the Mountain. But before they went out of the Council, I said to Monseur d’Ammaile, Sir, will you go along, and I will show you which way we will get up the Artillery behind the Caste, and Sir (speaking to the Marechal) I know you will not yet retire to your Quarters. Monseur d’Ammaile then went willingly along with me, having only Monseur de la Rochefoucault, the Signeur Pignyons, and my self in company with him; who, though I was damnable plagu’d with my lip, nevertheless forc’d my felt that they might see with their own eyes which way it was to be done. So soon then as we had ascended the Mountain, and taken a view of the place, we returned back to the Marechal, who layd expecting the said Monseur
de Montluc, Marshal of France.

Book II.  

The next morning I went to see which way we were to get up this Mountain, without being gall'd by the shot from the Castle; and here I first discover'd five little loop-holes made for Harquebuzes only, to which we lay open and expost'd all the way we were to go; To countercheck these I directed Captain Taurd to bring me three hundred Harquebuzes of the best marksmen he had in all his Companies; which, so soon as they came we divided to be set ten to each loop-hole, who shot as they do at a mark one after another, and allop'd, and when the last of the ten had made his shot, the first always began again. There was in the Town a house higher than the rest, from the roof of which one might play into the Castle, and all along the Curtain: but the Enemy, to fet her selves from this inconvenience, had nail'd several planks one above another, in such fort that those who were upon the top of the house could see nothing within the wall. Now these planks were very thin, and before the beginning of the War I had put it into the Marchchal's head to caufe four hundred Harquebuzes to be for'd at Piguro, of a bore to carry point blank three or four hundred paces, of which he might distribute twenty to each Company, with order to the Treasurers to allow twelve * Francs pay to such as they should carry those arms. These Harquebuzes were made and distributed, where fore I intreated Captain Richelieu (the same who was since Campeufon) to place twenty of these Harquebuzes upon the said house, to shoot through the Planks along the Curtain, whose shot broke thorough with as much ease as if they had been paper; infomuch, that what with the Harquebuzers, that from the top of the house played along the Curtain, and what with the other who fir'd by tens against the loop-holes, the Enemy were in such a condition, that not a man durst venture to pass to and fro on the inside of the Curtain.

We then deliver'd to every one of the three who had view'd the way up the Rock, twenty Pioneers and three Maions, with great hammers and picks of iron, wherewith to break some Rocks that were in the way. And thus about eight a clock in the morning we began to work upon the way, which by two in the afternoon was brought to perfe&ion, and at one of the clock in the night they began to mount the first Piece, with four score Soldiers of my company I had there with me the rest being left behind at Monscaller which they also mounted. This Piece gave them more trouble than all the other three; for they were after so well acquainted with the way, that the rest came up with much greater ease. Monsieur de Pigugny all the way carried a little Lantern to light the wheels of the Carriages, by the aim of which the Enemy began to shoot, but no shot ever touch'd us. Messieurs de Caillac and de Duns were in the mean time busie behind the Castle above, placing the Gabions, and filling them with earth; and as the Pieces were half up to the top of the Mountain, they still came to receive, and plant them in battery, but not a man ever put a hand to the drawing up of the foresaid Canon but my Soldiers only; for although Monsieur de Bennivert had brought one Company, and Captain Taurd another to assist them; yet would they not write of their service, but told them that they needed no help, and since they had had the honour to haul up the first Piece, they would likewise have the advantage to bring up all the rest: Which I was very glad of, because they were already very perfect in all the turns, and by three of the clock in the morning all the pieces were planted ready to batter. The Marchchal and Monsieur d'Anmale were by this time come from their Quarters, where I believe they had not slept much that night. The Marchchal out of the fear he had that it was not possible to haul the pieces up, and Monsieur d'Anmale on the other side was in no little pain, forasmuch as after he had view'd the place, he had advising him that I would insensibly mount them. The Princes and Lords who had been at work the night before, took their rest, till the Marchchal sent to rowe them, which was not until Captain Martin (a Baile, who had a Company in his own Regiment) came and advising him that he had seen the Ift piece brought up to the top of the Mountain; Which Captain Martin I do verily believe made that night fifty journeys to and fro, for the Marchchal had sent him almost every moment to see in what forwardness we were.

The Marchchal and all the Princes and Lords being come, they found that all the four Canons were ready mounted to begin the batter. I had cauf'd half a Sack of a very co

* A Frank, a Livre, and a Cardeuce are twenty pence English.

The Artillery mounted and placed in Battery.
cellent fort of apples, four great leather Bottles of wine, and some bread to be brought to the place wherewith to refresh my Soldiers: But first the Marechal, and after him all the Princes and Lords rob'd me of all my apples, and whilst they thus expecting the break of day, out of an ugly pot drank two bottles of my wine. I leave those who shall read this History to judge, whether or no I did not swagger the Marechal, seeing he had so highly opp'd me, about the bringing up of the Artillery. I think in my whole life I was never in so good a humour, as well in respect to the contentment I discover'd in the Marechal, as also in all the other Princes and Lords, who were present, and had all had their share of the toy. In the morning by break of day we made three or four volleys against the Wall, which pierc'd it, and thorough the Stables entred into the Baft-Court, and from thence into the Lodging of the Castle. The Marechal had also caus'd three pieces of Canon to be planted below, on that side by which we came, which batter'd upwards, only to terrifie the Enemy, for hate they could do none: But so soon as our Artillery had given their three or four volleys, they began to found a parley, and presently surrendered. The Marechal left Captain Brusil, brother-in-law to Monfieur Salced, with his Company in Garrison there, 1 being one of the Captains belonging to the Admiral; which being done, he march't with all his Horse and Foot towards the plain of Caing, to see if Don Ferrand might not be upon his way to reliefe the Castle: but he had there intelligence, that he was yet at Perfell; whereupon the said Marechal return'd to Quiers, and I return'd to Monteller, where I fifteen days kept my bed of my hip, and do verily believe, that had I not so bestowed my limbs in this action it had never been cur'd.

This (fellow Captains) ought to teach you never to truft one or two to discover a place, and without relying on your own judgement, to call those to your assistance, whom you conceive to be men, not of the greatest experience only, but moreover of the greatest courage; for what one cannot fee, another may perhaps discern. Neither must you refuse to take pains, where you discover a little difficulty in the thing, in order to the execution of a brave exploit, and learn to be wise at your enemies expense. When you have taken up a resolution to defend a place, take notice to smooth and cut off all the refetting places that shall happen to be in any of the avenues, for whatever Canon shall find such places to repel in, as will allow the men time to pant, and take breath, they will in the end infallibly mount them. Neither without this convenience could I possibly have brought what I had undertaken to pafs. The taking of this place depriv'd the Enemy of a mighty advantage, and was very convenient for us in order to the prosecution of this War.

Some time after the Prince (seeing no likelihood of Don Ferrand de Gonzaga's being drawn to a Barcail, nor hearing of any preparation he made for the assaulting of any Town) return'd back to Court. And soon after their departure, the Marechal by the advice of President Briague, Signior Ludovico, and Francisco Bernardin deliberated to go take certain places about Torre, to keep those in Torre the better in aw. He was a General every way worthy of his Command, always in action, never idle; and I do think that sleeping his fancy was evermore stopp'd, and that he was ever dreaming of undertakings, and executing some notable enterprize.

To the foremention'd end we march'd with all the Army directly to St. Martin, wherein was a Company of Italians, and where the Castle was batter'd, and taken, together with the Castle of Pous, Castelette, Balpergue, and some others about Torre, and we began to forfie the said Castle of St. Martin. Now Meisieurs de Baffé and de Gerder had taken Sesé, wherefore so soon as the Fort of St. Martin was brought into a pretty good condition, the Marechal went to Quiers, that he might be nearer to Monfieur de Baffé, to affit him in time of need; for he had already received intelligence, that Don Arbe de Condé gathered together the Army in Alexandria (and I think Don Ferrand was at that time sick) which made the Marechal doubt that he might have some design upon Sesé, and therefore sent Monfieur de Bonivets, Signior Francisco, and me, making Signior Ludovico to retire to Chevas, and Bourlingus, to have an eye to those places, of which also he was Governor.

Eight days were not past before the Marechal sent orders to Monfieur de Bonivets, and to me, that we should march in all diligence day and night directly to Monteviz, with five or fix French Companies we had at St. Martin, leaving Signior Francisco to purifie the Fortification, which accordingly he did, marching night and day, as it was necessar'y we should, for the Marechal was engag'd in Sesé, for the reliefe of Monfieur de Baffé: but when Don Arbe heard of our coming, that we had drawn another Company out of Savillan by the way, and that he saw us arriv'd at the corner of the Town, he present'dly drew off, and having recover'd a Bridge of brick, began to pafs over his Baggage; whether
whether Signior Ludovico de Biraga was with us, or no, I am not able to say, because we had some Italian in our Company.

The Marshal seeing himself disposed, sallied out of the Town with all the Forces he had brought with him, and went to attack the Enemy at the Bridge, where it appeared Don Albé had an intention to have encamped, for we there found many Huts, ready to let up. The skirmish was great, and began on both sides; nevertheless I am of opinion, that had we charged him home horse and foot and all, we had put him very hardly to, and perhaps given him a thunder blow; for after he had past the Bridge, he was to climb a steep mountain, where the way was so narrow, that they could only go one by one. But he made us know he was a very able Soldier; for he first past over all his horse, fearing that ours would charge and overturn them upon his foot, then he past over his Germans, and himself remained with a thousand or twelve hundred Harquebuzers, with which he still made good the Bridge, by the favour of three houfs that stood at the end of it, which we could never gain from him, he having opened them so, that they flanked and defended one another.

On the top of the Mountain there was a Plain that extended itself to a little Town they held, being about the length of 1000 paces, or thereabouts, where he thought his people to make a halt, and afterwards retyr’d. But at his departing from the house, we had thought to have fallen in amongst them, which we also attempted, and there were in that place some menplain, both on the one side, and the other, and we continually followed in their Rear up the forementioned narrow path, still plying them with our Harquebuzes for we saw not the preparation he had made for us on the top of the mountain, Meffieurs de Bonivet, and de la Math Gondrin, and I were all on horse-back, and amongst the Harquebuzers to encourage them, when so soon as we came to the top, he gave us a charge with a 1000 or 1200 Harquebuzers, which sent us back with a battle directly to the Bridge, and full drive upon the Marshal; Meffieurs de la Math’s horse was kill’d under him, and mine so hurt that he died five or six days after; and God was affailing to us, in having put it into our minds, to draw our men into two divisions, on the right and left hand of the way, though the ascent was very difficult and steep, for by that means we lost but very few of our men, whereas had we been all clatter’d together in the narrow path, we had received a very great defeat, and had our selves remained upon the place. Take notice of this (young Captains) when you shall happen to be in the like Ground, upon the like occasion; for the old and circumspect have been often inapt in such places as these, and know well enough how to avoid them. The Marshal then withdrew with all his Army about Sebe, and the next day carried away the Canon, that Meffieurs de Baffé and de Gorde had brought along with them when they took it, leaving there three Companies, two French and one Italian, and so retired by Montevi towards Turin and Quairs. How Sebe was after lost I do not remember, but lost it was, for we return’d a year after to recover it, when it was much better defended, and longer disput’d than before, as hereafter you shall hear.

Sometime after Don Ferrand set an Army on foot, by much exceeding all the forces the Marshal could make, he having neither Swifs nor German Foot: wherefore (being advertised by the Signeurs Ludovico de Birague, and Francisco Bernardin, that this Army was design’d for the reaking of St. Martin, and the other Caflles we had taken before; and also to take Caflal, some seven leagues distant from Turin, and to forthread it, to the end that Turin might receive no relief from the mountains and valleys of Lanz, and especially from Caflal, from whence we had motif of the fruit and wood that was brought to Turin) So soon as Don Ferrand’s Army was ready to march directly to St. Martin, the Marshal call’d a Council of his Officers to deliberate what he should do concerning Caflal, seeing it was neither fortified nor tenable: who amongst them concluded to quit it, and to dismantle it, though the dismantling might consume nothing; forasmuch as Don Ferrand would soon have repair’d it again. I was the same night advertised at Montcallier of this determination, which was the reason that I went early the next morning to the Marshal at Turin, where I made bold to ask him if it were true, that he had taken a resolution to abandon Caflal, who told me, that yes, because he could find no one, who would hazard his life and reputation in putting himself into it, and that therefore they had concluded in the Council, to put only one Company of Italian Foot into it, which was to surrender the Town so soon as they should set Don Ferrand approach with an intention to attack it. I then told him that that would occasion very little, for the Captain himself would however tell the Soldiers as much, to make them willing to stay; but that he must Garrison it in good earnest, and not after this manner. And who (said he) would you have so senslesly as to undertake the defence of it? to which I made answer that
The Sieur de Montiac undertakes the defence of Caffal.

Caffal is a little City enclosed with a rough wall of Flints without any one Axlet fone amongst them; a Gratte that environs it, into which the water comes and goes, so that the Gratte can neither be made deeper, nor the water retain'd in any place, to be much above knee deep. There was no manner of Trench either within or without, neither were the four Flankers fill'd at all, so that the Enemy having once batter'd me a Courrain by the Canton, they might afterwards batter me in the flank. I demanded of the Marechal 500 Pioneers of the Mountain, which he feet presently to raise, so that within four days they were all at Caffal: I demanded likewise a great number of Infruments, and iron Tools, wherewith to furnifh my Soldiers allo for the work, which he alfo suddenly lent me, together with great store of grain, bacon, lead, powder, and march; I demanded moreover the Baron de Chipy la Gard (Nephew to the Baron de la Gard) le Mas Martin, and my own Company. All thefe five Companies were exceeding good, and their Captains allo; who having understood that I had made choice of them of my own accord, took it for a great reputation, and a high honour to them. I demanded of him allo le Griotta Venetian, who had a Company of Italian foot: all which were granted.

In the morning then I went to put my felf into it, and at night all the Companies arrived. Monfieur de Gye, eldef Son of Monfieur de Magrion was there in Garrifon with the men at arms belonging to his Father, to whom the Marechal fent order to march away, and to carry his Company to Montcalier: but he write an answer back, that he had not continued fo long in Garrifon at Caffal, to abandon it at a time when a Siege was going to be laid before it, especially when foold a Captain as I had undertaken the defence thereof, and that therefore he was reliev'd there to live and die with me. The Marechal would not take this answer for currant pay; for the next day betimes in the morning he came himself to Caffal, having Monfieur d'Auffin, Monfieur de la Mothe-Gondrin, and the Vicount de Guerdon in company with him. I had there already affign'd all the Quarrells for the Foot, without dislodging the gens d'arms, forasmuch as I saw Monfieur de Gye, and all his Company obfolutely refolute to flay, and although the Marechal himfelf was come perfon, yet could be never prevail with Monfieur de Gye to depart the Town, who plainly told him, that he, if he fo pleased, might command his Company away from him, but for what concerned himself, he was reliev'd not to flir a foot; which was the reafon that the Marechal returned very much diffaftified with himfelf, that he had granted me leave to take upon me the defence of that place, which was conceived to be fo desperate an undertaking, that Monfieur de la Mothe-Gondrin, and the Vicount de Guerdon were at parting with me, and all of them gave me over, as allo did Pefident Birague himfelf, who is yet living, for loit either in my life or my honour, and fo after dinner they departed. At their going away I entertained the Marechal and all my Companions, that they should no more come to fee me, for I would not be inf tended so much as a quarrel of an hour from intenting my fortification. I moreover defired the Marechal to fend me Colonel Charmond, who was at Riboules, to affift me in the faid fortification, with two Engineers which the faid Marechal had, one of which was flain at the taking of Tilpian, and the other is the Chevalier Regez, who is now in France.

We began then to fill the four Cantons, each Captain of four having taken one, and afterwards divided the other two Companies to the four Curtains, and also the 500 Pioneers, for all the Inhabitants of the Town above ten years of age carried earth for the four
four Captains. But (that I may deprive no one of his due honour) I shall tell you that Montfieur de Gye had an Ensigne of Dauphine called Montfort, and the Guidon Monfieur de l'Espane, who being arrived at Montcalier in the Evening, began to consider and lament their Captain's condition, infomuch that all the Company mutiny'd, resolving to go and dye with him, and never to fly from his side. Whereupon l'Espane entreated the said Captain Montfort to fly, for it might fall out that the Marechal would let them all go, when he should fee that one part were already gone; and to the end the Marechal might not be overmuch offended, that he should keep with him all those who were willing to fly; which being agreed between them, the said Espane leaving left the Marechal should have any inking of his design, fhole away at midnights, and was followed by the whole Company; for not a man save only two Gens d'Armes and three Archers would stay behind with the said Montfort. They left their great horses and arms, excepting their Cuirasses and pors, mounted themselves each upon a little Currul only, and leaving their Lancets at their Quarters, took every one a Pike and a Footman, and so at forcing came to Caffal, six miles distant from Montcalier. Monfieur de Gye and the Baron de Chipy had undertaken to Terrais up the Gate, from whence they saw these people coming, and stood still a good while to discover what they were, and then both ran out together to meet them. I saw by this that Monfieur de Gye was well below'd by his Company, and he did very well deserve so to be; for I dare boldly say he was one of the worthiolf and the bravest Captains in France. Monfieur de Montfort went in the morning to the Marechal, and told him that he had left the Gudon and all the Company, who were fallen away by night to their Captain, and therefore begged his leave that he might follow after with two men at arms, and three Archers only that were left behind, which he would by no means permit him to do, but expressly forbade him, and made him return back to Montcalier.

Now our order in the Town was thus, that every morning generally all, as well Captains, Soldiers, and Pioneers, as men and women of the Town, came every one before day upon pain of death to their work, which to compel them to I erected a Gallows, that order in the City of Caffal, they might see that they were to truft to; and indeed I had, and have ever had, a little survey Character of being liberal of the rope, so that there was not a man great nor small who did not fear my Galcon humour and complexion. It being then winter, and in the shortest of days, they were to work from break of day till eleven of the clock, and then every one went to his dinner, and at twelve return'd again to his work, which he after wards never left till it grew to be dark. As for their dinner, every one dined of himself; but the supper was always at my Quarters; or at those of Monfieur de Gye, or at one or another of the Captains, every one in his turn. To which place constantly there repair'd all the Enginiers and Commanders of the work, where if any one had not advance'd his work so much as another, I afflict'd him either Soldiers or Pioneers, that by the next night his work might be as forward as his neighbours. Now my buisness was to run up and down every where on horseback, one while to the Fortifications, then to those who were fawing the pance at the Mill, of which I made a great many half a foot thick, and other pofts and beams of timber, that were very necessary for us. The water of this Mill did us great good service, for by means of that the Saw never refet; and the moft part of the night I went by torch-light quite through the Town; one while I went out to the place where they digg'd the Turf, another while where they made the Gabions, then returned into the Town, and went the round within: afterwards I went out again to view all the places, and never refet in a place, excepting at dinner, no more than the meannft Soldier in the Town, encouraging in the mean time all people to work, and carding all both small and great.

I there learned what it is to take a buisness in hand where all people generally concur to the bringing a thing to pafs, as also what a mass of people, ambitious to acquire honour in the place they have undertaken to defend, may do; and moreover that there is great prai[e to be obtained in so well ordering of things, and disposing of time, that not to much as a quarter of an hour shall be spent in vain; and indeed a Commander shall never do any thing worthy speaking of, if they be not all of one mind, and have not equally a desire to come off from the Enterprise in hand, with great honour and reputation, as it was in this place. This (Captains) is a thing that principally depends upon you, if you have once got the knack to win the Soldier by a word, you shall do more than with a thousand Baffinadoes; it is true, that if there be some murious stubborn spirit amongst them, which gentle ways cannot restrain, you are to make others wise at his expense. But I will return to Monfieur de Gye, who never flir'd from the Gate with his Gens d'Armes, till it was fully and sufficiently barric'd both within and without; who there all of
them wrought as hard as the meanest common Soldier in the Town.

Oh (Captains) what a beautiful example you have here, if you please to observe it, when an occasion shall present it self, to undertake the defence of a place! I will moreover say that I had taken such order, that there was not a morrel of bread eaten, nor a glass of wine drunk, but by weight and measure; and if you will take example by Caffal, you shall not only be able to undertake the keeping of a Town, let it be as ill fortified as it will; but even a Meadow enclos’d with no more than a contemptible ditch only, provided there be unanimity amongst you, as there was here: for we had all one will, one desire, and one courage, and the labour was a common delight to us all.

Now my good fortune was such, that Don Ferrand gave to Cazar de Naples the one half of his Army, almost all his Infantry, with a part of his horse, to lead them to Riveral seven little miles from Caffal, Ulpian being between; and the said Cazar de Naples failed two and twenty days about the taking of St. Martin, and the other Cazals. During this time I had by my great diligence put the Town into a good posture of defence, and had caused great Trenches and Rampiers to be made behind all our Cantons, well terraced all the Gates, and gabion’d all the upper Gabions with a double row of Baskets, well resolved to cause our felves to be soundly bartered, and get a brave share of honour.

At first Cazar having taken St. Martin, and the other Cazals, arrived at Riveral with his Camp, where immediately Don Ferrand called a Council to determine, whether he ought to attack us, or let us alone, considering the time I had had wherein to fortify my self, and that I had finnish’d all the fortification I intended to make for my defence; where I also he forgot not to put them in mind, that we were six Companies within all, all resolved to fight it out to the last; and that he doubted he should lose more valiant Captains, Spaniards, and Italians in the assault than the Town was worth, giving them an account verbal of all that I had done within. The Spanish and Italian Captains, who were present at this Council, seeing the danger would fall upon them, cauf’d it by their Camp-mafters to be remonstrated, that the Emperor had there the best Officers he had in all Italy, and of whom he made greater account than of all the rest, and that therefore they entreated Don Ferrand to relieve them for a Battail, or some Enterprise of considerable moment, and not to expose them for the gaining of so trivial a place as that of Caffal. There followed thereupon a great dispute, and three days the Council were in debate about this very businefs. Cazar de Naples, and the Governor of Ulpian obstinately maintained, that they ought to assault us; but the Spanish Soldiers who understood what Cazar de Naples had faid, plainly told their Captains, that they might then go on to the assault with the Italians, if they so pleased, for as for them they would have nothing to do in the businesfs, being resolved to stand to what by their Camp-mafters had been proposed. All these disputes came to the Marechal’s knowledge, after Don Ferrand was rifen from before Riveral, by Letters that he wrote to the President of Milhau, which by some of Signior Ludovico de Biraga’s people were intercepted, and whilst they were disputing about a Town that was none of their own, the Marechal surpriz’d Alba from them by Meilheurs de la Mothe-Gondrin, Francifco Bernardino, and de Panam, the Lieutenant to his own Company, and some others whom I do not remember. The Marechal by break of day had notice of the surprize (for our people entered at eleven of the clock in the night) who presently dispařch’d a footman of his to me with a Letter which contain’d these words.

Mojfieur de Monluc, I have just now receiv’d intelligence that our design upon Alba has taken effect, and our people are within it, which is the reason that I am just now mounting to horse to go theretofor in all diligence. The Footman came to me about ten of the clock, and being the Governor of Ulpian determ’d a Trumpet of Monfieur de Maffirons, I sent thither a Drum of Captain Gritti, to whom having fhewed the Marechals Letter, I gave charge to tell the Governor of Ulpian, that Don Ferrand could not better revenge himself for the loss of Alba, than to come and attack us at Caffal. So soon as the Drum came to the Gates of Ulpian he found that the Governor was gone by break of day to the Council to Riveral, and therefore told the Soldiers at the Gate of the taking of Alba, at which they were so incenit’d, that they would thereupon have kill’d him, and in order thereunto began to pinion and bind him; but the Governor in the interim arrived, to whom I fent word, that he fhould refolve me my Trumpet, considering that we had always made fair war, and that he fhould take heed of beginning to fhew foul play; for our people also had given good quarter at Alba. The faid Governor then took the Drum from the Soldiers, and carried him to his lodging, where he told him, that if what he had faid concerning Alba did not prove to be true, he would hang him; to which the Drum reply’d, that provided he would give him but a Tefton, if it was true, he would be content to be hang’d if it prov’d otherwife. Whereupon the Governor return’d to his lodging.
horfe, and went again to Riverol, where they continued all night in Council, to confer whether this news could be true, or no: but the next day arriv'd the Captain of the Castle of Monteau, who brought them certain intelligence from the Governor of Alba, that Alba was certainly taken; which was the reason that the next morning Don Ferrand departed in all haste, and went to pass the River at the Bridge of Alba, to go directly to the said Alba to try if he could not recover it before the Marechal could have leisure to better Fortify the place.

So soon as I saw myself delivered from all apprehension of a Siege, I immediately sent away my Pioneers to the said Alba, who at that time flood the Marechal in very great need. I did not there stay for a Command, and it is often necessary to do before we are taken, provided there be no hazard in the case. Moniteur de Bonnivet, and Santo Pedro Corzo, with seven Ensigns put themselves into it. Now of Don Ferrand's arrival at the Bridge of Alba, and of his passing over the River there, Moniteur de Saluzzo, who was Governor of Bories gave me speedy notice. I therefore immediately sent away the Baron of Chippa, le Garde, and le Mes, who were the next morning by break of day at Alba, of which coming the Marechal was exceeding glad, as also was Moniteur de Bonnivet; for as much as they came from a place where they had undergone extraordinary labour in fortifying, hoping that there would follow others the way, as they also did. Moniteur de Mangevin would remain at Caffal, because it was a very commodious quarter for horses; I there left Captain Martin with him, and sent le Gritti to his Garrison, and Colonel Charamond, and I went to wait upon the Marechal at Turin, who was then but newly return'd from Alba, and my Company went back to Montcullier. If I was welcome or no to the Marechal, or whether care'd I by President Birague, and the whole Court of Parliament after such a service, I leave every one to judge.

When (Captains) therefore do any undertaking great profit and commodity may accrue, as there did from this (considering that Turin, had Caffal been posleft by the Enemy, would have suff'd a mighty inconvenience) do not think boldly to hazard your person for the defence of any place whatever. And when you shall be there, remember after what manner, and with what diligence I carried on my work: for by that means you shall make your Enemy afraid to attack you. He is more afraid to assault you, than you are to defend. He meditates and confiders who are within, and that he has to do with men that know how to fortifie themselves, which is no little advantage to a Soldier. It is true that Caffal de Neptil committed a great error in squandering away too much time about those paltry Forts, and in the mean time giving us so much leisure to fortifie; for had he come directly to us at first, he would have put us to our Trumps: but I think he was afraid. My good fortune also would have it, that Don Ferrand should divide his Forces, who had he come to attack us at the beginning, would have been the death of a great many good men; but we should have fold our skins very dear.

Now as Don Ferrand was at Ast, in his way towards Alba, he there met intelligence that Moniteur de Bonnivet was very strong within it, and that lately three Companies were enter'd into the Town of those that I had at Caffal, together with a great number of Pioneers, which made him enter into a very great debate, whether or no he should go to Alba, as he did before at Riverol whether or no he should go to Caffal. After five or six days then he departed from Ast with all his Cavalry to go take a view of Alba, where, after he had spent a whole day in discovering the place, he went to sit down before St. Damian, having been told, that the Marechal had taken thence almost all the ammunition of powder, buller, and match, to put into Alba, and had given order to some one to lay in as much more; but oftentimes the sloth and negligence of men intrusted with the care of affairs occasion very signal disadvantages; I know man that was flow about his business, idle or negligent in war, that ever perform'd any great matters; neither indeed is there any thing in the world wherein diligence is so much required. A day, an hour, nay a minute is enough to make the bravest enterprises vanish into air.

Now the Marechal conceived that Don Ferrand was more likely to put himself into Carmagnolle to fortifie the Town, and to take the Castle, than to make any attempt upon any other place, believing St. Damian to be replenish'd with powder, and therefore came himself thither to take order for the security of that Fort, where Moniteur de Boffe who was Governor of the Marquefate of Saluzzo, would undertake the defence of the place. The Marechal then went to Carrignan, leaving me with the said Sieur de Boffe to affift him in putting provision and ammunition into the Castle, which he did at the request of Moniteur de Boffe himself, and the very same day that the Marechal departed from us, he had intelligence by a letter from Moniteurs de Briquemaut, and de Cavigny, that The Siege of the Enemy was set down before St. Damian, and that they therefore entreated him to St. Damian.
relieve them with powder, bullet, and match for the Harquebusers, they having not received that which he had promised, and taken order for; at which the Marechal was the most highly concern'd imaginable, and immediately sent thither six loads of powder, and four of bullet, with a proportionable quantity of match, sending order to the Governor of la Cifcrene (a Fort two little miles distant from St. Damian) who had three Companies of Italians in Garrison with him, that he should by all means venture that night to put those ammunitions into the Town. Monfieur de Baffé, and I had already heard that the Camp was set down before St. Damian by the same Messenger that carried the news to the Marechal, he being of necessity to pass by Carnoguille, as also did this ammunition, three or four hours after, which was in the close of the Evening. Monfieur de Baffé and I exhorted him who had the conduct of the Ammunition to remonstrate to the Captains, that the powder must of necessity be put into the Town that very night; for otherwise it could not be possibly convey'd into it; and that he who undertook the conduct of it, was likewise to enter in himself: but we found the fellow so cold in the business, that we very well perceiv'd he would do no good: It is very easy to discover by a man's countenance if he be afraid or no, and whether he have the heart to execute what he hath undertak'n; and we knew so much by this fellow, that we were rather afraid he should dupe the Captains when he came to la Cifcrene, than any ways encourage them to the Enterprize enjoy'd; which made me resolve to go myself, to try by this relief to save the place, and Monfieur de Baffé would that Monfieur de Clasto his eldest Son, with ten men at arms, he being Lieutenant of his own Company, should go along with me.

At one of the clock at night then we departed, and by eleven the next day came to la Cifcrene, where I found the Governor and his Captains in a great perplexity, forming a great many difficulties about the conduct of this Ammunition, and which way it was possible to be convey'd into the Town; and in truth they had some reason so to do; For St. Damian is a little place, and Don Ferrand had in his Camp 6000 Germans, 6000 Italians, and 4000 Spaniards, 1200 Light-horses, and 400 men at arms, and all were encamp'd close by the Town, about which the Court of Guards in a manner touch'd one another, so that to carry it into the Town upon the horses that had brought it to la Cifcrene had been impossible, for it was a snow knee deep, and all the ways were full of Soldiers Huts. But I presently caus'd a great many Sacks to be brought me, and made them to be cut each Sack into three parts, which by certain Women, who were ready for the purpose, were handsomely fow'd together again, and into these bags I put the powder. I then got together thirty Country fellows, upon whom I caus'd the powder and bullet to be ty'd, with the match at their Girdles, and gave to each of them a good Staff in his hand to support him. Monfieur de Briquemaut, the Governor of St. Damian, had sent six Swills of his Guard out of the Town, who could not get in again, and so happen'd to be at la Cifcrene, who also took their share of the Ammunition.

Being then ready to set out, there arrived the Seigneurs de Pied-de-fou, and de Boursy (who I am told is since turn'd Hugonot) de St. Romain (Nephew to Monfieur de Fayette) and three or four Gentlemen more, who were going to put themselves into the Town, and slifting put themselves on foot, and sent back their horses. The Marechal had write to two of the Captains, who were at la Cifcrene, that they should attempt to put the powder into St. Damian; which said Captains were old Soldiers, which made me that I had no great hopes of their doing anything to purpose; for whoever would execute a hazardous Enterprize, and where there is like to be good store of blows, most of all things take heed of employing an old Captain and an old Soldier, for as much as they too well understand the peril, and too much apprehend the danger of death, so that you shall seldom have any good account of their undertaking, as I have found by experience both in this, and upon other occasions: whereas a young fellow is not so apprehensive of his danger (it is true that there ought to be conduct in the cafe) and will easily undertake any execution where diligence is required; he is prompt and active, and his youthful heat enflames his heart, which in old men is often cold and bloodless.

About two hours after midnight they departed, and so soon as they were gone out of the Town, I went up to a Platform hard by the Gate, from whence I could discover the Enemies whole Camp, excepting a little on the other side of the Town; and in the mean time sent out the Governors Lieutenant to give an alarum on the left hand by the Springs, which signify'd very little, the Enemy making very small account of it. So soon as our people were arriv'd at a little eminence near to the City, from whence they might discover all the fires, and even the men by the light of them, one of the Italian Captains said to Monfieur de Pied-de-fou, and the rest. "Videte il Campo, Ecco la Cavalerie, ecco la Gen

armicerie"
Book II.

de Montluc, Marechal of France.

darmerie, ecco li Tudeschi, ecco li Espagnoli, ecco li Italiani (pointing to them with his finger) non finirono una Gatta, bisognò tornar endietro. Behold the Camp, see yonder the Country, see the Gens d'Armes, see the Germans, see the Spaniards, see the Italians, a Cat cannot possibly get in; and therefore his convenient to turn back again. All this while I remained upon the Platform, with my pain in my hip, which plag'd me to death, of which I was not yet cure'd, nor of two years after.

Behold then at break of day all our people return'd, where they gave me an account of what they had seen, which gave me trouble, but no satisfaction; wherefore I presently dispatch'd away a Messenger post to the Marechall (who knew nothing of my being at la Ciferna, but believ'd me to be at Carmagnole with Moniteur de Baffé) to whom I gave an account of all that had pass'd, and whilst sent him word, that he was not to hope that those Capitains would ever put the powder into St. Damian; for that I had already prov'd the contrary, extricating them hence to send away post to Montcailleur to Captain Charty who carried my Ensign, that he should forthwith come away with fifty of the best Soldiers I had, to wit, thirty Harquebuziers, and twenty Pikes, and that he should not fail to be at la Ciferna by midnight. The Marechall wonder'd to hear that I was there, and presently dispatch'd away a Messenger post to Captain Charty, to whom I had also write a word or two in haste to the same effect.

This valiant young man, full of spirit, and good inclination to the service, needed not to be intrusted twice, but immediately came away with his fifty men, and about an hour after midnight came to la Ciferna, where I had in a Cellar prepar'd three or four good Charcole fires, and a long Table full of meat, having lock'd up the Country fellows on the one side, whom with all the Soldiers drank and made good cheer, I caus'd to be loaden, together with the Swiss, and would no more speak to the Italian Capitains to go with Captain Charty, save only that I intrusted one of them to lend me his Ensign called Pedro Antonio, a vain young Coxcomb, whom I had known at Montcailleur, and had there twice let himself by the heels for midlemen he had committed in the Town, I took him then aside, and said to him, Pedro Antonio, I will do thee more honor than thy Captain, thou hast seen what a fault thy Countrymen lost night committed, in not doing to enter into the Town, from whence you all return'd with a company of pitiful excuse.

For my part I am a man that take no excuse in payment, where the loss of a Town, and the men of honour within it, are in concern. I know thou hast courage enough, but thou art not wise; and if thou wilt now give a testimony of thy discretion, as thou hast at other times done of thy valour, I do engage to thee my word to make the Marechal give thee a Company, and thou hast now an occasion offers it itself, wherein to let him see, that as thou art bold to execute, thou art also prudent to command. I will therefore that thou take fifty men of thy Captains Company, to whom I will presently speak to deliver them to thee, and at thy going out of the Town I will place all the Peasants and the Switz that carry the Ammunition in the midst of the fifty Soldiers, and will moreover that thou take three Sergeants, which I will also cause to be delivered to thee, to place one in either Flanc, and one behind, to the end that they may encourage the Soldiers to follow thee, and have an eye that the Peasants do not steal away; but when Captain Charty shall attack a Court of Guards, post thou on without fighting to stay, unless any one oppose thy way, and make full forwards, whether thou meet any opposition or no, until thou come to the very gates of the City. He hereupon return'd me answer in Italian.

Credete Signiori, Chia la faro a pena di Morir, & voci commettere che Pietro Antonio fara disimulato Saggio; Whereupon taking him in my arm, I said to him, Io ti prometto ancora, che io mi ricordero dite, & che ti farei acceggiato il servizio, no mi mancar di gratie, io ti giuro per la nostra Madonna fe tu non fai chello che un uomo de bene debbe fare, io ti faro un trattato di Monlucio. Tu ta cometo ho mancato non ho mai questi die una delle maschere facendo dill'impotente, Io non dimando fino un poco di prudenza con prezzana. And indeed he kept his promise with me, and carried himself very discreetly in the action. The Captain gave him whatever he desired, being glad themselves to be rid of the employment; I allo intrusted Pied-devain, and the rest before named, that since they were resett'd to put themselves into the Town, they were to do it so as to be affitting to the conservation of the place, and not to lose themselves together with all those who were within it; forasmuch as the preservation of the said Town consist'd only in supplying it with ammunition, and that therefore it would be necessary that they should divide themselves, come into the Flancs, and others into the rear, to the end that whilst Captain Charty should be fighting, they might encourage Pedro Antonio's men to go on; which they accordingly did.

All of them therefore having received their instructions from me what every one was to do, as well Italians and Peasants, as my own Soldiers; they all in the order preferr'd, march
march out of the Town; when going out at the Gate, I told Captain Charry in the hearing of all my Soldiers, that I would never see him more, if they did not enter, or die upon the place, as many as were of my Company; to which he made answer, that he only desired me to go my rest, and that I should presently hear news of him. In truth he was a Soldier without fear. In his Company there was a Corporal of mine called le Turk, a Picard by birth, who said to me, What do you make a question of our entering into the Town? Par la mort bieu, we should have spent our time and our blood very well, having above an hundred times fought with you, and ever remained victorious, if we should now stand submitted to you; at which I laughed about his neck, and told him these words. My Turk, I do assure thee upon my faith, I think so worthily of you all, that I am confident if any men upon earth can enter, you will do it; and so they departed, and I went to place my self again upon the Platform, where I had flour the night before, and the Captain of the Watch kept me company.

About two hours after I heard a great alarm on that side by which our people were to enter, and several volleys of Harquebus and muskets by them; but they continued but a very little while, which put me into some fear that our men might be repulsed, or at least that the Peasants were run away: who so soon as they were come to the eminence where the Italian Captains had told them, that a Cat could not get in, they made a halt. There the Guides showed them the Courts of Guard, from which, by reason of the excessive cold and the snow, the Centinels were not twenty paces distant. Captain Charry then called Messieurs de Pied de-feu, Biong, St. Roman, and Pedro Antonio, to whom he delivered two Guides, referring one for himself, and said to them, this is the left Court of Guard of foot, for the rest are all horse, which can do no great matters by reason of the snow; so soon therefore as you shall see me attack this Court of Guard, run on as fast as you can, and stop not for any thing you shall meet in your way, but make directly to the Gate of the City: who thereupon all of one accord set themselves in a posture to charge through. Captain Charry then drew near to the Court of Guard, which he put to rout, and over turned upon another Court of Guard, and both of them broke themselves to flight; which being done he passt on forward straight to the Gate of the Town, where he found Pedro Antonio already arrived, and where they immediately delivered their Ammunition, without making any longer stay than whilst Messieurs de Chaingoy and Brigourmet embarked Captain Charry, entreating him to tell me, that since I was at la Cifernne, they thought themselves certain to be relev'd with all things they should stand in need of, and that it would be very necessary to send them in some more Ammunition: but whilst the Enemy buffed themselves about taking the Soldiers of the Guards that were run away (of which a Captain was the next day hang'd) Captain Charry and Pedro Antonio, with their Peasants, taking them in this disorder, charg'd them thorough and thorough, and came clear away. I there left not so much as one Soldier, either French or Italian, neither was there any one hurt, not so much as Peasant, but arrived safe at la Cifernne, it being fair broad day, where they found me still upon the Platform. I hereupon immediately sent away a dispatch to the Marechal to entreat him to send me some more powder, for bullet and match they had enough already, which he also speedily did from Quier's; to which place he was removed, that he might be nearer to me.

Behold the age a Captain ought to be of, to whom you should entrust the execution of a hazardous and sudden enterprise, and I can affirm with truth, that these hundred years there has not died a braver, nor a more prudent Captain for his years than Captain Charry was, and am assur'd, that Monsieur de Brigourmet will say the same, though he be of the Religion of Robe by whom he was since excommunicated at Paris. The manner of his death I have nothing to do to meddle withal; for the King, the Queen, and all the Princes of the Court, knew it well enough, and besides it was to foul an act, that I will not blot my Paper with the relation, and I am sure very unworthy a Frenchman. When I left him, together with Captain Monline my Son, who was slain at the Island of Madere, belonging to the King of Portugal, it seemed to me that my two arms were lope off from my body, the one being my right, and the other my left. He had ever bred up Captain Monline from the age of twelve or thirteen years, and wherever he went had this young boy evenmore hung at his Girdle: Neither could I have put him to a better Tutor, to teach him the trade of War: and in truth he had retaine'd a great deal of his precepts, inomuch that I may without shame say (although he was my Son) that had he liv'd he would have made a great Soldier, daring, and dexterous: but God was pleased to dispose otherwise of him. I shall therefore leave this discourse (which extracts tears from mine eyes) to pursue my former subject.  

Monfier
Moniteur de Briquemaut sent me word by Captain Charry, that they had no Engineers within, nor any one that understood where a Gabion was fitly to be placed, with which he desired me to acquaint the Marechal, entreating me moreover to send back to him Captain Charry, and my fifty Soldiers, whom he esteemed as much as the best Company he had in the Town, in return of which kindness he would be my servant for ever; which I did. Moniteur de Gibus that now is, was at that time one of my Company, and one of the fifty, though he was then but 17 years of age, it being in the beginning of his arms. The Marechal therefore sent away post to Alba for the Engineers that were there, of which the Chevelier Reluge was one. So soon as Captain Charry returned back from St. Damian, the Pikes took the Powder, and hung it at their own Girdles, as the others had done before, and would have no convoy at all, but took their way a little on the right hand on that side where the horse lay, where they charg'd through, and without the loss of one man got safe into the Town; for Captain Charry was a man that understood his business very well. So soon as he was got in, he entered Meffieurs de Briquemaut, and de Chavigny, to entreat him with the defence of the Ditch, which they immediately did, and he there covered himself with logs of timber, planks, and Gabions after the best manner he could, and so soon as ever the Guides returned back to me, I sent away to the Marechal to give him an account of all, beseeching him to send me Captain Caupene my Lieutenant, with another fifty of my Soldiers, which he did, whom two days after his arrival I made venture to carry some more powder to the besieged. I went on that side where the Gent d'Armes lay, where the Enemy had now placed a Court of Guard of foot, who seemed to him as distant enough, and did all they could to stop his way; which notwithstanding he made shift to lay down the powder upon the edge of the ditch of the Gate, and by him the forenamed Steigneurs sent me their service, with all defiring me to affuce the Marechall, that the place was no more in danger of being lost, forasmuch as they now had every thing they needed or desired. The Baron de Chipy who was with Moniteur de Bonvies at Alba, would afterwards try to put some powder into the Town, by that side towards the said Alba, and accordingly charg'd after the same manner that mine had done; but he lost his powder, and Pealesants, and almost all his Soldiers, at least to fourteen or fifteen only who charg'd with him, and got into the Town. There is lack in all things.

Now the Camp lay sixteen or seventeen days before the Town, and the Battery continued for seven days, in which time Cesar de Naples had wrought two Mines which were carried on under the Ditch towards the Breach, and were already brought up almost to the wall. A Pioneer running away from the Enemy was taken by our Italians, who told me all, and whom I soon as it grew to be dark I deliver'd to Captain Mauries, (who was at that time my Servant, and in this last war Servant Major to Moniteur de Montferrand at Bordeaux) who bound him, and would take no more but one Soldier only to guide him, with which he carried the business so well, that he met but two Centinels by the way, who also foolishly retur'd to their Court of Guard, infomuch that he past without any difficulty at all, and carried the Pioneer into the Town, where he remained all night, and to soon as it was fair light day, Meffieurs de Chavigny, and de Briquemaut, carried him upon the wall of the Battery, from whence he might discover the place where the Mine lay. They then presently delanced into the Ditch, and began to dig and scrape, so that they presently found the holes, and as we after understood, they very little of trapping Cesar de Naples there, who was some time, in view of the Mine. Now the two last days they made a very great Battery, and Don Ferrand had caused a great number of Bavins to be made, which by the Spaniards, Italians, and Germans were thrown into the Ditch, having cut the Countercarp in two or three places; but as many as they threw in, Captain Charry, who lay in the Ditch, conveyed into the Town through a hole they had made under the breach, to that thinking the said Ditch to be full'd, they went to discover in open day, being all drawn up in Bartala, ready to go on to the Assailant: but they found all was gone, and not a Pegot left in the Ditch, which made them ply the Battery for two days with wonderful fury, and moreover part of the night by the light of the Moon; when after all, seeing the good constancy of our people within, and that neither their Mines, nor their Bavins had done them any good, they resolve'd at last not to attempt an assailant, but to raise the Siege and depart. The last night that they gave over the Battery I made Captain Mauries again venture into the Town, who heard the riting of the Camp, and the drawing off the Artillery, for Meffieurs de Chavigny, and de Briquemaut would not let him depart, till he were fift affaid of the truth, that he might bring me certain news; and so he past and repast at his ease, without encountering any one person, forasmuch as all the Camp was already in Bataillus, and
gone from their Huts. So soon as he return'd to me, which was about two hours before day, I immediately dispatched him away upon very good horse to the Marechal, whom he found yet in bed, because he had not slept one wink of all night, having been all day with President Birague, and Signior Francisco Bernardin upon the shoar of Quiers, where from two of the clock in the afternoon, having obser'd the Artillery to cease, and having flaid till one of the clock at night, without hearing any thing at all, they all concluded the place to be taken, or surrendered; but in the morning, a little after fun-rife, and just as his man had open'd his Chamber door, when Captain Mauflus step'd in, and told him the news, I leave you to judge how he was overjoy'd. And sent me word to come speedily away to him.

Now you must know there plaid the part of a young Captain; for so soon as Captain Manries had told me that the Enemy's Camp was rising, I went in all haft to St. Damien, where so soon as Captain Charr, who was upon the wall faw me coming, he fally out with my other Soldiers, which I had afterwards caufe to be sorry for. The Enemy had alape themselves down flat upon their bellies behind a little hill, and had fett fifteen or twenty fair to be fent; a fight by which I was fo tempted, that I muft needs forfooth go and charge them, and did fo; but fo foon as I came within four paces of the refl, they all ftaf up and charg'd me on all fides, and followed bunging upon my Rear to the very walls of the Town, which reliev'd me (in good time for me) with good fmal volleys of Harquebuz fhot from the wall, and there Captain Charr was wounded, and taken, and had not been for my Lieutenant whom I had left at the Gabions, they had cut me, with all the fifty Soldiers of Captain Charr, to pieces. I loft seven or eight men, of which three were flain, and Monfieur de Garas was once round encoiled, but afterwards escap'd. The joy I was in to fee the Siege rafed, and the great mind I had to get fame pride of the Enemy, were the occafions of this ridiculous fally of mine. This being done, after I had feen Monfieurs de Chevigny, and de Briquemauf, I returned back to la Ciffere, and the fame night went to Quiers, where I was as much welcom'd by the Marechal, and all thofe who were with him, as any man in the world could be. Which faid Marechal prefently dispatched away Monfieur de Biron to the King, to carry his Maffy's news of the afue of this Siege, entreating of him the place of a Bedchamber man for me; and moreover at my great infance and importance (and being I was eurternally torment'd with my hip) was pleafed to difcharge me of my Office of Camp-mafter, though it was a request very unpleafing to him: but to gratifie me in whatever I would ask of him, he was willing to content me in that particular. And the faid Seigneur de Biron being at Court, the King would not tranffer to any one the faid Office of Camp-mafter, till fuit he should be better enformed whom he ought to give it to: and therefore ordered that the Marechal fhould name one, Monfieur de Bouvets another, and I a third: therefore nominated Monfieur de Chipy, which was the reafon that the faid Seigneur de Biron continued very long at Court, becaufe of the dispatches to and again, that he was eftrac'd to make, during which I ftillcontinued Camp-mafter, till the return of the faid Seigneur de Biron (who at that time carried the Marechal's Guidon) who brought me his difcharge, his Maffy having tranfferred that command to the Baron de Chipy, whom I had nam'd, and alfo brought me the place of Gentleman of his Majefty's Bedchamber, for he would not defpair till he had fift fen me intro'd in the room of one of the old ones that was vacant, and moreover brought me a Patent for the Government of Alba, which I never dreamt of, and left imagin'd, that the King would prefer me to three or four others, in whole behalf the Marechal had written to him. Behold the fervices I perform'd for the King, and the Marechal his Lieutenant, all within fifteen or twenty dayes of one another.

Happy (fellow's in arms) is he who ferves his King under a General who will not conceal the merit of fuch as perform any remarkable exploit, which Monfieur de Briquemauf would never do: for never did any man under his command do any handfome thing, or any the leaft action which he thought worthy his Majefty's knowledge, but he did forthwith give him notice of it: he was a Gentleman that would not cloath himfelf with the fpoils of another man's honor, nor conceal the bravery of any from the greaftest to the leaft. When therefore it fhall pleafe God that you are employ'd under fuch a General, fear not to hazard your lives, and employ all your vigilance and diligence to do them the beft service you can, if you have an intention to advance yourselves by your arms and virtue, if not, get you homes, and never meddle with the practice of Arms. 'Tis an extreme grief and disappointment to a man, when he fhall have expos'd his life for the achievement of honor, to have his name then conceal'd from his Prince, from whom we are to expect the reward of our fidelity and valour. There is no thef Compatible
comparable to that of robbing another man of his honor, and yet Generals for the most part make no conference of it.

During the time that Monsieur de Biron remained at Court, I still continuing Commandier, as has been said before, and in the beginning of June when corn began to ripen, Don Ferrand would not suffer the great Army he had to lye idle, but at the per-

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were very confident the place would not be lost, but that I would find some expedient to save it.

Every one knows how those great Lords, when they would make one undertake an impossible thing, can wheedle and flatter a man into a good opinion of himself, and accordingly they here represented to me the examples of Lamt, St. Damian, and other places where I had had to do, and had ever been so fortunate, as that all things had succeeded according to my own desire. The President Birague then began to persuade me on the other side, but Monfieur de Bouivet and the rest said nothing, knowing very well how dangerous an Enterprise it was for the loss of my honor, and that I must in the end of necessity come to a Capitulation; as the Marechal himself also told me, that for the last refuge I must proceed to that; to which I made answer, that I had rather die, than that my name should be found upon record subscribed to a Capitulation, or that any place should be surrendered I had once taken upon me to defend; but that I would do as God should direct me, in whose assistance I repose my only confidence and trust. Monfieur de Bouivet then commanded twelve or fifteen Gentlemen of his to go along with me, (of which number the Governor de la Meuf Rouge, who was yet living was one, and I took as many of my own, making up thirty horse, without taking any servant with me, save only a Valet de Chambre and a Cook) and write to the Vicount de Gédéon at Savillien, to furnish me with a good Guide, and to Captain Theodore Bedeignes, that he should convey me with his Troop, and this was upon the Saturday. Upon Sunday morning by break of day I entered into Bence, and the Count, if he be yet living, and will speak his confidence, will say that it was one of the greatest joys that ever he had in his whole life, as also the Counts, and the whole Town will witness the fame. I presently laid me down to sleep in the Castle, and two hours after I awak'd we went to dinner. The Count in the mean time had appointed all the head men of the Town, as also all the Mafons and Carpenters to repair to the Town-Hall, to which place the Counts, the Counts, and all of us likewise came.

I there proposed all that was necessary to be done, the Count complain'd of the little corn he had, and the Towns-men declar'd, that they had not sufficient for eight days; so that although the Town was situated advantageously enough, yet were they in a very great necessity, by reason it was the latter end of the year, and on the other side they had fold all their corn to the Geminiets, and to those about Savona, being tempt'd so to do by the rates they gave, it being at that time fold for three Crowns a fack: and the Count who was a man that liv'd at a very great expense, had fold all his in expectation, and upon the assurance of the 1200 facks which the Governor, that I forbear to name, ought to have sent in this year. We then fell to disputing in case we had corn, which way we should get it on: But so soon as the Count had told me whereabouts the Camp lay, I presently concen'd that I should make a shift to get corn, though I would not lay any thing to any one, till after we were return'd from the Council, then I told it to the Count and the Counts only. Whilest we were sitting in Council there was a little man a Mafon of above three-score years of age, who prefent'd himself before us, saying that he had formerly got several great stones to lay upon the Graves of the dead, from a Quarry that he nam'd hard by, and that he conceiv'd if those stones were taken off the Graves, they would some of them at least, if not all, be proper to make Mill-stones: whereupon we deputed two of the Town, together with the Counts, who would needs go along with them, to make trial with the Mafons, whether they could be of any use or no: and not long after the said Lady return'd with great joy, and offer'd her self to take the pains to make the Mill-stones to be made; which at the first I would by no means endure; but in the end she was obey'd, and was so diligent in the businefts, that in two days and two nights she had got eleven hand-Mills fmitth compleat, which were distributed amongst those of the Town, who would thereupon undertake to mourish the Soldiers provifion there might be a way found to get corn. We then concluded with the Town, that at one of the clock at night they should bring me five or six hundred men and women, the one carrying little ropes, and the others Scythes and Sides to cut the corn, and that the Gates of the Town should in the mean time be kept shut, to the end that no body might go out to carry intelligence to the Enemy; for Monfieur de Trinitats had several friends in the City, that the Count himself had in some supplication. I then dispatch away two of the Inhabitants with a letter to Captain Hieronimo, the Son of Colonel Giovanni of Turin (who lay at a little Town, the name of which I have forgot, but it was about a mile distant from the place where the Enemy had cut, and diverfed the current of the River) entreating him that this night he would by one way or another attempt to repair what the Enemy had broken down, and do all that in
him lay, if possible, to fend the water to us again, which that very night he accordingly executed, though he was but a very young Gentleman, for I believe he was not then above twenty years old.

We then went home expecting the night, when being return’d back to the Castle, I told the Count, that it would be convenient we should go alone upon the walls to look out a field of corn that should lie next to the City, which we were to cut all that night, whilst I sent out Captain Theodore with 200 Soldiers to give a strong and furious alarm to the Court of Guard, who were to hinder those of the Town from cutting any corn. So soon as we had made choice of one, we return’d back to lupper, and after we had supper’d, carried out Captain Theodore and two others, Commanders of Companies, that we might present upon the Wall of the Town, to shew them on which side they were to give the alarm, and the others to fight the Court of Guard. After which we appointed ten of the Townsmen on horse-back to overlook the people that cut the corn, to hinder them in their work.

At one of the clock at night all these people went out, the Soldiers to fight, and the Gentlemen, their officers, to cut the field of corn. They still ran back to the Gate of the City, and there threw down their burdens, and immediately went again for more; for some were appointed to reap, and the rest to bind and carry. In the mean time the day appear’d, when we caufed those to whom the field belonged to convey away the corn from off the place, so there was not one lack of corn left of all night. The Enemy who saw this field all cut, and carried away, place’d thereupon stronger Guards, and nearer than before; but the people who began to taste the sweetness of their gain, resolved to hazard themselves to get their corn off the ground, rather than the Enemy should have it; insomuch that at the beginning of the night there sallied out above two hundred of the Inhabitants of the Town, of whom some ventured farther, and others did their business nearer at hand.

Now Brunei you must know is a most totally surrounded with valleys, which are pretty well covered with Cople, and watered with several Rivulets; so that when they heard any body coming, they hid themselves with their corn, and in the morning at the opening of the Gates return’d back to the city. The next morning after my arrival the water by the diligence of Captain Hieranimo, began to come down to the Mills, and for two days and two nights continued its course; whereupon ensued a great confusion at the Mills; but we made an order that no one should grine any more than to make ten or a dozen loaves only, by which means every body got some to serve them a little while, and two days and two nights after Captain Saliner a Spaniard came to view the water, which the same night was again taken from us. I then gave Captain Hieranimo notice of the place where they had again return’d to cut it off from us, who never ceased till he had made up the Bank again: but he could not do it so as to fend the water to us for above a day; for from hour to hour the Enemy still came to visit the work; but by this time the Count had made an end of her work, so that we no more care’d for the water.

Now by means of frequent skirmishes, which were here as many, and as handomely done as in any place where I ever had the fortune to be, and the diligence was used in cutting by night, we had at last as much corn as the Enemy. When Don Ferrand seeing himself frustrate of the advantage that had been given him by Monfieur de la Trinitat, began to be highly discontented with him. Captain Theodore the night after we had made the first cutting, in which he also was engag’d, return’d back to Savilla, and in going away had three or four horses and men of his Troop wounded, who therefore laid behind at Brunei; but he fail’d not to fend away an account to the Marechal of what I had done upon my arrival; of which the Marechal was exceeding glad, as also all those who were with him; and thenceforward began to entertain some hope of the confervatio of the place: though I am of opinion that had Don Ferrand batter’d the Town with his Artillery, they must infallibly have been enforce’d to a surrender; but he was Don Ferrand’s still buzz’d in the ears with this water, and the want of provisions in the Town, which rendered him very much dissatisfied with those who had advis’d him to this course, and made him entertain some kind of jealousy of Monfieur de la Trinitat himself; wherefrom he raised his Camp the three and twentieth day after my arrival, having been ten days before I came. The Count is yet living as I am told, and President Birague: The Siege of Brune.

I know I must be still in being, with several others who can bear witness, if I have inherited any thing but the truth; but whether Monfieur de Coffe was yet return’d back to the Marechal I am not able to say; for he was a little before gone into France. Thus then the Town was sav’d, and a few days after the Baron de Chipps, who was gone to Court to give his Majesty thanks for the donation he had made him of the aforesaid office return’d.
and having taken upon him his command of Camp-master, I went to Alba to take possession of my new Government.

Oh Captains, the great things that a man may do, how little forever his judgment or experience may be, if he will intend nothing but that wherein he is immediately engaged thence to come off to his own honor, and the advantage of his Master! and on the other side nothing but misfortune can attend him, who minds nothing of business, and only spends his time in pleasure, play, and feasting; for it is impossible but that the one must make you forget the other; we cannot serve to many Masters: whenever then you shall be engaged upon such an account as this, strip your felves of all your vices, and burn them all, to the end that you may remain in the white Robe of loyalty and affection that we owe to our common Master: for God will never prosper the vicious and voluptuous man; but on the contrary will ever affit him who is clad in the white Robe of loyalty. I give you the same advice that I ever gave my self, and it was therefore that God has ever affit and been so favourable to me, that I have never been defeated, and have never been in any engagement (if I commanded) that I was not always victorious. Neither could I fail, for God evermore inspir’d me, and prompted my memory with what I had to do, and that is the reason that I have ever been blest with so fortunate. And he will also affit you, as he hath done me, if you study, nor buie your felves about nothing but how to serve your Master with the loyalty and fidelity we allow him. Afterwards when we have nothing else to do, we may freely enjoy our pleasures and delights, for then it will be no prejudice to the King, nor to him we serve under him. Then you shall enjoy a sweet and pleasing repofe, when you shall return home laden with honor, and shall present your felves before your Prince, to whom it shall be told what you have done for his service. All the treasure in the world is not comparable to that. Take then (Comrades) example by me, who have never had other thoughts, nor design, than how to acquire my self worthy of my charge, and doing so it will be impossible, but you must acquire great honor and reputation. In the mean time you are put in trust to attack or block up places: whenever you have a design to reduce a Town by famine, if you find you cannot totally hinder the besieged from fetching in corn from the fields adjoyning, let them on fire: for taking this commodity from them, they will be sufficiently differtated; but to say you prefer’d it for your self, it must be concluded that you were very imprudent to offer to attack a place without having means and power to carry away all near unto, and in the very face of the Town you would attack; in such cases you must have no pity, for this affair requires fiery remedies.

The Entrance of Courteville. Some time after the Marechal undertook to go take Courteville, which is a Caftle and a little City in the Langue; the Caftle is strong, and the River runs through the midst of the Town, over which there is a fair Bridge of Brick, and a Bourg adjoyning to it. The said Marechal then came to Alba, and took me in his way along with him, with the one half of my Company, which he entertain’d for the Guard of his own person, leaving the other half in Alba and being come to the said Courteville, lodg’d in the Bourg on the further side of the River, on this side of which, and near unto the Caftle was a Monastery wherein he lodg’d three Ensigns, which notwithstanding the Caftle commanded us more than we commanded them. Monfieur de Saulecet had kept this place all the time when he was with the Spaniard. The Marechal planted on this side the Bridge eight or ten pieces of Canon where with to batter the Courtain that was opposite to the Monastery, in which during the Battery, Monfieur de Bonivost lodged himself, where although I was no longer Camp-master, I neverthelesse never left him whilst the Battery continued day and night. In two or three days time then we spent 1200 Cannon shot against this Courtain, and in the end were never the nearer, forasmuch as they had raised a great and thick rampier behind the wall within; so that when that was beaten down, the place remained stronger than before, by reason of the said Rampier. The Marechal thereupon remained three days in supulence what he was bent to do, whether he should fend for more ammunition, or return without making any further attempt upon the place. Captain Richelieu had in the mean time gain’d the Town, and was with his own and two other Companies lodg’d within it: but so soon as I saw the Marechal in this perplexity, I paft the River on that side by the Monastery: for although I follow’d Monfieur de Bonivost, I neverthelesse now retir’d at night to the Marechal. There was a Gate of this Monastery, that went out into a great high way, upon which one might march undiscover’d and secure, without being seen by those of the Caftle: but betwixt the Gate and the high-way there were some fifteen or sixteen paces, which were to be nimbly dispatch’d, for the whole Courtain played upon this Gate. Afterwards it was necessary...
Book II. de Montluc, Marefchal of France.

cellary to go hopping up to the Bridge at the entry into the Town, and then to run full speed till you was within it. So soon as I had past this danger, and was got into the high way, I began to look about me if it was possible to carry Canon into the Town, which I perceived it a matter of great difficulty to do, and that was the reason that I went into the Town to take Captain Richelieu along with me, with whom I went to discover the backside of the Caflle, which look into a great space uninhabited, betwixt the Caflle and the Wall of the Town. There was there a little house close by the wall of the City, in which we put our selves to observe at our ease, whether or no the Caflle were much fortified on that part, and there I oberved some cracks and chinks in the wall, through which one might plainly see the light on the other side, and we'd Captain Richelieu, that if by any invention we could bring three pieces of Canon to this place we should certainly take the Caflle, forasmuch as it had not been fortified on that side, by reason of the impossibility of bringing up Artillery to force it.

That which appears impossible to one, is feasible enough to another, and many places are to be had. I then return'd by the way near to the Abbey, and Captain Richelieu with me, where we fell to discourse about the business, and began to consider if there was any way to be found to get Canon to the backside of the Caflle: whereupon it suddenly came into my head to cause the River to be founded, to let the bottom be firm ground; to which purpose I called a Soldier of the Abbey to be call'd, to whom I fam'd as he came to me I made one of ten Crowns, if he would venture to found the River, telling him withall that he must creep on his hands and knees, till he came into the water, and that then he should hop up to the neck. I then call'd another Soldier by whom I spok'd to the Captains in the Abbey, that they should send out fifteen or twenty Soldiers, which should go to the very foot of the wall, as if they went to skirmish, which accordingly was done, and by this means I sav'd the Soldiers, inasmuch that the Enemy never perceiv'd him, till he was got into the water. First he went directly to the wall of the City, where the water dath against it, and thence waded upwards as far as the foard, where we used to pass over betwixt the Marechal's Quarters and the Abbey, and behind the Abbey he entred into it, whether we ran full drive to avoid the danger of the foard, and found him already got into the Abbey, and the Soldiers that had been sent out to skirmish returned a pretty while before, where he told me that the bottom of the River was very good, and the water no deeper than to the nave of the wheels. Whereupon I profently went to horse, and went to acquaint the Marechal with what I had seen, the two Masters of the Ordnance Balazergues and Duno being by, for Monsieur de Caillav was not there. There Duno disfurred it against me, affirming he had discover'd all, and I affirming the contrary, till at last the Marechal said it was their trade, and that to undertake a business, and not to effect it, were only to lose time and a great many men to no purpose. At which I began to be moved, having been need'd by Duno before, and said to the Marechal. Sir I have had the honor a great while to know Monsieur de Briffac, and never saw him so much afraid of Arquebus-shot, that he would forbear to discover a place he had a mind to see. I take you to be the same man, and that you are not become a coward for being the King's Lieutenant. Mind out to horse, and I will make you confess, after you have see'n it, that you shall take the Caflle without the expense of ten Canon-shot. We heretofore all in a tum'le got to horse, taking Duno along, and leaving Balazergues behind, and went to pass the River above the Abbey, into which we entred, and I had taken with me the Soldier that had founded the River. Now to get into the high way it was necessary suddenly to open the Gate, to which the Enemy had more an eye, and run fifteen or twenty paces till we got into it, out of the danger of the Curtain of the Caflle. The Gate then was suddenly thrown open, and I past running, and the Marechal did the same; but as he was running they fir'd three Harque- buzes, with some of which I verily thought he had been shot, for I heard the noise of a Bullet, as when it enter's a mans body, and when he came up to me, look'd him in the face, and faw that he shak't his head, and smil'd, and sitting down by me upon the ground (for we were to keep very low) I have seap a crowing head he for the bullet flew betwixt my legs. You are very unwise Sir, said I, to follow me, do you not perceiv that I aim at bringing the King's Lieutenant if you die? which is the reason that I would be rid of you, and have brought you hither to that purpose, at which he laugh'd only, seeing very well by my countenance, that I was very glad he had escap'd the misfortune; for the fault would have been laid at my door, although God knows I could not have help'd it: for those that go to such Weddings as these often bring away red Liveries.

In the mean time Duno and the Soldier arrived, to whom the Marechal engag'd to pay the ten Crowns I had promis'd him; but that he must return and do the same again in
his pretence, and he would give him ten more, which the Soldier undertook to do. Duno then cau’d his Boot to be pull’d off, and went in his doublet only with the Soldier to enter into the water behind the Abby, for the man had heart enough, and men of his trade must no more care for a Bullet than a Coding. We faw them the one after the other wade down the River, and afterwards came to the wall of the City, into which they went, landing hard by the Gate: Which was not perform’d without infinite danger both for them and us, for it was there very hot; so that I often wifhe Monfieur de Briſſac at his Quarters, being more afraid of him than of my self. See’ng then Duno and the Soldier past over, we ran at the mercy of the Harquebeus fhot, and recover’d the Town, Whom God defends are well defended; for it was a miracle that fome one of us at leaſt was not pepper’d: but either my fear or my affection made me go more upright and nimblly than I was wont, fo that I felt no great pain of my hip. I then carried the Marefchal, and shewed him all that Captain Richelieu and I had seen before; when after he had heard Duno’s relation concerning the depth of the River, and found the truth of what I had told him, he began to break out into fonne passionate expressions against Duno; but I told him that he ought not to be angry, but intend the taking of the Caſtle, for that no one was fo wife but he might be deceiv’d. Whereupon he gave order to Captain Richelieu to get together thirty or fownty great Wine-pipes, which at the beginning of the night he should cau’d to be carried to the place where Duno should appoint, and to another Captain to pull down a houſe, to furniſh planks to put upon the Pipes after they should be fill’d with earth to raise the defence till higher, because of the great Tower of the Caſtle, that look’d into the recoll of the Cannon, commanding the other Captain alfo to provifl’g means of Timber whereewith to raise the whole fo high, that the Tower might not look into the recoll of the Canon. And before we departed from the little houſe which was behind the Caſtle, I thow’d the Marefchal a Rock where thirty or fownty Harquebeus might lye covered to fhoot at the Battlements of the Tower, when the Enemy fhould prefent themselves to fhoot at the Artillery: for they muſt of neceffity fhew themselves from the Girdle upward.

We afterwards went up the River to the Wall of the Town to meafure what height the Canon was to mount to get into the City, and found that it was not two foote, becauſe the way was very low. When a Gentleman belonging to the Marefchal came to us, the faid Marefchal having exprefly forbid that any other fhould advance further than the Abby, to whom I cau’d the charge to be committed of breaking the wall, and mak’g it fall into the River, which being done we return’d, and Duno flaid with Captain Richelieu. At the beginning of the night then came the aforefaid Gentleman with thirty or fownty Pioneers, and after him another Gentleman of the faid Marefchal’s with four-score or an hundred more, where they faw that Captain Richelieu had already gor above half the Pipes upon the place. Monſieur de Bonnivet and I accompanied Balazergez, who drew three pieces of Canon with horſes (the Marefchal having provided enouſ to draw fix) and went on horſeback above twenty paces in the River with the Canon, as alfo did Balazergez himſelf, and the Carters up to the Copiece in wa’er: we then turn’d to go down behind the Abby, and fo went into the Town, where tho’ the Enemy fhot very hard, yet could they fee nothing by reafon of the extreme darkneſs of the night, and therefore shot at random, and the level of fortune, which at this time fell’d upon us; ye doſt she not alwaies do fo, efpicially upon me: there are fome in-deed fo happy as never to be toucht, as for example that brave Cavalier Monſieur de Sanſac (I do believe there are not two Gentlemen alive, who have been in more engage- ments than he and I) and yet he was never hurt that I know of, excepting at the Batt’l of St. Denis: wherein I have not been fo fortunate as he. Now when we came to the place where the Gentleman was, we faw the wall already broken down, and tumbled into the River, and thereupon cau’d the Pioneers to break down two corners of houses that hinder’d the paffage of the Canon, which presently came to the Wall, thorough which the horſes enter’d the Town, and by the help of the Soldiers we thrust the Canon in after them; which being done Balazergez return’d to fetch the other two, which alfo we brought after the fame manner to the place where Duno had fill’d the Pipes; fo that two hours before day they were ready to Batter, and the Soldiers lodg’d behind the rock to fhoot at the Battlements.

The Marefchal in the interim had intelligence brought him that Don Arilo de Cende was come to St. Stephe, within five miles of us, and would march by night to relieve the Caſtle, which cau’d the faid Marefchal to fend us word that he was going to poſſefs himſelf of a mountain of advantage, and to fght him by the way, and that in the main time we fhould do the best we could with the fix Companies we had in the Abby, and
Book II. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

in the Town. The Marechal accordingly gain'd the said Mountain by night, and let his people in order to defend the pass.

At the break of day when we had thought to have given fire to the Canon, the Drum of the Cattle began to beat a Parley. There was a Spaniard Governor there whose name was Don Diego, as proud a vain-gloryous Coscom as could walk upon the earth, and so he was requir'd. Monseur de Bonnivet made the Capitulation, for I was laid to sleep in the little house upon a Matter the said Sieur de Bonnivet had caus'd to be brought thereto for himself, till I was call'd to sign the Capitulation, for Don Diego knew me, he having been Lieutenant to one of the four Spanish Companies the King had when he took the County of One. The Marechal in the mean time sent out a party of Horse to meet Don Albo whom they found upon his retreat, but reason had not hazard that the Marechal had gain'd the pass, so that about an hour after dinner he return'd back to us, where he found that Don Diego with his three Companies, one whereof was Spanish, was march'd away two hours before. There were several who made fuit to the Marechal for the Government of this place, it being very commodiously situated for the King's service: But Monseur de Bonnivet, and I agreed together to caus't it to be given to Captain Richelieu, who was Lieutenant to one of his Colonel Companies, and accordingly at our request the Marechal was pleas'd to confer it upon him, and moreover writ to the King to confirm it, which his Majesty did, and Monseur de Bonnivet left with him his Company for some time.

Are thefe (Captains) I mean the taking of Lant, and that of Courteville two things fit to be omitted, weigh well I beseech you all that we did both at the one place and the other, and the account I gave of them both, without running to the report of others. And you Princes, and his Majesties Lieutenants, do not so much fear your skins, that you will not search into depth of things. Why have you that great authority, and those noble Commands; to set full in your Closets? Observe how Monseur de Brisjic did; he needed not be ignorant'd to go discover, but rather to be wish-fell; he was all bravery and courage. And you that shall fee your selves engag'd in a place, learn to be wise at the expense of thofe Bragadochios, who surrender at the fift fummons, and yet pretend to be Roundlings. Wherever is ftood of his tongue, ought to be doubly call'd of his hands. I am very sure, that if Don Diego had so pleas'd, he might have found us enough to do; but to lose a place, and to carry away no honour, either alive or dead, he that put you into it does manifeft wrong, if he do not cut off your heads. Without all doubt he might have been releev'd, or at leaft he ought to have ftood an affault, for we could not have carried it at the fift paff, but it would have cost us very dear. What pitiful place ever you have to defend, if you refolve to stay for the Canon, after it has endured a breach, it is very necessary, that he who commands it for his own honor, shall also abide an Affault, if he be not totally unprovided of all things, and have no means to make any encirclement within.

A few days after the Marechal would go take Seve, and writ to me to Alba, that I should make my self ready, and that he would pass by Alba. So soon therefore as he had given me this notice of his departure, and that I should draw three Ensigns out of Alba to carry them along with me, I prefently made them ready, and likewis two Culverines, which he had writ for also. Waiting then in expectation of his coming, I went in the mean time to Sarvend, which is a little Town about four miles from Alba towards the Language, and two other little places upon the fame Road, where the Enemy had Garrisons, especially at Sarvend, where there were an hundred men strangers. After I had a while barter'd it by the Gate, those within began to parly with me; but in the mean while my people entered by another fide through a Window with Ladders; so that whiff their Captain was dodging with me about the Capitulation, those within faw themfelves taken, and were therefore enforc'd to render themselves upon discretion. The moments of a Parly are always dangerous, and it is then that they ought the beft to man their walls, to avoid surprizes: for betwixt the Fruit and the Cheese, as the Proverb fays; at such an unexpected time a great milchef may be done. I have feen many very foolishly surpriz'd; and therefore follow the Italian rule, which is, No te fider, & no feraingiato: Do not fwear, and thun ftrain not to be deceived: a fentence that ought to be very much uf'd by you Governors of places: for when a woman once endures a Parly, and has patience to hear, farewell Goffip, you have already one foot in the firrup. In like manner when a Town once begins to hearken to a composition, you may certainly conclufe it for left. It is true, that you muft not then give them leisure to consider better of it; for there are certain Catch-doles, who make a fient of parly, but it is only to work their own advantage. If you therefore fear a relief, or that you find your felves weak, take them at their word, make use of your time,
time, and get Hoftages befores if you can. And on the other fide, you who would de-

fend a place, of all things take heed you never open your mouths to parly if you have

not an intention to surrender, and are not necelfitated to do so : for your Enemy pref-

ently gets a marvelous advantage by it. 'Tis better the ouverture be made by fome par-

ticular perfon, and it is better becoming the Besiegers than the besieged, though both the

one and the other ought to fet a good face upon the matter, it willfoon be seen who has

the worth of the Game. At thefe times however be fure efpecially to have an eye to the

main chance; for fofoon as ever it is rumour'd, that there is a furrender towards, thofe

within instead of looking after their defence, think, one of faving his money, another his

arms, and fo forth; and thofe without feeing themselves defeated of all hope of Bottle,

if the Capitulation take efchf, will try to fhou you a slippery trick; for then they ap-

proach at greater cafe to the wall, because of the Truce. Remember then that the hour of

a Parly is dangerous.

The other two little places surrendered upon fummons, and fent me their Keys; and

the next day after the Marefchal arrived, who was very well pleafed with my employ, and

fo we march'd direcdy to Seve. Seve is a little Town very nealty built, and enclofed with

a very good wall. A River runs either thorough it, or clofe under the walls, I am not

certain which, for I was never there, but when Monfieur de Bonnivet and I came to re-

live the Marefchal, and at this time when we retook it, and then lay there but one night

only : for the Marefchal fent me back in the morning, because Don Arbo with his for-

ces was within five miles of us, and in Alba there was only left my Lieutenant, and the

half of my Company. Now there is above the Town a Mountain, on the top of which there

stands a Church, and in the Rock an Hermitage, the entry into which was over a

planck from the Church into the faid Rock, and within were Alters for Mas, and a

Chamber for the Hermite, but no light into it, save only by the door where you come in,

which looks towards the Town; and they had fo order'd the matter, that by pulling in to them the planck, that lay over between the Hermitage and the Church, all the

world could not take them. They had also made another Fort on the right hand, at the

diftance of fome twenty paces from this, which they had contriv'd after the manner of a

pit, and the Counterfcarp very high; fo that coming upon the Counterfcarp, no man could shou so much as a fingers length of his head without being discover'd and

kill'd, and they had moreover caft up a Trench that ran along from this Fort to the ve-

ry body of the Church.

As Signior Francisco Bernardin and I, who were for that time Marechaux de Camp,
came to encamp near to this place, and being about to lodge the Army, there allyed our

two or three hundred men, what out of the Fort, the Trench, and the Church, and fu-

perioufly charg'd upon us, I had no body with me but Captain Charrry, with 50 Har-

quebuizes, and some few horfe to Guard us. Wherefore the Baron de Chiffy, Camp-

Maffier, fent to re-inforce me with 100 Harquebuizes: but I was contrain'd to fend

him word that he muft fend me more, for that we were already at it, and very near to

one another : at which instant of time Monfieur de Bonnivet return'd poff from Court, who

hearing the skirmish without alighting, foid to the Baron de Chiffy, Halt here till the

Marefchal come up, and in the mean time I will go fend out Monfieur de Menteins. The

Captains follow'd him, and fome Harquebuizes on horfe-back, when juft as we were

embracing, the Enemy came up and charg'd our men, feeing which I foid to Monfieur de

Bonnivet, Sir for your welcome alight, and let us go charge thofe people, and leem them back

into the Fort: whereupon every one immediately alighted, and he faid to me, charge you
direcdy upon thofe who would recover the Fort, which faid he claps a Target upon his arm,

and I catch up a Halbert, for I ever love'd to play with that kind of Cudgel, faying to

Signior Francisco Bernardin, Conrade, whilef we charge do you make the Quarters; to which

he reply'd, is that all the reckoning you make of the employment the Marefchal has en-

trusted us with? if it be fo, I will be a fool for company, and once play the part of a Gascon;

and so alighted, and went on with me to the charge. He was arm'd with very heavy arms,

and moreover age render'd him unweedy of himself, which made him that he could not go faft as I. At fuch kind of Banquets my body me thought did not weigh

an ounce, and I fancied that I did not touch the ground, I had quite forgot my hip.

I then charg'd up the Target on thofe on that fide the Trench, and Monfieur de Bomi-

vet did as much on his fide, so that we thundred them back with much a vengeance, that

I past over the Trench pell-mell amongst them, and pursu'd them, killing all the way as

far as the Church. I never laid to about me, nor did fo much execution at one time. Thofe

within the Church feeing their people in fuch disorder, and fo miserably cut to pieces,

quitted the place, and took a little path that went all along the rock of the Mountain down
down into the Town, where one of my men caught hold of him that carried the Ensign; but he disengaged himself very bravely from him, and leap into the path, making to the Town as fast as he could. I ran after him, but he was too quick for me, as well he might, for he had fear in his heart. The Captain was kill'd, whom they very much esteem'd, and I believe was a man of three-score years old, for he was all over white. They could not all recover the path, which made part of the return back into the Church, where they very bravely defended themselves. They had made a Ravelin before the Gate, which we gain'd from them, and then they retreated into the Hermitage, and drew the planck after them like a draw-bridge.

Moniteur de Bonnivet was very roughly handled, for he lost at least twenty of the best men he had, and had above thirty more wounded; for as our people would throw themselves at a venture from the Counterscarp into the Fort, before they could discover the Fort they were knockt oth head, and amongst others we lost four of those he had brought with him out of France; who came but too soon for them, as also two Batques, as valiant young men as the earth ever bore; I had known them before, but those people have such uncount names I cannot remember them, which I am very sorry for; but after the loss of so many men the said Moniteur de Bonnivet was constrain'd to leave this Fort, and come to me the Church.

The Marechal in the mean time had caused all the Camp to make a halt about a mile off, expecting when Signior Francesco and I should bring him the Billets for the Armies Quarter; when hearing no news of the one or the other, he sent a Gentleman to see what was become of us; who found us at the Church, where he told us, that the Marechal was disconcerted, and very angry, not knowing where to lodge, nor where the Quartermasters were made. To whom I then said, Get you back to him, and tell him that I have made two wife Quarter-Masters, who have thought of nothing but how to quarter him and his Army, but it has been by sending people into another world. The Gentleman perceiving by this answer that there was nothing done, returned back, it being almost night, so that the Cavalry was constrain'd to draw into a valley on the left hand, and the Infantry into another on the right. The Marechal himself then came up to us, and could have found in his heart to have been very angry, but seeing what we had done was well enough satisfied, and began to laugh at the Marechalx de Camp he had made. Signior Francesco Bertrand laid the fault upon me, and I again upon him; but the Marechal said, I know the white head was too wise, and therefore it must needs be a Galon extravagance.

With the Marechal came Colonel Santo Pedro Cores, and thole of the Hermitage ask'd for him, because there were many Corles amongst them, and the Captain himself who was kill'd at the Gate was one. The Colonel affur'd them of the death of the said Captain, and that if one or two of them would come out, he would shew them his body: Which they did, and the Marechal was still with us, and staid there all night, for he knew not where to lye, and a great many were laid down, who gave me many a black good-night. After they had seen their Captain dead, they furrendred themselves upon the Colours word, that they should march away with bag and baggage, whereupon the said Colonel entered the Hermitage with five or six of his own men only, and so soon as the day appear'd they went out, and almost all of them lifted themselves under the said Colonel, sending their Drum to thole of the Fort, to let them know that they had furrendred, and that they advis'd them to do the like, which they likewise did upon the same conditions; for Colonel Santo Pedro managed the whole busines. We then went down, and presently the Governor furrendred the same, and at the same instant march'd away with those men he had left; and the Marechal lodg'd himself there with some few only, that the provision might not be devour'd, and to prevent any disorder in the Town. Of which he made Captain Loup Governor, having with him four Ensigns of foot, and some Light-horze; which being done he retir'd back by the same way he came, and I (as I have already said) about one of the clock in the afternoon came to Alba.

This is all that I did in Piedmont worthy remembrance whilst I staid there with the Marechal de Brissac: But if I should give an account of all the skirmishes wherein I have been engag'd, I must have double paper, and especially that of Andesun, which was the greatest and most furious skirmish wherein I have ever been; all the foot of two Armies being therein totally engag'd, amongst whom I had no more but four and thirty Soldiers of my own Company, foral much as I then lay in Garrison at Savillan, and Moniteur de Termes would not suffer my Company to go out of the Town. I cover'd all my Soldiers Morions with yellow Taffeta, out of respect to Moniteur de Termes, whose colour was, who for few men perform'd so great and almost miraculous feats of arms, that whilst any man's memory shall live, who was then alive, the yellow Morions of Martin neill
will be talkt of in Piedmont: In truth these four and thirty were worth five hundred others, and I have my self an hundred times wondered at these people did; I may therefore very well say, it was a little body, but a very good one. I have found that it is of great use to give your Soldiers some particular distinction; for seeing themselves to be so distinguished and known, it redoubles their courage. I am sure these did very well, and obcrin’d for themselves such a mark of reputation, that every one pointed at them as they marched along, shewing for a wonder the yellow Morrions who had perform’d such noble feats of arms. I have since also been in several other skirmishes, which I will not trouble my Reader withall, for being too tedious: though I cannot forbear making mention of one, which the Baron de la Garde may please to remember, when he brought the Gallies, we being then before Bullen. The great skirmish was at his landing, which continued for two hours, where the Cannon-shot flew so thick that they seemed valleys of Harquebuzers. I had all the Forces of Bullen upon me, notwithstanding which I made one of the bravest and most honourable retreats that man could possibly make. The late Monfieur de Guise saw it all, who had no more but five and twenty horse, and therefore could no ways relieve me; to do which he must of necessity have come down into the plain, where he would immediately have been swallowed up by the Canon, and no man believe’d that I could possibly have made my retreat without manifest running away; but I did it always at four Pikes length, often facing about, and must needs say, that I never perform’d any thing from whence I deriv’d more honor than from this action. Monfieur de Guise did sufficiently magnifie it, and commended me but too much. But I shall speak no more of these kind of things, and content my self with writing what I perform’d commanding only, wherein such as will do me the honor to read my book may learn some thing as to the practice of Arms, which is not altogether so easy as is believe’d. Great and commendable parts and qualities are required to the making up of a compleat Captain. It is not all to be hardy and brave, we must have other pieces in our harness besides. Neither will I pretend to be one of the first form of Soldiers; but being the eldest in this Kingdom, my opinion will nevertheless be allowed a vote in the Chapter, which may serve to inform such as know less than I, and as for the rest they need no Tutor.

I then left Piedmont to go home a little to refresh my self, and to take some repose, by reason of a great distemper I was fallen into: but what just occasion ever I might have to ask it, I had nevertheless much ado to obtain leave of Monfieur de Brissac, though he at last was pleased to dismiss me, upon my promise speedily to return. At my coming home I found my self honour’d and esteem’d of all the greatest persons of the Country. My name was up, and therefore for one thing I had done they would perforce make me I had done four: Report goes evermore increasing: and also at this time Piedmont was the only Scene in vogue for a Nursery of war. I did not however continue long idle at home, my Masters neither giving me leisire, nor my own disposition inclining me so to do, I having ever propos’d to my self by the way of Arms to arrive to all the degrees of honour, to which man can attain; and you who are Gentlemen born ought to consider that God has sent you into the world to bear arms for the service of your Prince and Country; and not to hunt the Hare, and follow after Mirthfles; when peace comes you may take your share of pleasures and delights. Every thing in its due time and season.

The End of the Second Book.
Hilft the War was kept on foot in Piedmont, after the manner I have before related, under the conduct of this great Soldier, Monfsieur de Brissac, who there established so admirable a Military Discipline, that it might with good reason be said to be the best School of War in Europe; they did not sleep in Picardy, Champagne, and Mésié, which was at this time besieged by the Emperor. There it was that the great Duke of Guise acquired immortal glory. I was never more troubled at any thing in my whole life than that I had not the good fortune to see this Siege: but a man cannot be in so many places at once. The King, who desired to discompose the Emperor's affairs in Italy, prevailed so far by the practices and dexterity of some Cardinals of his party, and of Monfsieur de Termes, that he made the Inhabitants of Siena to revolt, which is a very beautiful and important City in Tuscany, informing that the Spanish Garrison which was in it was driven out, and the Citadel raz'd to the ground. So soon as these people had thus shake off the Spanish yoke, and faw themselves at liberty, having set up the Ensigns of France, they were not wanting to themselves in imploving favours and assistance from the King, who accordingly gave the charge thereof to Monfsieur de Strozzi, the fame who was afterwards Marechal) who by the help and concurrence of the King's confederates and friends in those parts drew some forces into the field, being therein assisted by the Signiors Cornello Bentivoglio, Fregosa, and other Italians, with the Sieurs de Termes, and de Lansac; where, though he had all the Forces of the Emperor and the Great Duke of Florence to deal withal, he nevertheless carried himself with so much bravery and conduct, as to make head the War with might and main. Notwithstanding which Monfsieur de Strozzi in despite of him took several little Towns belonging to the State of Siena, the particulars whereof I shall not meddle withal, forasmuch as I was not there present: but, by what I have heard, he there performed several very brave exploits: for the Emperor and the Duke of Florence desired nothing more, than to drive the King out of Italy, out of the apprehension they had, that having got in a foot, he should afterwards skew in his whole body: But we never yet knew how to husband our Conquests: I know not what we may do hereafter, though I fear that matter will never be mended, at least I see no signs of it yet; God grant I may be mistaken.

Monfsieur de Strozzi then went to the King to acquaint him, that it was not possible for him both to keep the field, and to govern in Siena too, and that therefore he must humbly besought his Majesty to make choice of some person in whom he might safely confide to command in the Town, so long as he should continue in the field. The King having receiv'd this dispatch, call'd for the Constable, Monfsieur de Guise, and the Marechal of...
St. André, where he acquainted them with Monfieur de Strozzi's request, defining them to name each of them one for this employment; for all things pass through the hands of these three, and nothing was determined without them. All our Kings have ever had this trick, to suffer themselves to be govern'd by some particular men, and perhaps too much, so that it looks sometimes as if they flood in awe of their own subjects. Of these the Contable stood in the highest degree of favour, and was ever more below'd by the King than any other; he therefore first nam'd his man, Monfieur de Guise another, and the Marechalc a third. Which having done the King paid to them, you have none of your

Monluc, to which Monfieur de Guise made anwer, that it was out of his head, and the Marechalc said the fame, Monfieur de Guise moreover adding, if you name Monluc I have done, and shall speak no more of him I nominated before; nor I said the Marechalc, who has since related to me the whole debate. The Contable then stood up, and said, that I was by no means proper for this employment, as being too humorous, peevish, and passionate, to which the King made anwer, that he had ever observ'd and known me to be peevish and passionate, upon the account of his service only, when I saw him not ferv'd so well as he ought to be, and that he had never heard I ever had a quarrel with any one upon my own particular account. Monfieur de Guise and the Marechalc said alfo the fame, adding moreover that I had already been Governor both of Montcallier and Alba, without so much as any one man's opening his mouth to complain of my Administration; and that alfo had I been a person of that temper, the Marechalc de Briffac would never have lov'd and favour'd me at the rate he did, nor have repo'd fo great a confidence in me as he had ever done. The Contable hereupon anwer'd very roundly again, and made good his former objection with great vehemency, and would by all means that the perfon he had nominated should fland: for he was impatient of being controvert'd, and more of being over-rul'd; neither indeed did he ever much love me, nor any of his. The Cardinal of Lorrain was there present, who may better remember than I, who it was that the Contable nam'd: but (if I be not deceit'd) it was Boccal, who is since turn'd Hugonor: however in the end the King would carry it, having Monfieur de Guise and the Marechalc de St. André on his fide, and dispatch'd away a Courier to the Marechalc de Briffac to fend me into Avignon, where accordingly I had expecting a Gentleman his Majefly sent to me, who brought my dispatch to go prefently away to Sienna.

Now the Marechalc had some days before given me leave to retire to my own house, by reason of a ficknefs I was fallen into, as I have faid elsewhere; who had no mind to do it, as he himfelf confefs to me fince; and has done me the honor to tell me, that he had known of what importance the life of me would have been to him; he would not have fo commended me to the King as he had done, and that in his life he never repeated any thing fo much as the letting me depart from him, telling me of a great many things wherein he had not been fo well ferved after my departure out of Piedmont. Monfieur de l'Ofte, Prefident Birague, and feveral others can witnesf how oft they have heard him lament my abfencc, especially when matters did not fucceed according to his defire. And if any one will take the pains to confider what I perform'd while I was there under his Command, he will find that what I fay is very true, and that he had fome reafon to regret me. I was always at his feet, and at his head. I will not fay neverthefefs, that any thing would have been better done for my being there: but however I must needs fpeak the truth, and there are who can fay more if they pleafe.

He then writ a Letter to the King, and another to the Contable, wherein he fent his Majefly word, that he had made a very ill choice of me to command in Sienna, for that I was one of the moft crofs-grain'd cholerick fellows in the whole world, and fuch a one as that for half the time I had been with him, he had been necessitated touffer much from me, knowing my imperfections. That indeed I was very good for the maintaining of discipline and justice in an Army, to command in the field, and to make the Soldiers to fight; but that the humour of the Siennais confider'd, it would be fire to fire, which would be the only means to lofe that State, which was to be preferv'd by gentlenefs and moderation. He moreover entreated the Contable to remonftrate as much to the King, and in the mean time dispatch a Courier to me, who found me very fick, by whom he fent me word, that the King would fend me to Sienna but, that as a friend of mine, he advised me not to accept of that employment, entreatling me not to forfeake him, to reform elsewhere under another, and affuring me within, that if any Command happen'd to be vacant in Piedmont, that I had more mind to than what I already had, I should have it; which were all artifices to detain me.

O that a Wife Lieutenent of a Province ought to have an eye, and to take heed of losing a man.
a man in whom he may absolutely confide, and whom he knows to be a man of valour, and ought to spare nothing that he may keep him; for oftentimes one man alone can do much. You must eat a great deal of Sale with a man before you can rightly know him; and in the mean time you are dependent on him with whom you were thoroughly acquainted, in whom you reposed your trust, and of whose fidelity you had already sufficient proof. The said Marechal had moreover sent word to the King, that he was in Gascony very sick, and in the morning as the Letters were read, the Conde, who was mighty well pleased with the contents, said to the King, *Did not I tell you myself as much, you find the Marechal to be of the same opinion, and no man living can know Montluc better than he who has so often seen him at work.* To which the King (who naturally loved me, and had ever done so, after he had seen my behaviour at the Camifado of Bullen) reply'd, *that although all those of his Council should speak against me, yet should they prevail nothing by it; for it was his nature to love me, and that he would not alter his election let them all say what they would.*

Monteure de Guise then spake and said, *here is a letter very full of contradictions: for in the first place the Marechal de Briffac says that Montluc is croif-grain'd and choleric, and that he will never fail with the Sicilians, but will resign your service if you send him thither; and on the other side commends him for qualities that are requisite in a man of command; to whom the truth of great things is to be committed: for he speaketh him to be a man of an exact discipline, and great justice, and fit to make the Soldiers fight in great Enterprises and Executions; and who ever saw a man ended with all these the best good qualities, that had not a mixture of choleric amongst them? Such as are indifferent whether thing go well or ill may indeed be without passion, and as to the rest, since Sir your Majesty has your self made the Election, I humbly conceive you ought not revoke it. The Marechal de St. Andre spake next, and said, *Sir, what the Marechal de Briffac complains of, you may easily correct, by writing to Montluc, that your self having made choice of his person above all others for this employment, be must for your sake as much as he can govern his passions, having to do with such a thick-headed people as those of Sienna. To which the King made answer, that he did not fear but that he had writ me a letter, I would do as he should command me; and immediately thereupon dispatch away a Courrier to me to my own house, by whom he sent me word, that although I should be sick, I must nevertheless put my self upon my way to go directly to Marseille, where I should meet my dispatch, and should there embark my self with the Germans that the Rhineers brought, and ten Companies of French foot, to which place he would also send me money for my journey, and that I must for a while leave my passion behind me in Gascony, and a little accommodate my self to the humor of that people. The Courrier found me at Agen very sick, and under the Physicians hands, notwithstanding which I told him, that in eight days I would begin my journey, which I did, and verily thought I should have dyed at Tholouse, from whence by the advice of the Physicians I was to return back again, which I would not do: but caufed my self to be hald' along as far as Montpellier, where I was again advised by the Physicians to go no further, they assuring me that if I went' to proceed on my journey I should never come alive to Marseille: but whatever they could say, I was resolved to go on so long as life lasted, come on what would, when just as I was going away there came another Courrier from the King to haften me, and from day to day I recovered my health in travelling; so that when I came to Marseille I was without comparison much better than when I parted from my own house. In plain truth the King my good Master had reason to defend my cause, for my choler was never prejudicial to his service, it has indeed been sometimes prejudicial to my self and some others, who would not avoid nor comply with my humour. I never left Place, Battail, nor Rencounter, nor ever was the occasion of losing any one of his Subjects; my choler never nor far transported me as to do any thing prejudicial to his service, and if it be violent and prompt, it is the sooner gone: I have ever obferved that such people are better to be employ'd than any other, for they have no malice in them, nor any dangerous reservations, and if they be more faddam, they are also more valiant than those who by their moderation would appear to be more wise: but leaving this discourse I shall return to my voyage.

At my coming to Marseille I found that the Baron de la Garde was already departed with the Army to go to Argiers, there to prevail with the King of Argier to convey him with his Fleet, as much as the said Baron had been advertised, that Prince Aurea lay waiting for him with a great Navy to intercept him by the way and the Kings Fleet of itself was not strong enough to undertake him, which was the reason that we delayed the time for a few days. So soon then as the Baron arrived, having the Argier Fleet with him, we the Barre de embarke our selves at Toulon, and by the way met eight or nine Vessells laden with Coin, de Garde.
that came out of Sicily, and was going for Spain, which the Baroon caufed to be fet on fire, excepting two that he took along with him for the fupport of his Army, and fo went on to Porto-Hercule, at which place we could not poftibly land, forafmuth the Marchues de Marignano lay with his Camp near unto the way by which we were of neceffity to pas to Sienna. We were therefore contrain’d to reftark our men, and to fall back, to land with greater safety, near to Eofcarlin, where Monfieur de Strozzy lay with his Camp.

We there heard news that the Prior of Capua had but two days before been faid in viewing Eofcarlin, which was a very great lofs, he being as brave a man as liv’d; both by land and fea, and a true Servant of the Kings. He was Brother to Monfieur de Strozzy, and it was faid, was kill’d by the hand of a Peafant, that fir’d a Harquebuz at him from behind a Bufh. Behold what a fad misfortune this was, that fo great a Captain fhould perifh by the hand of a Raifal with his fire flick. And fo we march’d on to Bonconvent, Monfieur de Strozzy going always a little before us for conueniency of vifual, and there all the Army joint’d together.

Before the Germans and the French arriv’d at the faid Bonconvent, Monfieur de Strozzy went out in the morning before, with the three thousand Grifions (of which Monfieur de Fourcaufau was Colonel) and the Italians, to make room for the Germans and French who had need to lye and reft an hour or two. I went over night to wait upon Monfieur de Strozzy, and in the morning departed with him, that I might come betimes to Sienna; where we found Monfieur de Lanfae, who at our coming treated Monfieur de Strozzy, Monfieur de Fourcaufau and me at dinner. At the coming up of the Grifions and Italians there hapned a great skirmifh at St. Bond, a Monaftery of Nuns near unto St. Mark another Monaftery of Religious. The Marechal de Marignano lay with his Camp at the Palace of Dian, which is upon the road to Florence, within a little mile of Sienna, and this very morning had rai’d his Camp to go to St. Bond, there to affault Captain Bartolomeo de Pefera, whom Monfieur de Strozzy with his Company had quarter’d at that place. The faid Marquis had left his Italians at the faid Palace of Dian, and taken all his Spaniards and Germans along with him, and as we were at dinner the skirmifh began very brak and round at St. Bond. The Grifions and Italians halted at the Palaff, halfe mile from Sienna, and our Italians alofo, by the command of Monfieur de Strozzy, to the end that he might both the sooner determine where he fhould lodge the Army, and altfo becaufe he would, that before they fhould be lodg’d, the Germans and the French fhould be come up, that they might all at once fit down in their Quarters; but before we had made an end of dinner, we heard fome little pieces go off at St. Bond, that the Marquis had thither taken along with him. At which I faid to Monfieur de Strozzy, Sir, the skirmifh grows very loud, and is mixt with Artillery, they will deprive you of Captain Bartolomeo de Pefera, pray let us go fee what they are doing; to which he reply’d, let us go then, and we muft go however to fee where we are to lodge the Camp. Monfieur de Lanfae lent me a gray Turk, for I had not brought my horses by fea; and I then asked Monfieur de Strozzy if he were pleafed that I fhould go see what the buflines was, whilft he with Mefliers de Lanfae and de Fourcaufau went to take order about lodging the Camp to which he answer’d, with all his heart; and fo we went out at the Port St. Mark. I went then directly to the place where the skirmifh was, and they a little on the right hand to fee where they fhould lodge the Army. So foon as I was on the other fide the Trefle, where the skirmifh was, I there found not fo much as one Captain, fo that the skirmifh look like a very disorderly buflines, and the Enemy had got the advantage of our people; for they had drawn them from the little hills near unto St. Bond, and driven them to the Medows that lye upon the banks of the River Trefle. At my arrival I ask for the Captains, but met not one that own’d that title, from whence a great disorder enu’d: but upon the infant I faw one coming upon a gray horse, and gallop prefently up to him, to ask him if he was a Captain or no, who told me he was; I then ask him his name, to which he made anfwer, Io me chiamo Mariuol di Santa Fiore, and I faid to him. Signior Capitano Io me chiamo Mariuol di Santa Fiore. Now all the Army had already heard that I was coming with the recruits; fo that though we had never seen one another’s faces before, yet we knew one another well enough by our names. I entreataed him then to rally his men, and give a charge upon the Enemy, to beat them back again up the Hill, which he did, and we accordingly drive them up to the very top. In the mean while the skirmifh extended it fell all along the ridge of a Hill, and by the Vineyards directly to the Palla, which is a little Palace, behind which were the Grifions, and on the back of the Mountain a little further the Artillery played, which the Marquis had brought to St. Bond. There all the Italian Captains and Signior Cornelio Bentivoglio, who was there Colonel, were at the corner of the Vineyards looking towards St. Bond,
Book III. de Montluc, Mareschal of France.

Bonde and St. Mark, behind a little Oratory, by which they were covered from the Canon thot.

Now betwixt la Pallafle, and the little Oratory it might be about three hundred paces, and Signior Marulli and I so rushed the Enemy, that we drove the skirmish all along the ridge of the Vineyards directly upon them: I had brought with me Captain Curry, who was my Lieutenant at Alba, with thirty good Soldiers, almost all Gentlemen, who would by no means be left behind with my brother Monfieur de Lionz, to whom the King had given the government of Alba, at the humble request of Monfieur de Violence my Brother, and I had preferred in his behalf. About which there hapned a very great dispute, for the Mareschal de Briffac desired to accept him till he had first had an answer from me; who so soon as he understood the King's resolution to send me to Sienna, he sent me another Courrier, entreating me not to quit the Government of Alba, and that I might name, either my own Lieutenant, or any other command in the place till my return, affuring me that he would accept whomsoever I should appoint, and in the mean time would take care that my pay should be kept for me, so that I should not lose so much as a denier; advising me withal to consider, that the Command the King gave me at Sienna would not be of so long continuance as that of Alba. But I most humbly besought him to approve of my Brother, entreating him that he would be as much his affectionate servant as I was, and that if it should please God I ever return'd from Sienna, I were to come and find him out, and to serve him in the condition of a private Soldier, though the King should not please to confer any command upon me, that I might have the honor to be near his person. Now to give you an account of the humour of the Mareschal, I say and maintain, that he was one of the bravest Gentlemen, and the best Masters that has been these fifty years in France, for such as he knew to be zealous and affectionate to the King's service; and if President Birague will lay his hand upon his heart, he will swear the same. He was a man that had evermore a greater regard to another man's profit than his own, a man could never lose any thing by him, but every man had his share both of advantage and honor, and as to the rest, he lov'd and honor'd a worthy man, even to the meanest Soldier. The best men he knew by their names, and would give ear to the advice of all, without relying too much upon his own head-piece as Monfieur de Lantrec was too much endin'd to do. But to return to the Skirmish, I found at the Oratory Signior Cornelio, and Colonel Cheramont, whom I had not before seen, since my arrival. Betwixt the said Oratory and la Bonde there is a great High-way, and by the side of it two little houses, some ten or twelve paces distant from one another. In this High-way we gave the Enemy a charge, and gain'd from them the two houses, into one of which Captain Curry put himself, and our Italiens into the other, they there continued about three quarters of an hour, almost always fighting, in so much that the Mareschal sent thither all his Spanish Harquebuzers, and even the Italiens who were at their Fort of St. Mark, and planted fix Ensigns of Spanish foot upon the great High-way to maintain the fight. Now the hottest of the skirmish was on the right hand, and on the left amongst the Vines, so that the Cavalry could do nothing. Signior Cornelio then by the advice of his Captains was about to retire, when I remonstrated to him that he must by no means offer to flirr, till first he had some horse, and also the Grifins to make good his retreat, to whom I would presently go, and entreat them to come up half way betwixt the Pallafle and the Oratory, and would likewise go to requite the fame of the Count de la Miranda, who was Colonel of the horse, and had halted in a Valley behind a little Wood near unto la Pallafle; which they approv'd of very well; and so I presently ran to the Grifins, entreating them to advance but two hundred paces only; but the Colonel that commanded under Monfieur de Fontevano would by no means be persuaded to it. I then spurre'd up to the Count, and pray'd him to send out four Cornets of horse, which he presently did, and they were the Count de Fontevana, Cornelio, Joby, the Baron de Rabas, and my Nephew Serilla, who commanded the Company of Monfieur de Capierre. Now as the Cornets were advancing at a good round gallop, I saw Signior Cornelio, who at the importunity of his Captains was again beginning to retire, and presently ran to him, remonstrating that the six Ensigns were upon their match, and that they were Spaniards, whose colours being so large, it was a sign the Mareschal was there in person with all his Army, who would infallibly charge him to soon as ever he should begin to defend the Hill, entreating him therefore to return back to the same place, which he did, being departed from it not above thirty paces. I then return'd to the Cornets, and flopt them in the mid-way betwixt the Pallafle and the Oratory, which having done, I once more went to the Grifins, who after I had made them sensible of the danger we were in to lose all the Officers, arose and began to strike up their Drums.
Drums, and march up close by the Horse. The Marquis seeing the Cavalry and the Germans begin to appear in the field, thought it now convenient to withdraw his fix Ensigns out of the great High-way; there was not one Officer of ours on horfeback but my felf and Signior Marivul, who never flirred from my fide, fo that I could plainly fee all the Enemy did: I then faid to Signior Corelle, Look you Sir, the Spanish Ensigns having discovered our Cavalry, and the Germans are facing about, now charge them home, for now it is time: which being faid, Signior Marivul alighted, and flapt a Target to his arm, having his fword in his hand; I then faid to Captain Churry, that he was now to fhew what he had ever been, and must let these Strangers fee what a Gaffe could do, bidding him be fure to charge in before them all. Monfieur de Fourcavaus had brought four hundred Italian Harquebuzers from Parma, very brave men, who were drawn up close by the Oratory (for my part) I will not make my felf more valiant than I am, for I alighted not, I already began to play the King’s Lieutenant, and we divided the men to the right and left, all along a great High-way, and there we made our charge, which was a brave one, if ever any was, and fuch that we drove them as far as a defcent on the left hand of St. Bunde, where the Marquis fwoon with the remainder of his Spaniards and Germans, and being the Spaniards fwoon juft upon the edge of the afcent, thofe who were put to flight run quite through them, and both one and the other ran full drive upon the Germans. The Marquis who faw the torrent of this disorder coming upon him, began, as well as he could, to retire by a Valley, without found of Trumpeter, or fong of Drum. Thofe who were come out of St. Mark’s, retreated also in very great hafe, carrying off with them the four little pieces with which they had batter’d St. Bunde, into their Fort. The Marquis told me after, when I came out of Sienna, as he accompanied me two miles from the Town, that had we ffolw’d the purfuit we had puf all his Army to flight, and given him a total defeat: but we were not aware of his disorder; we thought our felves very happy, that we had come off fo good cheap; and our Enemies thought themselves happier than we.

Monfieur de Strozzy, who was in a Valley on the other fide the Port St. Mark’s, as he was confufing with Monfieurs de Lanfae and de Fourcavaus about the fituation of the Camp, heard very well that there was a very great skirmifh; but he knew that all the Captains were there, and that I was alo gone firher; neither did they ever imagine it had been half fo sharp as it was; but in the end hearing it grow fo loud, they left off and came gallopping to us; yet could they not come time enough to the charge, which the faid Monfieur de Strozzy was very much troubled at, and something discontented that no notice had been given him of the fight, and Monfieur de Fourcavaus was the fame, for as much as the Grifon, of which he was the chief Officer, came up juft to flight, and that his Harquebuzers had fought. But I excuf’d it to them both, telling them that I had never a horfe-man with me, but Signior Marivul, and that he was too brave a Gentleman to leave the skirmifh, having besides three or four Ensigns under his command, wherefore it had not been poifible for me to fend them word. Now Monfieur de Strozzy at his retiring from dinner had fent away Signior Roberto his Brother in all hafe, to caufe the French and Germans to advance, which he did, and found the Germans beginning to drink, and confenfually could not fuddainly get them from the Tables; for the faid Signior de Strozzy had caufed meat to be fent ready for them upon the great High-way, which had he not done they had held on their march, and juft in the nick had come into the heat of the fight, and fo the Battail had been won: but we muft fay with the Italian. Fa me indovina, & io ti dare denari. This was that which was done the futf day that I arrived at Sienna, where I fo signal’d my felf to the Siennais, and all the Italian Captains, that knew me not before, as purchafed me a very great eleaf, both with the Inhabitants of the City and the whole Army; for by running up and down amongst the foot now here, now there, ordering thefe on the one fide, and thofe on the other, I gave them to understand that this was not the futf skirmifh by a hundred wherein I had been engag’d.

The Marechal then lodg’d his Camp between Porto Nova and Porto Tuffa, in the beautiful Suburbs that are there, and not only there, for I dare boldly fay, that the Suburbs of Sienna had fwoon altogether, they would have been bigger than the City; for in the Suburbs were more goodly Palace, and finer Churches and Monaftries than there were in the body of the Town. The next morning Monfieur de Strozzy carref us up to that part of the wall looking towards the Enemies Camp, where we fell into confufion, whether or no it were good to hazard a Battail; and there the opinions were various, fome thinking it the best, and others conceiving it not convenient fo to do. Thofe who were of opinion that we ought not to fight object’d, that we could not go to the Palace.
Palace of Diana, without passing close by a little Fort the Marquis had made, betwixt the little observance and the aforesaid Palace, where there was three or four pieces of great Artillery (as it was true), and that leaving that behind, we should also leave our own Fort of Camolia naked of defence. I then proposed that for any harm the Artillery of the little Fort could do us, we could pass by a little before day, and might leave an Ensign or two to bridge the little Fort from daring to fall out, and as for the Fort of Camolia, we could leave three or four Companies of the City to keep them like wise in awe, and that I on my part with the rest of the Forces of the City would go out by Porto Fontanarano, and should by break of day be got to the top of a little Mountain, ready to present my self in the Plain at to opportune a time, that just as our Camp should appear near to theirs, I should at the same instant be got so near them, that they must of necessity enter into some apprehension, to see us come the one on the one side, and the other on the other.

The Sienna made account that they could draw four thousand good men out of the Town. There were some who approvd of my proposal, and of the Sienna also which was to fight; and others were of a contrary opinion. The Game could not be plaid without being lufily dispersed, for the Marquis had three Tertia's of Spaniards, namely that of Sicily, that of Naples, and that of Corfica (which we call Regiments) the two first composed of old Soldiers, and that of Corfica of new-raifed men (wherein nevertheless there were very good Soldiers) together with two Regiments of Germans, each of them containing twelve Ensigns, and four or five thousand Italians. As to the Cavalry I think ours would have heare theirs, for we had very good Officers, and very brave Light-horse; and for the rest, our Army consisted of ten Ensigns of Germans, ten of Grifons, fourteen of French, and betwixt five and six thousand Italians. Of all this day Monfsieur de Strozzy could not resolve what to do, by reason of the diversity of opinions, nevertheless I think he was resolv'd the next day to have fought them; for the Siennans were stark mad of fighting, and I do believe fighting for their liberty would have play'd the devils: But the Marquis either had some knowledge of his intent, or else his design was not to stay any longer there; for he departed an hour before day in the morning; so that had God inspir'd Monfsieur de Strozzy, that he had this day gone out to fight, we had in the morning found them all disfild'd, and had fought them upon their retreats, and in disorder: but I must repeat what I said before, Fama indevisor, & lo tio duro doerit.

The Marquis took the way towards Marcoubant, where the Marechal had left four Ensigns, or else the Marquis held it, who went to another place hard by, and Monfsieur de Strozzy directly to Marcoubant, I do not certainly remember whether; but so it was that their Camps lay eight or nine days within seven or eight miles of one another, the one going to take some place, and the other following after to relieve it. Nevertheless the Marquis at last arrived before Marcoubant, and began to batter either to take or retake it. I was not there, for I stood behind at Sienna, according to the King's intention, and in relation to my command; yet had it not been for a sickness that I began to fall into, I do believe Monfsieur de Strozzy would have taken me along with him, and have left Monfsieur de Lanfjac Governor, as before; but in the end, as Monfsieur de Strozzy march'd away, Monfsieur de Lanfjac took his way towards Rome, to acquit himself of his Commission of Ambassador. So soon as the Marquis was sensible of Monfsieur de Strozzy's coming, he gave place, and drawing off his Artillery, plac'd himself a little on the right hand, at the distance of a hundred and fifty or two hundred paces from the Town, where he made his advantage of two or three little Mountains, under which he entrenched himself on that side by the Fountains. Monfsieur de Strozzy then came and encamp his Army all along a hollow way that there was betwixt the Marquis and the Town. Now Monfsieur de Strozzy plac'd himself so near in design to fight the Marquis, if he could once temt him out of his Trenches, and there they lay seven or eight days to see which should first disdilge. The Marquis knew very well, that in case he should stift move, Monfsieur de Strozzy would infallibly fight him; and therefore would by no means be drawn to do it, being expressly forbid to put any thing to hazard, as we were after told by Don Juan de Luna himself, who was present with the Marquis at that time, and in his own person, a very brave Spaniard.

Now betwixt the two Camps there was no more than the breadth of one little field, and that nor above fifty paces over, wherein there daily hapned skirmishes betwixt the foot of both Armies, and so disdilantageous to us, that we always came off with the worfe, by reason of the Artillery the Marquis had plant'd upon the three forementioned little Mountains; so that Monfsieur de Strozzy left more men by their Canon than by their smaller flor. The said Sieur de Strozzy was possed of one Fountain only, upon which
which the Artillery from one of the Mountainers continually played, and kill'd a great
many men; so that they were constrain'd to fetch all their water by night; neither could
he ever draw up his Cavalry into Battle, but that the great shot did great execution up
on them, and I was told that in three or four days time he had above sixscore men
and horses kill'd, intimath that our Cavalry was infinitely discourag'd, and the foot also very
much baffled and out of heart. Notwithstanding all which Moniteur de Stroozey per
sisted obstinate not to remove his Quarters, and that both out of the hope he had that
the Marquis would fiift dislodge, and give him an opportunity to fight him, as also out of
punctilio, that he would not give him that advantage, as the first to forfake his
ground. Both the one and the other of these Generals had mettle enough, and both
of them had glory in their prospects: but it is better to do one's Masters business, than to
stand upon niceties of honor; I mean if there be no manifest shame in the case.

Moniteur de Stroozey every day sent an account of all he did, both to me and to the
Senat, as we also met every day in Council to debate upon what he wrote to us, and I ev
every hour advised, and entertain'd him not to confound his Forces with continual lofs, which
would encourage the Enemies Soldiers, and dishearten his own the Lords of the Senate
likewise could't him the same; but he had so passionate a desire to fight with the Mar-
quis, that that longing alone blinded his judgment, and deprived him of the knowledge
of his daily lofs. I dy'd with desire to go to him, but the Senate would by no means
confent unto it: at last I wrote to him, that within two days he would retire in the
face of the Enemy, directly to Lusignano, whereupon I immediately dispatch'd away a
Gentleman to him, who was present when the Letter came, called the Sieur de Lefecuffan,
by him entertaining and conjuring him not to make his retreat by day, since the lofs in
the skirmishes had haper'd on his side (for by ill fortune our people had lost more the two
last days, than of all the time before,) and that whoever might advise him to the con-
trary, I begged of him to be ru'd by me, and to retire by night, for it was no more than
two miles to Lusignano: beseeching him withall to remember that King Francis had re
treated from before Landrecy after this manner, and was so far from being condemn'd
for doing that, on the contrary he was highly applauded for it, and it was looked upon
by all the Princes and Potentates of Christendome for the most prudent thing he ever did;
yet had he sustaine'd no losses by skirmishes. I gave him moreover to understand, that
hitherto I had never seen a good retreat made after this manner, neither by Friend nor
Enemy, if they who made it were closely purvey'd. I further represented to him the re-
tract that Meffieurs de Montegran and de Builly would make at Brugolles, who would
not be perfwaded to retire without seeing the Enemy, for all the Captains who were pre
sent with them could do or say, which was the caufe they were defeated within les than
half a mile of their Quarters. I also fet before him the example of Moniteur d'Anne-
bont, at that time Marechal of France, at Termonme, of Moniteur d'Auffin at Carvignan,
and several others: and that since so great a Prince, and so great a Soldier, as King
Francis was, had by all the world been commend'd for that discreet manner of proceeding,
he ought to take him for his precedent, confidering also that so many valiant Leaders had
left themselves in retreatting at the head of an Army; and that by such a los' (if it shoul
d be unhappily fall out) he might guess what would become of the City of Sienna. In short
Moniteur de Lefecuffan brought me word, that once Moniteur de Stroozey was re
folvd't to do it after this fort, and had not been for one unlucky fellow called Thomas
da Befene he had with him, he had retreated after the manner I advis'd: but as there
are some men in the world, whom God has appointed to do good, so has he created
others to do mischief, as he did this Thomas; for he represent'd to Moniteur de Stroozey
so many things, and so preach'd what a diabol he would be to him to steal away by
night, that in the end he made him alter his determination; who thereupon fent me
word that he was resolv'd to make his retreat in the face of the Enemy: Whereas before,
to let me fee that he was resolv'd' to follow my advice, he had at one of the clock in the
time fent away two pieces of Cannon he had with him straight to Lusignano, at which
place I do believe they were already arriv'd (for it was but two little miles) before he al
ter'd his resolution. It was four of the clock in the morning before Moniteur de Lef
cuffan parted from him, who brought him his determination, and arriv'd at seven of the
clock in the morning a la mode de France. This hapned to be in August, and pretend
ly I fent to the Senate, defining them all to meet me at the Palace, for that I had something
of importance to deliver them, which they did. Now my sicknes was still more and
more encreas't upon me, and was at last turn'd into a continued diavor, with a Fiee, not
withstanding which about nine of the clock I came to the Palace, where I began a Speech
to them in Italian, which I spoke better then than I can write it now, which is one rea
son
Gentlemen, I have requested you to this Assembly, that I might remonstrate to you four things, which I conceive to be very important to your consideration, and have been moved to do, by reason that Monseur de Strozzy has this night sent me word by Monseur de L'Escouan of the resolution he has taken this morning to retreat in open day to Langnans, in the very face of his Enemy. You all know very well what perfidours and intricacies we have used, that he would take heed of retracting after this manner, and particularly what arguments and examples I laid before him by the said Sieur de L'Escouan, which he relished very well at first, and was once resolved to do as King Francis did before Landresy; nevertheless, by me not what misfortune, he suffers himself to be carried away by a man he has with him, one Thomas d' Albene, who has made him alter his determination, by making him believe that to retreat by night would be dishonourable to him: God grant the will should hold of this man do not prove dishonourable and ruinous both to him and to you also. Now Gentlemen, whilst we are in expectation what will be the issue of this Battail, I have four things to remonstrate to you. The first, and which most nearly concerns you, is, that you will please to call to mind, that you are Sovereigns in your own Republick, that your Producers from Father to Son have left you this honourable Title: that this War aims at nothing but the ruine of that Sovereignty; for if the Enemy remain victorious, you are to hope for nother, than from Sovereigns to be converted into Subjects, and Slaves; and that therefore it is much better for you to die with your arms in your hands in the defence of this honourable Title, than tamely to part with your Birth-right, and to outlive the lots of your Privileges and Liberty with shame and infamy. The second is, that you will consider the friendship the King my Master has towards you, who pretends to no other advantage from you, than that your amity be reciprocal to his, and that since he has generously taken you into his protection, you will have this confidence in him, that he will never forsoak you: for should you go left in your resolution for one little blow of fortune, consider with what contempt the whole world will look upon you; there is not a Prince upon the earth that will aid and assist you, should they once discover you to be a mutable and irrefolute people. For all these considerations therefore I beseech you to continue firm and confiant, and approve your selves maganimous and faithful in adversity, when you shall hear news of the lots of the Battail, which I very much fear you will soon do, concerning the resolution Monseur de Strozzy has taken, though God of his goodness divert the misfortune. The third is, that you will consider in what a height of reputation your forefathers liv'd and dy'd, which also they have left you to inherit, that you may for ever carry the name of the most valiant and warlike people of all Italy, and have moreover left behind them honorable memory of the Battails they have won of those of their own Nation. You also derive your selves from the ancient warlike Romans, and pretend to be their true legitimate Sons, giving their ancient arms, which is the Wolf with Rammus and Remus, Founders of their proud City, the Metropolis of the World. I therefore most earnestly beseech you Gentlemen, that you will call to mind who you are, and what your Progenitors have ever been; which title of honor should you once lose, what a shame and infamy would it be to your famous Ancestors, and what caufe will your children have to curse the hour that ever they were defended of such Fathers, who have abandon'd their Liberty, to submit their necks to the yoke of servitude and subjuction? The fourth thing I have to trouble you wishal is to remonstrate to you, that as I have an entire confidence, you will manifest your valour and vettute upon this occasion, you in order thereto will fuddainly think of making provision of all things necessary to the conservation of your City; for the Battail I already give you for lost, not that it will nevertheless proceed from any default in Monseur de Strozzy, but from the losses we have sufteind in the several skirmishes that have been fought before Mauchant, it being impossible by reason thereof, that our people must be mightily Creft-fallen and defeated, and those of the Enemy in greater heart and courage. 'Tis an effect of victory to be extasied, and fear is the issue of misfortune and disgrace; neither do the little losses in skirmishes, which are the usual forerunners of a Battail, ever portend any thing but disaster and ruine. On the other side alio, those who retire must of necessitie shew their books.
to the Enemy; where, although they often face about, yet must they still make for
cwards, where it will be impossible but they must meet with some hedge or ditch, oth-
er which they must of necessity pass in disorder; for upon a Retreat every one will
thrive to be foremost; because fear and terror are the ordinary concomitants of those
who would retire; and for never so little disorderly haste they shall make all will be
lost, if the Enemy have but half the courage that men should have. Remember (Gentle-
men) the Battail that Hannibal gain’d of the Romans at Cannae near to Rome. The
Romans who were at home in the City never suspected it possible that their people
should be beaten, and therefore made no kind of provision, nor took any order in
their affairs; so that when news came of the defeat, they were floven into so great a
terror, that the Gates of Rome remain’d for three days and three nights wide open,
not a man so much as daring to go out them; so that had Hannibal pursed his vi-
sory, he might without any opposition have entered the City; as Titus Livius reports
in his History. Therefore (Gentlemen) give present order for the securing of your Gates,
and appoint men to guard them, which you must also choose out of those of best re-
pute for the bravest and most faithful amongst you: In the next place cause procla-
mation to be made throughout the City, that all those who have Corn or Meal at the
Mills, shall make haste to get their Corn ground, and bring it all into the City. Caufe
also all those who have grain, or any other forts of provision in the Villages immediately
to fetch it into the Town, upon penalty of having it burnt, or put to fack if by to mor-
row night it be not all brought within the walls; and all this to the end that we may
have wherewith to support our selves, and maintain the Siege till the succours the King
will fend us shall arrive; for he is not so incomconsiderable a Prince, but that as he has had
the power to fend you these aids that are already come, he is yet able to fend you more;
and moreover command your three Standard-bearers to have all their Companies in a
readiness at the beat of Drum. My Fever pressing upon me, I am constrain’d to retire to
my lodging, in expectation of such news as God shall please to fend us, and you I hope
in the mean time will take present order about such things as I have put you in mind
of, in which allowance, for the service of the King my Master, and particularly your
own, I make you a tender not only of the little experience God has given me, but more-
over of my life for the defence of your City, and the ancient privileges thereof.

Thus then I departed from them, who immediately resolv’d to have patience in what
fortune ever God should be pleased to send them, and to eat to their very children,
before they would for any misterturn that should befal them, depart from the Amity
and Protection of the King of France. I perceived both by their countenance and their
speeches, that they were a people very well resolv’d to defend their liberty, and to pre-
serve inviolate the friendship they had promised and sworn to me. A resolution at which
indeed I was mightily well pleas’d. They immediately then caus’d proclamation to be
made, upon which every one ran to the field to fetch in what they had, and about five
clock in the Evening arrived Captain Cambas, Camp-Master to the French Infantry,
who came to bring me news that the Battail was lost, and Monsieur de Strozzy wounded
to death, whom they had laid upon Poles to carry him to Montecatini, and that that very
night all those of the Army who had escap’d the Battail would be at the Gates of Sienna.
I leave any one to judge what a condition I was in, being sick of a Fever and a Diffen-
ty, seeing our General dead, or what was as bad, it being not above fourteen or fifteen
days since I arrived in this Republic, nor having any acquaintance with any one person
in the City, and consequently not knowing who were good Frenchmen, and who were
not. Time is requir’d to the knowledge of men. Monfsieur de Strozzy had left me but
five Italian Companies, of which I did not know so much as one Captain, and those
had left in the Citadel and the Fort of Camoile, which were the Keys of the City. I then
sented Captain Cambas to carry the news to the Senate, who were nothing dismair’d at it,
bottold him that three or four days before I had remonstrated to them, that this re-
treat would be dangerous; and that although by what I had said to them they had given
the Battail for lost, they would nevertheless alter the good inclination they had
for the King, nor despair of being releiv’d by him.

Do not think it strange (fellow Captains) if foreseeing the los of a Battail, I also fore-
told it to the Sienna, which I did, not to dishearten, but to assure them, to the end
that the sudden news thereof might not strike a general astonishment throughout the whole
City; thus was this made them releive, this made them take counsel to prepare themselves;
and in my opinion men do better in expecting the worst, than in being over confident of
their Fortune. Upon what I had said to them every one put on a resolution to die in the
defence
defence of their wall, and every thing was presently brought to the City. At break of day in the morning the Infantry arriv’d, for the Cavalry were gone away with Monfieur de Strozzy; neither had there indeed at Siene been any thing for the horses to eat. Colonel Rheinirse, and Signior Cornello Bentinglio came to my lodgings, where amongst all it was determined, that the Rheinirse should out of ten Ensigns that he had make fix, Signior Cornello six of Italians, and Captain Cambas fix of French, and that all the rest should be sent away to Montafon. The Foot were never permitted to enter the Town, till first the Election was made, and with the remainder we allo sent away five Ensigns of Italians to go to the said Montafon: to which place I write to Monfieur de Strozzy (upon the assurance Signior Cornello had given me that there was yet hopes of his life) to give him an account of the order I had taken, which he did allo very well approve. The Marquis knew not how to follow his victory, which if he had, all the Army had been cut to pieces, and all the earth could not have fav’d Monfieur de Strozzy from being put to a cruel death by the Duke of Florence. ’Tis the ordinary fault of Conquers. You Generals of Armies therefore that shall come after us, learn to be wise at the expense of so many others, and suffer not your selves to be so far transported with joy for the winning of a Battle, that you forget to improve it to the utmost; follow your blow, and do not give your Enemy leisure to recollect himself. The Marquis came not till the next day to Lafignons, for he’d left Monfieur de Strozzy might again rally his Army, considering that he had lost none of his horse, and not knowing him to be wounded, and came not of three days before Sienna.

I shall not undertake to give any account how this Battail was fought, nor how it was lost; both because I was not present there, and that allo there is some dispute about it, and various reports made of those who had done well and ill. This is like a trial at Law, all parties must be heard before judgment be pronounced: for I have heard the French and the Langueux accuse the Grisians and Italians for behaving themselves ill in this Battail (though they deny it) and the Cavalry much worse. Others say, and affirm that there was treachery in the battins: for my part I can say nothing to’t, for I know nothing but by hearfay; but shalllick to what I said before, that their retreats by day in the face of an Enemy are dangerous, and to be avoided, if possible; or if not, ’tis better to lay all at stake.

Monfieur de Strozzy lay thirteen days without discovering any hopes of life, which notwithstanding he fail’d not to send out Caprons towards Romania to raise new Forces, and to furnish all the Garrisions upon the Sea Coast, and about Montafon with foot and horfe. He was a man of great vigilance, diligence, and wifdom; but ’tis impossible to be always fortunate. Now seeing my felf reduced to the left extremity, at the door of death, and given over by all my Physicians, I affign’d over the Government of the City to Signior Cornello: but Monfieur de Strozzy hearing of my desperate condition, sent away to Rome for Monfieur de Lanfae to come and command there; who accordingly being come as far as Montafon, he was there advis’d to go by night, and on foot with two Guides and one Servant, and to balk the great-high-ways, by which means he might the better escape the Enemies Guards: but as he came hard by Sienna, he was there met by some Soldiers who were going to the warre, by them taken and carried to the Marquis, and by him sent away to Florence, where he remained prisoner during all the time of the War, and a good while after. The said Sieur de Lanfae was in this very ill advised, for he might have paft well enough, had he known how to carry his buffets. Had he come I do certainly believe I had died; for I had then nothing to do, whereas my mind was to wholly taken up with the care of my buffets, that I had not leisure to think of my difeafe. Monfieur de Fougueur was wounded, and taken prisoner at this Battail, and Captain Bellon Colonell of the French Foot, with several others, to the number of twentie four and five hundred. ’Twas said that Monfieur de Strozzy in his own person, behav’d himself like a brave and valiant Leader. And this was the fortune of this unfortunate Battail.

This History may serve for example to such as have a vanity in making retreats in the face of an Enemy, and I should ever advise that they would rather put it to the path of a Battail, than to retire after this manner: for I find nothing in the whole practice of Arms so difficult as a retreat. Of this I think the Comblast at St. Quentin gives us more than sufficient proof; a man who in his time had known both how to thieve, and teach other Commanders what they ought to do, though such was his misfortune here, that he could not make use of those precepts himself had at other times given to others. Though I must nevertheless say, that had he been well seconded by the Captains of Foot, who were without with him, he might perhaps have made his retreat; for they had only needed...
needed to hazard three or four hundred Harquebusiers with the Marechal de St. Andre, who might very well have kept the Count d'Aiglemont from seeing the disorder that was amongst the Baggage, which was yet mixed with the horse, and he would never have charg'd the said Marechal, had he been fettin'd by the Harquebusiers, forasmuch as the said Count had no foot at all, and the Constable had had above half an hours time wherein to be gaining ground, as he had already begun to do, and had recover'd the wood to save his Infantry, and so had retir'd with all the Cavalry to la Fere, by which means they could have loft no more than the Harquebusiers, and part of the Marechal's horse only; which it had been much better to do, than to lose the General, and all, as they did. I have since talkt with several of the Foot Officers, who are yet living, and remonstrated to what a riddle this busines was to all men of understanding, telling them that I at the age of eighteen or nineteen only had very well discover'd in the retreat of Captain Carbon and Monfieur de Grammont, at St. Jean de Luz, that a small party was to be hazarded to save all, of which I my self had had experience, as I have writ in the beginning: but they excused themselves upon the Camp-Master, and laid all the blame to him, which was all they had to say for themselves. All these examples I have set down that they may be of use to others for the time to come, and cannot forbear often to repeat, and much to insist upon the fault committed by these kinds of retreats, by reason of the great inconveniences that ensue upon them, to the loss of a Battail. It were not worth so much repentance, if they were reliev'd upon a Battail, and to fight it out, that every one might do his best: but to be beaten when they have a right to retire, and apparently decline fighting is intolerable.

You Generals and Lieutenants of Provinces may here fee of what importance these errors are; when that of St. Quentin put the whole Kingdom in danger, and was the occasion that we quitted all our Conquests; and this put the King's affairs of Italy in a very ill condition. Be not then affh'md to cover your designs with the shades of night, which is so far from being shameful, that it is on the contrary honorable to fool and deceive your Enemy; that watches an opportunity to do you mischief; and who when the day appears shall find nothing but the empty neft, and the birds flown and gone: it is a much greater shame and dishonor to you to be beaten turning your back. If you be so nice of your honor fight in good earnest in God's name; set all in motion. For, if it be a place of the least advantage, and there quietly expect either till your Enemy shall be weary of wailing upon you, or that he comes to attack you in your Camp, and so you shall be sure at least to play your game above board as they say.

Now the Marquis lodg'd the Tertia of Corfica at the little Oberrance, the Tertia of Sicily at the Chartereux, where he entrench him so well, that we could by no means come to them, and himself with the residue of his Camp remain'd at Arbrivote, and part of his Cavalry were quarter'd at Bonconvent. He trusted to the Garrison he had in the Fort St. Mark every night to go the Patrouille, and so secure the road on that side towards Fontenbrando, that no provision should enter into Sienna; yet could he not order it, but that there entred Cows and Buffles for six weeks together. I think the thing that made the Marquis proceed with so much leisure and moderation, was that he waited for my death; and that of Monfieur de Strozzy, making account that we were once dead, and Meflours de Lanzac and de Fourcarus taken prisoners, our people wanting a French-man to head them would deliberate to retir: Monfieur de Strozzy nevertheless recover'd, and being told that I was dead (for by reason I had for three days been look'd upon as a dead man, no one entering into my Chamber but the Priests to take care of my soul, for my body was given over by the Physicin, they had sent him such word) Monfieur de Strozzy. I say, seeing Monfieur de Lanzac taken, and me dead, would venture to come from Montalin, and to put himself into Sienna. According to this resolution then he departed in the beginning of the night from Montalin, with six Companies of foot and two Troops of horse, one of which was commanded by my Nephew Senelles, who before he set out bought himself to borrow three or four Trumpets of his Companions, fearing that would fall out which did; for Monfieur de Strozzy could not so secretly depart, but that the Marquis had intelligence of his design, and with all his Camp lay in wait for him about Fontenbrando, and all along the River Trefío.

Monfieur de Strozzy had placed all his Foot before, and his Cavalry behind, being himself mounted upon a very little horse, and having his leg fettin'd in a Scarf fastened to the pommel of his Saddle, and with him was the Bishop of Sienna. So soon as our Italian Foot came into the Enemies Ambuscado, they fell upon them with so great fury, and so sudden a terror, that without much resistance they betook themselves to flight, and bore Monfieur de Strozzy over and over, who with the Bishop got amongst the ruins of
of some old houses, where he laid holding his horse in his hand. The noise was so
great that it was heard to Siena, it being not above a mile off at the further. The En-
emy follow'd their victory with great exaction, when Serliuec with his Trumpeters charg'd
through the meddlef of them; who hearing to many Trumpeters, and seeing the horse fallen
in amongst them, faced about in rout and confusion, and ran full drive upon the Mar-
quis, who seeing the disorder was constrain'd to retire to Arribietes. Now those who
had given the charge, and who also had receiv'd it, were Spaniards and Italians mix-
together, insomuch that our people fled on the one side, and the Enemy on the other.
Two or three hundred Italians of ours recover'd the walls of Siena, others fled away
twelve miles from thence, and old Captains too, whom the Marechall very much e-
ffort'd but the bravest men in the world having once lost their judgment, and giving
all for lost, know not where they are. By this you may see how great the dangers of
war are, and how infamous a thing it is to run away, without first seeing an apparent
danger. During this baffle the day began to appear, when Serliuec remaining upon the
place, found he had lost no more than three or four of his Troop only, who were also run
away with the Foot: but I believe there were not many left of the other Troop, they hav-
ing only a Lieutenant to command them. Monfieur de Strozzy hearing now no more
noise, with much ado again mounted on horseback, beginning to discover our Cavalry,
and was looking if he could find Serliuec amongst the dead bodies: when seeing him
come to him, I leave you to judge what joy there was both on the one side and on the
other, and so they march'd together straight towards the City. Now I must needs say
that Monfieur de Strozzy herein committed one of the greatest follies that any man in his
command ever did, as I have told him an hundred times since; for he knew very well
that had he been tak'n all the world could not have fa'd him from being put to an
ignominious death by the Duke of Florence, to profit and inventare a hatred he had con-
ceived against him. And although Serliuec be my Nephew, I may with truth give
him this honor and commendation, that he was the only caufe of Monfieur de Strozzy's
safety; which I may the better be bold to write, because Monfieur de Strozzy himself
told me so. His Troop indeed was a very good one, being for the greatest part Gallo-
ns and French; for it was the old Company of Monfieur de Copiere. Of Captains thre
came to the Town only Caraffa, who was since Cardinal, and another, as I was told,
whole name I have forgot, and two or three hundred Soldiers, whom Monfieur de
Strozzy would not suffer to come into the Town, but that night sent them away with
the aforesaid Captain, and kept Caraffa with him.

So soon as Monfieur de Strozzy came into the City he presently enquir'd how I did,
and was answer'd, that for three or four days they had began to conceive some hopes
of my life, wherupon he came and alighted at my lodging, the Bishop and the said
Gentleman being with him, where he found me so miserably worn away, that my bones
had pierc'd through my skin in several parts of my body. He comforted me after the
belt manner he could, and there flaid twelve days expectig how God would dispose
of me; when seeing me from day to day recover strength, and grow into a better po-
ture of health, herefolv'd the thirteenth day in the beginning of the night to depart,
without acquainting any one with his intention but my self only. A little before he took horfe
he and the Bishop came to take their leaves of me, knowing very well that his being
there would caufe the Marquis to proceed with greater vigour against the Town, and
also that being abroad he might find some way or other to relieve me; where at parting
I promis'd and assure'd him to hold out to the last gip.

The Marechall had for Guards upon all the Roads to catch him, but he chose to retire
by a way, by which of all the other the Marechall never suspected he would attempt to
pass; for he went out at the Port Camoglia, from whence he descended on the right hand
down into the Valley, leaving the Port of Camoglia above, and going all along by the Ri-
ver towards the Palace of Dian. During his stay in Siena he perfectly recover'd of his
wounds, so that he arriv'd, and mounted himself upon a good horfe. He met by the way
fourty or fifty of the Enemies foot, which gave him some alarm, but he still held on his
way, without losing any but some few servants only belonging to some Gentlemen
who went out of the City to attend him. It was not however without peril. In
a few days he escap't three great dangers. A little after his departure I recover'd my
health, and caufed my self to be carried in a Chair about the Town. The Marquis lost
no time, that us up on every side, and every day we had very handsome skirmishes: but I knew very well that the Marquis would have me for want of bread; which was the reason that I made this Harangue to the Captains, whom I had assembled
together to that effect.

"Gentlemen,"
The Sieur de Montluçon's Speech to the Captains of Sieges.

"Gentlemen, I believe there is none of us who does not desire to come off from this Siege with honor and repute; the shift of honor has brought us hither. You see we are here up for a long time, for we are not to imagine that the Enemy will ever retire from before us, till he have us by one way or another, seeing upon the reducing of this place depends his victory. You see also that the King is at a great distance from us, and that therefore of a long time it will not be possible for him to relieve us, forasmuch as he must of necessity draw our succours from Germany, and out of his own Kingdom of France, the Italians themselves without the help of others not being sufficient to raise the Enemies, who have not only the Forces of Italy, but moreover of almost all other Nations. Now in expectation of this relief we are to have a long patience, in husbanding as much as is possible our provisions, in order whereunto I am to tell you, that I have deliberated to lessen the Size of bread from four to twenty ounces. I know very well the Soldiers would murmur at this, if you did not recommend to them how far we are distant from the King; that his Majesty cannot suddenly relieve us, and that you will rather die of famine, than that it shall be laid in your dith, that had you the patience to lessen your diet the Town had not been left. If it would be an infamous reproach to have it said, that you fill'd your bellies to starve your honor; you have not that your fellows up within these walls to occasion the loss and ruine of the City, but to defend and to save it. Represent to them that they are here amongst strange Nations, where they may set a mark of honor upon their own. What glory do men acquire, when they not only obtain honor and esteem for their own particular persons, but moreover for the Nation from whence they come? Is it what a generous heart should principally propose to himself for the reward of his doing and suffering. You Germans shall return home proud of the hardships you have sufferte'd, and the dangers you have undergone, and we Frenchmen also: and as for you who are Italians, you shall acquire this renown, with invincible courages to have fought for the liberty of your Country, a reputation we can none of us obtain, but by a long patience, in giving the King my Master time to relieve us, and believe I believe you, that his most Christian Majesty will in nothing fail of the friendship he has promised and sworn to you. If you renonistrate all this to your Soldiers, and that they see and know, that your fellows are thus resolv'd, I am affur'd they will follow the same ways you take. Therefore, Gentlemen, never think to excuse your selves upon them; I have never known a mutiny happen (and yet I have seen many) thorough Soldiers alone, if they were not by their Officers rent on, and encourag'd to it. If you lead them the way, there is nothing they will not do, no incommodity they will not suffer. Do it then I beseech you, or resolve betimes to discover the bottom of your hearts, and plainly tell you have no mind to undergo the length and inconveniences of a Siege, that such as had rather dishonourably spend their time in eating and drinking, than flake their persons upon an account of honor, may depart, and not divert others from nobler resolutions. Now because the Germans did not understand my Gibberish, I had the Rheinero's Interpreter tell his Master what I said, which he did, and the Rheinero made answer, that both he and his Soldiers would put on the same patience that we our selves did: and that although it was said of the Germans, that they could not endure without eating and drinking their fill, both he and his upon this occasion would manifest the contrary. I was in plain truth the most afraid of these people, because they love to make good cheer more than we. As for the Italian he is more enl'd to hardship and suffering than we are. Thus then every one return'd to his own Quarters to call their Companies together, to whom they accordingly remonstrated the same things that I had reprehend to them before. Which having heard the Soldiers all held up their hands, and swore they would suffer to the last gape of their lives before they would yield, or do any thing unbecoming men of honor. I then sent to the Senate, entreating them the next morning to assemble all the chief men of the City to the Palace, to hear a remonstrance I had to make to them, that concern'd them and their affairs, which they did, and there in Italian I made them this following Oration.

The resolution of the Captains and Soldiers.

"Gentlemen, had Almighty God been pleased sooner to restore to me my health and memory, I had sooner thought of what we are to do for the conservation of your liberty, and the defence of this City. You have all seen how I have by ficknes been reduc'd to the very door of death, and how God at last has rather by miracle than any operation of Nature raised me up again, to do yet more service for this Republic in such and so great a necessity. Now, Gentlemen, I very well see, that the conservation of your City and Liberty consists in nothing but the making your provisions hold out;
for should the Marquis attempt to have us by force, we shall hope give him such an entertainment as shall make him curse the hour that ever he came to besiege Siena: but I perceive he has no mind to go that way to work; on the contrary he intends to reduce us by famine; against which we must, if possible, provide, and defect him of that expectation. I yesterday called together the Colonels of the German and his Captains, Signior Corsello here present with his, and Combat also with his French Officers; to whom I remonstrated, that to prolong time, and to give the most Christian King leisure to relieve us, it would be necessary to lessen the Soldiers bread, from four and twenty to twenty ounces. Telling them that so soon as all the world should know, and particularly the King, that we are resolved to hold out to the last morrow, it will induce his Majesty to fall speedily in hand with levying of succours, that to many brave men may not be lost, and that he may not seem to abandon those he has taken into his protection in a time of the greatest necessity and danger. Now, by what I have been told you, during the time of my extremity, taken account of your provisions, and have only found so much as to last to the fifteenth of November. Of which you have also lent word to his Majesty, a thing that may very well give him occasion to grow cold in sending us relief, considering the great distance between him and us, and that also Winter is drawing on. Armies do not fly, nor ride Post. His succours will be worthy a great Prince, friendly to the friendship he beareth to you, and sufficient to force the Enemy from your Walls, and therefore cannot to suddenly be fet on foot. Now (Gentlemen) after I had remonstrated thus much to the Captains, I found them all ready to suffer to the last gale of their lives, and Nation for Nation went to make the same Remonstrance to their Soldiers, who, when they found all willing to have patience, and so have both profited and covered. See then what you Sienois ought to do, seeing it concerns the lot of your Liberties and Seignories, and peradventure of your lives; for you are to expect no good usage, having put your selves under the King’s protection. I beseech you therefore, that since we who have nothing here to lose, neither wives nor fires have “threw you the way, you will consider of it, to regulate the expense, and appoint Commissaries to take an account of all the corn you have in the City, and also of the mouths; and this being done, begin to reduce your bread to fifteen ounces, for it is not possible, but you must have some little conveniency in your houses, that the Soldiers cannot have. And of all this good order I shall advertaire the King’s Ministers at Rome, and from thence shall cause a Gentleman to go on forwards to the King himself, to the end that his Majesty may judge what time he may have whereto to relieve us, and for the rest rely upon me, who will have no more privilege than the meanest Citizen. The Faith that we shall keep shall not only be for our sins, but also for the saving of your lives; for the conservation of which I will willingly lay down my own. Credit Signori, che fa a la morte, io vi guardo danno che vi o promisso, riposte vi sopradime.

They then return’d me very many thanks for the good advice I had given them, which only tended to their own preservation, entreating me to retire to my lodging forasmuch as they would go into the great Hall, where all the most eminent person of the City were assembled, to whom they would give an account of what I had said to them, and that within two hours by two of their Senators they would return me an answer, and so I departed from them. They were as good as their words, and my Proposition being represented in this Assembly, they at last all with one voice resolved to eat to their very wives and children rather than not to wait the King’s pleasure, upon the confidence they repose in him of a certain relief, and immediately went about taking of order for the contracting the allowance of bread, and for the taking an Inventory of both Corn and other provision, which in five or six days was dispatch’d. I then sent away Moniteur de L’Echaffon, but with very great difficulty, for the Marquis caused friel Guard to be kept to hinder any from bringing us in any provisions, and as many Countrymen as were taken attempting so to do, were immediately hang’d without mercy. L’Echaffon went first to Montluc, there to give Moniteur de Strozzy an account of all proceedings, that he might give notice thereof to the King’s Ministers at Rome, and from thence went to his Majesty to represent unto him the miserable condition of the Sienois, as I had given him in charge to do, and this might be about the middle of October.

From this time forward I could do nothing worth speaking of until Christmas Eve, saying that a little after the departure of the laid L’Echaffon, we again abated the Soldiers bread to eighteen ounces, and that of the City to fourteen, though all the while there were frequent skirmishes, and very handomely fought on both sides. Upon Christmas Eve, about four of the clock in the afternoon, the Marquis de Marignano by one of his Trongers...
The Marquis of Montfau gives a Scalado by night to the Citadel and the Fort of Camoglia.

Trumpets sent me half a Stag, six Capons, six Partridges, six Borachio's of excellent wine, and six loaves of white bread, wherewith the next day to keep the Feast. I did nothing wonder at this courtesie, because in the extremity of my sickness he had permitted my Phyficians to fend men through his Camp to fetch certain Drugs from Florence, and had himself three or four times fent me a very excellent fort of Birds, a little bigger than the Beccafico's that are taken in Provence. He had also fuffer'd a Mule to enter the Town laden with Greek wine, which was fent me by the Cardinal of Armagnac, my people having fent the Cardinal word, that in the height of my ficknefs I talk of nothing but drinking a little Greek wine. Whereupon he fo order'd the bufinefs, that the Cardinal de Medici writ to the Marquis his Brother to fuffer it to come in to me, it being fent under pretence of making me a Bath. The wine came at a time when I was at the last gap, and fo was not deliver'd to me; but the half of it divided amongst the big-bellied women of the Town. Whileft Monfieur de Strozzy was there I gave him three or four bottles of it, the reft I drank as they do Hippocrates in the Mornings. All thefe civilities I had receiv'd from the Marquis before, which made me nothing wonder at the Prefent he fent me now: Part of which I fent to the Seigneur, part to the Rheinover, and the reft I refer'd for Signior Cornello, the Count de Gayas, and my felf, because we commonly are together. Such little civilities as these are very gentle and commendable, even befit the greateft Enemies; if there be no thing particular betwixt them, as there was not beftwixt us two. He ferv'd his Mafter, and I ferv'd me: He atqueat; me for his ho- nor, and I defended my felf for mine. He had a mind to acquire repuation, and fo had I. 'Tis for Turks and Sarazzens to deny an indifferent courtesie even to an Enemy: but then it muft not be fuch a one, or of fuch importance as to break or endanger your design.

But whileft the Marquis carefull'd me with his Prefuits, which I only paid back in thanks, he was preparing for me another kind of feafon; for the fame night about an hour after midnight he with all his Army gave a Scalado to the Citadel, and to the Fort Camoglia. 'Tis a strange thing, that above a month before my mind gave me, and seem'd to prefige that the Marquis would give me a Scalado, and the Captain St. Auban would be caufe of the los of the Fort. This was evermore running in my head, and that the German would occafion the los of the Citadell, into which an Ensign of that Nation every night entred, to keep Guard there; and that was the reafon why I plac'd an Ensign of Siennois in Guard over againft the Gate of the Citadel. Signior Cornello prevail'd fo far with the Rheinover, that he promis'd him that in cafe of an Alarm, and that the Enemy should offer an affault to the Citadel, the German Captain that he plac'd there every night upon the Guard, fhould from him have command to let in the Siennois to help to defend it, though I think he that night forget fo to do. Every night I went to fee a Company of French Foot mount the Guard in the Fort Camoglia, and another of Sien- nois between the Fort and the Gate of the City, under a great Market-house, which on the two fides was enclof'd with a little Trench; but in the front of it, which were diftantly to the Fort, it was all plain with the pavement, and it might be from this Count of Guard to the Fort three or four fcore paces, and as much to the Gate of the City. I plac'd this Guard there for two reafons, whereof one was to relieve the Fort if occafion should be, as the other Company of Siennois was to do the Citadel, and the other to watch that the Enemy did not fform the Wall of the City, far from which as on the left hand, at the going out of the Town, the wall was very low, and moreover a part thereof fallen down. I had several times before faid to Signior Cornello, and to the Count de Gayas, feeing Captain St. Auban's Company enter into the Fort, they fwear'd. Would you believe that it eternally runs in my mind that we fhall lofe this Fort thorough the default of Captain St. Auban, and his Company? I never faw him enter into it, that it did not put me into a fit of an Ague, out of the ill conceit I had of him. I could never fancy him in my heart, be- cause he never had twenty men of appearance in his Company, for he valued a Telfon more than the braveft man under the Sun, and as to himself he would never ftray from his lodging, for any thing either J, or any of his companions could fay to him. I could have with him far enough off, I had fo strange an aversion to him. And there were the rea- sons why I ever fancied that this man would bring upon me fome miffchief or other.

Our Fort of Camoglia was environ'd with a ditch of a Pikes length in widenes, and as much in depth, and not much more on three fides; and in the front of it which butted directly upon the Siennois Court of Guard, nothing but a little Rampire of fix or fe- ven foot high, and no more; and about the middle of the Rampire there was a little trench or half pace, where the Soldiers had fo much room only as to fulfein themselves upon their knees. The Enemy had another Fort three times as big as ours, and juft oppo-
to it, within an hundred and fifty paces the one of the other. So that neither they nor we durst pop up a head without being hurt from that Quarter; and in our there was a little Tower exactly over against them, where for greater security we had evermore three or four Soldiers which serv'd us for Centinels, and who got up into it by a little hand ladder, as they do into a Pigeon-houle. The said Tower had been broke through on that side towards the Enemies Fort, and we had there place barrels fill'd with earth, for the hole had been made by the Artillery from their Fort. Which Fort of theirs Monteur de Termus had caus'd to be made; but when he went away it was not wholly finish'd; nevertheless when the Duke of Florence broke with the King, the Marquis in one night made a very long march, carrying a great number of Pioneers along with him, and post-felling himself of it (for there was no Guard keep there) immediately put it into de-


cence.

Now, as I have said before, at one of the clock in the night the Marquis at once gave me a Scaldo both to the Citradel and the Fort Camoglia, where by ill luck the Com-

pany of St. Auban was this night upon duty. The Marquis with the Spaniards and Ger-

man Foot assaughed the Citradel, where by good fortune they had but three Ladders long enough, and at the very first to overcharg'd those three with men, that one of them broke. Our German defended, and the Siennois pretend'd themselves at the Gate, as they were appointed to do. But the Captain of the Germans who had the command of the Gate would by no means let them in. This dispute lasted for above half an hour, during which five or six of the Enemy entred, and forc'd the Germans, who began to turn their backs and fly. They then open'd the Gate to the Siennois, who ran to the head of the Citradel, where the Enemy began to enter, and met these five or six, who were already entred, whom they cut in pieces, two of them being the Marquis his Kin-

men, one whereof did not immediately die; and this cool'd the courage of the rest who were upon the point to enter. At the same time they gave a Scaldo to the Fort Camoglia. St. Auban was in the City, in bed at his ease, and his Lieutenant call'd Cam-

pury was at the Fort, a young man of no experience; but that I think had he had good men in his Company would have done his duty. They are both of them turn'd Hugos-

nots since. So soon as the Enemy pretend'd their Ladders by the three Courtins, all his Company betook them to their heels, and the Enemy consequently entred in; and of the four that were in the Tower, three threw themselves headlong down, and the fourth beat down the barrels from the hole, and drew the Enemy in. This Rogue had been taken a few days before, and had remain'd above ten days prisoner, and I do believe it was upon his account that the Marquis refolv'd upon this Scaldo; for he went away with them, and we never saw him after. Now Signior Cornelio and the Count de Gayas were lodge'd near unto the Port Camoglia, who immediately upon the Alarm ran to the Gate, where they found the greate'st part of the Company of the Siennois before it, and the rest were firing at the Enemy, who fell'd out of the Fort to fall upon them. Signior Cornetio then left the Count de Gayas at the Gate, and came running to give me the Al-

arm, where he met me coming out of my lodging with two Pages, each of them carrying two Torches, and whom I immediately sent back, bidding him both he and the Count de Gayas to go out, and of all things to take care that the Siennois did not for-

sake their Count of Guard, and to encourage them the best he could, for I would pres-

ently come out after him. He did as I bid him, and came in opportune a reason, that he found all abandoned, and gave the Enemy a charge with the Siennois, and beat them back into the Fort they had taken. The Alarm was already throughout the whole City, and some ran to the Citradel, and others to the Fort of Camoglia. As I arriv'd at the Gate there came to me la Molèire and l'Espine, both on horseback, the one being Major-

master, and the other Treasurer, whom I commanded, the one to the Port St. Mark, and the other to Porto Nuovo, and by that way as they went they should cry out vi-

torily, the Enemy is repuls'd. Which I did, fearing least some in the Town might have intelligence with the Enemy, who hearing this cry would not dare to discover themselves. In the mean time I was at the Gate of the City, sending out the Captains and French S'iers to succour Signior Cornelio, and when I saw there were now gone out, I com-

manded the Lieutenant of Captain Luffan to stay at the Gate, and to thunt the Wicket so soon as ever I was out, and that in case I should be beaten back, he should by no means open it, but rather suffer us all to be killed without, and me in the first place. I then went out with my four Torches, and found Signior Cornelio, the Count de Gayas, and the other Captains I had sent out, who had recovered the Rampire, and had placed the Soldiers upon the little half pace upon their knees, who shot at the Enemy into the Fort, and they again at ours, who could not put up their heads without being diffe-

131 Book III. de Montluc, Marefchal of France.
vered, and on the other two sides the Enemy assailed, and ours defended. Now whilst I was putting the men out at the Wicker St. Auban flap by without my seeing him. The Gate into the Fort which we had left was contrived after the manner of a hole, having one flap forwards, and another on one side, waving and winding to and fro, and so straight that one man only could enter a breach. In this Entry I found Captain Bourg, who was Ensign to Captain Chary, Signior Corneli, and the Count de Gayas close by him. Monsieur de Bouffomperre Master of the Ordnance was always with me, and one of his Canonniers. I saw very well that the fight was like to continue, and fearing left our powder should fail us, had Monsieur de Bouffomperre dispatch away two of his Canonniers to fetch more, which he did, and I dare boldly say, he was as much the cause of our safety as all our fighting, as you shall hear. Those that we fought withal were Italians, for the Spaniards and Germans formed the cittadel. I continually ran first to one, and then to another, crying out to them Courage friends, courage comrades, and presently on that side on the right hand of the Gate, where the three forenamed stood, I spied St. Auban, to whom (running to him, and setting the point of my sword to his throat, I said Regne! Son of a whore! these are the causes that we shall leave the City, which notwithstanding you shall never live to see, for I will at this instant kill thee if thou dost not immediately leap into the Fort: to which (sufficiently terrified) he made answer, Yes Sir, I will leap in, and then called to him Laffom, Blagon, and Combias, who were his Companions, saying to them, Come on comrades, second me, I pray leap in after me to which they made answer, Do thou leapt, and we will follow whereupon I said to him, Take then no care, I will follow thee myself, and we all set foot upon the half pace with him, and immediately after this first step, without any more delaying (for if he had had he died for't) he threw himself desperately in, having a Target upon his arm, and his Companions all, for he was no fooner in the air, but the rest were also with him, and all four leapt in together, and it was within two steps of the Entry, that le Bourg, Signior Corneli, and the Count de Gayas dispirited. I then immediately made fifteen or twenty Soldiers leap in after the four Captains, and as all these were within, le Bourg, Signior Corneli, and the Count de Gayas paused and entred into the Fort. I caused the torches to be set upon the Rampart, that we might see, and not kill one another, and my self entred by the same way Signior Corneli had gone before me. Now neither Pikes, Halberts, nor Harquebuzes could serve us for any use here, for we were at it with Swords and Steelceto's, with which we made them leap over the Curtains by the same way they had entred, excepting those who were killed within. There were yet however some remaining in the Tower, when Captain Chary came up to us, though but eight days before he had received an Harquebuz shot in his head, and such a one as thereupon we had given him for dead, notwithstanding which he was with his Sword and Target, and a Morisson upon his head, over the Cap that cover'd his wound: a good heart will ever manifest itself; for though he was desperately hurt, yet would he have his share of the fight. I was at the foot of the Ladder, and had sent Signior Corneli and the Count de Gayas out of the Fort, to encourage those who defended the Flanks, bidding them take the one the one side, and the other the other, as they did, and found work enough to do. I then took Captain Chary by the hand, and said, Capt. in Chary, I have bred you up to die in some brave service for the King, you must mount the step; which said, he (who was certainly a man of so much courage as ever any man had) without any more dispute began to climb the Ladder, which could not be above ten or twelve flaves, and he was to enter by a Trap-door above, as I have said before. I had very good Harquebuzers, whom I made continually to shoot at the hole of this Trap-door, and put two of the said Harquebuzers upon the Ladder to follow after him: I had two Torches with me (for the other two Signior Corneli and the Count had taken along with them) by the light whereof we saw to follow, that the Harquebuzers did no hurt to Captain Chary, who mounted step by step, still giving our Harquebuzers time to fire, and so soon as he came to thrust up his head into the Trap-door, they fir'd two Harquebuzes, which pierced through his Target and Morisson without touching his head. The Harquebuzer who followed next after him discharged his Harquebuz under his Target, by which means Captain Chary advanced the last step, and so they all three leapt in the one after the other, where they kill'd three of the Enemy, and the rest leap'd out at the hole. Those in the Flanks were also beat upon, and so our Fort was regain'd on every side.

Now the Marquis had given order to him that commanded at the Scalado of the Fort, which was the Governor of their Fort of Camoglia, that in case he the Marquis should first enter by the Cittadel, that then he should come away to him with all his Italian, and
and if all be should first gain the Fort, that then he would come with his Spaniards and Germans to relieve him. According to this Agreement, so soon as the Governor of the Fort had gained ours, he presently sent to acquaint the Marquis with it; but there being several little valleys betwixt the Citadell and the Fort of Caugnies, the said Marquis could not come so soon as he would, though he had made so good haste, that when we had thought all had been at an end, we saw their whole Camp coming upon us, having above an hundred and fifty torches with them; at which time by good fortune, Baffompiere’s two Cannoneers return’d with the powder, which in great haste we divided amongst the Harquebusiers, for they had none left, and turning about, I load them again for more. At the same instant la Molière and L’Empire returned to me, when I immediately sent back la Molière to the Standard-bearer of St. Martin to lend me two hundred of the best Harquebusiers he had, and lend them by the Son of Mieffer Bernardin, a young man that carried a Colours in his Regiment, full of courage, and of whom I had taken particular notice in several skirmishes, who accordingly came in all haste, and found us at it with the whole Camp. I then left Signior Cornelio and the Count de Gesas with the other Captains to defend the Fort, and my self, Baffompiere, and the Muffler-Master went along the Flanks, doing nothing but run up and down from place to place to encourage our people. It might be about three hours after midnight, when we rebegan the fight, and it lasted till the day took them off. They there committed one of the greatest pieces of folly that ever men did; for by the light of so many torches we saw them more plainly than if it had been broad day, whereas had they taken the advantage of the night, and advanced with few lights, they had put us a great deal more hardly to’t than they did. The two hundred Siennois Harquebusiers, that the Marquis Son of Mieffer Bernardin brought, did us notable service, as also did the Powder that Baffompiere lent for, for we had use for it all before we parted, by reason of the long continuance of the fight, where it was well assault’d, and better defended.

This was the issue of the fight, the greatest, and of the greatest duration without a Battle wherein I have ever been, and where I believe God Almighty did as much assist me, if not more, preferring my judgment all the while entire, at as any time in my whole life; for had I fail’d in the least particle of command we had all been lost, and the City to boot; for on that side we had not forfisted at all, and all our confidence was in this Fort: I protest to God, that for at least three months after my hair was an end, so oft as I called to mind the danger we had been in. The Enemy there lost six hundred men killed and wounded, as we were enform’d by prisoners we took, and we lost but an hundred and fifty in all both hurt and slain. That which made them lose so many was the light of the Torches, which gave our men such aim that they could not miss, especially being within a Pikes distance or two at the most of one another, which made a great incongruity in the Marquis, as I said before: for we having but little light, and they so much, we discovered them so plain, as gave us a mighty advantage. So soon as it was fair light day we went to take a view of what dead we had in the Fort amongst theirs, where I found my Valet de Chambre and my Groom, who both leapt in after the Captains; in my life I never had two better servants. Signior Cornelio and the Count de Gesas were likewise to visit the Citadell, for I was no longer able to stand, being yet too weak with my great sickness, that with a puff one might have blown me down; so that I wonder how I was ever able to take such pains: but God redoubled my forces in time of need; for in truth during all this great and tedious fight I never ceased running and skipping, now here, now there, without ever feeling my self weary, till there appeared no more an Enemy to molest us. They came and gave me an account of all that had pass’d, and there found a Kindman of the Marquis, who was not yet dead, whom they casual’d to be carried to their Lodging, and his wounds dressed.

I will not forget to infer here for an Exemple to others, that if ever man was well seconded in a time of so great danger, I was, and would for no consideration deprive the Chiefs who were there of their due honor, nor the common Soldiers; for from the time that Signior Cornelio and the Count went out before me and charged the Enemy; neither after I was gone out to them did so much as any one man ever offer to come in again (as Luffian’s Lieutenant, whom I had left at the Gate, swore to me) excepting Baffompiere’s two Cannoniers, who were sent for powder. All the whole City remained in arms during the whole time of the fight, and I will give the Sienosi this commendation, with truth (as God is true) that there was no so much as one man, whofald in the houles, and who did not take arms, both young and old, nor a man that discovered the least attention to the Emperor; which gave me a great assurance of two things, one of their Loyalty, and the other of their Courage. Three days after the Marquis lent me a Trumpet.
per (the fame who had brought me the Prefent before) to fee if any one of thofe was living who had entered the Citadel, and that he would not deny to me, but that there were two of his Kindmen; Signior Cornelio then carried him to look upon that who was yet alive, and he prom'd to be one; whereupon the Trumpet immediately returned to the Marquis to acquaint him with it, who at the fame infant fent him back again, entreating me to relieve him back to him, and that he would be responsible to me for his ranfcme, which I did in a Litter he had fent to that purpofe: but he died three days after he came into their Camp.

Methinks you Governors of places ought here to take a fair example to prefent yourfelves to the fight: For there are fome who fay, that a Governor, or a Lieutenant of a Province never ought to hazard his own perfon, arguing that if he chance to miscarry all is loft. I grant them, that he ought not to expofe himfelf at all times, and upon every light occasion, like an ordinary Captain; but when all lies at Stake, what is it that you are made Governors and Lieutenants for? what quefition will be made of your courage? and how will your honor and reputation be brought into dispute? Will it think you acqult you to fay, I would not hazard my felf in the fight, left lofling my felf I should lofe all; especially in the night to relieve a Fort or a Citadel, confidering I was however able to defend the Town? This eneaf will not serve your turn; and believe me, the flos of a Fort is of fo great importance, that your Enemy has by that means one foot upon your throat already, you are therefore to die, or to recover what you loft, as I did, having at my going out caufed the Wicker to be flut, to take from us all hopes of retreat, being rofolv'd to die, or to expel the Enemy, and allo letting them alone with their Conquefl I had been infallibly loft.

And you Captains my Camrades, take notice and exemple by St. Auban, that you may value valiant men above money, for the love of money will lead you to the losf of your lives and reputations, and valiant men about you will defend both one and the other, and preferve you from danger and difhonor. Admire, and follow as near as you can the great heart of Charrv, who although half dead, would yet come to the fight, and prefumed himfelf to enter the fifh, and pafs by a Ladder through a hole, than which a more dangerous paffage could not poiffibly be; for in fuch a place an Enemy has a mighty advantage. No danger nevertheless could deterre this brave Soldier from running the hazard. To conclude, I shall tell you Governors of places, that whenever you entertain an ill opinion of an Officer, you provide againft his remifnes, cowardife, or infidelity, as I did, by placing the Companies near to the Forts. But I had done better, St. Auban being fpeltomed to me, since I could not totally rid my hands of him, to have emplove'd him in fome other place. It has fince taught me to be wifer, and I have found advantages by it, having never fince that time entrusted any man of whom I had a mislike. There are ways enough to flake them off, without either offending any other, or difcourting the party himfelf.

A little after, as we understood, there came a Gentleman of the Emperor's Bedchamber, who brought letters to the Duke of Florence, and to the said Marquis, wherein he writ them word, that he thought it very strange this War should continue fo long, and that he very well knew Sienna was not a place to refift Canon, but that it was the Marquis his custom evermore to spin out a War in length. In anfwer whereunto the Marquis remonfrated, that he had done all that in him poiffibly lay, and knew very well that Artillery would not take the Town, for I had valiant men within, and the whole City were refulute to fland to me to the left, fpeaking more honourably of me than I defir'd, commending my vigilancie, and the provision I had made for my defense, fo that he very well knew by the good order I had taken in the City, he should but lofe fo much time by attempting to batter. Notwithstanding the Gentleman being come from the Emperor to this effect, and having already fpoke with the Duke of Florence, they together order'd it fo, that they made the Marquis at left reflve upon a Battery. He had before omitted nothing that a good Soldier ought to do, having coopt us clofe in, without any hopes of relief, and yet he was accused of a design to protract the War: But it is the ordinary reward of a man's endeavour, when things do not succeed according to the appetite of fuch as talk of things at their cafe. The defires of thofe we ferve and fight for run a great deal fatter than we are able to follow.

About the twentieth of January we had notice that the Artillery set out of Florence, to the number of fix or eight and twenty Canon, or double Culverine to come to the Camp. The Siennois hearing this news were fo curious as to fend out a fpy, that they might be certain of the truth of this report, who at his return bringing them word back, that the Artillery was already come as far as Lufignano, it put the whole City into fonme apprehension,
book III. de Montluc, Marechial of France.

apprehension, and made them resolve the next day to assemble all the Gentry and the chief of the City to the Palace, there to determine amongst themselves, whether they should abide the assault, or surrender upon composition. Now I was not to huffe and vapour with these people, for they were stronger than I: I was therefore necessitated to win them by gentle remonstrances, and civil perfections, without the least heat or show of anger, and you may believe it was not without great violence to my own nature, that I proceeded after this manner, contrary to my disposition, and the image the Confiable had represented of me to the King, as he had seen me in my younger and more precipitate age. A prudent and mild Governor, when he is amongst strange Nations must try as much as in him lies, to conform himself to the humour of the people with whom he hath to do. With the Germans and Swiss you must be choleric and rough: with the Spaniards you must observe their flerce face and formality; and pretend to be a little more religious and devout than you perhaps really are: with the Italians you must be discreet and circumspect, neither to offend them in themselves, nor to court their wives: as for the Frenchman he is for anything: but so it was that God gave me the grace, who am a Gascon, sudden, choleric, willful, and forward, to deport my self with this jealous and mi-

A Governor ought to conform himself to the humour of the people over whom he is placed.

Great fearc of all things in Sienna.

The Sire de Montluc's pra-

tice.

I was yet so extremely lean, and worn with my late sickness; and the cold was at this time of the year so very great and sharp, that I was constrained to go continually with both my Body and my head so wrap and muffled up in Furs, that as they law me go up and down the streets of the City, no one had any hopes of my recovery, believing that my inwards were decayed and perished, and that I would fall down and die on a sudden. What shall we do said the Ladies and the Citizens Wives, what will become of us if our Governor should die? we shall all be lost; for next after God all our hope is in him; it is not possible he should escape. I do verily believe that the prayers of those good women redeem'd me out of the extremity and languishing weakness I was in, I mean that of my body; for as to the vigour of my mind, and the quickness of my un-

standing,
nderstanding, I never perceiv'd any decay there. Having then before been accustomed to go so wrapt and muffled, and observing what morn the people made for me, I fee me in so lamentable a plight, I call'd for a pair of Breeches of Crimson Velvet, which I had brought from Alba, laid over with gold lace, finely cut, and very neat, for I had made them at a time when I was fortooth in love. We had there leisure enough for those follies whilst we lay in Garrison, and having little else to do, it was fit to give the Ladies some part of our time. I put on a Doublet of the same, under which I had a Shirt finely wrought with Crimson silk and gold twiff very rich: (for in those days they wore the neck-bands of their Shirts a good way falling over the collar) I then took a buffe Cellar, over which I put on the Gorget of my Arms, which was very finely gilt. I at that time wore grey and white, in honor of a fair Lady to whom I was a Servant when I had leisure; I therefore put on a Hat of grey silk of the German fashion, with a great silver Hatband, and a plume of Heron's feathers, thick fet with silver spangles: the Hats they were in those days were not so broad as they wear them now: I then put on a short Caplock of gray Velvet garniffht with little plaits of Silver, at two fingers distance from one another, and lin'd with cloth of silver, all open berwixt the plaits, which I wore in Piedmont over my Arms. Now I had yet two little bottles of Greek wine left of those had been sent me by the Cardinal of Armagnac, with which I wet my hands, and with them rubbed my face, till I had brought a little colour into my cheeks, and then drank a small draught with a little bit of bread, after which I lookt my self in the Glass. I swear to you I did not know my self, and methought I was yet in Piedmont, and in love as heretofore. At which I could not forbear laughing, for methought I had got on a sudden quite another face.

The feast that came to me with his Captains was Signior Cornelio and the Count de Gayat, Monfieur de Boffompiere and the Count de Bifle, whom I had also lent for; who finding me dreft'd after this manner, all fell a laughing. I strutt'd up and down the room before them like fifteen Spaniards, and yet had not strength enough to have kill'd a Chicken, for I was so weak as nothing more. Combats and the French Captains came also, and the whole Parce tended to nothing but laughter for all the company: the last that came was the Ebinerse and his Captains, who seeing me in this posture, laught to that excess that he fobb'd again, when pulling him by the arm, I said to him, What Colonel, do you think me to be that Monfieur that goes every day dying through the streets? No, no, you are mistaken, that fellow's dead, and I am another Monfieur sprung up in his roome. His Interprett told him what I said, which made him laugh full more, and Signior Cornelio had already acquainted him with the reason why I had lent for him, and that it was necessary by one means or another to dispoiff the Scaronis of their fear. Thus then we went all on horfeback to the Palace, where fo soon as we were got up to the top of the flairs, we found the great Hall full of Gentlemen, and such other Bawgs of the City as were of the Council. Within the great Hall on the left hand there is a leffer roome, into which none were to enter but the Captains of the people, the twelve Counsellors, and the Eight of the Council of War, all which are called the Magistracy. Thus then I entered into the great Hall, where I put off my Hat to them, but was known by no body at first; they all believing me to be some Gentleman lent by Monfieur de Streetz into the City to command at the Assault, by reason of my great weaknes. I then entered into the little Hall, with all the Colonels and Captains after me, who kept at distance by the door whilst I went and sat down by the Captain of the people, in the place where those who represented the perfon of the King were used to sit, as I my self upon that account had often done. In going up with my Hat in my hand, I smil'd first upon one, and then upon another, they all vawndring to fee me, and we had already delivered their opinions, when I began to speake to them in Italian to this effect.

1 Gentlemen, I have been told, that since the time you have been certain of the truth of the Enemies bringing up Artillery to your walls, you have entred into some debates which have rather begot amongst you fear and affmishment, than any noble resolution to defend your City and Liberty by Arms. Which I have thought very strange, and greatly wondred at, not being able to peruvade my selfe to believe any such thing.

2 However in the end I resolv'd with the Colonels and Captains of all the three Nations the King my Master has in this City, to come to you to this place, and to underfand from your own mouths the truth of all that has past. Now I beseech you Gentle-

3 men weigh and consider well what you shall determine in this Council to which you are call'd; for upon this Council, and the resolution that shall be the issue of it, de-

4pends all your honor, greatnes, authority, and the security of your State, your lives
and honors, and the conservation of your ancient liberty; and on the contrary, all the
shame, dishonor and reproach, with a perpetual infamy to your posterity, and dis-
honor to your famous Ancestors, who have left you for inheritance the Grandeur
you now profess and uphold, having themselves ever defended and maintaine'd it by
Battles, with their weapons in their hands, against all those who have attempted to
take it from them. And now when you ought to have purchas'd the occasion that
presents it self at the price of half your wealth, that therein you might to all
Christendom manifest and approve your selves the true legitimate Sons of those
Ancient Warlike Romans, and of those Noble Ancestors, who have so often, and so
bravely fought to affer and maintain your liberty, is it possible that so great and so
generous hearts as those of the Senatus should enter into astonishment for hearing
talk of Canon? will you be afraid for this? I cannot think that this proceeds from you,
who have given so many, and so ample testimonies of your valor; neither is it out of any
want of friendship to the most Christian King, nor out of any diffidence you have in
him, that he will not certainly relieve you, neither can it be out of any diffidence you
have in one another, by reason of any factions in your City, for I have never obsev'd
the least division among you: But on the contrary, the greatest unanimity for the con-
servation of your liberty and Republick. I have ever seen you refolute to dye
with your swords in your hands, rather than suffer it to be ravish'd from you. I have
never seen all men of all conditions move with the same motion, and inflit'd with
the same resolution. Neither can it be for want of courage, for I never saw you fall
out to skirmish, that some of your young men did not evermore signalize themselves above
our people, though much older Soldiers than they, who in a longer practice of Arms
have perform'd acts worthy to be prais'd and esteem'd of all. I cannot then believe
that men who do so well, should for the noise of Canon, which brings more terror than
harm, enter into astonishment, and resolve to surrender themselves slaves to that infa-
lent and infupportable Nation of the Spaniards; or your neighbours, your ancient and
professed enemies. Since then this apprehension cannot proceed from any defect in
your selves, it must of necessity proceed from me, who have the honour to be Lieutenant
for the King of France your good Friend and Protector. If as to what concerns me, you
apprehend, that I shall want health and vigour to undergo that toil and labour that will
be necessary, and require'd at the time when the Enemy shall assault us, by reason of
the weakness wherein I now am, through my great sickness; that consideration ought
not to beger in you the least diffidence, arms and legs do not do all: The great Captain
Antonio de Leva, courier and impotent as he was, has won more victories in his chair, than
any other of our Age has done on horseback. God has ever been pleas'd to prevent
my judgement, to preferre you. Have you ever known me fail? Was I then fretch'd
at ease in bed when the Enemy gave you the great Carimado, and Scaldado? Do but
mark I beseech you, Gentlemen, the great Grace God was pleas'd to shew me a sudden,
supplying me with as much strength as I had never been sick by which you may perceive,
that Almighty God loves us, and that he will not that either you or we perish. I
feel my self strong enough now to wear my Arms, you shall no more see me swash'd
and fur'd up as before. If perhaps you do it out of fear of my incapacity, or little experi-
cence, you do therein a great wrong to the King, that being as much, as to give all
the world to understand, that His Majesty has hitter sent you a man void of all abili-
ty, and poorly experimented to know how to order what should be done for the de-
fence of your City? What? do you believe the King has so little kindness for you,
as to send me hither, had he not had a great confidence in my capacity, and beforehand
made sufficient trial elsewhere both what I am, and what I can do? I shall tell you
nothing of my self, it would not become me to be my own Trumpet, something you
have seen your selves, and the rest you may have heard from others. You may then well
judge, that the King has not fingle'd me out, amongst so many Gentlemen of his King-
dom, and has not sent me to you, without having well weigh'd what I am able to do
by the long experience he has had, not only of my Politicks in point of Government,
of which you may hitherto have taken some notice: But moreover, of my conduct in
mater of Arms, when an Enemy would carry a place by fine force. Do you fear, Gen-
tlemen, my courage will fail me in time of need? what then do all those testifiers I
have given you since my coming hither being sick avail. You have seen me fall out
from the time I have been able to mount to horse, to go to see the skirmishes to near,
that my self command them. And have you altogether forgot the day, that I en-
tered into this City, and the great skirmish I then made? Your people saw it, and
had a share in the fight; and upon Christmas-Eve yet a greater, where the fight lift.
ed for six long hours together? Did I not then fight in my own person? Did you not then see, that I neither wanted judgement to command, nor valour to fight? I am ashamed to say so much of myself; but seeing you all know into it to be true, I need not blurt to speak it. I will tell you nothing, but what your selves have seen, I am no bragging Spaniard, I am a Frenchman, and moreover a Galloin, the most frank and plain dealing of all that Nation. Now methinks, Gentlemen, you have too much experience of your selves, as well to render you worthy of a perpetual reproach, should you go less in your resolution, besides the ruin it would infallibly bring upon you.

Methinks you ought to know me sufficiently, having been so long amongst you, and that I have omitted nothing of what the King propos'd to himself, I should perform for his service, and yours in the greatest necessity and danger. All this that I have remonstrated to you, as well for what concerns your own particular, as what relates to my self, ought to make you lay aside all apprehension, and to assume the courage and magnanimity that your Predecessors and selves who are now living have ever had.

Wherefore I beseech you, that you will unanimously take up such a resolution, as valiant men, such as you are, ought to take, that is, to dye with your weapons in your hands, rather than to loose your Sovereignty and the liberty you have so long exercised and enjoy'd. And for what concerns me, and these Colonels and Captains, whom you fee present here, we swear in the presence of God, that we will dye with you, as at this instant we will give you assurance. It is not for our benefit, nor to acquire Riches, neither is it for our ease, for you fee we suffer both thirst and hunger; it is only in pursuance of our duty, and to acquit our selves of our Oath, to the end that it may one day be said, and by you, that it was we who defended the liberty of this City, and that we may be called Conferrators of the Liberty of Siena.

The Oath of the Soldiers, Foreigners.

I then rose up, bidding the German Interpreter to remember well all I had said, to repeat it to the Rhinecrce, and his Captains, and then directed my speech to the Colonels, and said to them, Signori mei fratelli juriamo tutti & promettiamo benessere, che noi moriremo tutti l'arme in mano con tutti loro, per adorar lor sicurezza & libertà: & ogni uno di noi s'obliga per le foi Soldati, & alfare tutti le vorre mani. Which being said, every one held up his hand, and the Interpreter told it to the Rhinecrce, who also held up his hand, and all the Captains crying, Io, io bulethe, and the other, Oui, ony, we promise to do it, every one in his own Language. Whereupon the Captain of the people arose, and all the Council, returning me infinite thanks; and then turn'd towards the Captains, whom he also very much thank'd, and with great cheerfulness. They then entreated me, that I would retire to my Lodgings till such time as they had spoken with all the Council, who were in the great Hall without, and given them an account of what I had remonstrated to them; which I accordingly did, and at my going out of the little room, I there met with Mifler Bartolomeo Cavalcane, who knew nothing of the Proposition I had made (for he entered not into the Council Chamber) who told me in my ear, that he thought they had all taken a resolution, not to endure a Battery. I then carried him back with me to my Lodgings, and three hours after, came four of the Magistracy, of which Mifler Hieronimo Espaso was one, having in charge from all the Signery in general, to return me infinite thanks; and he told me, that Mifler Ambrofo Motti had made a speech in the accoutum'd chair, which is in the middle of the great Hall, against the wall, giving them to understand, what a Reflection I had made to them, wherein he forgot nothing (for he was a man of great Eloquence and Wieldom) and the Oath that all the Colonels and Captains had taken, finally exhorting them to resolve all to fight. I do not remember whether they put it to the Balotte, or if they held up their hands as we had done: But they all four affir'd us, that they had never seen a greater joy, than what generally appear'd amongst them, after the Proposition of the said Ambrofo Motti. Telling me moreover, that after I had been in the said Hall, and made an end of the forementioned Harangue, the two Gentlemen, who had deliver'd their opinions before, that they ought to capitulate, and come to a composition with the Enemy, had requested the Senate to do them that favour, as to conceal what they had said, and take no notice of it, but give them leave to vote anew; which being accordingly done, they again deliver'd their opinions, that they ought to fight, and enter into no kind of composition, but rather dye with their Arms in their hands. I then told Mifler Hieronimo Espaso, that I would retire my self for all that days, and for all that night, to write down the order of the fight; which having done, I would immediately fend it to the Germans in their Language, and to the French in theirs.
Governors and Captains, you ought to take some example here, forasmuch as there are some, who say, they have surrendered a place, that the Soldiers would not defend, and moreover, that the Inhabitants of the Town were about to betray them, and by that means compel’d them to Capitulate. These are mere excuses, believe me they are mere excuses. The thing that compels you, is your own want of experience. Gentlemen and Camarades, when ever you shall happen to be at such a Wedding, put on your best Clothes, make your selves as fine as you can, wash your faces with Greek wine, and rub a good colour into your cheeks, and so march bravely thorough the streets, and amongst the Soldiers with your faces erect, having nothing in your mouths, but that very soon, by Gods help, and the strength of your own Arms, you will in despite of them, have the lives of your enemies, and not they yours; that it is not for them to come to harque you in your own Fort; that it is the only thing you desire, forasmuch as upon that depends their ruin, and your deliverance. And by carrying your selves after that manner, the very women will take courage, and much more the Souldiers: But if you break up and down with a pale face, speaking to no body, fad, melancholick and penive, though all the City, and all the Soldiers had the hearts of Lyons, you will make them as timorous as sheep. Speak often to those of the City in four or five words, and likewise to the Soldiers saying to them, Well friends, are you not in heart? I look upon the victory as our own, and hold the death of our Enemies already for certain: For I have know not what Propheticke spirit, which whenever it comes upon me, I am always certain to overcome, which I have from God, and not from men. Wherefore rely upon me, and resolve all of you to fight, and to go out of this place, with honor and reputation. You can dye but once, and ‘tis a thing that is predefin’d, if Gods has appointed it so, it is in vain for you to fly. Let us then dye honorably; but there is no appearance of danger for us, but rather for our Enemies, over whom we have the greatest advantage imaginable. And who Governors and Captains, would you have dare to say he is afraid, seeing you bravely resolv’d? Let me tell you, that though they trembled before, they will lay aside their fear, and the most cowardly will become as bold as the most courageous of the Company. The Soldier is never affonih’d, so long as he feels the confidence of his Chief continue firm and unflaken. As the Chief therefore carries away all the honor, and the rest have nothing, but what he shall give them, in his report of their valour to the Prince; so ought he to resolve never to discover the least shadow of fear: For behaving himself after that fearles manner, the Soldiers themselves will be sufficient testimonie for him, so that the reputation he shall have acquire’d, shall remain indisputably his own, without any one being able to contradict it. I do not then advise you any thing, I have not first tried my self, not only here, but in many other places also; as you will find in this Book, if you have the patience to read it. Now this is the order I let down for the fight, and for all the whole City, all which particularities I reeffer you to, without conceptual my self to say, that Sienna was befieged, where I nine or ten months sustaine’d the Siege, and was at last contrain’d to Capitulate by Famine; for of such a General account as that, a Kings Lieutenants, a Captain, or a Soldier, can make no benefit. This is the Historians way, and of those kind of Writers, there are but too many: I write of my self, and will instruct others that come after me; for to be born for a mansell only, is in plain English to be born a Beast.

I then order’d in the first place that the City should be divided into eight parts, of which the eight of the Council of War should have every one a part; that every one of the Council of Eight should appoint a person for whom he should himself be responsible, to take a Lift of the Quarter should be assign’d him, how many men, women, and children were in that division, from twelve the males to fixy, and the females to fifty years of age, which were to carry Baskets, Barrels, Shovels, Picks, and Mattocks, and that each one of his own Quarter should make Captains of every Trade, without mixing them together: that every one should be commanded upon pain of death, so soon as ever their Captain should send for them to come to the place appointed immediately to halfe away, as also the women and children; that every one should forthwith make provision of such things as were proper for his or her employment, and that the Masters of Men-servants and Maids, or their Mistresses should be obliged specially to take order, that their Men and Maids be furnished with tools and utensils wherewith to labour at the work, for which they shall be appointed, upon pain of two hundred Crowns, and the City to furnish the poor, who have not wherewith to buy them, at the expense of the publick Treasure: that the said Deputies shall make their Catalogues, and shall go from house to house to Register their people; and that as soon as the Captains, every one in his own Quarter should try out Force, Force, every one both men and women should run
to their tools, and present themselves at the place to which the Captain should lead; or
appoint them to come; and that the Deputies should deliver in the Lifts of all both men
and women, they shall have found in their respective Precincts to each of the Eight of
the Council of War, Quarter for Quarter; that the old men and women above the fore
mentioned Ages shall remain in their Masters houses, to get meat, and to look to the
house. That the said Deputies should take a Lift of all the Mafons and Carpenters,
who should be found in their Quarter, which Lift they should also deliver to him of
the Eight of the Council of War by whom they shall be deputed, And this was the order
for the Laborers and Pioneers.

The order for those who bore arms, was, that the the three Standard bearers, namely
of St. Martin, of Citat, and of Camogia, should forthwith take a view of all the Compa-
"nies, which were four and twenty, and examine every mans arms, if they were in good
order for fight, and if not to make them presently to be repaired: that they should re
fine all the Powder, and cause great store of Buller and Match to be made: that the three
Standard-bearers should every one keep in his own Quarter without flirring thence, till
one of the Eight of War should come to give them order what to do; that the ancient
Gentlemen who were not able to bear arms, nor to work, should present themselves to
follicit the Pioneers of that Quarter where their houses flood, and to assist the Captains
of the said Pioneers. Now I had ever determin’d, that if ever the Enemy should come
to assault us with Artillery, to entrench myself on a good distance from the Wall, where
the Battery should be made, to let them enter at pleasure, and made account to shut up
the two ends of the Trench, and at either end to plant four or five pieces of great Can
non, loaden with great chains, nails, and pieces of iron. Behind the Retirade I inten
ded to place the Muskets, together with the Harquebuzers, and so soon as they should
be entred in, to cause the Artillery and small shot to fire all at once, and we at the two
ends then to run in upon them with Pikes and Halberts, two handed Swords, short
Swords and Targets. This I resolved upon, as seeting it altogether impossible for the
King to send us relief, by reason that he was engaged in so many places, that it would
not be possible for him to let on foot Forces sufficient to raise the Siege, neither by sea
nor by land; and Monfieur de Strozzy had no means to relieve us, wherefore I would per
mit them to enter, and make little defence at the Breach, to the end that I might give
them battle in the Town, after they had past the fury of our Canon and smaller shot:
For to have defended the Breach had in my opinion been a very easy matter; but then
we could not have done the Enemy so much mischief, as by letting them enter the
breach, which we would have pretended to have quit, only to draw them on to the
fight.

A Trench within the walls of a City to receive into in case of an Assault.

For five or six days before the Artillery came I every night sent out two Peafants
and a Captain, or a Serjeant, as Centinels perdue, which is a very good thing, and of
great safety; but take heed whom you send, for he may do you a very ill turn. So soon
as the night came the Captain set a Peasant Centinel at some fifty or sixty paces distant
from the Wall, and either in a ditch or behind a hedge, with instructions, so soon as he
should hear any thing he should come back to the Captain at the foot of the Wall,
which Captain had in charge from me, that immediately upon the Peasant’s speaking
to him they should clap down upon all four, and to creep the one after the other to the
place where the Peasant had heard the noise, or rather fall down upon their bellies close
to the earth, to discover if there were not three or four who came to view that place, and
to observe if they did not lay their heads together to confer; for this is a certain sign
that they came to view that place in order to the bringing up of Artillery. To do which
as it ought to be done, they ought to be no other than the Master of the Ordinance,
the Colonel or the Camp-Master of the Infantry, or the Engineer, the Master Car
ter, and a Captain of Pioneers, to the end that according to what shall be resolved upon
by the Master of the Ordinance, the Colonel, and Canoneter; the Master Car
ter may also take notice which way he may bring up Artillery to the place; and the Canoneter ought
to shew the Captain of the Pioneers what is to be done for the Eplanade, or plaining of
the way, according to the determination of the rest. And this is the discovery that is
to be made by night, after you have discover’d a little at distance by day; for if those
within be an Enemy of any spirit, they ought either by skirmishes, or by their Canon
to keep you from coming to discover at hand. The Captain had order to commerge me
a present account of what he and the Peaants had heard or seen, and to leave the Pea
ants still upon their perdue, and a Soldier in his own place till his return. Three times
the Enemy was discover’d after this manner, and immediately upon the notice, having
also the Lift of the Eight Quarters, and of the Eight of War who commanded those
Quarters,
Quarters, I suddenly acquainted Signior Cornelio, who could prettily tell me both the Quarter against which it was, and the Gentleman of the Eight of War that commanded it. I had never discover'd my intention to any one, but to Signior Cornelio only, who was a man of great wisdom and valor, and in whom I repose'd a very great confidence; who, so soon as he knew that I meant to give them Battle in the City, we did nothing of one whole day but walk the round both within and without, taking very good observation of all the places where the Enemy could make a Battery, and consequently by that knew where to make our Retirade. And so soon as ever notice was given me by the Captain who flood Centinel without the City, I prettily advertised the Commander of that Quarter, and his Deputy, and his Deputy the Captain of the Pioneers, for there in an hours time you might have seen at least a thousand, or twelve hundred persons beginning the Retirade. Now I had order'd the City to make great provision of Torches, so that those who had discover'd were hardly return'd to the Marquis, but that they faw all that part within the Town cover'd with torches and people, innumerable that by break of day we had very much advanc'd our Trench, and in the morning sent forth to rett, calling in another Quarter to the work till noon, and another from noon till night, and consequent others till midnight, and so till break of day, by which means in a little time we performed so great a work, that we could by no means be surpriz'd. After this manner I still turn'd the defences of the Town towards the Marquis his attempts, who lodg'd at the house of Guille le Dreamer, and Signior Fernandez de Sylva, brother to Signior Bignone, (who commanded on that side towards the little Observance, with whom I had some discourse upon the publick faith, the Friday before we departed out of the City, bewitwh their Quarters and the Fort Camgjia) told me that the Marquis had some jealousy, that some one of their Council betray'd to me all their deliberations, seeing he had no sooner design'd to batter any part, but that we always fortify'd against that place; for by night the least noise is easily heard, and so great a baffle cannot be conceal'd, and because he told me that he had compiled a Book of the particularities of the Siege of Siena, he entreated me to tell him by what means I fo continually discover'd their intentions, whereupon I told him the truth.

But to return to our subject, the Marquis in the end came and planted his Artillery upon a little hill between Port Oville and the great Observance. The choice of this place put me, who thought my self so cunning, almost to a nonplus, forasmuch as at Port Oville there is a very fraticious Antiport, where the houses of the City do almost touch, having nothing but the street between, which made it impossible for me of a long time to make the necessary Retirade, to do which I must be constrain'd to beat down above an hundred houses, which extremely troubled me, but that I am to create so many enemies in our entars, the poor Citizen losing all patience to see his house pulled down before his eyes. I gave to the Count de Biscy the charge of terrailing up this Gate, for which use we took the earth out of the Gardens, and vacant places that lie a little on the left hand. Of the rare example that is here, I must commit to writing, that it may serve for a mirror to all those who would conserve their liberty.

All their poor Inhabitants, without discovering the least dissafe or sorrow for the ruin of their houses, put their own hands flift to the work, every one contending who should be most ready to pull down his own. There was never less than four thousand fools at labour, and I was shew'd by the Gentlemen of Siena a great number of Gentlemenwomen carrying of Baskets of earth upon their heads. It shall never be (you Ladies of Siena) that I will not immortalize your names so long as the Book of the Ladies of Montiu shall live; for in truth you are worthy of immortal praise, if ever women were. At the beginning of the noble relation these people took to defend their liberty, all the Ladies of Siena divided themselves into three Squadrons; the first led by Signiora Forteigner, who was her self clad in violet, as also all those of her Train, her attire being cut in the fashion of a Nymph, short, and discovering her Baskets; the second was la Signiora Piochomini arriv'd in carnatic Satin, and her Troop in the same Livery; the third was la Signiora Livia Fuccila, apparell'd all in white, as also her Train, with her white Ensign. In their Ensigns they had very fine devices, which I would give a good deal I could remember. Thes three Squadrons consist'd of three thousand Ladies, Gentlemenwomen, and Citizens, their Arms were Packs, Shovels, Baskets, and Baving, and in this Equipage they made their Muffet, and went to begin the Fortifications. Monfeur de Termes, who has often told me this story (for I was not then arriv'd at Siena) has affirm'd me, that in his life he never saw to fine a fight. I have since seen their Ensignes, and they had compos'd a Song to the honor of France, for which I wish I had given the best horse I have that I might inherit here.
The order and design of the Fight.

The Battery of the Imperialists.

And since I am upon the honor of these women, I will that those who shall come after us admire the courage and virtue of a young Virgin of Sienna, who, though she was a poor man's daughter, deserves notwithstanding to be ranked with those of the noblest Families. I had made a Decree at the time when I was Dictator, that no one upon pain of severe punishment should fail to go to the Guard in his turn. This young Maid seeing a Brother of hers who was concerned to be upon duty, not able to go, the took his Morrion and put it upon her head, his Breeches, and a Collar of Buff, and put them on, and with his Halberd upon her neck, in this equipage mounted the Guard, passing when the Lift was read by her Brothers name, and Froid Centinel in turn, without being discovered, till the morning, that it was fair light day, when she was conducted home with great honor. In the afternoon Signior Cornelio told her to me.

But to return to our subject, it was not possible of all that day, nor the night following for the Count to perfect his Terras, nor we our Retirade, at which we wrought exceeding hard, leaving about forcore paces to the Marquis, if he had a mind to enter there. We had made a Traverse by the Port Oulles, where we had place three great Culverins, laden as I have said before, at which place were Signior Cornelio, the Count de Gaya, and three Canoneers, who were there left by Monfieur Baffompiere. On the right hand upon an Eminence was the great Obserbance, berewx which and the walls we had planted five pieces of Canon ram’d with the fame, which the said Baffompiere commanded in his own person; yet both the one and the other were so well conceal’d, that the Enemy could discover nothing from the little hills about us. Well did they perceive, that above at the Obserbance there were people; for they had evermore a clap at that; but we were all behind a Trench we had built from berewx the Obserbance and the Wall of the City, capiff, and square, so that we could not be seen. The Soldiers were all before the houfes, through which they had pierc’d severall houres to come, and go under cover. Behind the Retirade, which was not much above the height of a man, they were also sheltered from being seen. Signior Cornelio was also under cover, by reason that he lay in a low place, and under the shelter of a very thick wall, which join’d to Port Oulles. The order of the fight was thus.

Signior Cornelio had with him one Ensign of Germans, two of French, four of Italians, and four of Siennais, having alfo the Count de Gaya to affift him: and with meat the Obserbance was the Rhinoceros, with three Companies of Germans, two of French, two of Italians, and four Ensigns of Siennais. In all the two Troops both of Signior Cornelio’s and mine there was not so much as one Harquebuz, but Pikes, Halberds, and two hand-Swords, (and of those but few) Swords and Targets, all arms proper for close fight, and the most furious and killing weapons of all others: for to stand popping and pelting with those small shot is but so much time lost; a man must close, and grapple collar to collar, if he mean to rid any work, which the Soldier will never do so long as he has his fire arms in his hands, but will always fightting at distance.

All the night the Enemy were placing Gabions for fix and twenty or seven and twenty pieces of Ordnance, and by break of day they had planted twelve, as they would in that time have done all the rest, had it not been that they had been necessitated to draw their Canon up to this Mountain by strength of hand. The Wall is good enough, which not long since by one of the two Popes Piars’s, who were of the house of Picolommini, and of the Order of the people, had caufed to be made. At break of day they began their Battery within a foot or two of the bottom of the Walls, at the distance of about an hundred paces; which they did to cut the Wall by the bottom, making account the next day with the ruff of the Artillery in a short time to beat down the whole wall: but for all that the Count de Bisque caffed nor continually to fill the Antiport, leaving us Flanckers, so that we could see all along the breach. About noon they gave over their Battery below, and began to batter the middle of the wall, when so soon as I saw them begin to let in light, I left Signior Cornelio, who continually went up and down from place to place, and took Monfieur de Baffompiere, with whom I went to the Fort Camuglia, from whence we could plainly fee into the recolte of their Canon: but I shall leave this discourse to finish the Order.

I left a French Company at the Fort Camuglia, another at the Citadel, there being already two Companies of Siennais at each, more than two Companies of Germans at the place, each a part by themselves; one of Italians at the Port St. Mark, and all along the wall towards Fonds-brando, Siennais, and towards Porto Novo the fame, having given the word to the two French Companies, that in case I should stand in need I would send for them, leaving the Siennais still in the Citadel, and in the Fort. The same Instructions I left with the Germans, and had taken order that from fix hours to six hours we would
would change the word, as well by day as by night, to the end that whilst every one lay close at his post, if there should be any Travers amongst us, he might go to no place where he might have any Intelligence with the Enemy, to draw men from that part to weaken that Post, to carry them to another: but that no one should believe if he did not bring the word, in changing of which it should be carried to the Siennais by two of the Council of Eight, by the one to the one half, and by the other to the others; so that belies those themselves brought the word they were not to far from their Post. I was ever afraid that the Marquis had some intelligence in the City, which made me take this course to prevent him. The Germans who were at the great place had the same command, and moreover that an Officer, on a Sergeant of the others placed had, to which end there were six Sergeants chosen out of our Italian and French Companies, who had in charge, that during the time of the Battery, or of an Assault, they should continually be moving along the Curtain of the Wall to the Quarters I had appointed, and never to abandon their Quarters. It was also ordain’d that no one upon pain of death, of what Nation soever, not to much as the Siennais themselves should dare to abandon the Retirade, being of the number of those who were there appointed for the fight, and the same was carried quite round the walls of the City. It was also order’d, that at eight of the Council of War, four were continually to remain with me and Signor Cardenio, to the end that the two who remain’d with him might go continually on horseback with the word, to fetch such succours as Signor Cardenio should send for, to relieve him if occasion should be, and my two the like; that is to say of the Captains of the City, and the other four should go to the places where the six Sergeants were appointed to be, to the end that they might joyfully encourage the Soldiers to fight, if necessary should require. And there where there was no busines to be done, and that any came to them with the word for succours, they should deliver him the one half, and keep the left to defend that Post. That the Officers of the King, as Controulers, Commissaries of victual, Treasurers, or their Deputies, should ordinarily be, part by day, and part by night, still on horseback, riding up and down the streets of the City, and that from hour to hour one of them should bring me news how all things stood in the body of the City, and about the Walls, bringing us still some tokens of what they had spoke with the four of the Council, and the Sergeants who were deputies with them. This was the order I gave, at least as much as I remember, never failing my self every day to visit the Companies, and to encourage the Inhabitants to do well.

I now return to what we did at the Fort Camoglia: Monfieur de Baffomerre gave to fetch a Canon we had in the Citadel; but as he went out to remove it the Carriage broke, so that instead of it he brought a Demy-Canon, which a Siennais the said Baffomerre had enter’d in the quality of a Cannoner evermore shot in, and so well that he could hit with it as small a mark as if it had been a Harquebus. He was assailed by some Italian and French Soldiers of the Citadel to bring it, whilst I was making ready a Platform with the Soldiers of the Fort, till my Company of Pioneers came, which I had sent for in all haste, and in less than an hour and a half we dispatch’d, where I mounted my Demy-Canon. I gave ten Crowns to our Siennais, that he might make some good shots with that Piece here, as he had done several at the Citadel before. The Enemy had plac’d Gabions on the Planck of their Battery towards us. Baffomerre and I went a little on the right hand, and observ’d the Bullet in the air like a hat on fire, flying very wide on the right hand, and the secon as much on the left, which made me ready to eat my own flesh for rage: Monfieur de Baffomerre always advis’d me, that he would pretently take his level right, and still went and came to and fro between him and me. The third shot light upon the bottom of the Gabions, and the fourth played directly into their Artillery, and there kill’d a great many of their men, whereupon all those that assailed fled behind a little house which was in the rear of their Cannon. At which I ran and took him in my arms, and feesing him with his Linstock ready to fire again, said to him, Fratel mio da li da feno, per dio facci ti presenti derti dieci fucidi, & d’un piccir di vino Graco. Then I left him the French Captain, who had the Guard of the Fort, to furnish him continually with such things as he in need of, and Monfieur Baffomerre and I return’d to our Post. There then advance a German Ensign to the Enemies battery, who came along by the other Gabions with his colors flying, and this might be about four of the clock in the afternoon, we could see him march from behind the Obserivation, and was no sooner come to the Artillery, but our Piece fir’d and kill’d the Ensign, upon which the Germans immediately fled away, retiring to the place from whence they came. And this Siennais made to many brave shots, that he defumated them fix pieces of Cannon, and their Artillery remain’d totally abandon’d till the beginning of the night, without
out playing any more than two pieces of Canon, that were covered with Gabions, and flanked towards the Fort Camoglia, which our Artillery could not reach, because they shot over the reason of the height of the Gabions, and in the twilight they made seven or eight shots at the Observation where we were, and the houfes adjoining, and of all night after shot no more. We work exceeding hard all night to finish our Retirade, and the Count de Bique was no less diligent at the Antipore, so that two hours before day all was perfected, and every one settled in his Post where he was to fight. That which made us make so much haste, was, that we heard a great noise at their Artillery, and thought they were bringing up the reft, which made me put out a man to discover their Battery, who brought us word, that they had cut above fourscore places of the wall, within a span or two of the bottom, and that he believ’d in a few hours they would have beaten it totally down, which we did not much care for though they did, for we hop’d to fell them their Entry very dear; and about an hour before day they ceased their noise, which made us think that they only expected the break of day to give fire. I then mounted upon the wall, having Captain Chary always with me, who by main force would needs have me down when the day began to break, and soon after perceiv’d, that at the Windows of the Gabions there was no Artillery, and that instead of planting more they had drawn off thole there were. I then called out to Signior Cornello, that we were out of danger of an Assault, and that the Enemy had drawn off their Canon at which news every one began to come upon the wall, where the Siennois sufficiently rated the Enemy in their language, saying, "Cosi mannari, venite qui vi mastertorem per terra viasti bravi di mori! They were constrain’d to stay three days at the foot of the mountain to repair their Carriages, which the Demy-Canon we had brought to Fort Camoglia had broken and spoil’d them.

Now (as I have already said) the Gentleman of the Emperors Bedehamber had all the while kept a great deal of clutter what Canon would do to the winning of the Town; but after he had been an eye witness of all that has been related, and that the Marquis had remonstrated to him that the Retirade, and thole other Fortifications I made, was to let him enter, and to give him Batall in the City (for if I knew what he did, he was no less conform’d of my proceeding, there being evermore one Traytor or another amongst all people) he then was of the same opinion with the Marquis and the other Captains, that the Town was never to be taken by force; but that it was to be reduc’d to famine, and therefore thought it convenient that the Artillery should be sent back to Florence. He then return’d back to his Master to give him an account of what he had seen, and that the Marquis could do no more than what he had already done. I do not know whether or no he acquiesced the Emperor with the fright he had been in, which the Marquis himself gave me a relation of at my going out of Sienna, as he went along with me above two miles of my way, where he told me, that at the time when their Artillery was forfaken, by reason of the Hauock our Demy-Canon made amongst them, he was close by the side of the little house in his Litter, being then very lame of the Gout, where his Litter being set down upon the ground, this Gentleman of the Emperors was talking to him, having his hands upon the Cover of the Litter, and his head within it, whispering with the said Marquis; when our Governor seeing the Artillery abandoned, and every one retir’d under the shelter of the little house made a shot at it with which a part of the wall, which was of brick fell upon the Litter, so that the said Gentleman was by it beaten down upon the Marquis’s Legs, so affrighted as nothing more, and the Marquis swore to me, that in his life he was himself never in so much fear of being kill’d, as at that time: that they drew the Gentleman out from off his legs, and himself after with much ado, all the Litter being full of the ruin, and covering of the said house. And the said Marquis moreover told me, that at the great fright he was in his Gout left him, for the whole ruin fell at once upon him, and upon the Gentleman, who verily thought himself to be kill’d. I have often heard that the apprehension of death has cur’d many diseases; I know not if the Marquis his Gout be return’d since, but he affirm’d he had never had it after from that fright, till the time I saw him. If it be return’d or no I leave others to require.

This might be about the middle of January, and not above eight days after we began to perceive that the Germans grew very impatient at the little bread they had, having no wine, which was the most inapplicable of all. The Rbinorne himself, who was sickly, could no longer endure, there being nothing to be had unless it were a little horse-fleth, or a piece of an Ape. Signior Cornello 1 then began to contrive which way we might get those Germans out of the City, and conci’d that if they were gone we could yet keep the Town above two months longer, whereas if they flaid we should
be necessitated to surrender: we therefore concluded to send a man privately to Monseur de Strozzy to remonstrate all this to him, and to entreat him to fend for them after the most plausible manner he could (which I also directed him how to do) and sent to him Captain Coffin, who is now my Ensign, very well instructed. It was with exceeding great difficulty that he was to pass, which that he might do, we were to fight two Courts of Guard, by reason that the Marquis had already call'd up a great number of Trenches, which came up close to the walls of the City every side. Of these Captain Charry fought the one, and the Count de Gayas with a Company of Germans the other so that whilft they were fighting he got over the Trench, and recovered the rear of the Camp with his Guides, and in two days after return'd in Company with an Italian Gentleman call'd Captain Flamins, who brought Letters to the Rhinocer, and to me also wherein Monseur de Strozzy write to me to fend the Rhinocer with his Companiies out to him, for that he intended to return on foot a Flying Army, having with him great store of Italian horfe and foot, and that without some of those Trammanes fines he should never be able to relieve me, and that he would protest against me if the City was left. To the Rhinocer likewise he sent very obliging letters, having before-hand made Captain Flamins very perfect in his Leffon. The Rhinocer upon the receiving these orders broke out into very great complaints, saying that Monseur de Strozzy reduc'd him to the greatest extremities, and that it was impossible for him to get away without being defeated: but that he would however speak to his Officers, which he did, and which begot a very great dispute amongst them. At length one of them in whom he repose the greatest confidence, and who serv'd him in the quality of Camp-Mafter, remonstrated to him, that he had much better hazard with his sword in his hand to make his way through the Marquis his Camp, than stay to die of famine, or by a Capitulation to surrender himself to the Enemies discretion, which however in a few days he must of necessity do; for there was nothing left to eat, and their Soldiers began to murmur, inso much that they were more expected when a great part of them should go give themselves up to the Enemy, which made them resolve to depart. The Rhinocer was not much to be blamed for his unhappiness, it being a very perilous Journey, for at the very falling out of the Gate, he was of necessity to fight several Spanish Guards, and half a mile from thence another, at a Trench the Enemy had call'd up near unto a certain Mill, which was in his way. Upon their determination to depart, I gave express charge that no one living should speak of this falsly, causing the Gates of the City to be close shut, and at the beginning of the night they all came with their Baggage to the great place before Porto Novo.

The Sinennis, who understood nothing of all this, as the seeing the Germans in this Marching Polture, began in all haste to repair to the Paluce in very great despair. I then go out of the

The Germans, who, finding such a posture began in all haste to repair to the Palace in very great despair. I then go out of the

caus'd three Companies to fall out, two of French, and one of Italians: the first whereof was led by Captain Charry, the second by Captain Blaun (who since dyed a Hugonot at Staintonge) and the third by the Count de Gayas. Captain Charry had order to fight the first Court of Guard, which was in a great street of the Suburbs, the second was at the Augsburins in the lane street, and the third at St. Lazarus. They had command, in my opinion, never to give over till they had fought all the three Courts of Guards, and the Count de Gayas took the way on the outside of the Suburbs on the right hand all along by the houses, still marching softly on to rally our men together, as they should be separated and terrify'd by the fight. The Tartins of Sicily lay at the Charter-boufe, confenting of very good Soldiers, and the Rhinocer at the going out of the Gate took on the right hand, entering into a valley, and the Count de Gayas remain'd upon the eminence moving still softly on, which produc'd two effects for the relief of our people, the one as has been said, by gathering our squandered men together, and the other to succour the Rhinocer also, if he should stand in need. So we began to open the Gate, its being about one of the clock in the night. Captain Charry marched our first (for it was he who always led the dance) Blaun after him, the Count de Gayas next, and then the Germans, who in a trice put themselves into the Valley. We immediately heard the fight betwixt our French and the Spaniards: Captain Charry routed the two Courts of Guards, the one after the other, and beat them up as far as that of St. Lazarus; whereupon those of the Charter-boufe came out to relieve their people, and came to the Augsburins (where Blaun had made a halfe expecting Captain Charry) and there clapt in betwixt them. Captain Charry having done his business, thought to return (hearing very well that they were fighting with Blaun) and met the Enemy, which redoubled the fight. The Count de Gayas could not come to assist him, by reason that I had expressly forbid him to engage in the fight till he should first be sure that the Germans were out of danger: but in the end he was constrain'd to do as the rest did, our two French Companies being driven upon him. The F}ght bec}
The Fight continued above a long hour. Signor Cornelio and I were without the Gate by the Porticullis, and nothing was open but the wickets, and there as the Soldiers came one after another, we put them in, when on a sudden we heard the fight coming towards us, some crying Frans, and others Spains, when at last they all came up pel mel together to the Porticullis. We had torches within the Gares, and through the wicket saw a light, by which we drew the Soldiers in. I must needs say, there were very valiant men, both on the one side, and the other; for not so much as either French or Italian, ever once ran furiously upon us, but still said about at the Porticullis, and never retir'd, but step by step, till we pulled them in. All the three Captains were wounded, and we there lost what plain, and wounded above forty of the best Soldiers we had, both French and Italians, and in the end we got in all the rest of our people. And because before the Sally, the Signor came at noon at the departure of the Germans, I made Signor Cornelio to go about to the several Guards, and to the Forts, to reassure our men, for no one knew that the Germans were to go away, and I myself went to the Palace, where I found all the Senate in a very great distraction, to whom I spoke as followeth:

Speech of
Monfieur de
Montluco to the
Sienais.

I see well (Gentlemen) that you have here assembled your selves upon the occasion of the Germans departure, and that you are enter'd into some apprehension and jealousy, that by that means your City will be left: But I must tell you, it is the conversation, and not the loss of your City; for those Ensigns devout'd more, than the twelve of the Italians and French. On the other side, I know you must have heard that the said Germans already began to mutiny, being no longer able to endure. I also discover'd well enough, that even their Captains were not like to govern them, themselves apprehending that they would go over to the Enemy, and you your selves have for five or six days past heard the Enemy call out to us at the very foot of our walls, that we were left, and that our Germans would soon be with them. Yet did not this proceed from any defect in their Officers, but from the impatience of the common Soldiers, who were no longer able to suffer. Now (Gentlemen) should you appear dejected upon their departure, the world would say, that both your courage and ours, depended only upon theirs, and so we should dis honor our selves, to honor them; to which I shall never give my challene: for you knew all the great fights that have happened in this siege, have been perform'd by you, and us only, and they have never so much as flailed out of the Town, save once only, that in spite of me the Rhimecor would send out his people under the conduct of his Nephew and his Camp-Master, and would accept of no one of any other Nation, than his own, at which time you saw how soon, and how easily they were beaten back, even into the ditch of the Ravelin of Porto Novo; so that if, by good fortune, I had not been there, and had not made the Italian Guard fall out to their rescue, not a man of them had come off alive. I will not disparage them, but they are much more proper for a Barril, than a Siege. Why then (Signior) should you be concern'd at their departure? I will say one thing more to you, that although I had allow'd away the twelve Companies that remain with me in this Town, I would yet undertake to defend your City, provided the Captains they'd behind to relieve me. You must make your Ensigns Captains of the Watch by turns, which shall have two nights of interception, and ours shall have but one, and we must begin to contract our allowance of bread to fourteen ounces, and you of the City to ten. You must also put the useless mouths out of the Town, and appoint six persons to take a list of their names to morrow, without further delay, and that without regard of persons, and speedily thrust them out of your City, by which expedient we shall make our bread last three months longer, which will be a sufficient time for the King wherein to relieve us, especially now that the Spring is drawing on. Cease therefore your apprehensions, and on the contrary approve what I have done in order to your service. If I have done it without pre-acquainting the Senate with my design, it was not out of any disrespect to them, but to keep this departure secret, which was of very great conquence, as you your selves may observe; I having been constrain'd to put Monfieur de Strozzy upon the business to deliver my self from a people so entirely devoted to their bellies.

The Senate having heard my Remonstrance, desir'd me to go to my epope, and that they would consider of what I had said, rendering me very many thanks for the comfort and good counsel I had given them. In the morning my whole Speech was divulgd all over the City, and there was no more thought of fear amongst them: But they could not well agree amongst themselves about the unprofitable mouth's, forasmuch as every one was willing to favour his own relations and friends; wherefore Ballotte they created me their Dictator General for the space of a month, during which time neither the Captain of
of the people, nor the Magistracy had any command at all, but I had the absolute authority and dignity, anciently belonging to the old Dictators of Rome. I thereupon created six Commanders, to take a lift of all the useless people, and afterwards deliver'd the roll to a Knight of Malta, accompanied with five and twenty, or thirty Soldiers, to put them out of the Town, which in three days after I had deliver'd in the Lift, was performed. A thing, that had not very good wrists of, both of the Seniors, the King's Officers, and the Captains who were then present in Sienna, I should not however have mention'd in this place, left the world should take me for a liar: but it is most perfectly true. The Lift of these useless mouths, I do assure you amounted to four thousand and four hundred people, or more, which of all the miseries and desolations that I have ever seen, was the greatest my eyes ever yet beheld, or that I believe I shall ever see again; for the Master was hereby necessitated to part with his servants, who had serv'd him long, the Miftres with her maid, besides an infinite number of poor people, who only liv'd by the sweat of their brows; which weeping and desolation continued for three days together: and these poor wretches were to go through the Enemy, who still bear them back again towards the City, the whole Camp continuing night and day in Arms to that only end; so that they drove them up to the very foot of the walls, that they might the sooner consume the little bread we had left, and to see if the City out of compassion to these miserable Creatures would revolt; but that prevail'd nothing, though they lay eight days in this condition, where they had nothing to eat but herbs and grails, and above the onehalf of them perish'd, for the Enemy kill'd them, and very few escap'd away. There were a great many Maids and handsome women indeed, who found means to escape, the Spaniards by night fealing them into their quarters, for their own provision, but it was unknown to the Marquis, for it had otherwise been death; and some strong and vigorous men also forc'd their way, and escap'd by night: But all those did not amount to the fourth part, and all the rest miserably perish'd. These are the effects of War. We must of necessity sometimes be cruel, to frustrate the designs of an Enemy. God had need to be merciful to men of our Trade, who commit to many sins, and are the causers of many miseries and mischiefs.

You Captains and Governors of places, if you be not perfect already, learn these Arts and Stratagems: It is not all to be valiant and wise, you must also be circumspect and cunning. Had I enter tated the Rhinoceros to depart the City, he would have been displeas'd, and have reproach'd me, that I sent him to the slaughter, but I proceeded more directly, serving my self with the authority of Moniteur de Strosser, wherein I had no other end, but to gain time to tire out my Enemy, and to give the King leisure to relieve us: But as I have said before, he employ'd his Forces where he had the most concern.

Nearer is the skin than the skirt. Never fear to discharge your felves of useless mouths, and bar your ears from all cry's of the afflict'd: Had I obey'd my own disposition, I had done it three months sooner, which I had, I might peradventure have fav'd the Town, or at least I had longer held my Enemy in play; and I have a hundred times since repented me, that I did not.

The Marquis seeing that I had put the Germans out of the Town (who were the great The German Left part of them defeated by the way, and thorough their own great faults, which I shall desire, not however give any further account of, for they were not defeated about Sienna, but elsewhere upon their march, where their own fear surpriz'd them, without any great reason) and seeing also that I had driven out the useless people, both which would help to prolong the Siege, with the confenting our allowance of bread (which he had also learn'd from those that went out) these things made him to think of some other way, to bring The Marquis us to his bow; fearing lest some how should fall in the Spring (as it often falls out in those parts at that time of the year) which should it so happen, he should then be constrained to raise the siege, and repair to the Cities to eat, for he was almost in as great necessity as we, and the Soldiers of his Camp were fain to eat Mallow, and other herbs, as well as The Marquis ours; by reason that oftentimes their provisions could not be brought in due times; for at his sufferings; all came from about Florence, which was thirty miles off, and upon little Alpes, excepting one Mile, and those were to bring sufficient to serve whilst they could go and come, which was five or six days, and every return some of their beast's butchery dyed. For about the Camp there was no more, so much as one herb; neither hay, straw, nor grain to be found, and much less any one Inhabitant within ten miles of the Road. And all his Cavalry lay yet ten miles beyond Florence, excepting the Company of Signor Cibro the Marquis his Nephew, which consist'd of no more than fifty Horse, and was also every fifteen days to be relieved, by fifty others that were quarter'd at Bonsconvent. So that had God been pleas'd to send us a little snow, though for eight days only, his Camp
would have been necessitated to rise, and to shift for themselves in the most commodious quarters abroad in the Country. All these things together put the Marquis upon an attempt to shorten the War, wherein his design was one way or another to divide amongst the quarters of the City, seeing us weak, and knowing very well, that although we had yet twelve Companies, there was nevertheless not eighteen hundred men: To which effect by that of the Signori, who were bann'd the City, and were with the Marquis, an invention was found out to gain a Citizen of the Town called Meffier Pedro, a man with one eye, and of the order of the people (which was that wherein we most confided, together with the order of the Reformators) and that by the means of certain little boys, who went with little packs to gather herbs in the Meadows upon the River Treffe. By whom the Marquis to order'd the business, that he corrupted this man, and made him a Traritor to his People and Country; and the form of this practice was, that Meffier Pedro should receive several blanks, sign'd by the Signori, who were in the Marquis's Camp, which he himself should write over at his own direction.

The plot of this design was thus, that Meffier Pedro should in his Letters write these words, that they wonder'd they should thus suffer themselves to be so manifestly abused by the Seignier de Montluc; and that a child might discern all the affurances he gave them of relief from the King of France to be no other than galleries and devices: That although they had unworthily been thrust out of the City, yet did they not deserve, with tears in their eyes, infinitely lament to see them so miserably lose themselves, and that if they would send a man to go so far as Rome, to enquire if the King was raising an Army for their succour, they would then infallibly discover the cheat: That they begg'd of them not to suffer themselves to be reduced to the last resort, which if they should do, they would not then come off cheaper, than at the price of their heads, the ruins of their estates, their wives and children: That they had yet means to make their peace with the Emperor, by the mediation of the Marquis, if they would let him into the Town, which was a thing easy enough to do, if they would consult and join with some of the City, who had already engag'd themselves to them; and that they might know who were of the intelligence, they were to go into such streets, and where they should see a little white Cros under the door, the Meffier of that house was none. This one ey'd Dog perform'd his office exactly well, and directed his Letters to one of those in whom we repos'd an absolute trust, being very certain, that he would forthwith carry it to the Magistrate, and that the Magistrate would also in the morning send into the street mention'd in the Letter, and would seize upon the Gentleman of the house, at whose door the Cros should be found. However he resolve'd ever to make his Cros at some house of the orders of the Novi, and the Gentlemen, forasmuch as the other two Orders had them in full possession, and the Marquis thought (knowing the humor of the Signori, and the hatred they bore to one another) that immediately, so soon as that person should be taken, they would hurry him without any other form of Justice to the Scaffold, by which means those two Orders of the Novi, and of the Gentlemen, would enter into so great an animosity and despair, that to save their lives they would be constrained to betake themselves to arms, to poffess themselves of a Canton of the City near unto the walls, to favour the Enemy, and to help them into the City.

This cur'd Rogue then began to forge his first Letter, and by night went and thrust it under the door of the house of one of the Gentlemen, who was unsuspected, and made his little Cros in another street at the house of one of the richest Gentlemen of the Order of the Novi; so that in the morning the Gentleman to whom the Letter was directed, found it in the Entry of his house, pretend'd to read it, and carr'd it to the Magistrates, who so soon as they had look'd upon it, immediately sent it to me by Meiller Hieronyimo, sending me word withal, that they had determin'd to go apprehend the said Gentleman, and forthwith to carry him directly to the Scaffold. Whereupon I sent the Signors Cornelio and Bartolomeo Cavalcano back to them, to cure them out not so precipitately to proceed to blood, for that it might be an invention of the Marquis to fit division amongst us: but that they might do well to commit him to prison, which they accordingly did. Two days after there was another Letter found in the same manner, in the house of a Gentleman of the Order of the Novi, a man no more suspected than the other, and the little Cros under the door of one of the Order of the Gentlemen: At which the Senate was so incensed, that I was fain my self to go to the Pallace, where I had much ado to obtain the favour, that they would defer execution for five days only, to see if in that time God would please to give us further light into this Fact. All the whole City was enrag'd, and talk'd of nothing but cutting off heads. As God help me, it could never sink into my head, that it was any other, than a device of the Marquis, for I knew very well with whom I had to do. I then entreated Meiffer Bartolomeo Cavalcano, that
that he would never cease day nor night, to go visit the said Gentlemen, and the Citizens of the Orders of the Gentlemen, and the Nobi, whom the misfortune concerned, to entreat them not to despair, and to tell them, that I would take order no blood should be shed, and that I gave no credit to those Letters and Crofles. Signior Cornelio also affidied me very much. In this affair, who had a very great interest in the City, by reason of the Cardinal of Ferrara, with whom he had always liv'd during his abode in this City.

Now three or four days after this, thinking the fury to be over, behold another Letter, and another Crofe found in the same manner as before : At which every body loft all patience, and would immediately drag all three to execution. I then ran to the palace, taking Signior Cornelio and Signior Bortolommeo along with me. As I was going it came into my head, that I had no way to divert this blow but by a colour of devotion, and so soon as I came thither, I found the great Hall already almost full of men of the Reformators, and of the Order of the people : when so soon as Lenter'd into the Hall of the Magistracy, they all began to cry out, that it was now no longer time to forbear, but that they were to proceed to a speedy execution of Justice ; whereupon having taken my place, I spoke to them in Italian, as at other times, after this manner.

Gentlemen, since the time that I have had the honor to Command in your City, by the appointment of the King my Master, you have never undertaken any thing, whether as to matters of War, or as to the Government of your Corporation, without first communicating to you my intention, and asking my opinion and advice. Wherein, by God's good pleasure, I have been so happy, that I have hitherto never advis'd you to any thing which has not succeeded to your advantage and honor; neither would I do it for the world; my own life and safety not being dearer to me, than your preservation.

Seeing then (Gentlemen) I have been so fortunate, as ever to have given you sound and useful counsels; let me beseech you to retain the fame opinion of me now, and to give credit to me in an affair of so great importance, as this that presents it itself before you, with which your judgements seem to be very much perplex'd. I beg of you, with joy'd hands, and in the name of God, that of all things you take heed of embracing your hands in the blood of your Citizens till the truth shall be fully known; neither can it possibly be long conceal'd: 'tis to much purpose to cover the fire, the smock will however issue out; in like manner they may endeavour to mask and disguise this practice, but the truth will infallibly appear. All the world (and I beseech you be of my opinion) cannot make me believe, that this is any other than an Artifice, and a trick of the Marquis, who having found that the Lyon's skin will do him no good, has therefore put on that of the Fox, the better to bring about his design. Which to do, he had no better, nor more fable way, than by yowling division in the heart of your City. And which way could he better do it, than by making you believe there are Traytors among you, and within your own walls? Knowing very well that that would make you only to impirom such suspected persons, but allow to put them to death, and by that execution to fet discord in your City, for true blood cannot lye. The Parents and friends of the sufferers will bear the death of their kindred, though it should be just, with great sorrow and disconsolate, and will endeavour to revenge them; by which means behold you have created so many domestic enemies, much more dangerous than those without, and you will be perplexed about the death of your own people, at the time when you meditate that of your open and declared foes. See then (Gentlemen) what joy, what satisfaction and delight you will administer to your enemies when they shall know that you buffet your selves about cutting off the heads of your own Citizens, and of those, who I dare say and swear are innocent. However it may prove to be, the expectation of the truth can no ways be prejudicial to you, for you have them in sure hold; you are secure of your prisoners, you have them under safe custody. I will also be vigilant on my part, why then should you make such haste to put them to death? For the honor of God believe me, you will not repeat your patience. I have no interest but yours, let us have recourse to God in so great a necessity. Command that all your Clergy to morrow ordain a great Proceffion throughout the whole City, and let every one be enjoyn'd to be stilling at its and let them join in prayers, that it may please God to do us that grace as to discover to us the truth of this affair, the reason, the reason there be, and the innocency of the Prisoners, if there be none. I assure my self that God will hear us, and you will soon be satisfied of the truth, and I may proceed to justice against the guilty if it cause require: but to do it before, and in heat to embrow your hands in the blood of your Citizens, without having maturely weighed every circumstance, you would in my opinion do very ill, and bring a great mischief upon your City. Gentle-
The Commentaries of Messire Blaize

Book III

men, the sole affection I have to your service, your safety, and conservation, has made me speak thus freely to you without any other consideration, and I once more most earnestly beseech you to grant me this favour, as for a few days to supercede your lenience, which in the mean time we will employ in prayers and supplications, that God will please, by manifesting to us the truth, to direct our justice.

I had no sooner ended my Speech, but that a confused murmur arose throughout the whole Hall, some saying I, and others no, for there will be evermore some opposers; but in the end my advice was followed, and pretendy incitation given to the Churches, and to all the people, to prepare themselves against the next day for a general Procession, to pray unto Almighty God; for as for falling we had enough of that already. I was my self affilling at the Procession, and all the Captains, together with all the Gentlemen and Ladies of the City, the Kindred of the Prisoners following weeping; and to be short all the whole body of the City this day, and the day following were in humiliation and prayer, every one beseeching of God, that he would please to afford us that grace, as to discover the truth of this treason. In the mean time I slept not, for all the night Signior Cornello and I were in consultation, which way this practice of the Marquis could be fet on foot. I consider'd with my self, that the businees being gone thus far, he who carried on the design would not rest there, and that the Council of the City would not be kept secret, that the Marquis would not infallibly have intelligence of what had been concluded, there being evermore some cell-tales in these great Assemblies; and then very well knew that I had committed an error, in so openly declaring that I was affil'd it was a trick of the Marquis, it being to be feared that it would make him enter into some jealousy of his Agent. Now because it was likely he would by his Letters and Tickets give us some new alarm, I thought fit to cause certain men to walk up and down the streets of the City by night, after the most private manner they could, to try if by that means something might nor be brought to light, and after this manner caused Centinel to be made two nights together. By day I caused the people to be taken up with Processions in three respective Parishes, and when any of the Signiory came to tell me, that it was so much time lost, and that they must proceed to Justice, I entreated them to have patience, affuring them that I began to discover some light into the businees; for it was necessary to proceed after this manner, to restrain the fury of the people.

Now it happen'd that the third night about midnight this Messer Pedro was born to pafs by, and falling at a house, put his hand to a Cafement, which was low, and happen'd to be shut, and one of the three Letters had been found to have been put into a low window as that was. He then kneel'd down, and under the door put in the Letter as far as he could thrust his arm, which having done he went his way along the street. A Gentleman who lay at watch went presently after him, and taking him by the arm said, ehe fete viu? to whom the other replied, fo fono Messer Pedro (I cannot remember the fir-name of this Rascal) the Gentleman then knew him, and said to him dove andate? who made answer me ne vo e la guardia, to which the Gentleman return'd, etto e, which having done he knocked, and made them open the door, where he found the Letter of the fame contents with the former. He then immediately went and carried it to the Magistracy, who sent me two of their Council, to give me an account of the whole businees, and those two went and call'd up Signior Cornello, who came along with them; where amongst us it was concluded, that the Gates should not be open'd in the morning, nor the Guards and Centinels relev'd, till he was first taken; and in the morning Signior Cornello went with a hundred men to beft the house both before and behind. Signior Cornello knew the man, and so soon as he had placed his Soldiers, knocked at the door, where he found him yet in bed, and presently sent me word of his being taken. Whereupon, the time of my Dictatorship being expir'd, I made use of entreaties, as before, requesting the Senate that he might be forthwith put upon the Rack, for he both denied the Letter, and also that he had seen the Gentleman of all that night. As he was upon the Rack he begg'd that they would torment him no more, for he would confess the truth, which he did from point to point, together with the Marquis his practices to fer diviion in the Cyry. Upon which confession they would in the heat have presently hang'd him at the windows of the Palace: but I entreated them not to do it yet, and so he was clapt up in a Dungeon. I then entreated the Captain of the people to deliver to me the three Gentlemen, who were prisoners, for that I had a desire to talk with them at my Lodging; which he accordingly did.

They were brought by Signior Cornello and Bartolomeo Cavalciano, and so soon as they were come to my Lodging I remonstrated to them, "that they ought by no means to"
Book III. de Montluc, Mareschal of France.

"To teach their imprisonment, nor to bear the Senate any ill will for setting of their persons, affairs being reduced to such terms, that the Father ought not to trust his Son, nor the Son his Father, since it concerned no less than their lives and fortunes, and that therefore I desired they would go to the Magistracy to give them hearty thanks that they had not proceeded to speedy execution, but had had patience till such time as God had discovered the truth. They returned me answer, that I should pardon them, that being a thing they would never do; neither was it they had fixed their lives, but that it was, and that they would give God thanks and me; but that they had no obligation to them at all. We were all three above a long time moving to pervert them, where I remonstrated to them, that not to do the thing I requested of them was to accomplish the Marquis his design, and to give him his heart's desire, which was, that they should remain in division and mortal hatred; and whatever else I could contrive to say, that might any way serve to pervert them to go, I referred to their consideration to peace and appease them. In the end remembering how highly they bold obli
ged to me for the saving their lives, they promised me that they would do it, and Signior Cornelie, and Messer Bartolomme at my request were along with them, for I was afraid they might repent by the way: where I soon as they came before the Magistracy, the Prisoner, one of them spoke for the rest, remonstrating their innocence, and the wrong that had been done them; which nevertheless they would no more remember, considering the necessity of the time, and the Estate of the City, affectionately beseeching them to effem them for their good Citizens and friends, and loyal to the Common-wealth; and that for the time to come neither they nor their posterity might have any blemish upon their names upon this occasion, they desired they would please to grant them patent seal'd with the broad Seal for their satisfaction. The Captain of the people then made them a very ample Remonstrance, wherein he entreated they would excuse them, if the publick safety being in question, they had been constrained to shut their eyes to particular inter
ests, and by the importunity of the affair had been constrained to be severe in their inquisition: but that they did acknowledge and effem them to be good and loyal Citiz
ens. Whereupon they all defended from their fears and embraced them, and as Messer Bartolomme told me, the most of them with tears in their eyes: and every one retired to his own house.

Now because this one-eyed Villain was of the Order of the People, which was the greatest party in the Town, and wherein was most Soldiers, I was afraid that should they put him to death, those of his Order might make some fall in the Town, saying, that now it was well enough known of what Order the Traitors were, which might occasion some mutiny or sedition, and make them in the end break themselves to arms, which was the reason that I made a request to the Senate to give me his life, and to banish him life, for ever, that all things might be hush'd up, and that the Marquis might not lay that any of his policies had succeeded any more than his attempts by arms. And thus were all things discovered and hush'd up, for the Senate granted my request.

I have often since wondered how I came to be so obtuse, and to moderate in an affair of this importance, considering how reasonable it was, that an example should be made; but it would peradventure have done more hurt than good. We must not always be so severe, and the seeing others so hot upon blood I do believe made me a little more temperate. And you (Gentlemen) who have the charge of places, do not suffer your selves to be transpired at the first appearance of things, nor upon too light information; consider and weigh the circumstances, and hinder the violence of the people over whom you command by one presence or another, as I did, amusing them with Proceccions; not that that was not nevertheless well done, but I would see if it time would make any discovery; and had I suffered them to have been put to death, their kindred might perhaps have been provoked with some spirit of revenge. Above all things endeavour to preserve union amongst those over whom you shall happen to command, as I did in this City, where all was accommodated and appeased. Consider also with what enemy you have to do; for you may well imagine that he will leave no stone unturned, nor any artifice untried, to let division in your City; as I have formerly read in Livie, the great Captain Hannibal did to few diffusion amongst the Romans. Your wisdom and prudence (Governors of places) must discern if there be appearance in the things whether or not the party accused be a man capable of practice, or have any means whereby to bring his purpose about, and whether or not he have done any thing any ways tending to that design. For in apprehending him you discover any confusion in his countenance, or vera

151

Worthy confi

tration in his manners. You ought in this to be very circumstant and discrete, and to consider that there is nothing more evil than to calumniate a man. God be praised, Governor.
all here passed with moderation, and the Prisoners with their friends came to give me thanks.

Now after the Marquis saw himself disappointed of his expectation, and that all his plots and stratagems came to nothing, he suffer’d us to rest in peace, not expecting, to have us till we should be reduced to the last morsel of bread; and we began to enter into the month of March, when we were in the greatest necessity of all things; for of wine there had not been one drop in the whole City from the middle of February: We had eaten all the HorSES, Asses, Mules, Cats and Rats that were in the Town. Cats sold for three and four Crowns a piece, and a Rat for a Crown. And in all the whole City there was not remaining four old Mares, to lean as nothing more, which turned the Mills, two that I had, the Controller la Mollere his, the Treasurer l’Episine another, Signior Cornello a little Bay Pad-Nag, that was blind with age, and Monsieur Hieronimo Hijano a Turk of above two years old. These were all the HorSES and Mares that were left in the City in this extremity, which was greater than I can represent it, and I do believe there is not in nature a more dreadful thing as famine. We had from Rome some hopes sent us of succours, and that the King was sending away the Marechal de Brisac to relieve us, which was the reason that we again lightened our bread to twelve ounces, and the Soldiers and Citizens of the Town to nine; whilst in the mean time by little and little we lost several inhabitants and Soldiers, who fell down dead as they walked the streets, so that they died without sickness. At last the Physicians found it out that it was the Malows they fed upon, that being an herb that does relax the stomach, and obstructs digestion. Now we had no other herbs along the walls of the City they having been all eaten before; neither could we come by thee without falling out to skirmish, and then all the women and children of the Town went out to gather them. But I saw I lost so many men in these skirmishes, that I would no more permit any one to fall out. Now to hear any more news of the Marechal de Brisac was henceforward impossible, for the Trenches were brought up to the very Gates of the City, which Trenches the Marquis had also redoubled for fear we should fall out upon him in despair, and give him Basin as the Siennois in their ancient wars had formerly done, as themselves repert.

In this condition we languished on till the 8th of April, that we had lost all manner of hopes of relief, and then it was that the Seigneur intrusted me not to take it ill if they began to think of their preservation. When seeing there was no other remedy, unless to eat one another? I could not deny them, cursing to the pig of hell all those who engage men of honor in places, and then leave them in the lurch. Yet did I not herein intend to speak of the King, my good Master, he lov’d me too well for that; but those who gave him ill counsels to the prejudice of his affairs, and I ever have obviated more evil than good Counsellors about Princes. They then sent out one of their people to the Marquis to entreat of him a safe conduct for two of their Senate, whom they would send to him, which he granted, and they began to capitulate. The Marquis himself did very much facilitate the Treaty, and they began to enter into great confidence of him, for he very well saw, that to cause the City to be sack’d and ruin’d would be no profit, neither to the Emperor, nor the Duke of Florence, and would only benefit the Soldiers, and on the other side he fear’d left if the Siennois could obtain no good conditions, we should fall out upon him, a la desesperade, having already left above the third part of his men, who were either dead through the length of the Siege, or run away, so that he had almost no

The people of Siena begin to capitulate.

The extremity of the Italians, who were quarter’d at the Fort St. Mark; and the Marquis had remained for above a month with no more than six Ensigns for the Guard of his own person, all the rest being in the Trenches; neither could he ever relieve them with more than ten Ensigns, and those had only one night of intermission, and some such Guards there were that were not relieved in six days. To this condition was he reduc’d without, as well as we within; neither could he make any use of his horse, no more than Monseur de Strozzi could of the Cavalry he had, by reason that there was no manner of thing upon the ground, to give the horses to eat from Mentalfin to Sonia, and from Siena to Florence.

I will now give an account of my self after what manner I liv’d. I had no manner of advantage, no more than the meanest Soldier, and my bread weighed no more than twelve ounces, and of white bread there was never above seven or eight made; whereof three were brought to my Quarters, and the rest were sav’d for some Captain that was sick. Neither those of the City, nor we from the end of February to the 22d of April ever eat above once a day; neither did I ever hear so much as any one Soldier complain, and I can assure you the Remonstrances I often made to them serv’d very to good purpose; for if they would have gone over to the Enemies Camp, the Marquis would have created them very well for the Enemy very much esteem’d our Italian and French Soldiers, and in the skirmishes...
skirmishes that had happened betwixt us had had very sufficient tryal of their valor. I had bought thirty hens and a Cock to get me eggs, which Signior Cornelio, the Count de The Sieur de Grays, and I eat for we all three contently eat together; at noon in one place, and in the Montluc's presence at another; but towards the end of a day, all these were eaten, the Cock and all. 'Twas pity we had no more: and to I remained without flesh, and without eggs, and had nothing to eat but my little loaf, with a few pease boy'd with a little Bacon and Mallow, and that but once a day only. The desire I had to acquire honor, and to put this battle upon the Emperor, so long to have held his Army in play, made me find this so sweet that it was no trouble to me to fall: and this pitiful supper with a bit of bread was a feast to me, when returning from some skirmish, I knew the Enemy to be well drab'd, or that I knew them to suffer under the same necessities we did.

But to return to the Capitulations; the Marquis sent to the Duke of Florence, and Don Juan Manrique, who was Embassador from the Emperor to the Pope, and refided at Florence by reason of the Siege; whereupon the said Duke sending a safe conduct, the Siennais also sent to the Pope (which was Pope Julius, who died two or three days after) Pope John, from whom they received a very survey answer, he reproaching them with their obstinacy, and commanding them to submit to the Duke of Florence his mercy without any condition. He was a terrible Pope: but the Duke proceeded after a more modest and courteous manner, as a Prince ought to do, who would gain the hearts of a people, and indeed he was one of the greatest Politicians of our times. It behoved him so to be to establish his Principality, in the time of two of the greatest and most ambitious Princes that ever were, who had both of them a great mind to get footing in Italy. But the Spanish was more subtle than we, and this Duke managed his business very well; his name was Cosimo, and I believe he is yet living. In the mean time Commissioners for eight days together went, and came betwixt Florence and the Camp, and upon Monday night the Capitulation was brought to Sienna, and the morning before the Marquis had sent a Trumpet to me, entreatung I would send two Gentlemen out to him in whom I might confide, he having something to say to them that he desir'd I should know, and that he was come to St. Lazare to that effect. I thereupon sent out to him Signior Cornelio, and Captain Chorly, who being come to him, he there acquainted them with the terms of the Capitulation, which would that night be brought to the City, and that amongst other things there was one Article which exprest, that the Sieur de Montluc with his Italian and French Companies, and all the Officers of the King, should march out with Bag and Baggage, Colours flying, Drums beating, with march lighted, and Bullet in mouth: but that this Article would do me no good, forasmuch as we did not belong to the Sienna, but to the King of France; and being we did not belong to them, they confeder'd had no power to capitulate for us; that therefore I was my self to capitulate in the name of the King my Master, which if I thought fit to do, he sus'ted me I should have what conditions forever I would demand, and that his service to the Emperor excepted, he would do as much for me as for the Cardinal his Brother: that he and I were two poor Gentlemen, who by our Arms were arrived to such degrees of honor, that the greatest both of France and Italy would be glad to have our places, telling them wishal he would there day to expect my answer. They found me at Porto Novo walking with Meiffer Huronomo Espanas, where after I had received his Message, I bad them go back and tell him, that I very well knew he had read the Roman History, wherein he might have taken notice, that in the times of the antient warlike Romans they had sent one of their Colonies to inhabit Caffony, near to the Pyrenaeen Mountains, of which Province I was a Native, and that if he would not content himself, that the Siennais had comprized me in their Capitulation, I would at my coming out let him fee, that I was defended from those warlike Romans, who would rather have loft a thousand lives, could they have had so many to lose, than an inch of their honor; that I had rather the Siennais should capitulate for me, than I for them, and that for my part the name of Montluc should never be found culpable to a Capitulation. They then return'd to him, to whom having repeated my answer, he laid it to them in Italian. Che vol dir questo? mi prese che vol jocar a la desperata. Altre volte voleva dis farforte se faron gia, ne per questo ne fa mai repeso de l'imperatore, & no raffa a Majess a servir fi di me. Signor Cornelio then told him, that I was positive in this determination, and would rather put all to the hazard of the sword, than to the hazard of a Capitulation. Well then said he, recommend me to him, and tell him I will let him see that I am his friend, and that he may march out in all assurance upon the Capitulation of the Siennais, or after what manner be pleas'd himself; and so they return'd.

Oh Camrades, you have here a fair exemple before you, when you shall find your
The Commentaries of Mefliie Blaize

Book III.

Gentlemen, I have seen your Capitulation, which tends rather to the cutting off of your heads, than to any indemnity for your Lives and Estates. You have there one Article, that every one generally shall enjoy the benefit of the Capitulation, their Lives and Estates saved, excepting such as are Rebels to the Emperor, the King of England, and the Duke of Florence. Now you know very well that the Emperor has caused you all to be declared Rebels in his Imperial Chamber, as Subjects of the Empire, for having rebelled against him. By which you see you are declared Subjects, and you say you are not Subjects, but only stand in recommendation to the Empire. The dispute is not yet determined, whether you are Subjects or recommended, and when the Enemy shall once be got within your walls, and that you are in their power, what Judges will you have to determine of the Question, except the Haagman, and with your heads, for it will certainly be by that way that they will go about to affright their title. Behold then you will all be put to death, your Estates confiscated, and your Wives and Children a prey to the Conqueror. As for me, and the Soldiers they will permit us safely to depart, for Soldiers pass in all places, and ever better cheap than other sorts of men. They know we have nothing to lose but our Arms, and that we are bound to obey our Prince should they offer any outrage to us, we shall have our revenge in turn at one time or another, for men do sooner meet than mountains; But all the mischief will fall upon you, considering the hatred the Emperor and the Duke have conceived against you. A Prince rarely pardons Subjects who have once rebelled against him; but if ever he can pick a hole in their coats, he will be sure to take hold of the occasion. Since then we have so long lived together, without ever having so much as one kind word pass betwixt us, and that I have receiv'd so many honors at your hands, if you will take my advice, we will make the Marquis think of something he never thought of yet, that is we will folly put our weapons in our hands to the fight, and give him battle, and we ought to believe, that God will be on our side, and assist us, considering the cruelty they would exercise upon you. For my own part, I freely offer you my life, and those of all my Captains and Soldiers to die with you, that as we have liv'd so we may die together, rather than to see you so basely betray'd and sold to slaughter. Credete a me, et me dico che son vecchio, & non sono passate molte cose inutili ovechi.

Now I knew very well, that this exception did not point at the Sienois, but only at those I nam'd before, so that this was only a device of mine, to make the Sienois engage with us in the fight, for I had rather have put all to the hazard of the sword, than that any one of those who were within with us, and who upon my account had been obstinate in the defence
defence of the City should be left. They took it however for current pay, and after I was departed from them, all of them refolv'd to fight it out to the last man. I then prefently lent them word what they were to do, which was, that the Standard-bearer should command all their Powder to be refined, their Swords, Halberds and Pike-heads to be fcow'd and ground t that upon pain of Death, every one who was able to bear arms, should be ready in two days, and that the Priests and Religious, who had taken arms for the defence of the Town at the Battering, should now take them again under the fame Captains they did before; inofmuch that I do believe that for two or three days to great a battle in the City had never been seen. The two Deputies hereupon of the Duke of Florence and the Marquis, who had safe conduct into the City, return'd about three of the clock in the afternoon back to the Marquis, where they shew'd him this Article, which had put not only the whole City, but also the Soldiers, into defpair of fair Quarters, telling him how we were all refolv'd and by what means they came to understand the hubbub, and preparation that was making in the City to give him Battle, which was the reason that he lent all night to the Duke of Florence and Don Juan Manrique, whom I since saw with the Queen of Spain at Bayonne, giving them an account how all things stood, and enticing them within, that since he was now upon the point to have the Town surrendred to him, they would not for this one Article put him in danger of losing all; but consider, that he had to do with a great Captain, and an old Souldier, commending me more than I deferv'd: that as themselves very well knew, he had left near upon the one half of his Army, and had a great many sick of those he had left, and that he had not twenty Horse, there being nothing upon the place to support them, nor any means by which to bring them any from other places; and that they would do well to weigh and consider of this affair, for as for his part, he must discharge himself upon them, if any thing fell out amiss. So soon then as the Duke of Florence and Don Juan saw the Siennais resolution, they dispatch'd to him le Consiguiou the Duke's chief Secretary, with a Blank to put in whatever we would demand, for he was upon a tron, till he was Master of the City. It was upon Wednes- day morning that the Consiguiou came to the Camp, when the said Marquis sent for the two Deputies, who had been on Tuesday night return'd into the City, where they inquired in the Articles, that all those who had been banish'd, and Rebels of the State of the Emperor, Empire and Duke of Florence, should go out in all security, as well as the rest, and in this posture we remain'd till Sunday morning the 22 of April, that we went out in the order following:

Before any one of us stirr'd out of the Town, I refolv'd the Citadel and the Fort of Camoglia into the hands of the Siennais, where they put an Ensign of the City into each, the Surrender of Sienna. as I also made them to place an Ensign at every Gate of the City that stood open, which being done, I return'd to Porto Nova. The Marquis had planted all his Spanish foot all along the Street that leads to S. Lazaro, on both sides the street, his Germans were drawn up in Battail, a little on the right hand in a Camp, and at S. Lazaro was Signior Gaby's nephew with fifty or threcscore horse, which was all they could make (as I have said before) and three hundred Italian Harquebuzers, which they had drawn out of the Forts of Camoglia and S. Mark, and was the Convoy the Marquis had appointed to conduct us, Signior Cornellio then, and the Count de Gesu, arm'd at all points, with their Pikes should
d out fide by fide, with a Company of Harquebuzers at their heels, after them went out two Captains at the head of the Pikes, amongst whom were a great Company of Corrells, and in the middle of the Pikes, the Ensigns display'd and advance'd, and in the rear of them the reft of the Harquebuzers, with two Captains in their rear. I had over- night sent to the Marquis, that he would be so civil to the ancient women and children, who were to go out with us, as to lend them forty or fifty of his carriage Mules; which he did, and which before I went out, I distributed amongst the Siennais, who put upon them the ancient women, and some children in their laps. All the reft were on foot, where there were above an hundred Virgins, following their Fathers and Mothers; and women who carried cradles with Infants in them upon their heads, and you might have seen several men leading their daughters in one hand, and their wife in the other, and they were num- ber'd to above eight hundred men, women and children. I had sent a pad prating at the turning out the wheels mouths, but I faw as far as a one at the separation of those who went out with us, and who remain'd behind. In my life I never saw to fad a farwel; so that although our Soldiers had in their own persons suffer'd to the last extremeties, yet did they infinitely regret this word prating, and that they had not the power to defend the liberty of these people, and I more than all the reft, who could not without tears behold this misery and devastation of a people, who had manifested themselves so devout for the conservation of their liberty and honor. So soon as Signior Cornellio was gone out,
The Commentaries of Melfire Blaize

Book III.

Great families in Siemno.

The French march out of Sicat.

Discours between the Marquis of Mareines, and the Sieur de Montluce.

all the Italians follow'd, and the Citizens in the rear of the Italians. Then at the head of our French went out S. Auban and Laflan arm'd, with pikes upon their shoulders, and a Company of Harquebusiers after them, two Captains at the head of the Pikes, with another company of Harquebusiers led by Cherry and Bacon, having each of them a Halbert in his hand, and the Ensigns in the middle of the Pikes, after the same manner the Italians had past before. After these I went our arm'd, and Mefier Filotimo Espana side by side with me, for I was afraid they would have seiz'd upon him, he having been a principal Actor in the revolt of the City. He was mounted upon an old Turk, and I upon another miserably lean and baggled out, notwithstanding which I set a good face on the matter, and made the best mea I could. I left two Siennois Ensigns at the Gate, entreat ing them to clap to the Gate immediately after me, and nor to open it till the Mar quis himself came. The said Marquis rid up and down, and Signior Chiapino Vitelli with him through all the files, to take care that no one meddled with the Siennois, for as to our Baggage, it was so little, as it made no number. The Spanish Camp-Masters then came to salute me, and all their Captains. The Camp-Masters allighted nor, but all the Captains did, and came to embrace my knee, after which they again mounted on horseback, and accompanied me till we came to the Marquis and Signior Chiapino, which might be about 300 paces from the Gate, where we embrac'd, and they plac'd me between them. After this manner we pass'd on discoursing all the way of the siege, and the particulars had hap pen'd upon it, attributing much honor to us, the Marquis particularly saying, that he had great obligation to me, for that besides he had learn'd several stratagems of War, I was the cause he had been cur'd of his Gout; telling me the fear, that both he and the Emperor's Gentleman had been in, which did not pass without much laughter: Whereupon I told him, that he had put me into a much greater fright the night of the Scalado, and yet that I was not for all that cur'd of my fever; adding moreover, that he had done very ill to come upon me, as the Jews did to take our Lord, for he brought along with him Lanthorns and Torches, which gave me a great advantage: to which he reply'd coving his head (for he was a very courteous Gentleman) Signior, an altrevoite si piu falsi. I then told him, that he had continued his Battery, he would have had no very good bargain of us; for the Goutens were an obdurate people, but that they were flesh and bone as other men were, and must eat. With this, and other discourses of the same nature we entertain'd ourselves, till we were got a mile beyond S. Lazaro, and there the Marquis had Signior Chiapino Vitelli go to the head of our people, and speak to Signior Caby, to take care there should be no disorder, and that if any one offer'd to take any thing from us, he should kill all such as should attempt it, and that he should give the same command to the Captain of the three hundred Harquebusiers. So soon as Signior Chiapino was gone from us, the Marquis embraced me in his arms laid these words, in as good French as I could have spoke my self. Adieu Monfieur de Montluce, I pray present my most humble service to the King, and assure him, that I am his most humble and affectionate servant, (my honour safe) as any Gentleman in Italy. I then return'd him thanks for the good inclination he had towards the King, and the courtesies I had receiv'd at his hands, which I would proclaim in all places where I should come, and when it should ever lie in my power to do him service, would require. He offer'd me the same, and we fell to embrace again. He had then no more than four or five horse with him, they being all behind in the same order he had left them, and so he return'd back towards the City, and soon after Signior Chiapino Vitelli return'd, where we also embrac'd and parted.

We then went to Arriveroute, a little Village upon the Trefle, or else the River it self is call'd Arbis, and there we found fourteen Affes laden with bread, which the Marquis had sent thither to distribute amongst us upon the way; of which one part I gave to the Siennois, another to the Italians, and the third to the French. To do which, as I pass'd through the Spaniards, I saw that the Soldiers had also purposely brought bread along with them to give to our people. I dare boldly say, and that by the testimony of those who were then with them, that this bread sav'd the lives of two hundred persons, and there are many who will affirm, that it sav'd the lives of four hundred, and yet it could not go so far, that there was not above fifty who dy'd that very day; for we had been from Wednesday till Saturday without eating any more than six ounces of Biscuit a day a man, and upon the Thursday of two horses I had, I kill'd one, that would now be worth 900 Crowns, he was then indeed very lean, which I divided amongst the Italian and French Companies, casting all the oil to be taken out of the Lamps in the Churches, which I likewise divided amongst the Souldiers, who with Mawls and Needles boil'd this flesh and oil, and so fulfiled themselves till Sunday morning, when not a morsel amongst us at our going out, had eaten one bit of any thing in the world? The Marquis also caus'd four
four Borachio’s of wine to be brought for me, together with five or six loaves of white bread, and so soon as we came to Aubervillers, we halted, and under some Sallows that were by the River side, eat our bread. I gave two of my Bottles of Wine to the Signior de Strozzy, the other two we drank our selves, each one a little, and afterwards went on our way directly towards Montfaucon, when so soon as we came to Bonnevent, Signior Cabry made the foot Convoy to return; but till he saw Monseur de Strozzy, who came out with a party of horse to meet us, would himself never leave us; and then he bade me fare-well, taking me in his arms, as he did Signior Cornelio, the Count de Guaya, and all our Signior Cabry Captains, for he was a very worthy Gentleman, and a brave Soldier, as any they had in his Chancery, their Camp. So soon as we came up to Monseur de Strozzy, we embrac’d, without being able either of us to utter one word; neither am I able to say which of us had his heart the most full of the remembrance of our fortunes. In this manner then, nothing but skin and bone, and more like Ghosts than men, we arriv’d at Montfaucon, which was upon Sunday, and all Monday and Tuesday we were thrust up with the Treasurers and Controllers, to examine and state our accounts, and to see what I had borrowed to lend the Soldiers, where we found that the King was four months to us in arrear; and Monseur de Strozzy gave me 500 Crowns of his own money to carry me into France. I dare swear he had not half so much forfeit; for Signior Cornelio and I had been constrain’d to borrow 400 Crowns to definge his great Order, which he had pawn’d to a Jew at the beginning when he came to Siena. I would afterwards have refor’d it to him, and namely at Tivoli, though he would never receive it, but laugh’d at me; and this was the end of the Siege.

O Camerades, you who shall do me the honor to read my Book, will you not grant me what I have said before, that God did ever as much go along with my fortune, as with that of any other Captain of my time? You have obtainer’d the great advantages I flatter’d in this Siege, and the little help I had, nothing being to be expected from without, his Majesty having his hands full on every side. You have heard that no act nor force was spare’d to reduce me, you have also seen the great famine I endur’d, the travels the Marquis perperct me withal, and the extremities to which I was at last reduc’d, which if you please maturely to consider, you will find that I have been as much afflicted by Almighty God, as any man that has born Arms these hundred years. I cannot, I in my Book I would there are too many witticisms alive for that. Do you not then fee, that I spoke the truth, when I said before, that we are to employ all that God has given to men, before we give our selves for overcome? Pray consider, whether or no any thing was here to be omitted, or whether I ever omitted or forgot any thing in what condition ever I was, but put this poor City, and moreover the Kings honour and reputation in dispute throughout the whole world. I never call it to mind, and it makes me fail to think what a folly I committed in exposting this City, together with his Majesties reputation, and all the rest of its arms, to the Enemies diſeration, at the last morsel of bread. For the King would by no means have had me reduc’d to that, and yet any one ask Monseur le Chappelle, whom his Majesty expressly dispatch’d away to me, to give me advice, that I should not suffer my self to be reduc’d to that extremity, as to come off to his dishonor. Princes are proud, and fight more for glory than for purchase; and I must needs say, that it was not the work of man, but of God, that we came off to good cheap, as we did.

Two days before we came out of Siena, the Senate gave me my discharge in Patent, The Declaration signified with their broad Seal, acknowledging therein, that I would neither Capitulate for the City, nor for our selves: but that considering the extremity to which they were reduc’d, I would not hinder them from doing it, calling me to witness of the loyalty and fidelity they had manifested to his Majesties service, wherein they had in nothing fail’d of the Oath they had made to him, and that I went out upon their Capitulation, and not they upon mine. Now where will you find in any Hiftory, that ever man went out of a place without capitulation, if he did not steal away by night, but not after the manner I went out. For every one will confefs that I did not belong to the Sienoos and that consequently they could not capitulate for me; as the Marquis told Signior Cornelio, and Captain Cherry. So it was, that the good will of God, came out after this manner, and the Patent is to be seen in the King’s Treasury, as I shall say hereafter.

I know very well (Gentlemen) that many of you will take delight in what I have to say to you, concerning the Government and Conformation of places, and that others will make little account of it, forasmuch as there are a fort of people so good nature’d, as to think they know all things of themselves, and nothing value the knowledge and experience of other men, as if God had sent them into the world like St. John Baptist, illuminating.
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize

Book III

...infpir’d from their Mothers wombs. Which is the reason we are not to wonder, that so many fall into mischaps; for their own arrogancy and self conceit, leads them by the hand till they come to a Precipice, from whence they tumble headlong from the top to the bottom, with to great a fall, that they are never able to rife again. Yet was this no thing, if the fall hurt no body but themselves; but the King and his people suffer also by it. Do not then disdain to learn, and although you may have great experience of your own, yet can it do you no great harm to hear and read the discourse of old Captains. When I was but five and twenty years old, I took more pleasure in hearing an old Soldier talk, than ever I did to fit and chat with the finitest woman that ever I was in love with in my life; therefore I beseech you take a little notice of what I am going to say.

When your Prince shall give you a place to keep, you are to consider three things; first the honor he does you in repofing so much confidence in your valour and wisdom, as amongst others to make choice of you, to entrust with a Command of that importance. Wherein the honor he does you, is no little one, forasmuch as he does not only honor you in your own person, but moreover a mark of reputation upon your whole race, by entrusting in your hands a Key of his Kingdom, or some City of very great importance to him as this was, the Siege whereof I have related to you. This honor, I say, that he does you, draws so long a train after it, that your renown does not only spread it itself through the whole Kingdom from whence you come, and the Countreys adjourn ing to the place you defend, but moreover throughout the whole world. Every body is curious to enquire who does well or ill, and who is a good or bad Commander; nay, although we have no concern in the affair, yet are we evermore inquisitive after news, for such is the nature of man: by which means thorow all Foreign Nations your name will be for ever known, either to honour or infamy. For whatever is done, is committed to History, without which the greatest part of men of Honor, would not care for acquiring renown, it costs so very dear. Never did any man ever purchase it upon harder terms than I; but the laudable desire we have to perpetuate our name’s, makes the pain seem easy to him who has a generous heart. Methought all the time when I read Timo Luev, that I saw all the brave Scipion, Catullus, and Caesar’s alive, and when I was at Rome, and saw the Capitol, calling to mind the things I had heard (for I for my own part was even a bad Reader) methought I ought to find those ancient Romans there. The Historians then, who omit nothing of any kind in their writings, will mark your name in white or black, with glory or with shame, according to your defense, as you see they have done by so many Captains who have gone before us.

The second thing that you ought to see before your eyes, is to consider if you lose the place committed to you, first what a loss it will be to the King, being part of his estate, and his house, there being no Garrison, that is not properly the Kings own house, besides that the revenue is his, of which you deprive him in losing the place, enrich his Enemy, and augment his reputation, whilst you do honor your own Master, who shall read in the Histories dedicated to Eternity, that in his Reign such a Town, such a Castle, such a Fortres was left. You ought then to reflect upon the miseries you bring upon your poor Subjects, how many curses will they lead you with, who shall be neighbours to the place you have left; for they will certainly be destroy’d, and by your carelesenes or cowardly ruin’d and undone. They will curse the hour that ever you was born, and especially the poor Inhabitants, who through your faults, must either change their King and Master, or taking their children upon their backs, be constrain’d to seek another habitation. O that the poor English who had above three hundred years been settled in the Town of Calais, have reason to curse the cowardize and treachery of him, who so infamous left so great a place! How can you ever have the confidence to look up, should you once fall into such a misfortune as this? Before you were honor’d and esteemed, and every one rejoice’d at your comming, praying to God to preserve and bless you; but should you once fall into a misfortune like this, instead of prayers and acclamations, you shall meet with affronts and injuries; for prayers, maldictions, and they will curse you to all the Devils in Hell. Instead of caring, they will turn their backs upon you, every one will point at you, to that a hundred times a day, you will curse the hour that you were not kill’d upon a platform, or in a breach in the defence of your Garrison, rather than so shamefully to have given it up to your Enemy.

And not only your Master, the Princes and Lords will look upon you with an eye of contempt, but the very women and children; nay, I will say more, your own Wife, though she make a shew of love, will hate and despise you in her heart; for the nature of all women is such, that they have all Poltrons, let them be never so proper men, or
never so handomely drest'd, and love the bold and courageous, let them be never so flovenly or deform'd. They participate of your shame, and although being in your arms in bed, they may pretend to be glad of your return, they with in their hearts you had been another'd, or carried away by a Canon shot 1 for as we conceive it to be the greatest disgrace to a man to have a Whore to his Wife, the women also think that the greatest shame can befall them is to have a Coward to their husband: and thus Monfieur le Gouverneur, you who have left your place, you will be in a marvellous happy condition, when you shall be cuffed in your own bed.

But what shall we say of your Children? people will not only reproach them, that they are the sons of a Cowardly father; but they will moreover themselves (his name and the mischiefs of which his Cowardize has been the cause) for a Town is never lost, let it be never to considerable, that it does not draw a great deal of inconvenience along with it. It brings to migthy an inconveniency upon your children, that to extinguish your ill repute, and to raise their own to some tolerable degree of esteem, they must hazard their lives upon all occasions, without either fear or wit, and few escape being kill'd, who by this means to wipe off the stain from their family, would signalize themselves. How many have I seen in my time, who by endeavouring to repair some notorious faults, have left themselves and expel'd themselves to death upon the first occasion that has presented itself, being ashamed to live. And though your children should escape these dangers, yet will the King be afraid (what great reputation forever they may have acquire'd), to trust a Town to their custody, left the Son should take after the Father, as it ordinarily comes to pass. Thus shall you not only ruin your selves, but your whole Family.

To avoid and to break the neck of your ill fortune, and of all these mishaps, there is a good remedy, which I have learn'd my self, and am willing to teach it you, if you know it not already. First you ought to consider all this that I have told you, and set on the one side the shame, and on the other the honor you will obtain, if you bravely defend your place, remaining victorious; or at the least having done all that a man of Honour could do, to come off Triumphant, and like a Conqueror, though you be overcome, as you see I did in this Siege. Imagine still that you see your Prince and Master before you, and what countenance you ought to hope for, if by your Cowardize you lose his place. And seeing nothing ever had a beginning, but that it had likewise an end, consider from the beginning what the end is like to be, and remember that your Master has not entrusted this place in your hands to deliver it up, but to defend it; that he has put you into it, not to live there only, but to dye there also bravely fighting, if occasion be.

If you ask him at your going away to your Command, Sir, must I dye before I surrender the place you have given me in trust? he will tell you, that you are to fight to the last moment of your life; for being you are his Subject, your life is his. The Seigneur de A Saying of the Jarnes one day told the King, that it was the greatest craft and Policy, that ever Kings Sieur de Jarnes made to the King, found out, to make their Subjects believe, that their lives were theirs, and that it was the greatest honor they could have to dye for their service; but that it was a great simplicity in us to believe it, and to keep such a clatter with this fine bed of honor. It is nevertheless true, that our lives and estates are the Kings, our souls belong to God, and our honor is our own, for over our honor the King has no power at all.

To return to what I was saying before, if in accepting the charge committed to you, you have not this resolution within your selves, you would do a great deal better to make an excufe. There are ways now to put it off, and there will be noow, who will be glad to accept of what you refuse. It you accept it with a resolution to bring it to a handomile issue, do one thing, never think of dying. 'Tis for a Coxcomb to fear death, till he see it within three inches of him, and yet cannot forbear representing it to his imagination, though it be a hundred Leagues off. On the contrary, meditate how to kill your Enemy; for if you once enter into an apprehension and fear of death, you may assuredly give your place for lost; for that is to take away your understanding and your judgement, which is the best piece in your harness. 'Tis to much purpose to be valiant, if this fail you at need; which if you intend to preserve, you must by no means enter into this fear of dying; for fear is of it self; and by the frailty of our own nature so apt to intrude upon us, without our needing to affill it with our own imagination. If then it present itself before you, you must reject it, and have sudden recourse to the intention of the King, and to what end he plac'd you there. Think of the shame and dishonor you are running into. Read often, or cause to be read to you, Books that speak of the honor of great Captains, principally those of our own times; as for example, Langry and another, who has writ in Italian (I cannot think of his name) who has writ to

will
well since King Charles the eighth. I have often read him, and he is a very good Author. Would to God that all of us who bear arms would take up a custom to write the things we see and do; for I am of opinion it would be better done by our own hands (I mean as to feats of war) than by those letter'd men, for they too much dignify the truth, and this relieves the Clerk. Read then these Books, and meditate with your selves, if I do like Antonio de Leva et Potie, the Sieur de Lade et Fontarabie, the Signeur de Benilon at Peronne, the Signor de Sanjac at Miranda, and Montlace at Sienna, what will they say of me? what honor shall I carry back to my own house? and on the contrary, if I surrender, what shame and infamy for me and mine? Then apply your selves to Almighty God, and beg of him that he will defend you from falling into these misfortunes, resigning up all things into his hands. After this sift your selves with all that he has put into the power of men, as you see I did in this Siege, and above all things be always diligent and vigilant, ever more mindful of your charge, if you do this (forgetting withall death and danger) you will find means to defend your place, though it were but a Dove-Cote; and though it should be lost, you having performed your duty, you must conclude it to be by the hand of God. We must however always trie; for I have seen a place left that was never suspected to be in danger, and such a one sav'd as has been given over for gone. If you there die in your defence, you will neither dishonor your selves nor your people, but shall be laid in your grave with an immortal renown, which is all that a man of arms ought to desire. For a man that fears to die ought never to go to the wars, there being in the world so many other employments to which he may apply himself, especially in this Kingdom of France, where there are so many orders, what of Justice, and what of the Finances; too many indeed for the good of the King and of his Kingdom, such a brave and numerous youth living idle, who would be fit to bear arms. As I have entred sometimtes into the Parliaments of Toulouse and Bordeaux, since my being the King's Lieutenant in Guiene, I have a hundred times wondered how it was possible so many young men should eternally amuse themselves in a Palace, considering that the blood ordinarily boys in young men; I believe it is nothing but custom, and the King could not do better, than to drive away these people, and to enure them to arms. But to return to you who have the Government of places, and you who have a mind to put your selves into a Town to defend it, if you so much fear death, never go, though it be but a folly to fear it, for those that blow the fire at home in their own houses are no more exemp't than the others, and I do not know what choice there is between dying of a stone in the kidneys, and being knocked o'th' head with a Musket bullet, though, if God would give me my choice, I should not be long in choosing.

Above all things (Camrades) you must be sure to be evermore intent upon your Enemy, and have your Judgement Centinell to spy what he can do against you; and play two parts, taing to your self, If it was the Affianant, what would I do? on which side should I make my atake? for you ought to believe that your opinion, and that of your Enemy do very often jump. Communicate then what you have thought of to such as you know to be of understanding, sometimes in common, that you may give no dislata to the rest; but most frequently in private. When you shall find your selves engaged with a people, where you are to pits small, and have not the ruling power, apply your selves to their humours, and birt your tongues rather than speak too much. Reduce them by sweetness and obligaion, and above all things, when you are to suffer, your selves thow the way. For if you (Moniteur le Governon) will keep open house, and in the mean time cut others short of their bread, you will draw upon you the hatred of all your Captains and Soldiers, and it is but reasonable that you who have the greaten share of honor, should likewise have the greaten share of sufferion.

I will put you in mind of another thing, which is, that when extraordinary want prefer upon you, you seldom remain that up in your Cabinet, but shew your selves to the Captains and Soldiers, and appear to the people with a cheerful and affured countenance, your single presence will redouble their courage. I have in my time known severall of the King's Lieutenants, who have driven away the Gentlemen, by making them sometime too long in their Halls, without vouchsafing to speak to them. A Gentleman will be civilly used, especially a Galion, and in the mean time they pretend to be wonderfully buite. I have known one once in my life (whom nevertheless, because he was Maller of a great many very good qualities, I shall forbear to name, for no man is perfect) who two hours in a day would constantly lock himself up in his Closet, pretending to be busie about some dispath of importance, but it was to read Orlando Furioso in Italian, as his own Secretary told us, which we took highly ill from him, we being in the mean time left to measure his Hall, or to take a survey of his Court. Do not use men of condition,
Book III. de Montluc, Marshal of France.

dition for Your hours of vacancy and pleasure ought to be spent in walking upon the Rampires, and visiting the Magazines, to see that nothing be wanting.

If you happen to be in a place where you shall be reduced to great scarcity, forget not Error of the to serve your fences with the means I used to rid my self of the Germans, and take ex-

dample by my Error for I deferred it too long: but it was because I thought the Marquis would force me by the word, and not by famine; but he was as subtle as I. If you sup-

pect any treason, and cannot discover the bottom of it, cause some counterfeit information to be given you, and without naming the person, say you are inform'd that there is treason plotted against you, and that you are upon the point to discover it; pretend also to have some intelligence in your Enemies Camp, though you have none, for this will be a Countermove. I will say but this one word to you more, which is, that you set at once before your eyes the favour and displeasure of your Prince, for you have your choice. A

King's indignation does not cool like that of another man. They seldom forgive a man that makes them lose anything, for they would always win. How was that brave Mon-

fieur de Lannoye received at his return from Millan, and ye God knows he was not in fault. He was wont to say, it was the greatest affliction of his whole life. Suffer then all sorts of extremities, and omit nothing that men of honor ought to do. I know very well that men must live and win, and that no place is impregnable; but choose rather a hundred thousand times to die, if all other means fail, than to pronounce that infamous and baseful, I yield.

Monfieur de Strozzy lent me a Galley to carry me back into France, and sent a Kin-

man of his, a young man of twenty years of age, and a Knight of Malta to Civita Vecchia to make me ready, and would that the Knight should himself conduct me to Marsilles.

On Wednesday morning then I took post, and went to Rome, where I arrived about four of the clock in the afternoon, having lent the Captains Loffen, Blacon, and St. Auchi to play for me at Civita Vecchia, Monfieur de Strozzy having given them leave for four months, the rest remained with the said Signore. The Cardinal of Armagnac lodg'd me in his own Palace, and I was received with as much honor by all the King's Ministers, as any Gentleman could be. They had already heard of my coming out of Siena, the Marquis having sent word of it by an express Courrier to the Cardinal his Brother. I there found Monfieur le Cardinal of Guise, and the Duke of Ferrara, the Father of this that now is, being yet there since the creation of Pope Marcellinus. His Holines asked the Cardinal of Guise if I was arriv'd, as he had been told, to which the Cardinal making answer, that I was, he entreated him to bring me to him, for he had a great desire to see me. The Cardinal found me at the Ambassadors Monfieur d'Aranjon, where he told me that I must go to his Holines, who had a desire to see me, and Monfieur d'Aranjon lent me his own Coach. I found the Pope newly got up, and set in a Chair by his Bed side, so ill that he had much ado to speak: but nevertheless he entertained me with very great favour. I told him that I would not now trouble his Holiness with discourse, but that I hoped God would in two or three days restore him to his health, and that then I would come and give him an account how all things had pass'd at Siena. He then told me that he had already informed of me, but that he should be glad to hear it again from my own mouth; adding these words, That I might say never any man, of what Nation soever, had ever had so much interest, love, and esteem among the Sienoits as I. I then took my leave that I might not be a trouble to him, and returning back found the Cardinal de Guise at the Ambassadors, to whom I said, that they might again go enter the Conclave to choose another Pope, for that this to-morrow would not be alive, and my words proved true; for the next day about Vepers he died, and the day after I took leave of all my friends, and went to Civita Vecchia, which was on Friday, and upon Saturday morning by break of day I went aboard. The pomp, pleasures, delights and curiosities of this City could not detain me a day longer, conceiving I might elsewhere be servicable to the King my Master. One thing I must needs say, though it be in my own commendation, that as I passed along the streets, and going to the Castle of St. Angelo, every one ran to the windows, and to their doors to see the man that had so long defended Siena, Whose only ferv'd to enflame my courage the more to acquire more honor; and though I had scarce money to carry me home, I fancied my self as rich as the greatest man in France.

About break of day we set sail, with as good a wind as we could desire, and in the dole of the evening came to Capoorota, where we came to an Anchor, and two hours before day pass'd the straight between Sardinia and Corsica, and about nine of the clock in the morning came to Bonificato, where was Monfieur de la Mole. I had heard at Civita Vecchia, that Prince Auria was gone towards Piombino with three or four thousand Soldiers,
which he had embarked in two and fifty Galleys, and that he went to fight Montfieur de Termes, who was barring Calcy. This intelligence was the reason that I went to Bonifacio, to give notice of it to the said Sieur de la Molle, who immediately therupon sent away to the said Sieur de Termes, and so feasonably, that he was scarce risen in time to avoid being surpriz'd, and was constrain'd, as he himself told me since, to tumble three pieces of Cannon into the Sea, which he afterwards went to fish out again. I there did him a good turn, and a good piece of service for the King my Master. You who bear arms, and have a desire to serve your Princes well, have ever more an eye to every thing that concerns them, to give notice of every thing that you conceive conducing to their service. I have known some such good friends, as have rejoiced at the miscarriage of their Companions, thinking to augment their own glory by their disgrace: I never did so, nor would I do it to the greatest Enemy I had in the world. Of this I could produce great and notable examples; but I pass them by to return to my business. The Baron de la Garde lay also in a Sea-port near unto the place where Montfieur de Termes was, and had speedily intelligence, that prince Aurea's Fleet was out at sea, but he knew not where, however suspecting the worth, he speedily hoist sail, making directly for Marseilles, which was the caufe of Montfieur de Termes his safety; for as Prince Aurea thought to have surpriz'd the Baron de la Garde in this Haven where he lay, he had intelligence that he was gone away not above five or six hours before, which made him to follow after, fleering the same course (which was upon the same Saturday, that I had the good gale of wind) and pursu'd him as far as the Iles Dieres. The Baron without staying held on his course towards Marseilles, and it was well he did so, for had he stayed at the Islands he had been truss'd, forasmuch as he had no more than fourteen or fifteen Galleys. I departed from Montfieur de la Malle upon Sunday about ten of the clock, and of all day could make no way, the wind being contrary: but about two hours before day the same wind we had upon Saturday before return'd, and we set forward, it being Monday morning.

About break of day I asked the Knight, if they had no bigger faults, who told me, these were the largest they had, enquiring of me why I asked that question, and whether I had a mind to make more, to which I made answer that I had, whereupon he presently clapt a fail upon the Mizen, and about break of day there fell a great mist, which continued till the Sun grew pretty high, that it began to dispere: the Watch then from the Main-top began to cry out a fail, a fail, and presently a Galley, a Galley, at which the Knight told me, that they could be no other than either Prince Aurea, or the Baron de la Garde: When the mist suddenly clearing up we saw our selves in the middle of two and fifty Galleys, whereof fourteen that were Separated from the rest of the Fleet fleered their course toward Sardinia, and we were between them. Every one in the Galley then began to despair; the Pilots would make for the Coasts of Barbary to escape; the Master was not of this opinion, but rather that we should make forwards by force of Oars and Sails: St. Aulban and the other Captains were in the greatest fright that possibly could be, saying, that being newly come out of so great an extremity at the Siege of Sirmia, they were upon the point to be reduc'd to that misfortune, as to sce themselves chain'd to the Oar, which rather than to undergo, they had far better die with their swords in their hands. What face ever I might set upon the matter, I was in no much better heart than they, and would have been glad to have been planting Cabbage. On a sudden four of the fourteen began to turn their prows to fall upon us, whilst the others in the mean time stroke sail to play for them; and as the other had made all the sail they could to come upon us with all their Oars amain, the heads of their Galleys were just over against our Cook-room. Now the Knight all this while not speaking one word, whilst every body in the Galley was crying out in a miserable confusion, I said to him, O Knight, you seem to lose your self; you have been bred with one of the bravest men that ever went to Sea, which was the Prior of Coppa; to which he made answer, Non me perdes, non me perdere per Dio: mas to garde la mie. The Enemies Galleys in the mean time came within a Harquebuz shot to enclose us, and then the Knight running from Poop to Prow, encouraged every one, making them to row amain, inform'd that when they thought to have hemm'd us in, we were got above fifty paces before them, and began to below upon them some Harquebuz thot. They pursu'd us about half a league; but by reason of our three fails, together with our fear that lest us wings, it seem'd as if our Galley flew before them, so that they pretty gave us over, and tack'd about, and our Seamen preyed them with their courteous kind of language, every one striving who should pay them most with railing; and thus by the great diligence of our Seamen, we in despite of them escap'd. Towards night the wind began so to slacken, and change upon us, that we could not get to Marseilles till Tuesday upper time, where we found the Count de Tanis, the Countess, and the Baron de
La Garde at supper in the Garden of Monfieur Blancart, who were all astonished to see me, having made account that I was dead, and Sinna fact’d and burnt down to the ground; for they being in Corfica had heard news day by day from Romanins, that I was at the last extremity without any hopes of composition; the Baron de la Garde had been confident in this belief all the while he was with Monfieur de Termes in Corfica, and after he was come back to Maffettes, and that he would play a desperate game at my coming out, in case the Marquis would not give me such conditions as I would have. Others said that I had lost my understanding, and that God would punish me for my great temerity and folly. They were talking of me just as I entered into the Garden, but they would not let me tell them any thing till I had supp’d, for they had almost done. I had soon dispatch’d, I was forbidden to eat much after I had failed so long, which I think was the death of very many after they came out; for nature must by little and little be compos’d, and reduc’d to her usual habit. Afterwards gave them an account from point to point of all that I had done, which they thought very strange. The Baron was very much astonished when I told him, that Prince Aurora had pursued him as far as the Isles D’Ierres, giving God thanks that he had not yielded to the impomptue of those he had with him, who would have persuaded him to call Anchor at the Ilands, and gave Monfieur de Termes for lost, or at least all his Artillery: but I told him, that upon my intelligence Monfieur de Moile had dispatch’d away to him in all diligence to give him notice. The next day I dispatch’d away the Sieur de Lecuffan to the King, to give his Majesty notice of my arrival, for the Count had told me, that the King was very much disatisfied with me, for suffering my self to be reduc’d to the last mortel, by reason whereof he could expect no other than the loss of me, and the ruin of the City, upon which depended all his reputation in Italy. See what hazards we run to serve those Princes? but there is no remedy, they are born to command, and we to serve and obey; and God knows if I had not caufe to complain to be so abandon’d, and left a prey; but tis all one they think it yet too much honor for us to die in their Quarrels. The Baron mightily pressed me to mend thither, and moreover made Lecuffan promise him to ride night and day, which he did. I stay’d with them until Friday morning, that I took post and came to St. Mathurin the 9th or the 10th of May, where I found the said Sieur de Lecuffan, who told there to tell me the great joy the King was in when he heard the whole story, his Majesty wondering at my fortune, and laying to every one, that he thought me the most fortunate man upon earth, after such and so long a Siege, and without hopes of relief, to come so honorably away, especially having to do not only with the Emperor, but also with the Dukes of Florence, who desired to be revenge’d of the Sienois. He looked alo up on the escape I had by Sea, out of the clutches of Prince Aurora, for a singular good fortune. The next morning I was at the rising of Monfieur de Guife, who could never have his fill of embracing me, and led me to the Kings Bed-chamber, who was yet in Bed, but awake. At his entering into the Chamber he began to cry out aloud, leading me in by the hand, Sir, here is your lost man, and I then drew near to kiss his Majestie’s hands, who embrac’d me with both his arms, holding my head to his bosom, as long as one might be saying a Pater noster, laying to me twice whilst he held me in this posture.

O Monfieur de Monfieur, you are infinitely welcome, I never thought to have seen you more, The Sieur de to which I made answer, that God had preferred me to do his Majesty yet once in my life one good piece of service. He said he believ’d it, and was affur’d that I would not spare my life to do it; whereupon he again embrac’d me, and then fcarcely out of his bed. He then retir’d me to the appartment the Vice-Chamberlain by his Majestie’s order had appointed for me, as well satisfis’d with the gracious comreturn of my Master, as if he had given me the noblest Prefént; for I have ever been proud, and tis natural for me to be so, being a Gascon. This alone had been sufficient to have made me have gone through impossibilities. The Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Confable were at this time at Arbres, treatning a Peace between the Emperor and the King.

After, when his Majestie had dinn’d, about one of the clock he retir’d into the Gallery, Monfieur de Guife only being with him, where he pleaded to call for me, and so soon as I was enter’d Monfieur de Guife shut to the door. After which his Majestie would have me to give him an account at large of all the particularities of this Siege, from the first day I enter’d into Siena, to the last, which made the story continue so long, that the Captains who were come along with me, and waited without upon the Terrass, told me, that they heard the clock strike five times whilst I was in the Gallery with the King. He was very much delighted with the order I took about the retrenchment of the bread, and the manner after which I did it, together with the Remontrances I made to the Captains, and to the Senate. He was also mightily pleas’d with the resolution I had taken
to give the Marquis battle in the City, and above all things with the order I had drawn in reference to it, which was at that time much feither in my memory than it is now, and was printed in Italy; and I remember the last time I return'd out of Tuscany the Duke of Orfbin told me at Pefaro, that he had it by him, and had never in his life read any thing that pleased him so much as that. His Majesty would allo that I should make a Narrative of it in writing, which I did; and whereas I distributed several Copies to divers Governors, and one I remember he caus'd to be sent to Marlambourp, where the Marechal de Coffee commanded, or else Monfieur de Famol. He express'd a great sense of pity when he heard the business of turning out the uselefs mouths, and in conclusion was pleas'd to ask me two questions. The first was, how I could make the four Nations, mortal enemies to one another, agree so well together; for all of them in general, as he had been told; had behaved themselves so exceedingly well to one another, without the least disorder, that they could not possibly have done it better: A thing that every one looked upon as a miracle, so much as the Emperor himself, wondring I could compose these people after this manner (the Italians themselves, who came out of Italy reporting it to him) as an unheard of thing. To which I made answer, that I had found it a very easie matter, and (being I knew he had a mind to hear it, and that I knew he took a delight in my Narration) I told him, that I went one Saturday into the Market, where in the fight of all the people I bought a Sack, and a little Cord to tie it with, together with a Fagor, all which having before them all laid upon my Shoulder, when I came to my Chamber I call'd for fire to light my Fagor, and after took the Sack, and there put into it all my ambition, all my avarice, my particular hatreds, my lechery, my glutony, my floth, my partiality, my envy, my particularities, and all my Gafcon humour's; and to be short, all that I conceiv'd might hinder me from considering every thing I was to do in order to his Majesties service; and told him moreover, that if all his Ministers to whom he entrusted the commands of men and places would do the same, his Majesties affairs could not but prosper; for my mind was ever free and undisturb'd with any thing that might hinder me from considering what I had to do, and bring about my design, which was never to go out of that place but with the laft morcel in my mouth; and I will say moreover, that whoever shall strip themselves of the forementioned vices, and burn them, God will ever be assisting to them, who favouring our designs, we cannot fail to effect whatever we have a mind to undertake. For God ever goes along with such people, and on the contrary abandons those who do not serve their Masters after this manner, because they forfeit the Oath they have taken, having sworn loyally and faithfully to serve him, which no man can possibly do reining these vices. His Majesty laugh'd at my discourse, commanding me to tell him one thing, and to tell him true, to which I made answer, that I would no more ly to him than I would to God Almighty. He then asked me whether Monfieur de Strozcy could not have reliev'd me if he would; for his Ministers at Rome had several times told him, that he was in a capacity to do it, and that it only lack'd at him that I was not reliev'd? To which I answer'd, that his Majesty ask'd me a thing himself was better able to resolve than I. How can that be said he, seeing I have not been upon the place? Sir, said I, you Kings and Princes have so long ears, that you hear every thing that is done, though you be a hundred leagues off: notwithstanding I told him that his Majesty being engaged in Scotland, at Calice, at Marlambourg, and other neighbouring Castles; at Metz, and Piedmont, and in Confla, he ought better to know than I, whether after having pro- vided all things necessary for all these places, wherein his honor was engaged, he had been in a condition to send money to the said Sieur de Strozcy wherewith to raise a sufficient Army of horse and foot to fight great forces as the Marquis had before Sieja, which if his Majesty had not been able to do, how could he imagine Monfieur de Strozcy should relieve me, who had not a man to make head against the Spaniards and Germans? That of Italians it was true, he might have had but too many; but that had been no equal match that Monfieur de Strozcy was full of courage, and very affectionate to his service; but that no one could flye without wings; and that three several times he had run very great hazards for his service, of which I also gave him a particular account. His Majesty then told me, that he was satisfied with my answer, and that he believe'd Monfieur de Strozcy to be his servant, and too much a man of honor to be any way in fault, making me thereupon very many excuses, for that having been engaged in so many places at once, it had not been possible for him to lend an Army into Italy to the said Sieur de Strozcy strong enough to raise the Siege, and to give the Marquis battle. Why then Sir, said I, you are neither to blame Monfieur de Strozcy, nor your self; both of you having done all that lay in your power, but this will reach you another time to look better to your affairs. This was a charity had been done the said Monfieur de Strozcy, who was as much con- cord'd
cern’d as the King, and more about the loss of Sienna, for the hatred he bore to the Duke of Florence.

After we had ended our discourse, His Majesty went out to look the Queen, and Madame de Savoy that now is, to whom he repeated all that I had said to him, especially that about Monfieur de Strozey, which the Queen was very glad of, and the next day did me the honor to give me thanks for the offices of friendship I had done Monfieur de Strozey, who was a concern of hers. I had no reason to do otherwise, for besides that I had lied, I had a particular honor for him, and it was just I should have so, forasmuch as he lov’d and esteemed me more than any Gentleman that ever came out of Galions.

This was upon Monday and upon Tuesday, Madame de Valentinio told me, that she had never known any man return from an employment with whom the King was better satisfied than he was with me, and that he did highly commend me. Which whether or no the said to flatter me, I cannot say: but the more knew then any other, for the had very much gain’d the King’s heart, and told me that I was very happy. As I was talking with her, the King came, and put me again upon some passages of my voyage. Now I had there the Patent and Declaration the Senate had given me under their broad Seals, wherein was declared, that I should have content to the Surrender of Sienna, nor Capitulate in the name of the King: but also that they call’d me to witness, whether they would ever hear of any Capitulation, till they were reduced to the utmost extremity, and the last morsel of bread. His Majesty took the Patent, and read it; after which he ask’d me, Why I would not Capitulate for myself and the Soldiers, telling me that he wonder’d the Marquis did not defeat me at my coming out. To which I made answer, That the resolution was for two Reasons, whereof one was, that I had made a resolution never to surrender any place; but rather to dye, and that the name of Monluc should never be found to a Surrender or a Capitulation, having never put my feet into a Town to deliver it up, but to defend it to the last moment of my life, as I had sent word to the Marquis by Signior Cornellio and Captain Chitty. The other Reason why I would not Capitulate was, that in case either His Majesty, or any of his Successors, should hereafter reconquer Sienna, and that the Siennis should forthwith themselves with his protection, as they had done before, he might herein be left free to his own liberty and discretion. For they could not say, that his Lieutenant Monluc had confessed to their Surrender, and that His Majesty ought not to quit his own interest; nor that of those who were to succeed him to the Crown of France. The chances of War, Sir, said I, are divers and variable. Milan and Naples have been the one twice, the other three times in our possession, and Sienna may be ours again. I have done nothing to prejudice your title, His Majesty lik’d my Reason so well, that he remained very well satisfied, commanding me to lay up the Patent among the Records of my Family, that it might be preserved for ever.

Madame de Valentinio then put in, and said, that the Archives of a private Gentleman, was not to secure, as the Treasury of a King, and that if this Patent was of so great importance, his Majesty might do well to cause it to be laid up in his. He then took it out of my hand, and gave it to one of his Gentlemen, or else to Madame de Valentinio to deliver it to Monfieur le Garde de Sceaux, who since was Cardinal of Senas, commanding him to lay it up in his Treasury, amongst the Evidences of the Crown. This cannot be above sixteen or seventeen years ago: So that if it would please the King his Son, who now reigns, to command Monfieur de Fistez, who was at that time Secretary to the Cardinal, to search for the Patent, I am confident it would be found. I would I had given 500 Crowns for a Duplicate of it, that I might have such a Record of my self, and infer it in my Book. For that will testify that I came out of Sienna with Colours flying, Arms shoulder’d, and Drums beating, without any Capitulation at all. A thing not to be found in any History, that ever any man did the like. So that no one ought to think it strange, that I so much desire a Copy of that Patent; neither ought the King so much to despise it, as to be out of hopes one day to make it useful to him, and His Majesty ought rather to be curious than I to have it fought out; for he is the most concern’d.

The day following being Wednesday, Monfieur de Guife in the evening told me, that His Majesty was the next day resolved to give me the Order; which in those times was so noble a thing, and so much sought for, that the greatest Prince in France would not have been satisfied without it, and would rather the King should never confer any honor upon him, than deny him that; for it was then a mark of honor, that was not so profan’d as it is nowaday. The next day then, being Thursday in the morning, the King was pleas’d to honour me with it, and after dinner I begg’d leave of him, that I might go to Paris, to put my self into some tolerable Equipage, for that I was too torn and tatter’d for a new Knight of the Order. He was pleas’d at the first word to grant me leave, and
and before I went gave me an allowance of three thousand Francs in Pension out of the Exchequer, and three thousand Livers Revenue out of his Demeain, wherein the County of Guart, where part of my own estate lies, was compriz'd, and Broguyrac made up the reft. Two years enjoy'd the County, but not Broguyrac, forasmuch as it was mortgag'd before. I very much defir'd to ditengage it, because Monfieur de Valence my Brother had a Priory there, and had rather have settled himself in Perigot, than any other part of France. If I could have done it, I should very well have prevented the Roguery that has been hatch there since. His Majefty also gave me two thousand Crowns in ready money, bidding me moreover ask him any thing else that I wanted. I then asked him two Councillors places in the Parliament of Thoulonze, to help to raise my daughter's Portion, whom I married to Monfieur de Fontenil leak. Monfieur de Valence having lent me instructions from Paris to ask that of the King, of which I should sooner raise money than of any other thing. His Majefty was pleased at the first word to give me this also, and with this money I married my first daughter, together with some little more that my wife had. His Majefty moreover promised me the first Company of Gens d'Arms that should become vacant. I had not the first, nor the second, but I had the third; for Kings promise so much, that it is not possible for them to keep their words with all. This vacancy hapned after my return from Montalban, the second time his Majefty had sent me beyond the Mountains, and was the Company of Monfieur de la Guife. There were the benefits I receiv'd from the King at that time, which were no small ones, and in brief I had whatever I defir'd. I am sure since the death of this good Prince my Master I have a hundred times with'd my own, considering the traverfes have been given me, and the crofles I have had. It had not been in the power of mankind to have done me wrong if he had liv'd, for he never fought any services, let them be never so inconsiderable; neither was it in the power of calumny to take away his good opinion from any one that did him good service. And on the contrary when any one fail'd in his duty, what good countenance ever he might shew them, out of complacency to such as would dispoofe him of the ill opinion he had conceiv'd, it never came from his heart, as the Marechial de St. André has often affir'd me, who told me his humour. He was very familier with him, and understood him very well. Five or fix daies after, his Majefty came to Paris, where I ask'd leave of him to go home to my own house, to fee my family, which he freely granted. I shall never conceal the benefits, and the honor my Masters have confer'd upon me, that being only worthy, and becoming a mean and dirty nature, and an ungrateful heart.

The End of the Third Book.
THE
COMMENTARIES
OF
Messire Blaise de Montluc,
MARESCHAL of
FRANCE.
The Fourth Book.

Had scarce been three weeks at my own house, when His Majesty's
dispatch'd a Courrier to me, commanding me forthwith to repair
to him wherever he was, without reply, or staying for any other
command: which I presently did, having scarce seen my house
and my friends: But Glory is a notable spur. At my arrival His
Majesty told me, that I must of necessity go into Pidamento
to Monseur de Brissac, who had sent to demand me to command
the Foot, making account that to relieve S. Jorge, where Monseur de
Honnion was that up, he must be forc'd to come to a Barrel. Two
days after I had my dispatch, the King manifesting great tokens of Friendship to me,
and to be very well satisfied with my service. I found Monseur de Brissac at Tarin
very ill of the Gout; and the next day went to seek out Monseur d'Aumale, who
commanded the Army at S. Vitalis near Olpeum, which consisted of five thousand foot,
a thousand men at Arms, and twelve hundred Light Horse. The King at my going
away, gave me a Courrier of his own, which was an exceeding good one, and which I
ordered with my Train to follow after me, for I went post. The same day that I came
to Monseur d'Aumale, I would go to take a view of Olpeum, in order to a siege: for the
Duke of Alva had made a fool of the work, and quitted S. Jorge; and the said Seur d' Aumale
lent me a little grey Nag. I went then in open day to discover the place, within
lefs then fifty paces of the wall; for I would let them see, that for having been
lately with my Wife, I had forgot nothing of what I was went to do. This discovery
was made in the sight of Monseur d'Aumale, and several others: where at my return
I gave him so good an account, that he found I had told him the truth of all.
The next day he drew part of the Army toward the Castle, where the Enemy had cast
up a great Platform, environed with a large ditch, with a * Tensille that covered the
Castle, and betwixt the Tensille and the Castle, there was fourscore paces or more; in
which space they had moreover cast up a Trench in the middle to the end, that in case
they should lose the head of this great Bastion and Tensille, before they could get to the
Castle, they might retire to this Trench. Monseur d'Aumale had at this time for En-
geineers Duno and Balafegras, who began their Trenches above five hundred paces from
the Town, where they found the earth so full of little flints, that a hundred men could
not cast up twenty paces of Trench in a day, and the said Monseur d'Aumale spent
two days in this kind of work. I was very much discontented that they would not do
as I would have them; but in the end Monseur d'Aumale was resolv'd himself to see
what I would counsel him to do, so that an hour after day-light, we went on that side
by the corner of the Town on the left hand, and behind a little Chappel, which was
within fifteen or twenty paces of the Counterscarp. He took no soul living with him
but
but me and Fequieres, who as I have been told, has since fact'd about to the House of Guifes, though the said Seigneur chewed him as much favour and respect, as any Gentleman about him. Monsieur d'Aumale and I went upon the Countercarpe, and Fequieres went underneath, where we measured how much of the Countercarpe we were to cut, to plant the Artillery upon the brink of the Ditch; and to discover also if the Enemies Harquebusiers might not see into the Recol shell of the Canon, and us also, should we lodge on the other side of the Countercarpe. We went upon it, and all along by the Ditches above said fire, and whispering to one another, past by two of their Centinels, without being questioned by them: so that had we brought two Ladders with us, Monsieur d'Aumale would have tempted Fortune, to have seen what would have been the issue (for the often prefers her left, when we least dream of any such matter) and when we came to the third Centinel, he call'd out and ask'd the reft, who as I believe were certainly asleep, which made the said Seigneur and me retire towards the little Chappel, much better accompanied at our return, than when we went, but it was with good round volleys of Harquebuzes shott, so that we were constrained to run into the Chappel, the backside of which Fequieres recover'd. Now this Chappel was open towards the Town, and that part to which the door had been hung, when it had one, was

The danger of a square pillar of stone, about the thickness of a man that was not very gross, and the Harquebuzes shott put us in such hafte, that Monsieur d'Aumale was forc'd on a sudden to clap behind this pillar bolt upright, and I behind him, for all the Chappel besides was open. In my life I never heard to great Harquebuzes shott; I know not whether it was not our fear, that made them seem so, but I am sure there was good cause to be afraid, for the Bullets almost continually plafe against the pillar with which Monsieur d'Aumale shelter'd himself: He serv'd me for a shield, and I held my head and my body to him. They keep'd us there above a long half hour bec'f, and it is most certainly they had heard us, for when we were enter'd into the Chappel, we heard them in Spanish cry out, *Inu a Dios ellas son en la Capilla, loo est entendido.* Monsieur d'Aumale has often since talk'd to me of the frights we were in: for I do verily believe that above a hundred Harquebusiers came to take aim at us; they also threw wisps of flaming straw into the ditch, that they might aim the better. *We were in a fine cafe,* said Monsieur d'Aumale, *should they fall out upon us.* Sir, said I, *those of the house of Lorraine were never so unhappy as to be taken skilling: neither will the rule of War permit them to fall out, without knowing what we are.* *We have here a good Buckler of Barcellona:* All this while the bullets clatter'd against the stones, and it was convenient for us to streak in our buetcoks. Fequieres play'd here one very tenfefs trick; for not knowing where we were, he whistled to call us, which I believe was the reason they fire to very long. In the mean time the Alarm run quite throw the Town, and in the end they grew as weary of shooting, as we were of being shot at, and so we walk'd out and found Fequieres behind the Chappel, who had made a cunninger choice of his retreat then we, and there Monsieur d'Aumale concluded the night following to bring the Artillery to the edge of the graff, and all our Ensigns. And there I got the vixtory of the Ensigns, who said, that all our men would be kill'd there, and that we should be forc'd to quit the Canon; and hereupon by good fortune arriv'd Monsieur de Caillacs. In the morning Monsieur d'Aumale in my presence told him all we had seen over night, and sent Fequieres along with him, to go to discover behind the Chappel: for the fame night the said Seigneur had appointed two Ensigns, that lay a great way from the Chappel, to go and immediately to encamp themselves just behind it. The befeg'd committed there a great incongruity, for they ought not to have contented themselves with laying the Chappel open only, but they ought moreover to have raz'd it to the ground. Monsieur de Caillacs at his return was of our opinion; whereupon Monsieur d'Aumale permit'ted Monsieur de Caillacs and me to go and carry along with us the Pioneers to cut the Countercarpe, ordering Dana and Balasferges to bring the Canon after, and caus'd a Gabionmade also to be made in the Meadow, some forty or fifty paces from the Countercarpe, wherein to lodge the powder: so that by break of day we had cut the Countercarpe, and the Artillery was plant'd in Battery so near, that the very muffel of the Canon hung over the Graft. Beginning to batter, Monsieur de Bonnivet went to and fro in the very face of the Baftion, betwixt the Battery and the place where Monsieur d'Aumale was, and the Marechal de Cofle did the fame. Two nights before we had call'd up the Trenches at the head of the Baftion, which cover'd the Castle to approach to the Ditch, the Baron de Chipi, who was Camp-Master, put his Soldiers into Camifado, and threw himself headlong into the Ditch pel-mel amongst them, and gain'd two Cazamasses that flank'd the Ditch, killing those that were within them, for they could not retire; and
and at the same instant Monfieur d'Aumale commanded the Engineers to mine at the head of the Bastion, which they did, and made three. Monfieur de Cape, then ran to the Bastion to see if the Mines were ready, and so returned to Monfieur d'Aumale to the Battery we were making. Hitherto I could make no mention of Monfieur d'Augoude, the Prince of Condé his Brother, and Monfieur de Nemours, they being only there for their pleasure, and without any command, being come post from Court, upon the report of a Battle speedily to be fought; no one believing that the Duke of Alva would have returned without striking a blow: However they were never absent from the work, and at the Assault went on together, and Monfieur de Bonsieur with them. There came along with them several other Lords; and amongst others Monfieur de Vintadeur, de Lude, de l'Aufin, de Malicorne, and de la Chaffaignery. Now two of the Mines wrought a very great effect; for they turned'd almost all the top of the Bastion into the ditch, and in the cloud of dust that was raised, the Baron de Chippy, and the Captain with him upon the ruine came to blows with fourscore or a hundred Spurards (that were entered but four or five days before, but not without the loss of a great many of their men at their entry) and two or three hundred more, all choice men, and call'd out of all the Spanish Companies; and there died there above four-score; and our people moreover won from them the Trench they had cast up in the space between the Bastion and the Castle, for they would have return'd to their Trench, and ours followed so close, that they entred with them. They then attempted full speed to recover the Castle, but he who commanded within it would not let down the draw-bridge, so that all the rest were dispatch'd. This was the success of the Bastion, which was bravely carried. There was there slain Cæsar de Napeles, a Nephew of the Duke of Alva, and among the Prisoners Signior Signorino da Gonzaga, and Captain Lazure, Lieutenant of the Duke of Alva's Guards, with several others, whose names I have forgot. I must now return to the breach, which to speak the truth was reasonable enough. It was assailed at the same time with the Bastion, as it ought to be, where though all these Princes and Lords behav'd themselves with very great bravery, mounting the breach themselves to encourage the Soldiers, yet did they within gallantly defend it, and lent us back again very well beaten. Here was slain the Count de Creance, and several others bore him company; yet knowing what had been done on the other side it comforted us a little, and gave every one hope that we should bring about our design. Being mounted upon the Platform of the Bulwark which was left entire, I sent Dana to tell Monfieur d'Aumale that he must lodge three or four pieces of Canon upon this Platform, to thunder the Enemy in the Town; which accordingly was presently done, so that in the morning they all began to play.

Here there is wanting several particularities of this Siege writ by Monfieur de Montuc, as appears by the sixth Book.
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize

Book IV.

was ever a very great friend both to me and to all my Brothers, and has as great an esteem for me, if not greater, than any Gentleman of Guenon; and we have ever liv'd together at this rate.

This paft after this manner, and we marched straight to Montcalvo, expecting the arrival of Monfieur de Termes, who came to the Siege, and behav'd himself with great modesty: for he was very disconcert, and would never take upon him to command. We laid Siege to the Castle (for the Town was carried at the first, neither indeed was it strong) and bartered by the base of a Battery on the right hand the Gate: but it was impossible to do any good by making a breach there, forasmuch as we must have form'd it with Ladders, so that our people having made an attempt were repuls'd. I went then in the night to discover the Ditch, and went so far as under the draw-bridge, which was close under the Wall, to see if there were not a Flancker that defended the Gate, and found that there was one below, which played all along the Ditch: the Enemy threw down fire-works upon me, and there hurt me a Serjeant of the Company of Monfieur de Lieux my Brother; and yet we were no more than three that entered into the Ditch.

At my return I conferred with Monfieur de Caillac to place two pieces of Canon upon the Countercarp, jult over against the Gate, to the end that we might shoot directly against the beams to which the chains were fastened, that the draw-bridge might fall down, after which we should soon bear down the Gate on the inside. We told all this to Monfieur d'Anmule, who gave us leave to do as we thought fit. The night following we lodg'd the Gabions, and three pieces of Canon, which was done by one of the clock at night. All the Princes came to see our work, and Monfieur d'Angulen taking me about the middle laid to me, You have formerly been my Soldier, I will now be yours. Sir, said I, you are very welcome, neither ought a Prince disdain to play the Pioneer in time of need; here is work for you. Monfieur de Caff's came prefently after, whom I took by the hand, and led him to see all that we had done, when after these Princes and Lords had seen all, they retir'd themselves to repose till day, and I remain'd upon the place. In the morning when the Captain of the Castle saw himself coop'd up after this manner, he began to found a Parley, and surrendered upon free quarter, with bag and baggage, and liberty to draw away a little piece of Artillery to save his honor. The Capitulation being signed, he presently march'd, and went straight to Pont d'Affaire, where their Camp-Master Don Arbo lay, who gave me no leisure to enter any howse to give an account of his fortunes but immediately hang'd him up, as he deserv'd: for at least he ought to have endur'd an assault, which if he had, upon my word he had found us enough to do.

You who put your felves into places, beware never so soon to enter into fear, and though your enemy may have play'd his game very well, and that you have reason to suspect your own condition to be dangerous enough; yet if there be not so little possibility of defending your selves, route up your spirits, and do the best you can, entrench your felves within, and consider that your enemy is more afraid to attack you, than you are to defend your felves: for it must be a very ill place indeed, if you have not some means to withfand an Assault, seeing you duff hold out a Battery. Do not think to save your honors by carrying away a Flag, or some small piece of Artillery, as this Captain did: for all this is of very little moment, and he who lies before you will easily grant such trifles as these, provided he has his end, and you the lofs and fame. Do but think what forrow and repentance this poor Captain, who so easily surrendred himself, had upon the Gallows, and if then he would not rather have chosen to have died in the Breach. When you have done all that men of honor can do, there is then no remedy, you must submit.

The taking of this place was of very great importance, for Montcalvo bridled and kept in awe, not only le pont d'Affaire, but also all the places upon the River Parn, and in the plain of the Marquitée of Monferrent, and moreover very much affrighted Cazal. The Army flaid there seven or eight days, during which time news was brought to the Princes, and to Monfieur d'Anmule, that the King was something dissatisfied at the disobedience I made mention of before. I also was put into the fine Rory, some honest man having done me that good office, as to affirm that I was the Incendiary, and the greatest Murmer of all, which (how false fore ever) was far believ'd, that the Confiabre sent me a letter, wherein he writ, that the King had commanded him to fend me word, that I should forthwith retire to my own house, and that he would not I should any more intermeddle in this expedition. This did not much affmouch me, for I knew the King would do me the honor to hear my justification: but the Marechal de Brissac was however so kind as to fend his Brother Monfieur de Caffé to Court, by whom he affur'd his Majesty of the contrary to what he had been inform'd against me; with which the King was satisfied, and acquitted.
acquitted me at my arrival: (for this occasion'd me a Journey to Court;) where his Majesty received me with as much favour as ever, particularly enforming himself from me of the affairs of Piedmont, and especially about the Princes in our Army, with whom he was not very well satisfied: but I had a care of prating too much, for as much as I was sure either the Confable, or Madam de Valentinier would have known it, and so from hand to hand it would have been carried about, that Montalier had been the Author.

O that a man that lives amongst the great ones had need to be discreet, and to carry his cup even! These tale-carriers have never any good meaning with them: they would have done as much by Monfieur de Strozzy at my return out of Italy, and it was well for me that I spoke differently of him, for both the Queen and he took it very kindly at my hands: if you know any thing of importance to your Matters safety, or his service, you are obliged in fidelity and duty to give him notice of it; but to go and relate to him sayings, Sir, such a one does not do well, such a one says negligently about his business, such a one does this and that, you very well deserve to have your throat cut: for great persons are not to be talk'd of at that rate; and he that told the King I was the occasion of the disorder in the Army, was no better than a Rascal, for there was no such thing: but it is no wonder people should make such stories of me who am but a poor Gentleman, when they dare to slander Princes and others the greatest Nobility of the Nation. These are ordinary things at Court, and 'tis there a kind of trade; forasmuch as the depression of one is the advancement of another: they play at thrust out the barlot, where the weak'st go to the wallis. There is no remedy, a man must run through this inconvenience, for a good heart cannot stay at home, and he that will warm himself, must either approach the fire, or the Sun. Our Sun is the King that illuminates and warms us with his rays wheresoever we are; if any one step in before you, you must arm your selves with patience, and the Duke of Guise his Motto Chacun a son tour.

After I had lived some time at Court I took leave of his Majesty, and return'd home to my own house, where I remained five or six months in repose, and when I was bus'about ordering the affairs of my Family (which I never had leisure to look into,) his Majesty dispatched away a Courrier to command me to come post away to him, writing to me to lend away my Train straight to Marsfelles, without giving me the least intimation whether he intended to send me. I forthwith obeyed his command, for I was never restless, and being come to Court, I there found two Gentlemen of Sinna, who were come in the behalf of their whole Country, to beseech his Majesty to send me to command them, making great complaints of Monfieur de Soubize; nor that he any way tyrannized over them, or did them any injury, but by reason he had loft some places belonging to their State, though I believe Monfieur de Soubize had done all that in him lay, but no one takes any los whatsoever in good part, and all the world judges of things by the event. At my arrival the King told me that I must return to Montalier to be his Lieutenant General there.

I could tell a great while not to go, not that the command was not highly honorable: but I was afraid I should embark without Bifinety, and to speak the truth, whoever would do his business well, must not go so far from home; for a man is never remember'd at that distance. If any thing pretends it fell for your advancement, you are sure never to hear of it: but for the acquiring honor and renown it's often better to be further off, than near at hand. Your name shall more encrease, and you will be more honored and esteemed by Strangers than your own Country-men. On the other side I had more mind to be employed in the Wars of France near to his Majesty's person: but no excuses would be allow'd, neither indeed could I heartily deny my good Matter. The Siennais so soon as they saw that I was come, were again importunate with his Majesty to lend me away, speaking much more in my commendation than I could any way deserve: without further delay then I departed, and took my way to Marsfelles, where I found seven Ensigns of foot the King was sending away to Rome under the command of Monfieur de la Megle, in which Regiment my eldest Son Marc Antoine had a Company, and Captain Charry another. The Baron de la Garde embarked us, and landed us at Civetta Vechia, where I immediately took post and went to Rome.

Now Cardinal Caraffa being come into France to entreat the King, that if there should be occasion at Rome for the Popes service I might make some stay there, his Majesty commanded me to do so, and I found the Cardinal already come to Rome before me, where I was very welcome to the Marechal de Strozzy, to the said Cardinal and the Duke of Palliato his Brother, by whom I was the next morning carried to the Popes feet, who made exceeding much of me, asking of me several particularities concerning France. The Duke of Alba had his Camp already within twenty miles of Rome, and the said Cardinal had made a Levy of three thousand Swifs, who were already come thither. I was ever of

The Duke of Guise his Motto Chacun a son tour.

The Siennais told again to the King for Monfieur de Montalier to command them.

The Duke of Guise's motto.
opinion that we should march out into the field, ten miles from the City, and there to encamp ourselves, 'till such time as the Duke of Alva should approach the walls of the City, ever fearing that what would happen that did fall out, though Signior Cornelio Ursino, who governed the affairs of war for the Pope, would never hearken to my advice; but began to design Fortifications within the City near to the wall, where I had a Post affigned me. Above three weeks past, the Duke of Alva never approaching nearer than five or six miles, during which time the Romans every night gave the Alarm amongst themselves, so that nothing was to be seen, but people running some towards St. Peter's, others to the Palaces of the Cardinals who were of the Spanish Faction, and in my life I never saw so great disorder. This People are not very warlike; they are also composed of landry Nations, I think they are not of the Race of the Caffars Casto's, Stipo's, and other brave Romans, there are too many delights and luxuries amongst them to produce many men of war. Now the Cardinals of Armagno, and du Bellay, de Lanfuc, and de Avanson, were of opinion, that if I made a speech to the Captains who commanded in the City, to acquaint them with the order I had obser'd at Sienna, they would take it better from me than from any other, both they and all the City remembering the reputation I had acquired at that Siege, and the Marechal de Strozzi, and Cardinal Caraffa being also of the same opinion, they caused all the chief men of the City, their Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns to assemble in the late Court of Monfieur d'Avanson, who was then Ambassador thereof, and there in the presence of the said persons I made them the following Oration in Italian. Monfieur de Lanfuc is yet living, who soon after I had done, told me, that he could never have believ'd that a Gallican could have made so good an Italian.

"Gentlemen, since the time that the Duke of Alva is approached something near unto your City, it appears to us French that you have conceiv'd some new apprehension, and without any great cause, inomuch that upon the least Alarm you enter into an extraordinary fear and astonishment; so that should the Enemy approach your walls whilst you are in this confusion, they might enter at pleasure without any great opposition; forasmuch as you ought to keep silence in your City, especially in the night, and that you ought rather to run to your walls, than to shuffle your selves into the strange disorder you do; you on the contrary run home to St. Peter, others to the Churches, and others to the Palaces of the Spanish Cardinals, with the greatest confusion in the world. This must of necessitie proceed from one of two causes, either from want of courage, or from a defect in your conduct, in that you do not strictly command such order as your people ought to observe both by day and by night in a time of danger. If you do for want of courage, it is then a sign you have not well consider'd what people your enemies are; and what can they be other than men as you are? do not we bear the same arms they do, and are they not as good as theirs are? are they not as valiant and as subject to die by our blows as we are by theirs? Is not the Pope's quarrel holy and just, and better than theirs? This ought to make us hope that God is on our side. And what part or portion has the King of Spain in Rome, what right or title to any of the Pope's Territories, or to your habitation, that God should affit him more than us? What is become of the valour of those ancient Romans, who have left you the great renown they acquired in their days? What other Nation does now inhabit Rome, that may have depriv'd you of the courage left you by those, from whom you pretend to be from all antiquity lineally defended? Oh Gentlemen, how infinitely do you wrong the reputation of your famous Ancestors in discovering your selves to be afraid of people who are no other than men as you are? And you do your enemies the greatest kindness imaginable, in giving them occasion to boast, that they are terrible to those who formerly made all the Nations of the world to tremble at their arms. If this fear proceed from the evil order you have hitherto established, there is nothing so far amiss, that in one day may not easily be remedied, for by entering into pretent consolation from whence this default proceeds, the bufines is done; and so you shall manifest to all the world, that it is not want of bravery, but of good discipline; and your people shall recover heart, seeing themselves fecur'd by the good orders you shall give. Do not think it strange if I declare that I am ashamed of what I see in your City, when having been formerly in Sienna commanding a People besieged by the Marquis of Marignano, with forces double to what the Duke of Alva has, I can say to the great honor of the Siennas, that in all that time I never observed so much as any one Citizen afraid. Happy are those Siennas who have manifested themselves to be extract from, and the true legitimate Sons of your ancient Fathers, who founded these walls and theirs also, as they have themselves allure me, and do also bear the same arms you do. And although
Book IV. de Montluc, Marschall of France.

Although their city be lost, their valour and renown is not for all that buried nor obscured, but to give every one hopes that it may one day be recovered by their true and virtuous time, whereas if you bear your selves no better hereafter than hitherto I have seen you do, I cannot forbear to tell you, that I would sooner undertake to defend Sienna, with the women of that city only to fight under my command, than to defend Rome with the best Romans you have. Pardon me (if you think me) if I tell you the truth: for I do it not for any advantage I expect should accrue either to the King my Master or to my self; but for your own good, and to prevent the total ruin of your city, which if it shall be assaulted by your enemies, will be miserably lack'd, and worse handled, than it was in the days of Monsieur de Bourbon. You may be confident, Gentlemen, that could I take any pleasure in your ruin, I should not now make you this remembrance in the presence of these honourable persons: but being sorry, as your fervant (you being good friends and confederates of the King my Master) and desiring to do with you for your conservation, I am constrain'd to be thus plain, and to say this to you I have done; those Gentlemen the Kings Ministers having also affur'd me, that you would take it better from me, than any other, for the interest you have of me since the Siege of Sienna. I behove you therefore take my advice, and if in any thing I may be affus'd to you, upon the least rumour I will immediately attend you in your counsel. 'Tis possible the remembrance of the Sack of your City by the Seigneur de Bourbon may put you into some apprehension; but you are to consider that you were then surpriz'd: but you have now your weapons in your hands. Doubt nothing, fear not your enemies, but divide your City, and appoint every one his place to repair into upon occasion, to the end that your own confusion do not deprive us of the means to relieve you, if the enemy pretend himself to the assault: difpelst your Citizens of their fear, if they be afraid, that there may be no confusion, and for the rest trouble not your selves; for knowing the good order you have taken you shall soon fee your enemies for'd to retire. They all return'd me very thanks, and so departed, affuring us that they were going to give such orders, that the accidents which had happen'd before should never be again, carelessly infecting me to come the next morning to their Council, and that there they would shew me the order they were going to take, to receive thereupon my opinion and advice. Which was accordingly done, and we altogether provided for well for their affairs, that there was no more mention of fear, nor sign of disorder. I went to the heads of the people, and shewed them what they were to do, whom I found cheerful enough in the business; yet this great multitude is composed of divers humors, but a man may reduce them all to one, when they see it is for their own good and safety. In short, all things were very much better, which the Pope also took exceeding well at my hands.

Now a few days after the Duke of Alva remov'd his Camp, and took his way towards Tivoli twelve miles distant from Rome. I know not whether because he understood the City flood better upon its Guard than before, and that the order of things was changed there, or that his intention was not to approach any nearer to the City. And being that in Tivoli was Signior Francesco Urfino with five Italian Ensigns, and that the Town was not strong, the Marechal, the Cardinal Caraffa, and the Duke de Palliano were afraid that the Duke of Alva was gone to take Tivoli, and cut all those in pieces within it, which was the reason that they entreated me to march all night to go fetch off the said Signior Francesco, giving me the two Troops of light horse of the Popes Guards, two Troops of horse of the Duke de Palliano, commanded by the Captains, Bartolomeo and Ambrosio, and four hundred Harquebuzers under the command of my Son Marc Anthony, and Captain Churry. Cardinal Caraffa had affur'd me upon his honor, that the Enemy could not pass the Tiber, and that I might make my retreat at pleasure, having evermore the Tiber between the Enemy and me. By Sun-rile I was at Tivoli with the Horse, and the Foot arriv'd two hours after, where I found that Signior Francesco had heard no manner of news of the enemies, and after I had told him, I was in no small doubt what would become of us; for I very well knew before I left out from Rome, that the Duke of Alva had taken the way of Tivoli, and now perfectly understood, that he came privately to surprize Signior Francesco, for as much as he had had no intelligence of his motion. I therefore being only a flap or two, causing the horses to be bated, and the foot to have a little refreshment, ordered Signior Francesco to cause the Drums to beat, that we might presently dislodge, and put our selves into the field, entreating him to lend me a Troop or two of his people who were acquainted with the Country, for that my self would go play the Scout, whilst every one was making himself ready to depart: and it was well for me I did for I for Signior Francesco having lent out two of his men to discover, they return'd as we fake
at dinner, and had brought word that there was no news of any Enemy in all the Country; but I would not trust to that, and therefore went with my two Troopers, when I soon as I was out of Tivoli upon a ridge of a hill, I plac'd my self under a Tree, for it begun to be very hot, when presently all along a little Cope, I perceived a great number of horse marching straight down to the Tiber, and others in a valley, who came directly towards me, and in the midst of a plain on this side the little Cope, I saw something which I could not discern what it should be; I then presently sent word to Signior Franci, that I had discover'd the Camp, and that he should in all diligence get his men out of the Town, and march them away on the other side of the Tiber. The Soldier whom I had sent to carry him this intelligence was scarce got into the City, when he held eighteen or twenty Spanifh Ensigns, who were laid down in the Plain, got up, and put themselves upon their march. I then galloped away my self, where I found, that as yet not so much as one man was got out of the City, and halted the Italian Ensigns with all diligence to march away, causing the gate of the City to be hur, and there I played a very cunning trick, for I carried the keys along with me, thinking the enemy could not of a long time break down the gates; for the Tiber passed through the middle of the Town, where there is a Bridge, and very fair and good Mills in the City it self, which I had caus'd to be begin to be broken from my first arrival; but that work could not be finished. I left Captain Charry at the Gate, and my Son Marc Antony at the Bridge to fulfill him, and I went and came running to and fro to hasten the Italians to march, when so soon as they was all out of the Gate I went to draw off Captain Charry, and we begun to break the Bridge, which was of wood, and immediately the Enemy was in the City. I placed Harquebuzers all along in the houfes that looked into the street, the Soldiers using extraordinary diligence to break the Bridge; after which I marched directly to the Gate. I had placed the Cavalry before the Italians, and we were inevitably to pass through the height of the Rocks, where we could only pass one by one. Till we came to the going out of the Gate we had the Enemy continually upon us, and it is no more than fifty paces from the Gate to that straight; so that seeing they could not themselves get to us, but one by one, they gave us over, and returned to rife the City. Their Italian foot came after the Spaniards, and thought to have entred the City to have had their share of the spoil, but the Spaniards would never let them in, but held them in talke at the Gate whilst they were buffe at their plunder. So soon as we came to the Pein I made my Son and Captain Charry with the four hundred Harquebuzers turn on the right hand along the ridge of a Hill, about a thousand paces distant from us, and the two Companies of the Duke de Pallian, telling them the mysterie, that in cafe the Enemy shou'd pass the Tiber, they should still make forwards along the ridge towards Rome, and take no care for me. And indeed we had as good have loft all the Ensigns Moniteur de la Mole had, as these four hundred Harquebuzers, for they were the very flower of all the Companies, I was not got half a mile into the Plain, when behold all the Cavalry upon the banks of the Tiber, and their Germants, who begin'd to pass, and particularly some horseby the Mill, where they could onely pass one by one. I then gave all for lost, for I was to retire twelve miles before the whole Army, and made no question but that the Cavalry would carry over a great many of Foot behind them; but if I lost the one, I would not lose the other. Now Signior Franci, Marched still as a good round rate, as about a Harquebuzer distance from the Tiber, and the others along the ridge over against us. When fifty or three score of the Enemies Horse came up to us, I then took one of the Captains of the Guard with his Corner, whilst the other full march'd on in the rear of the Foot, causing them to mend their pace, and faced about upon the Enemy; who theron made a halfe, and so soon as I made a shew as if I would charge them, turn'd their backs to retreat, though I cannot imagine why, and I turn'd about to pursue my way. After that they never offer'd to come towards me, though more of their own people came continuallie up to them, but it was only three or four at a time; so that seeing me a good way advance, they turn'd back again and fell to taking Castle that were grazing in the fields. Now you must know what my deliberation was, by which you may see whether I had a mind to lose my self with these people for to escape with our own. The Duke de Pallian had given me a grey Turk, that flew upon the ground, and was an extraordinary fleet one; my design therefore was to engage the Enemy with this Troop, and in cafe I should let no possibility of losing that party, I would then retire to our own people, who were going directly to a Castle that held for the Pope, and in which there was a Garrison, where I made account to secure most of the horse, it being not above five miles to that Castle. Two days after a Trumper told us that the Duke of Alva would never permit Signior Afcanio de la Corne to pass the Tiber, forasmuch as he had not one Harquebuzer, but Germans.
men, all the Spanish and Italian Foot being at Tivoly. And thus I retreated straight to Rome, fending to our people to come to us, and we rallied at the Bridge near the hotel, over which we passed, it being three hours within night when we came to Rome. This is the fortune I had in this Retreat.

When ever (Captains my Companions) you shall be in any place where you are the leaf in doubt, never truft to the report of others: for it is evermore the custom at your fi rst coming for every one to carefs you, and to entreat you to repole your self; but do not do it: examine the place where you are, and disclofe it very well. One of the greatest Captains the Emperor ever had (which was Signior Francisco) for truf ting to the report of others at his arrival in a City of Italy, was taken; yet he had no less than four thoufand men with him, which was a great difhonor to fea great a Captain: though he laid the fault to another, as himself tell me. Had I done so, Signior Francisco had made me fuffer a great disgrace, and perhaps to have loft my life.

Two nights after the faid Signiors gave me two Companies of Italians to conduct them to the Duke de Somma at Balliftra, which flands by the Sea-fide, fix or feven miles behind Marino. I marchid all night, having with me the two Companies of the Duke of Palffano; and when I came there, gave order that our Horse should be haited, and ready in an hour and a half to return. The Duke de Somma would by all means have compelled me to flay that night, but he could by no means perfwade me to it; for I well imagined, that the Duke of Alva was not without fpies at Rome, confidering there were fo many Spaniards, and others of the King of Spain's Faction in the City; and therefore having eaten a bit or two, put my felf upon my way, which coming and going was five or fix and forty miles, and arrived three hours within night at Rome. It was well for me I did fo; for two hours before that night there came fix hundred horfe, and five hundred Harquebuzers on horfeback to Marino, where they heard news that I was return'd. This was a more fortunate befel me, wherein there was no need that I should have left my understanding at home. And I will now tell you of another that befel me fix days after, though it is only to make fuch laugh as flall vouchsafe to read this Books and the fory of my life.

Five or fix days after this encounter, the Duke of Alva's Camp lying all at Tivoly, The Baron de la Garde fent word from Civita Veclia to the Marefchal de Strozzy, that if he would fend him four hundred Harquebuzers, he would embark them in his Galleys, and land them at Neptuno, a very strong place upon the Margent of the Sea, which flows into the ditches of it, and that there they might burn the Boats the Duke of Alva had brought thither withef to make a Bridge at Oftia, to pass over to this fide of the Tiber, as he afterwards did. The Marefchal therefore leaving this affair wholly to my direction, I fent thither my Son Marc Antony, and Captain Cherry with the four hundred Harquebuzers, who went in emulation of one another, and fo soon as they came to Civita Vechia the Baron took them aboard, and accordingly went to land them at the faid Neptuno: but they could not poiffibly burn the Boats, for as much as they had mended them into the Ditch, which was defended by the Fortrefs. Now (as the affairs of War depend upon accidents) it fell out that the fame day they arrived at Neptuno, where they flayed two days. I went in the Evening to walk without the Gate that leads towards Marino, where I met a man that came from thence, and ask'd him what he was, to which he made anfwer that he was a Beadman belonging to the Hopifal of Marino. I difcover'd by his tongue that he was no Italian, which he also confefl'd to me, telling me that he was a Frenchman, but fo poor that he was reduc'd to the Hopifal of Marino. I then ask'd him who was at Marino, to which he anfwer'd, that that very morning before he came away, Signior Marc Antonio de Colonna arriv'd with his Company of fifty men at Arms, having nothing with him more, neither Horfe nor Foot; (for the Companies of Gent d'Arms of Italy have no Archers belonging to them, as ours have.) Marino belongs to this Marc Antonio, whom I had heard of at Rome, where he had been deciphcr'd to me for a young Lord of twenty or two and twenty years of age, full of mettle, and rich to the value of fourscore thousand Crowns yearly revenue. Palizano was also his, which the Pope had taken from him, and given to his Nephew, who thenceupon was called the Duke of Palkano, though he did not long enjoy that title, the other recovering it again not long after.

Bing parted from my Hopifaller, it entred into my fancy that I might eafily take this Roman Lord prisoner, and that if I could snap him I should be made for ever, for I should have at leaft fourscore thousand Crowns for his Ranfome, which would not be thought unreafonable, being no more than one years Revenue of his Elfate. I walked then contriving with my felf, that Monfieur de la Mole fould go along with me with three
three hundred Harquebuzers only, whom I would leave in the mid-way at a Tower where were certain Sheds for the shelter of Catte; (for I had taken notice of the way going and coming from Balistra) and that I would take Captain Ambrosio Lieutenant to one of the Companies of the Duke de Pallama, with five and twenty of the left and dreerst horse of his whole Company: that I would moreover borrow of Signior Aurelio Fregafo his Lieutenant, and his Cornet, with five and thirty Launces only of the left, and the left mounted he had. That I would leave Captain Ambrosio with the five and thirty Launces about a Harquebus at from Monseur de la Molle, on that side towards Marino, and with those of Signior Aurelio would go place my left in Ambush under the Vines a little on the left hand the great high-way near unto Marino; which having done, I would then send six Launces to give the Alarm a little before day to the City; upon which I made account that Signior Marc Antonio being young, and full of mettle, would not fail to fall out, but would precipitely fly by break of day, when my six Launces would draw him into our Ambuscade, with whom we would also run away in his flight, would make him pursue me a main seeing a Colours, which he would be eager to take for the greater honor of his victory.

Having thus contriv'd the busines with my self, I accounted him as sure my prisoner as if I had already had him in my hands, and thereupon returning into the City, spoke to Signior Aurelio, who lent me his Lieutenant and his Cornet, with the five and thirty Launces, I spoke to Monseur de la Molle, and to Captain Ambrosio, and the Lieutenant of Signior Aurelio was called Captain Alexis. We appointed to meet in the beginning of the night at the Gate of the City: but I would discover nothing of my design either to the Marechal, or to any of those I took along with me; till first we were got into the fields, and then I took aside Monseur de la Molle, and the Captains Ambrosio and Alexis, and acquainted them with the Enterprise, which they all three approved of, wherein we were one as wife as another. So that we thought the time long till we were there, making the busines wonderful safe, all of them affirming that they knew him, and were confident he would not fail to fall. Thus then we set forwards, each Company apart, and mine alwaies the forrowest, till we came to the Tower, where I left Monseur de la Molle, and further behind a little Chappel Captain Ambrosio. Now so soon as Captain Alexis and I were come to the edge of the Vines near Marino, he would needs have his Ensign to be one of the fix that were to give the Alarm, and delivered the Colours to another: For which use I lent him a Gentleman of mine, and we clapt our selves down in a Marls (where in Winter there was alwaies water, but in Summer none at all) there being no other place where we could conceal our selves; and the fix marched up directly to the Gate of the City. Presently the day began to appear, when hearing nothing of Alarm, I began to think that either Signior Marc Antonio would not be tempted out of his Quarters, or else that he was gone back.

Now on the right hand of us there was a great valley, and I was got up to a little eminence, where was the ruins of some house or Chappel, and began to discern on the hill on the further side of the valley, three or four horfemen, who one while mov'd, and another while stood still. I ther'IT them to Captain Alexis, who was lower then I, and who thereupon sent out two Launces all along by the Vines, upon the edge of the descent of the valley. I had not as yet cast my eye into the valley, forasmuch as the day but just began to break; but look'd always towards the mountain where these three or four horse appear'd, about fifty paces distant from us: but when I turn'd my eye that way, I there saw three great parties of horses, in the first whereof there might be a hundred or more, in the second two or three hundred, and in the third seven or eight hundred horses. Now you are to understand upon what account these came to be here, which was thus. As the Baron de la Garde landed our people at Nepissin, those of the Town dispatched away two Horfemen post to the Duke of Alva at Tripoli, who thereupon immediately sent away Signior de la Corne with twelve hundred Horfes, and twelve Ensigns of Poes, who marched all nights, and an hour before day arrived at this Valley, where they had made a halt till Signior Antonio could make himself ready, to whom he had sent five and twenty Launces to make him mount to horfe, who coming to the Gate of the City, they there met with our six Soldiers (the day then but just beginning to break) where demanding of one another who they were, they charged ours in such manner that they were constrained to return back towards us; and to fly towards the road that leads from Balistra to Rome, where the Enemy pursued them over the Roman Plain even to Rome itself, and there gave the Alarm to the Marechal and the whole City, who thereupon concluded that it was not possible but that I must be taken, and all those left who were with me. Now so soon as Captain Alexis had called in his two Horfemen, we began our retreat.
treaty by the same way we came, when behold the hundred horfe in our Rear, the party of two or three hundred after thofe, and the feven or eight hundred in the rear of them, who followed us at a good round trot, the Ensigns of Foot making all the haste after they could; in which order they purfued us seven miles, till we came to Captain Ambrofio, with their Launces continually couched' on our horfe crumpers. I was upon the Grey Turk the Duke of Paliano had given me, one of the fleeteft horfes I ever came on the back of, and the beft leaper of a ditch: fo that sometimes I leapt out of the way into the fields on the right hand, and fometimes on the left; and when we fled along the road, Captain Alexis and I were even more in the Rear, and he that carried the Comet in the Van; I fill all the way encouraging the Soldiers, and bidding them to fear nothing, now on the one hand, and then on the other, when the fuddeneft that ever we before the Enemy was not above three or four Launces length. Now fo soon as we drew near to Captain Ambrofio he came out from behind the Chappel, feeing which I cried out to our people vofle voile, who thereupon immediately fad' about, and I gave them a sudden charge, bearing them back to the other Body, who having fee our Ambulcado had failed to discover what it might be, the two Bodies clofing together, and making a fwear as it they meant to charge us. I then faw that I had played the fool egregiously, in having given this charge, when the Sieur de Montluc.

The Retreat of

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The Error of

The Retreat of Montluc, Mareschal of France.
fand Crowns, which had not been unreasonable, being no more than one years revenue of his Eftate, of which foutry thousand I intended to give to Monfieur de la Molle, the Captains and Soldiers, and the other foutry thousand I meant to keep to my self, to purchase me an Eftate in France somewhere near to the King ; for Guaseny was too remote from Court, and that I already fancied I had a house near Paris, of which I was so confidently persuaded, that it would not out of my head of all night. At which accoumt of my project they all burst out a laughing to that excels, that I think they never laugh'd so much at one time in their lives, to think that I had made my self so sure of my prize, the rafomt, and purchasing of Lands and Castles in the Ifle of France, whereupon the Marechfal, who when he had a mind to rally always spoke Italian, faid to me with a very good grace, Signior quando che vi andremero vifitt, faretvi vol a noi altri tre bonne chiera nei castelli que volette comprare a prefo parigi? they were merry at my expence.

They were at this time bufie about sending a dispatch to the King, and sent Monfieur de Porrieres de Provence to his Majefly, who had his fhare of laughing, and all the reft that were with them. And as there are a fort of people, who are prone to do more hurft than good, some honeft man faid news by the way of the Bank of Lions, that I had loft all the Pope Cavalry in the Roman Plain, and was my elf run away no body knew what, nor could any one hear what was become of me. I do believe thefe men are his'd and fuborn'd to difperfe ill news, only to discourage thofe of our party. This was write by the Poft from Lions to the Countable, and by him told the King, who was very much troubled at the news: and Monfieur de Porrieres being to pass through the Grifons Country, could not arrive fo soon at Court, but that the news was got thither four days before him, infomuch that whereas the Marechfal and the reft had laughed at my folly, the King was very much offend'd with me, faying that it was the moft ridiculous and feneilef piece of folly that ever was committed by man; adding moreover that I had hitherto been fortunate, but that now I had loft my fortune, and my reputation, which he was very fory for; efpicially that fuch a disgrace fhould befal me at the Gates of Rome. This news was not kept fo fecret at Court, but that it was prefently carried into Grifomy, where I leave you to judge how I was difbedted by them that did not love me: for one must be a God to have no Enemies, nor enmuators, or elfe must take upon him to meddle with nothing but his Garden or his Orchard: But fo soon as Monfieur de Porrieres arriv'd the King fent for him into his Cabinet, where after he had read his letters of Credence, and his othe dispatches, finding therein no fyllable of this affair, and Monfieur de Porrieres making no mention of it neither, his Majefly faid to him, And what Monfieur de Porrieres is Monluc heard of yet? he has made a pretty piece of work on'. To which he made anfwer, that he had left me at Rome; whereupon the King proceeded and faid, that he knew that I had loft all the Popes Cavalry, and was my elf run away. Monfieur de Porrieres was very much afonish'd at this news, and replied, that if this had hapned after his departure, it might be fo, and yet he had been no more than nine dayes in coming. His Majefly then made them look how long it was fine this news came, which they did, and found it to be four dayes, at which the King faid he thought it was only a lye, and Banker's news, enquiring of Monfieur de Porrieres what piece of folly it was I had comitted, who thereupon made anfwer (as he had himfelf told me fince:) Sir I will tell you, and I make no doubt but your Majefly will laugh at it as much as we did ; after which he related to him the whole story, and what I had faid at my return to the Marechfal de Strozzy, Cardinal Caraffa, and the Duke of Palma, at which I do affure you I have been told his Majefly laughed very hearty, and more than he had been fent to do of a great while before, as also did the Countable, and all the reft that were prefent, infomuch that I was told the King above eight dayes after, feeing Monfieur de Porrieres, faid to him, Well Porrieres, has Monluc purchased thefe places about Paris? and never call'd the f Rory to mind but he laughed. And as to what I lay in my Book, that for thefe hundred years never any man was more fortunate in War than I have been, I pray examine and fee if you will not acknowledge me to be fo in thefe three occations, which in eight or nine dayes befal me, one after another (besides feveral others you will meet with in this life of mine) to have elcopd without losf, three fuch dangers, which were no little ones.

A few dayes after the Duke of Alva understood that Monfieur de Guife was coming into Italy to succour the Pope, which made him to retire his Camp a little nearer to the sea, and afterwards he came and fate down before Offiza. The Marechfal then march'd out of Rome with some Ensigns of Italians, two of Germans, and five or fix of French; but the Pope would by all means that he shou'd leave him for his defence, my Son Marc Anthony and
and Captain Charry, with their Companies. The Marechal went then and encamp'd on this side the Tyber, over against Offia, where he entrench'd himself. The Duke of Alva before his arrival had made his bridge, and erected a Fort above Offia, on the same side where the Marechal was encamp'd. I then sent to him to know if he would have me come to him with five or six Italian and French Ensigns, but he would not permit me so to do, for fear left the enterprise of Montalbin might not as yet be fully fitted to the bottom. And because the said Marechal, with those Italian and French Companies he had with him, had not been able to discover the Enemies Fort, to see if there was water in the ditch or no, he was in the greatest perplexity imaginable; for the Duke of Alva was departed from Offia, and retired towards the Kingdom of Naples, having left only four Italian Ensigns in the Fort, and as many Artillery to come from Rome to batter the said Fort, and had sent to intreat the Pope, that my Son and Captain Charry might come to him; which the Pope also granted to my great misfortune, and the ruin of my poor Son, so soon as he and Captain Charry came before the Marechal, he complained to them, that he had not been able to discover the Fort. The next night it being my Sons turn to mount the Guard, he determin'd with himself to effect that wherein others had fail'd, and communicated his design to Captain Charry and the Baron de Bogen, who was also at that time upon the Guard. He fail'd not accordingly to execute his resolution, for the next day seeing the Enemies sally out, according to their custum, to fetch in Bavin, he follow'd them, and without fear of the Harquebus shot, pursued them fighting to the very ditch of the Fort; where he discovered as exactly, and with as much judgement as he had been an old Captain: but in his return, a curfed shot hit him in the Body, notwithstanding which he went upon his own feet to the said Marechal's quarters, saying, that before he dy'd, he would give an account of what he had seen. The said Marechal so soon as he arriv'd at his Tent, laid him upon his own bed, where the poor Boy almost expiring, told him what he had seen, affuring him that the ditch was dry, whatever he might have been told to the contrary; presently after which he gave up the Ghost. The Marechal the next day sent his body to the Cardinal of Armagnac, and the Sieur de Luynes to Rome, who enter'd him as honorably as he had been the Son of a great Prince. The Pope, the Cardinals, and all the people of Rome express great sorrow for his death. Had God been pleased to have preferv'd him to me, I had made him a great Souldier; for besides that he was very stout, I ever obler'ved in him a discretion above his age. Nature had done him a little wrong, for he was but little, but strong, and well knit, and as to the rest, eloquent and defirous to learn. If the Marechal de Ceffe, he'rz living Marc Anthony serv'd under him at Maimburg, and he if he pleases can tell us, should any one contradict what I write, whether I lie or no; and though it does not very well become Fathers to commend their own children, yet being he is dead, and so many wittles of the truth of what I deliver, I shall, I conceive, appear excusable and worthy to be pardon'd. Now to execute the command the King had given me in Tuscy, I^d leave of the Pope to go to Montalbin, who after great importance, would permit me but for fifteen days only, making me leave my great horses, and all my baggage behind, which Monseur de Strozzy was taken to lend out after me, saying they were his own, and by his own servants. The Cardinal of Armagnac also sent me out my Sumpter Mules, covered with his own Sumpter-cloths, pretending to lend them to the house of another Cardinal, where he us'd to stay sometimes twelve or fifteen days together; by which means I got all my things out of Rome. During the time of my stay in those parts, his Holiness did me the honor evidently to manifest to all the world, that he repose a great confidence in me, and had my person in particular esteem.

Upon my coming to Montalbin, Monseur de Somiz departed and went to Rome, I found Montalbin in a manner befieged, for at St. CrROWN there lay some Germans; at the great Inn two Harquebus shot above Montalbin was another quarter of the Enemy, and at a Palace three Harquebus shot on the left hand, likewise another, as also in another towards Griffette, within a mile of Montalbin another. All which were found feiz'd by the enemy at the time when the Truce came; so that the King was pos'd of nothing on that side, as far as the very gates of Sienna, which I think was the principal cause that the Sienois had Monseur de Somiz in fo little esteem. It is much ado to please all the world, and though a man does all that in him lies, yet if all things do not succeed as people would have them, he does nothing; but I for my part shall neither excuse nor excite him at all. The Truce which had been agreed upon for ten years between the King and the Emperor, yet continued: The affairs of these two Princes being so perplexed.
plex'd and confus'd, that it had not been possible to conclude a peace, which was the reason that all Treaties of accommodation ended in a Truce only: but I had heard that Monseur de Guifi had taken his leave of the King, and was coming for Italy, which made me think, that although the succours he brought along with him, were design'd for the Pope, yet that the Truce would nevertheless by that means be broken on the King's part, and therefore laid a design to give a Scalado to the German at S. Cricon, a little Town four miles from Montalfin, intending from thence to go and surprize all the other forementioned places. I know not whether or not the German had any intelligence of my design, or whether they were not commanded away from thence, but so soon as I was got out of the City two hours within night, a Gentleman of Sienna, who had his house at Cricon, and whom I had lent thither, came and brought me word that they were gone away in the beginning of the night. I sent then to enquire news of those at the Inn and the Palace, and found that all were march'd away at the same time, by which means we had liberty to go out a little more at large, as far as Alteffe, a pretty strong Castle about three miles from Montalfin, and near unto the road of Sienna. I went then to Griffetti, where Colonel Chramond, who was Governor there, Lorded it over all that Country, as it had been his own, not acknowledging the Siennese at all: at which they were very much incensed, and there we agreed that the Inhabitants should acknowledge the Seigneurry, and not him who was not to take upon him any Authority in that Country, that the King would not pretend to for himself: And thus in a few days all things were chang'd to the great satisfaction of those of Sienna.

Cardinal Burgos commanded in Sienna for the King of Spain, and had a design upon Montalfin, which he thought easily to carry, that ought to have been put in execution the same week that I came: but hearing that I was come, defect'd it for a few days, to see if nothing was discover'd: when seeing nothing was come to light, he sent for Captain Montillon a Spaniard, and Governor of Pont-Hercole to execute the design, when having at the same time sent out some horse to forage, they met with him, and took him, a Secretary of Cardinal de Burgos, and four servants, and brought them to me. They would very lain have excus'd themselves, pretending to be taken contrary to the Truce, which as yet had not openly been broken; but I caus'd a servant of his secretly to be put upon the Rack, who confess'd, that he thought Cardinal Burgos had sent for his Master to me in execution of a design he had upon Montalfin. We could not discover what it should be, but so soon as it was known at Sienna that Captain Montillon was taken, it began to disclose itself, and so far, that a Gentleman of Sienna sent his servant to me, to give me notice of the place by which they intended to give an assault; who came to the gate of the City, but would not come in, only he design'd to speak with me, I then went out to him, taking Meffer Hieronimo Espana along with me, where he told us all, and that there were some French Soldiers of the Garrison of the plot, and that if we fetch'd well in the houses nearest that place, we might peradventure find the Ladders. We gave the fellows Crowns, and so he returned. Meffer Hieronimo Espana then and I went secretly to view the place, and as I remember we took Monseur de B-Feimpierre along with us, and obers'd that part of the wall to be very low, but that there was a Turret wherein were continually two Centinels, being of the Conspiracy, the taking of the place was easy, and more than easy. Meffer Hieronimo then, who was at that time of the Magistracy, presently appoinied two men to search the houses nearest to the place, who found not three hours before he brought us above a horse-load of Ladders of ropes, the best and the finest made of any I had ever seen. In the house where these were found, no body had liv'd of a great while; but we knew very well, that people commonly went in and out, and further we could not discover. I then took order with the Serjeant Major, that he should every night set four Centinels in the Turret, which also were continually to be chos'n by lot. I do think, that would they have made an attempt by day, they might have done their buffets, and much better by day, than by night, being that from the great Palace, which was not above three Harquebuz shot from the Town, they might come all along thorough a little Valley, shaded with Cope, close up to the very wall.

About a month after A Siennese call'd Phelbus Turk, came and addressed himself to me, deeming that he might tell me something in private, whom I sent for into my Wardrobe. I had nothing but a Dagger by my side, and when he came in, I perceived him arm'd with a Coat of Mail; in my life I never saw to pierce a countenance of a man, so that I was once about to call some body in to me: When he told me, that no one should hear his business, but his self, I took heart at last, thinking my self strong enough to grapple with him, should he attempt any thing against me. Where he told me, that the Cardinal of Burgos had often sought to him to be assisting in an Enterprise he had upon Montalfin.
talton, which at his importunity he had at last consented unto, and that he had been himself twice to speak with him in disguise; having with him three Soldiers, who were also of the Plot, which he was to name to him a day before the said execution, which also he was to execute before Don Arbo de Cenda should arrive who was coming to Sienna to command the Souldiers, and that if I would, he would order the busines again to put them all three into my hands. In conclusion, we agreed it should be within four days, and that he should that very night return to Sienna to conclude the busines with the Cardinal de Burgos, which being concluded between us, I put him out of the Town over the wall, for the Gates were already shut, and in the morning dispatch'd away a Meffenger to Colonel Charnmond at Grifette, that he should come the next day to Pagamegura, half way between Grifette and Montalfin; and the same day that I sent away to the Colonel, I call'd in the Captains who were at Chiere, Montizel, and the Hospitallers by Pianco, when I spake upon the Crusifix to discover nothing of the Enterprize, and to sent them back to make themselves ready against I should send for them: I then sent away my light horse to la Rosa de Baldie under pretence of keeping Garifon three, and the next day went to meet the Colonel at Pagamegura, with whom I concluded that he should have four hundred Harque-buzers in readiness. My design was, that at the enemy should give the Scalado, Colonel Charnmond should come behind them, and the Garisons of Chiere and Montizel should leap betwixt them and the Palace, and my Company also; and so soon as they should be repulsed I was to fall out upon them with four hundred men from the City. At my return from Pagamegura I found the said Phelous return'd, but he said not a word to me of all night, which gave me a little suspicion of him. In the morning he came to tell me, that the Cardinal would not put the busines in execution yet a few days, and so drave me off from day to day, till in the end I was adviz'd to take him prisoner, and to compel him to discover the truth, being no other than a crafty Rogue, sent purposely to betray me: which I accordingly did, and sent him into a clofe Dungeon of the Castle, where by misfortune he found some piece of wood, or iron. Now because he was a Siennes, I was willing to try if the Siennes themselves could win him by fair means to tell the truth, which made me deferre putting him to the question; but in the mean time with this piece of iron he broke through the wall, and fled away to Sienna; by reason of which accident I could do nothing considerable in this Enterprize. He was too cunning for me. I have notwithstanding this obligation to him, that he has taught me in an affair of this importance, never to spare a Prisoner again, but to iquez out the sudden truth: for without doubt this fellow was a Traytor.

After my arrival at Montalfin I procour'd Signior Marziole de Santa Fiore to return into Marziole de Santa Fiore; and to return into his Majesties service, together with the Prior his Brother, who thorough some disobligation had withdrawn themselves from his dependance: We had been very intimate friends ever after the skirmish at Sienna, so that in the end I made plain to over come him, and they went to Court, where the King receiv'd them with great demonstration of favour and esteem. His Majestly gave him a Troop of light horse, and the Prior a Pension, who both of them afterwards were continually with me. At this time Don Arbo de Cenda contriv'd an Enterprize to come and take Pianco, a little Town near unto Montizel, which I had caufed to be repair'd after the belt manner I could, and there lodg'd a Company of Italian. I therefore gave to Signior Marziole my own Company, and thofe he had gathered together of his own, together with part of that of the Count de Petrillanos, and sent him to Pianco to take off the Italian Company I had left there, and to carry them to Montizel, where was Captain Bartolomeo de Pezaro.

Some few days before Don Arbo came out of Sienna, Captain Serres, who was Lieutenrant to my Company of Light-horse, and my Kimman, had fought Captain Carillon Governor of Bonconvent in the fight of Montalfin, who had with him ten men at arms of the Marquis of Pifano's Company, and the Ensign of the Company had eight Launces of a Company of Light-horse, and eight Harque-buzers on horseback; who were come to vapour before Montalfin, below in the Plain towards the Inn, not thinking there had been any Cavalry in Montalfin, for I had taken my Company along with me to Grifette, and had sent Captain Serres with eighteen Launces to foure the field on the left hand towards Sienna, where they met and fought about Chiere, so that mine had the better. At his return Captain Serres went to repolish him a day or two at Montalfin, afterwards to come and find me out at Grifette, and to conduct me back to Montalfin. Captain Serres then seeing himself thus brav'd by the Enemy, fell out with his eighteen Launces, two Gentlemen of Sienna armed with Caus of Mail, and two foot Soldiers that followed him: When so soon as Captain Carillon saw the Launcers he would have retir'd, Captain Serres always following in his Rear, when as Captain Carillon would pas a narrow River,
Don Arbro marched directly to Pianço with three pieces of Canon, and two Culverines, which made me suspect that he did not carry so much Artillery with him for Pianço, it being not so strong as to require Canon; and so soon as Signior Marisol underfood that he was within three mile of Pianço he went out with all the horse to meet him, commanding the Captain who was there before in the mean time to draw out his Foot, and to make with all speed to Montizel, which was no more but two miles from thence. In the mean time to hold the Enemy in play, he skirmished so briskly, and engag'd so far that he could not afterwards disengage himself, but was charg'd by three Troops of their horse at once with so great fury, that twelve or fourteen light horse of my Company were there taken, of which Captain Gurguez who belong'd to the Marchinal de Straco was one, and of those of the Count de Petillano, and Signior Marisol as many, or more. After this bruit, getting off thither, and coming to halt before Pianço, he found that the Captain had not as yet got so much as one man out of Town, but the Enemy still pres'd upon him, and there again were some more Launces broken, whilst the Captain in the Town was drawing out his men, till in the end he was again charg'd with all their horse, and constrain'd to retire to Montizel. Captain Serres, and the Baron de Clermont my Nephew, who carried my Corner, escap'd to the little Hospitall. The foot Captain left the third part of his Company of those who had been flow in getting out, and he with his Ensign and the remainder of his men escap'd, and made head at the pass of a little River, by that means giving Captain Bartolommo time to come in to relieve him; (for it was within fight of Montizel) as also Signior Marisol who was yet retreating before the Enemies Horse. This a man gets by skirmishing at the head of an Army (as I have said before) and by retreating by day in the face of an Enemy stronger than himself.

Don Arbro having spend three days at Pianço, he parted thence in the beginning of the night, and with torches took his way thorough a valley that leads towards La Rocque de Baldoci. Signior Marisol was gone post to Rome to fetch some Launcers that had been promis'd him to repair his Company, but the Prior was with me the night that Don Arbro departed. The Prior and I had been abroad on horseback to take the Air without the Gates of Montizel, when night coming on we turn'd about to go home, discoursing by the way what Don Arbro intended to do with this great Artillery: upon which discourse it presently came into my head, that it was to go about La Rocque de Baldoci, in which place there was a Florentine Captain, Monfieur de Stubbick had placed Governor there, whom I had in some suspicion, forasmuch as the Gentlemen of Sienna who were with me, had told me that they had heard he had lent twice to Florence. So soon therefore as we came near to the Gates of Montizel, I commanded two light-horse of my Company to go and scout all along upon the Hills betwixt Pianço and La Rocque, and not to stir from thence till break of day, unless they should discover the Enemy upon motion. Now some days before this, Monfieur de Guise, who was come to Rome, and was already march'd towards the Kingdom of Naples, had lent to call away Charencon with his Company at the request of the Siennais, who could not agree with him, and had lent me Monfieur de la Mole Captain Chary, and three or four other Companies in his room, and also he had lent for some of mines and had given the Government of Groffette to Monfieur de la Mole. I was scarce laid down in my bed, when my two light horse return'd telling me that Don Arbro was marching by Torch-light along the Valley I spoke of before towards La Rocque: whereupon I immediately acquainted the Prior with the news, and presently got to horse with all the Cavaly we could make, commanding Captain Andre Caftrance, Nephew to the Cardinal of Tournon, to march His Company without Baggage in all haste after me, and that he should march through the woods, to which end I gave him two Gentlemen of Sienna to be his Guides. In the mean time, and an hour before day arriv'd at La Rocque de Baldoci, and by break of day came Andre Caftrance with his Company, who was fearfully entred in, when the Avenues were all feiz'd by the Enemy, and the Guides taken, who had led me the way, as they were upon their return, together with the Quartermater of my Company, from whom the Enemy learnt that I had put my self into it. I then dispatched two Pefants through the woods to la Groffette, by whom I writ to Monfieur de la Mole, that he should with all possible speed go, and put himself into Montizel, and that he should there command as the Kings Lieutenant; for
that I was shut up in la Roque, and resolve to defend the place. Don Álvaro quarter-
ded his Camp at Avignon over against la Roque; and there stayed three days debating
with himself whether he should attack me, or no; but in the end he resolve to re-
tire, knowing with whom he had to do, and saying, ¡oro a Dios, a quel Capitan tiene
alguna Diabolos en su poder, o a algun traductor esas otras & si lo puedo saber yo tengo de
cortar los brazos, y las piernas: this was his care, but my mind was evermore at work,
and day and night meditating what I should do if I were in my Enemies place; he has
the fame understanding that you have, and stratagems as well as you; so that medita-
ing of what he meditates, you shall often jump, and by that means counterplot to what
he his plotting against you: whereas if you stay expecting what he will do, you shall
very often be surpris'd. You ought therefore to be in a perpetual jealousie of your En-
emies designs, and fall guessing at what he intends to do, whether to attack this place,
or that part: if I were in his stead I would do this thing or that, and often consult your
Captains; for it may fall out, that he of whom perhaps you have the least opinion, may
often give you the bad advice. But in the end Don Álvaro return'd, and went to quarter
his Army at Altus, which is no more than three miles from Montalban, where seeing his
design I return'd to my own Quarters, and sent Monsieur de la Mole back to Grosetto.
Don Álvaro put three Companies into Pienza, two of Italians, and a third half Spaniard,
and half Italian, for the Governor he had left there was a Spaniard, and Signior Bertolo-
me de Lestpho, Nephew to Signior Chajino Vitelli, who had one of the best and the
strongest Companies in all Italy, kept all the prisoners, to the number of about thirty
and forty, and therefore in the Palace. After a few days he retreated with his Army to Siena, all
his Enterprizes vanishing into smokes. The Marquis of Pescara's Ensign went too and fro,
and took great pains in labouring the deliverance of their people in exchange of our But
upon which Treaty Don Álvaro sent me a Bear, saying, No sera dios, que yo renda un
A vant of Don Frances, que yo no tengo tres Españoles y pero estan barbados y barbe los mis: & ellos non podrían
hauran los suyos. Cardinal Borges was by no means pleased with this manner of pro-
cceeding, and would have been glad that all the prisoners might have been let at liberty
both on the one side and the other; for I had the Captains Montillon and Carinian, Gover-
ners of Pont-Hercule and Bonconvent, and above twenty others, twelve of which were na-
tural Spaniards, besides the two Governors. I took the hinting answer, Don Álvaro sent me
in very high dildain, and to mend the matter he had almost every day news brought me
that he almost starv'd his Prisoners to death, whilst I on the contrary treated him exceedingly
well. In this indignation I resolve upon an Enterprise, which was to go and give a Scal-
ado to Pienza: for I had been advertis'd that the King of Spain had given Siena to the
Duke of Florence, to the other places he placed in Tuscany, and that the said
Duke was sending three Companies of Foot, and a Troop of Horse to Pienza. I very
well foresaw, that after he had once taken possession there, we could not possibly recover
without breaking with the Duke of Florence, which I would by no means do, that the
Duke of Guife might not be necessitated to weaken his Camp to relieve me; and more-
over I had ever been upon very good terms with the Duke of Florence, without creating
any thing of a Quarrel. In affairs of this tittle nature we must go warily and diffcrently
to work; for a little thing will serve to break the Alliance of Princes, which once bro-
en is not so easily piec'd again, and several rather young people have by their indiscretion
for their Princes together by the ears contrary to their own desire.

Captain Fanfína de Peryafo, who had been in Pienza, had told me that there was a
hole in the wall on that side toward Montalban, by which the fifth of the Town was
evacuated, and that in this place, where there were two walls, the outer wall was above
the reach of a Ladder, and that within some fourteen or fifteen staves high; and that so
soon as one should be past thorough the hole, which must be upon his belly, and in the
dirt, he should find himself below two walls. Upon this information I had caus'd a Ladder to be made of the height required for the inner wall, but it was so very
weak and slender, that it might pass throughout this hole, that a man could very unjustly
support himself upon it. In this part of the wall there was a Bastion at the corner of the
Town, that Don Álvaro had caus'd to be perfected, which was of a sufficient height, and
beyond the hole and the Bastion was a gate the enemy had wall'd up with brick and clay
only, not caring to make it of better matter, forasmuch as they had cut up a Rampier of
earth within.

I order'd that Captain Blacon with his own Company, and another of Italians that
I had caus'd to come from Grosetto, and the Baron de Clermont my Nephew with my Com-
pny, and about twenty Lances of that of the Count de Petitlane, together with thirty
or forty Gentlemen of Siena, should go put themselves between Pienza and Monte-Pul-
fiano,
The death of Captain Luffan.

fio to fight the Duke of Florence his people, who came to take possession of the Town. I had also caus'd three hundred men to come from Chur, that the Duke of Somme had sent me, who was return'd from the Duke of Guise his Camp, upon some words that had past between Cardinal Caraffa and him, and those were to form a corner of the Town on that side by which they came; Captain Bartolommeo de' Pefaro, was to fall on by the Gate, that on his side look'd towards Montielp, which the Enemy kept open for their going in and out, and to which they were to set fire, if they could, and I with the Ladders was to assault the Baffion, the ditches of which were not yet made. The top of the Gate, that was wall'd up, flank'd the Baffion, and I had with me the two Companies of Abson and Andre Caffeaux, that is to say, the half of each, for the rest I had left at Montielp, and the half of that of Captain Luffan, who lying at Caftellato, and by that means having the fortheft to march, had fo heard himself with his diligence, that he fell to extremely sick by the way, as contrain'd him to stay at the little Hospitall, but he sent me his Son, who was his Lieutenant, and five or six days after dyed of that The death of Captain Luffan, sickness: he sent me also the half of Captain Churry's Company, whom to his great grief I had left behind me in Montielp, I having no body alfo to leave there, Signior Marius being gone to Rome, and the Prior his Brother upon some business of his own to their own house. To be short, I might have on my side four hundred men in all, three hundred that came from Chur, and an hundred men that Captain Bartolomme had, which was all the Forces I had at this assault. We had altogether concluded, that the Duke of Somme's Italians should be of the party, who alfo himself very much defir'd to be there: But I would not send for him, forasmuch as Chur, of which he was Governor, was a place of very great importance, and should I chance to be kill'd, I would not that the Garrisons should be left without some good Chief to provide for their defence, till Monfieur de Guise could send some sufficient person to command the Country. We must provide for all adventures, as well in case we be taken, as if we overcome, by which means in going to execute an Enterprize, we shall do nothing undauntedly, and for which we may reasonably be condemn'd. We had appointed to be every one of us two hours before day at the place where he was to fall on, where tho' the Duke of Somme and Captain Bartolomme were to fall on first, to the end they might divert the Enemy's Forces from that side by which I was to attack the place, that side I was to undertake, being by much the strongest, by reason of the Baffion, and the Planks over the Gate, the wall where the hole was, making a part of the corner. I gave the charge of carrying the Ladder to the Gentlemen of my Train, who were paid by the King, entreating them to enter the hole, those were Captain Trappe, who is now with the Admiral, Ambus Nephew to my late Wife, Captain Caftell, who now carries my Ensign, Captain la Motte, Caffet, Sagret, Captain Bidoune, Captain Bourg, who is yeft living, and has a foot Company, and two or three others, and after them twenty Italians that Captain Emilio di Piseulio (the fame who had been broken at the going out of Planes) had brought with him, all chosen men, who were to mount the Ladder, after mine should be gotten up. The said Captain, and another of his own Company were first to pass thorough the hole, and draw in the Ladder, because they knew the place, which none of my people did.

I arriv'd then within a quarter of a mile of the Town, where I made a halt, whilst the Baron de Clermont and Blacas march'd forwards, and went to plant themselves about a mile from the Town, upon a road that leads towards Monte-Piulino, and yefterday had flaid about an hour, without longer expecting when the Italians should begin, as I had given order they should, knowing the day began to approach: I sent one of my Guides to discover after the most secret manner he could, and my Valet de Camera, who is yeft living, went up within twenty paces of the Bafion, and heard no noise in the Town, no more than if there had been no body within it, faying that they heard a little Dog bark. They knew of my coming over night, and so with their matches ready cock'd, in great silence expected my assault. I could not, it should ferve, march out to fecretly, though I had caus'd the gates to be flaid up three hours before, but that some honest man or another had got out and carried them intelligence of my design. Now, to foon as the Guide and my Valet de Camera were come back, and had told me that they could hear no noise at all, I would my felf go with them once again, when being come within fifteen or fifteen paces of the Baffion, I perceiv'd a man within five or six paces of us, who went creeping along, and retir'd towards the Baffion, and I believe entred by the faid Baffion, where we now heard them talk, and thought they fpoke Dutch, but they were Almanie, for Signior Bartolomme Laffa had of them in his Company, and the faid Signior had taken upon him the defence of the Baffion. Setting then that the day
day would prefently break upon us, and having left all hopes of our Italian (who though they were come as I understood; yet the Duke de Somma had given the com-
mand of them to one, who had no mind to dye the first, or else (as being the King's Lieutenants) would give me the honor to begin; but this Rascal did not do it out of re-
spect). Captain Bartolomeo also expecting when the one or the other should begin the
Game, I was by these delays constrain'd my self first to fall on, and although I knew
either both by this Centinel Perdue, and the great silence in the Town, that the Enemy had me in the wind, yet having taken the pains to come so far, I was resolv'd to try my for-
tune.

The Italian and French Gentleman above nam'd took the Ladder, and we took the
other Ladders to storm the Balloon, which I caus'd to be carried by the Captains, Lieu-
tenants, Serjeants, Corporals and Lance-pallades; and in this manner march'd up directly
to the Balloon, where, at our first approach they gave us a great Volley of Harquebuz
shot; but we desisted not for all that to rear our Ladders, and I had made an Order, that
all the Commodities both of War and Provision, Treasurers and Comptrollers, should ever-
more be provided of great horses and arms (for these people have always money) which
I always took with me under my own Corer to Troop up and make a thaw, to deceive
the Enemy. Monfieur de Guife had sent Monfieur Malaffife (who is now Lord of Raffi)
to be chief Treasurers, I gave this man a Turkish horfe, if I had now such a one, I would
not take for him five hundred Crowns, a courtfe that he very feverely repaid, and as I
return'd my friendship, for he brought me into disgrace with the Duke of Guife, as he
does now with the Queen, as much as in him lies, as I am informed from Court; and
I have my self alfo perceiv'd, and with God would do me the favour, as to put her
Majesty in mind, how much I am her Servant, and have formerly been where occasions
have preferved themselves, which have perhaps been greater than ever Queen was involv'd
in, that her Majesty might take notice, the ought not lightly to give credit to my Ene-
mies to my prejudice, especially fuch as never have done, nor never will do, to many
and faithful services as I have done. But I shall have patience in God, having my con-
science clean, both as to that and all other affairs concerning the service of the King and
his Crown. I had at this time discover'd nothing of the prachises of the said Sieur de Ma-
laffife, who prevail'd so far, that Monfieur de Guife call'd me to his own perfon, and
gave my command to Monfieur de la Mole, for he had an opinion that they two toge-
ther could manage affairs better, and more to their own advantage than I. I shall not
here let down the Reasons, forasmuch as it might be said, I did it in revenge of the ill
will he bears me, and consequently that I bear him, being a little impatient of injuri
as I am, and who would willingly bear in my device, if I had not one already, what one
of the House of Condole gave for his Motto Qui m'aimera, je l'amour. But there are
many worthy perfon's yet living who very well know the occasion, if they please to
tell it, the story will not be much to his advantage.

But to leave this discourse (not much caring whether he with me well or ill;) I left
him with Captain Charrv, though the Captain had been very importunate to go along:
but I made account that he being in the Town, if I happened to dye, would be much af-
sisting to the Citizens in encouraging them, whilst in expectation of him the Duke of
Guife should fend, for he was a man of understanding, and very eloquent to persuade.
To return then to my Treasurers and Commissaries, I made them gallop round about the
Town (they being fitter to put people in fear, than to do any execution) by this means
it serves the Inhabitants from one place to another.

We gave the Scalado then almost all at once, and our men were three times beaten off,
and our Ladders all broken laying one or two. Now I must tell you to what ufe, or'd
the taking of this hole. All of them entred into it one after another, and fo soon as they
had sett the Ladder to the lower wall to enter the Town, my Gentlemen all mounted, and
from the top of the wall leap'd down upon a Dunghil into the Town; when fo soon as
Captain Faufino and his twenty men faw ours go in, they would follow after in all hales,
in doing which they fo overcharg'd the Ladder that it broke. These inconsiderate ardours
often times occasion the miscarriage of brave Enterprizes. The hole was within four or five
paces of the gate that was walled up, and the Enemy over it minded nothing but shooting
at our people, who were forming the Balloon, and having their backs towards the
hole, knew nothing of our people being entred in. The Italians tried to piece the Ladder
with girdles, but it would not be, wherefore they were constrain'd to creep out at the
same hole by which they had entred, and Captain Faufino came to tell me the misfor-
ture of my people, which put me to my wits end, seeing that in attempting reco-

The French

ver those who were already prisoners, I had been so unfortunate as to lose all the Gentle-

C.
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize

Book IV.

men I had, and was resolv’d to play a desperate Game. It was already broad day, and
the Sun began to rise, all our people being beaten off, and fcatling behind certain walls
that were there, when at the time Captian Bartolomeus sent me word that they were
all beaten off on his side also. I then leaped from my horse to the ground, for I was not
yet alighted, and call’d all the Captains together (Aounfon Son to Monfieur d’Aounfon,
who was Embaffador at Rome excepted, who was hurt in the hand with a Harquebuz
shot) where I began to remonstrate to them, that I was come to no other end, but to
take the Town or to lose my life, and that if they would follow me, I would lead them
in an action. Let us goon then friends, I say, follow your Captains, and you fhall see we
will acquire honor. Which having said, with my fword in my hand, and a Page with my Halberd
clofe by me, I went directly up to the Gate. I had twelve Swifs of my Guard that
follow’d me, and also did all the rest, where I obferv’d, as I had done at other times be-
fore, what the example of a Leader can do when he goeth on in the head of his men, and
leads them the way. I prefently put my felf under the Gate, where three or four men
might fland uneft from the Flanks of the Bathion, whilst the Enemy who were over the
Gate played our people with a tempeft of shot and fleos. The Swifs in the mean time
with their Halbers did their endeavour againft this Wall of Brick. I had my fword in
my left hand, and my dagger in my right, with which I broke and cut the bricks, when
having made a hole wide enough to put in my arm, I gave my fword and dagger to the
Captain of my Swifs, and thrust both my arms into it. The Wall was the thickness of
one brick only, and there was but very little clay, for it was in a manner a dry Wall:
when having found the inner rim of the Wall, and the thickness of it, I pull’d the Wall
fowards me with fuch force, that all the upper part fell upon me, and cover’d me all over,
infmuch that the Captain of my Guard was fain to draw me out from under the bricks
and the rubbifh, which he did, and again fet me upon my feet; after which with our
Halbers we prefently beat it corally down to the ground. The Enemy had not finifh’d
the Terrafs they had caft up behind this Gate, of which there wanted about two feet to
the top of the Arch, and there I had two Swifs kill’d, and the Captain wounded with a
Harquebuz shot in his thigh, and fourteen or fifteen Soldiers slain or wounded. I a-
gain made the Enfans by the two Ladders renew the Affault to the Bathion, but for all
that they ceaf’d not to shoot from the Flanks of the Bathion. Now from the Bathion
to the Gate where I fought, it was no more than thirty paces only: I then call’d out to
the Soldiers, to go fetch me the Ladders that had been broken againft the Bathion, telling
them that the fhortest were the best; for the height of the Terrafs was not above two
yards; I think hardly fo much; and fo soon as the Ladders were brought I clapt them
fide to fide, and put a Harquebuzer upon the one Ladder, and my felf upon the other,
and three one in the backs of another, after the fift Soldier, and two of my Swifs after
them. I then spoke to him who was foremoft, and went up fift, that he fhould prefently
get up, and detach his Harquebuzer amongf them within, which he accordingly did, and as he fto’d I took him by the breeches, and pull’d him in, making him
take a leap he never intended, for our two Ladders routh; and then I began to cry out
to thofe who were upon the other Ladder, and to push them forwards, laying, leap Sol-
diers, and I will leap in after you; which faid I pull’d that fellow in, another after him, and
the other after him; and when they were all tumbled in, he that could fift rife clapt
hand to his fword, my two Swifs leapt in after; being which I leapt down on my own
fide, and again began to cry fall on Captains, fall on, the Town’s own, our men are in; whereupon they one after another threw themselves headlong into the place. Those Gentle-
men of mine who were entred by the hole had been perceiv’d at break of day, and being
charg’d by the Enemy had recover’d a house, the door of which they stoutly defended;
which did me a great deal of good, part of thofe who defended the Gate being run thither,
not thinking it poifible I fhould enter there; and fo soon as the Enemies who affaulted
the Gentleman heard the cry of France, France, behind them, they forfook the Gentle-
man, and would have return’d to the Gate; when the Gentlemen fallying out after them, and
hearing the fame cry of France, France, they knew our people were entred the Town,
so that by fortune they were engag’d betwixt our two parties, and there all cut to pieces.
Now immediately upon the killing of thos, an Enfans of theirs who was in the place
came running directly towards the Gate, but my Gentlemen being joyn’d with thos that
entred laft, the faid Enfans found whom to talk withal, and they handled him as they
had done the refi. At the fame time that our people entred, I cried out to them, that
they fhould affault the Bathion on the inside within the Town, which they did; but they
there found a very great resistance, by reason that the greatest part of the Company or Gens'-d'arms was there, who fought it to a miracle.

Now (as the courages of men encreas when they see themselves in hopes of victory) to forget nothing of that they ought to do in well and furiously affailing; having encouraged my people, I left the Gate, and ran to the Ensigns who were upon the Ladder of the Bastion, crying out to them, that all our men were got in, and that therefore they should throw themselves headlong into the Bastion, which they did, without making the opposition they expected, forasmuch as our men held them to flore, that they were not able to answer us both within and without; and so soon as I saw our Ensigns got in, I remounted to horse, and with the Commissaries and Treasurers rode all along by the walls, where all those that leapt over the walls to escape away I cautioned to be slain.

Now to return to our full prisoners, our people followed their execution, till they came to the place where they found Signior Bartolomeo de Leiffia, with the remainder of his Company, who made no more defence, for already our people ran all along the streets of the Town, and even along the very Walls of it. The Italians came to enter by the Wall, that was not too high, and helped one another up; Captain Bartolomeo de Pezro had also set fire to the Gate, as he had promised to do, but was there hurt with a Harquebuz shot through the buttocks, and could not possibly enter there, by reason of the furious fire that flam'd in the said Gate. They had placed eighteen or twenty Spaniards for the Guard of the Prisoners that were in the Palace, fifty or thereabout in number, and had tied them two and two together, as they told me after, who, as soon as ever they heard the Cry of France, France, in the great place adjoining to the Palace, they began to jutle one another, particularly Captain Giles, who was the first that got his arms at liberty, when being all free from their bonds, they flew upon their Guard with such fury, that what with their own weapons, and what with stones, they kill'd the greatest part of them upon the place, and the remainder kept prisoners, and brought them out with them. And this was the fortunate and unexpected deliverance of our Prisoners.

It now remains to know what succeeded upon the command I had given to the Baron de Clermont, and Captain Blacon. The Duke of Florence his Companies both of horse and foot had set out of Montefullano, and were coming towards Pianco, it being no more than three miles from the one to the other, when being in the midway, and hearing such Volleys of Harquebuz shot, they lent out fix horse before to see what the matter was. Of these, three fell into our Ambuscado, and were taken, the other three got away, and made their people return faster than they came: so that the Baron could not possibly come to fight them. In the forementioned action of the taking of Pianco, Signior Bartolomeo Leiffia his Lieutenant and Ensign were all taken, and the Governor who was Spaniard also, but his Ensign was slain. Captain Pifiso (to called for being a Native of Pifiso) his Lieutenant and Ensign were likewise taken, together with the Lieutenant and Ensign of an Italian Captain, call'd Aldeto Placito, a Sienoit, who two days before was gone out to solicit for their pay before they departed the Town. This was the success of the Scald of Pianco, which hapned upon St. Peter's Eve, an action highly reputed throughout all Italy. All the Captains and Soldiers, as well Italians as French, said I had taken the Town my self alone, and not they, and that had I not done as I did, and had they not been so courageous and resolute, they would never more have come near the Walls, having been three times so nearly repuls'd. Had it been Gods will that those the Duke of Florence lent from Montefullano to Pianco had set out but an hour sooner, they had not heard our Harquebuz shot by the way, and had fallen into the Baron de Clermont, and Captain Blacon's Ambuscado, who lay ready and well planted for them, that they would easily have been defeated and cut to pieces, for they no sooner heard the report of the three horse that escap'd, but that they immediately all faced about, and in disorder fled away towards Montefullano. I left in Pianco to command there Captain Enfino, who had been there before, and had yet fifty or thereabout of his Company left, which Captain Bartolomeo Pezro had ever kept for him, and more over now lent him his Lieutenant with a hundred Soldiers of his own Company; and about noon as I was about to mount to horse to return to Montaljus, and lending every one away to his own Garrison, the Captains with their Lieutenants and Ensigns brought me a hundred or fixtore horses of service, which had been taken in this action, besides Pad-nags and Mules, enviting me to take of them what I pleased for my own use; and amongst other Captain Trape contrived me to accept of a Courier of Nephe, the most beautiful and the best horse in all Italy, though I accepted none of all those they offer'd me, but that of Captain Trape only, which Monfieur de Guise afterwards lent to entertain me, and I gave him to him.
I came back to Montalfin with no more than the three hundred Companies I had taken thence with me, after which I ordered to march all the Captains we had taken prisoners, and some few Soldiers who were prisoners also, for there were not many left. Next after the Prisoners I marched my self, and all my Captains with their Colours flying, and behind me the Gentlemen of my Train carried the horse Corne, and the three Ensigns we had taken; and in the rear of all the foot marched the Baron de Clermont with his Troop, and the Gentleman of Stenno all on horseback in the rear of all. I do believe there was not a man nor a woman left in the whole City, for they were all come out to see me enter, excepting the Captain of the people, the Council, and Magnificcy, to whom I had sent a Gentleman before to entreat them not to fire from the Palace, at which I went and alighted, and entered in arm’d as I was, with the foresaid Ensigns we had taken carried before me, where first in few words I gave them an account of the means I had used to bring about so hazardous an Enterprise, and after what manner the Town had been taken, not without observing by their looks, that they had to great a performance in high admiration: After which I exhorted them to continue the fidelity they had promised to the King my Master, and not to abandon the hopes of recovering their liberty and Capital City, God having manifested to them by so great and so happy a victory, that he would neither forsake them, nor any who fought in their Quarrel. And to show them that I bore arms in order to their service only, and for the recovery of their Country, I presented the horse-Corne, and the three Ensigns I had taken; which having received with the greatest acknowledgements, and the highest applause that could to man betributed, they upon the instant caused to be set up in the great Hall of the Palace display’d, a thing that did no while lessen the reputation I had acquire’d either with them at Rome or elsewhere, where the receipt of this Enterpise and execution was divulged and spread abroad.

The Siege of

Cherly.

After this no occasion presented it self worth speaking of having two, of which this was one. Don Arbo went to besiege Chuxy, which Captain Moreto Calabros, who was at Montepseayo, had by practice surpriz’d from the Enemy. The said Don Arbo had thirty Ensigns of foot before it, three pieces of Canon, and six hundred horse, I departed there a little after noon from Montalfin with five Ensigns of foot, and about four hundred, and by break of day came to Montepseayo, where I caused little facks to be made to carry powder in, to the number of twenty, which all of them might contain about three hundred pound of powder. From Montepseayo to Chuxy it is six miles. Their Artillery was not yet arriv’d, but it came the same morning that I came away, and about noon I departed from Montepseayo, and went to encamp my self just over against the Enemies Camp, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, and about as far from the Towns for they were already encamped before it, and never so much as once sent to discover me. The place was worth nothing, for we had not had time to fortifie it, and in the beginning of the night I took the Lieutenant of Captain Ararvien, call’d St. Genies, with thirty Pikes and thirty Harquebusiers, which I meant to venture to try if there might be any means to preserve it; and being that there was a little Rivulet not above three paces broad between them and me, I sent the said St. Genies and Captain Cherly with a hundred Harquebusiers to accompany him, whilst I with the Horse and a hundred Harquebusiers went to give them an Alarm in their Camp. St. Genies got in with the Powder, and all the Soldiers, four or five Pikes excepted, and all night long I kept them in Alarm to make them think that I would repulse my self in the morning; when having discover’d me they would come to fight me, considering I had no more Forces but five foot Ensigns only; wherein I deceiv’d them, for without taking any rest at all, and without sound of Trumpet or beat of Drum I began to retreat through the Woods, and to take my way directly for Montalfin, marching twelwe miles without stop or play; and then upon the banks of a small River I made a halt, where all both horse and foot bairied upon some provision I had caus’d to be brought upon Ater; where nevertheless I did not stay above an hour and a half, but went on straight to Montalfin. Now the same day that I departed from Chuxy, about noon they had planted their Artillery without being able nevertheless to make a breach till the next morning.

The same day that I departed from Chuxy I arriv’d in the Evening at Montalfin, which was thirty miles, and after I came home made them to work all night to make ready a Canon, and a great Culverin we had, with which about nine of the clock the next morning I went to batter Allesse a strong Castle between Bencovento and Montalfin. I batter’d it by the Gage where it had been the least fortified, and in the Evening they surrender’d up on Quarter only, there being therefore men in it. The next morning I went to take three or four Castles thereabouts, which were not strong, but only supported themselves under favourable
favour of the Fortresses of Alteffe. Of all this day the Artillery never stirr’d from Alteffe, but however I took the Caflles. After this I was advis’d to go and batter Mountebank, whereupon I went to view it, and caufed Gabions speedily to be made before it, making fhew as if I intended a Siege; though it was only to divest Don Arbro from making any further attempts, fearing fear after he had taken Chuzy (which I made no question but he would do) he might go and fit down before Montefcalfe, where Captain Marretto was, and two or three other places, which only laboured under the protection of Mountefcalfe; and the fame day that I made a fhew of besieging Boncventr, I fent Signior Mariniul de Santa Fiere, Captain Serres my Lieutenants, and the Baron de Clermont my Enfin to fcore the field as far as the walls of Sienna, where they had the fortune to meet with a foot Company that was going from Sienna to put themselves into two Caflles hard by thofe I had taken, which they cut all in pieces, excepting the Captain, the Lieutenant, and the Enfin, who being almenot made away. All this was perform’d in three days, reckoning from the day that I departed from before Chuzy. The Alarm of this defeat was to be great at Sienna, that Cardinal Burgas fent in all haffe to Don Arbro to leave all and return to Sienna, for that he greatly feared the Siennais would revolt and receive me into Sienna, confidering the violent affection they had for me in the City. So that had thofe of Chuzy been able to hold out a day longer he had given them over, but the fecond day having made a very great Breach, for the wall was a very weak one, and there being but few men within it, they were forced to surrender. The Lieutenant of Captain Marretto Calabres was in it, with part of the Company of the faid Marretto, and about five and fifty that entered with St. Genies only, fo that there was not above a hundred men in all. The next day after Signior Mariniul had defeated this foot Company, all the Captains who were with me were of opinion that I should go and batter Boncventr; but I faid to them thefe words. Thou know Gentlemen that fame yester-day two of clock in the afternoon we have not heard the Artillery play at Chuzy, which we heard plainly from Alteffe, by which you may conclude, either that they are surrendered, or taken by force. If they be surrendered Don Arbro will not be long an hour there, to try if he can snap us in the field, for there is no quaffion to be made, but that he has receiv’d the Alarm of the foot Company you defeated yester-day at Sienna’s, and that thereupon Cardinal Burgas has fent to him to come back to save the ref of the Caflles which are next to Sienna; (for I took the other Caflles I immediately dismantled and pulled them down, (as I alfo did by Alteffe.) Let us therefore confider things a little; if one people be surrendered the Camp will not tary above two hours before Chuzy; if they be taken by affifiance, the Town is fo poor that the Soldiers would need but this left night only to fack it, and will be this morning two hours before day upon their march, though it be thirty miles off, yet will the Artillery be here before noon: for Don Arbro knows very well, that I have not a hundred horse in all I can make, nor above six hundred men in the five Enfins, wherefore the reafon of War requires you should do as I faid. Let me intreat you therefore that we prefently fall to drawing off our Canon, and our foot, and if things do not fall out as I have faid, let me bear the blame. Captain Marretto’s Lien- tenant, and St. Genies had what conditions they defir’d, for the haffe Don Arbro was in to return, for they march’d out with Bag and Baggage, and Enfin they had none. I then let fire to the remainder of Alteffe that could not fo suddenly be pulled down, and left Captain Serres with twenty horse upon a little eminence by Alteffe, from whence they might discover as far as a Wood, which was Don Arbro’s way to return; and when I was got within a mile of Montalfin Captain Serres fent two Troopers full speed to tell me, that he began to discover their Cavalry coming out of the Wood; whereupon I left the foot Captains with ropes, and the Strength of the Soldiers to help the Oxen away with the Artillery, and Signior Mariniul and I with the horse return’d back to Captain Serres. But fo soon as we came to Captain Serres, we from another little hill discovered the Body of their Cavalry already in the Plain, which I fuppos’d had halted to play for another Troop that was coming out of the Wood. I left Signior Mariniul there to follow Captain Serres, and fent to Captain Serres by no means to engage himself in a charge, nor suffer the Enemy to come near him, but begin by little and little to retire; and having left the fame order with Signior Mariniul, I gallopp’d back to A handfor the Artillery, which I found within a quarter of a mile of the Alcens, and haffined it Retreat. All I could; when fo soon as I had got it to the foot of the hill, I faw Signior Mariniul coming at a good round trot, and Captain Serres following the fame pace after. I made them till lag the Artillery up the hill, and could not get within fifty paces of the Gate of the City, but that I was constrain’d to take out the Oxen, and hurry them into the Town, placing all our Infantry along the Vines, and upon the Wall, and draw the horse (they being of no further use) into the Town, which I had no sooner done but the
the Enemy came up to the very foot of the hill. Thus I fav’d all, and left nothing by well computing the time they had to come from Ghuzay to be upon us, and thorough the great diligence whereby I made my retreat.

Take notice then Captains, and remember when you shall be in place where you are to retire before an Enemy stronger than your selves, to compute the time wherein he may come to fight you, and be diligent in your retreats, whether by day or by night, by which means you shall very hardly be surpriz’d. Take all things at the worst, and imagine your Enemy to be as diligent to surprize you, as you are to prevent being surpriz’d. The reason of war requir’d that I should do as I did, and men must evermore be at watch when they are near an Enemy, so that if he be three hours march distant from you double your speed, and if it be possible do that in two hours which he may do in three: by which means having the start, without an infamous flight, you shall leave him nothing but the empty Ne’er. I but (a man may object and say) perhaps he will never come near me at all, and in the mean time I retreat without seeing an Enemy: but let me tell you, if you stay for that, you will be defeated and lost, especially if you have Canon to draw off with you, which you cannot abandon but with dishonor.

I perform’d another piece of diligence to relieve Monfur de la Montjoye, a Kinsman of mine, whom I had put into Tallamon. The King of Spain’s Gallies were departed from Cujette to surprize this place, and came to an Anchor before Mount Argentain, whom so soon as Monfur de la Montjoye had discover’d by break of day in the morning, he dispatched a man post away to me to give me notice, who made so good haste, that he came to Montalin by four of clock in the afternoon, though it be no less than fifty and thirty miles. Without staying an hour therefore after I heard the news, I departed with four hundred Harquebuzers, and my own Troop of Horse, marching all night without flop or st Pang, until I came to a Village within three miles of Graffette, which was seven and twenty miles, and I came thither by Sun rise, where I made the Soldiers eat something, and bat their horses, whilst I gallopped away to Graffette, where I heard that the Enemy were all about Tallamon, which made me suddenly to cause three hundred Harquebuzers of those of the Garrison of Graffette to pass a River half a mile from thence, upon Alleys and Horses; so that by that time my own men whom I had left bating were come to the River, the three hundred men were pass’d over, and upon their march, I then sent two Troopers to the said Sieur de Montjoye, to bid him Band firm, for that I was there to relieve him, though he could scarce believe the news, not thinking it possible I could be there so soon, but that some body had sent him such word only to put him in heart.

The Enemy had landed three or four hundred men, and two Gallies came and played him with a great number of Canon shot, the thunder of which I no sooner heard, but that I advanc’d with my Horse, and the three hundred Foot, that were already got over, and left Captain Chavy to pass over those that I had brought from Montalin; when, so soon as the Enemy saw so long a Train of men, and that I advanc’d with the three hundred Foot and the Horse, they all cast themselves into the water; so easily were they persuaded out of their fury. It was excessively hot, and many of them were in the water to the armpits: I had made account to have fought them, let them be what number they would, for I was very sure they had no Horse: but I found that part of the Gallies were re bribing the Soldiers about Tallamon, and at the old Port, so that before I could get to them they were all aboard, and put out to sea toward Mount-Argetain, where the rest of the Gallies lay. I believe they thought that Monfur de Montjoye would surrender upon the Canon that they played from the Gallies, but he was too brave a Gentleman to be so easily frighted as they imag’d. He was since slain in the late troubles at Aubeterre under Monfur de Can/feur, who can give testimony of his valour.

Captains (my Camarades) you ought not to think it strange that I have never been defeat’d, nor surpriz’d where I have commanded in chief, as you shall never be, if you carry your selves with the same vigilance and diligence that throughout my whole life I have ever done. I perhaps have made my Soldiers do that never any one made men do before; for I ever had my tongue at command to remonstrate to them (when I have been in place where diligence was requir’d) their own honor, and the service of the Kings; and also that by diligence only we were to save our own lives. Tis that that both adds wings to their feet, and inspires them with resolution when the one or the other is necessary. Which remonstrances of mine never fail’d of their effect; and when a long march was to be perform’d, I caus’d bread and wine to be carried along wherewith to refresh them; for if you will have your Soldiers make a long march, and take nothing wherewith to refresh them, humane bodies are not made of iron, you must either leave them by the way, or at least when you shall come to fight they will be so weak, that they will be able to do you
you very little service, but taking provisions along with you to refresh them, together
with remonstrances, you shall not only make them go, but run also, if you desire them;
so that a man must never think to escape himself upon the Soldier, for no man in Chri-
tendom has had more experience of it than my self; and I never saw any defect on their
side, but always in the Officers: for a good and prudent Captain will make good and
different Soldiers; amongst a great many good men ten or a dozen Poleron and Cowards
will grow hardly, and become valiant; but a cowardly, imprudent and improvind Captain
loves and spoils all. This in gros was all that was done whilst I lay at Montesfin.

Now Monfieur de Guise having been enform’d that I was like to have been surpriz’d at
Altepe, he writ me a very angry letter, wherein he told me, that it seem’d I had a mind
to lose my self, the Country, and all, to go out after this manner upon every occasion
into the field, and that if I should chance to be defeated the whole Country would be lost,
he being already too weak in men, that he should not be able upon any disater to relieve
it; that was the way of proceeding was commendable enough in a private Captain, but not
in a Kings Lieutenant, who ought not to expose his own person but upon very great occa-
tion. To which I writ in answer, that I had been necessitated to do as I did, or other-
wise Don Asto would foot by foot deprive me of the whole Country, that on the other
side he might assure himself I should rise to early, and such diligence, that I would
look well enough to my self for being at any time surpriz’d, and that therefore he should
not take any thought concerning me; for although Don Asto had evermore thirty En-
signs in the field, and I but five or six to answer him withall, I would nevertheless so well
look to his water, that I would well enough prevent him from bringing about his des-
signs. After this I receiv’d my self to the Abby of S. Salvadour, fifteen or sixteen miles
from Montesfin towards Rome. About a mile distant from the Roman Way there is a little
wall’d Town, and an Abby of Augustins, which was founded by King Charles the Little
at his return from Naples; for he made some abode at this place. All the Church is co-
ver’d with Flower-de-Luces, and the foundation recorded in Parchment; the Religious
of this place are very holy men.

Being-there I receiv’d a letter from the Cardinal of Ferrara, (who was at this time
at Ferrara) wherein he writ me the sad news of the Contables being defeated at St.
Quentin, and that it was much more necessary I should now more than ever intend his Ma-
jesties affairs, and that if God did not assist the King, all was gone in France, all the
Forces his Majestey had been lost at this defeat. Immediately upon this Letter I return’d
back to Montesfin, for fear left the Siemnos hearing the news, should be totally dismayed,
where, by remonstrances and peruations I comforted them the best I could, and after-
wards tried to comfort my self. I had need to do, for I gave the Kingdom for loot, and
it was only fav’d by the good pleasure of God, and nothing else, God miraculously
blindning the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy’s understandings, so as not to pursue
their victory directly to Paris: for they had men enow to have left at the Siege of St.
Quentin against the Admiral, and to have followed their victory too; or after they had
taken St. Quentin they had as much time as ever, and yet knew not how to do that any
simple Captain would have done. So that we must all acknowledge it to be the bount
of Almighty God, who loves our King, and would not suffer his Kingdom to be de-
stroyed. However I did not to the Siemnos make the matter altogether so bad as it was,
but told them that the Letters I had from France, allur’d me the lofs was but small, and
that the King was setting an Army on foot, which he would command in his own per-
son.

Monfieur de Guise being at Rome, by reason the King had call’d him home to his suc-
cours, sent for me to come to him, which I did so; where being come, he there de-
manded of me what it would be necessary for him to leave me wherewith to maintain
what we had in Tuscany; to which I made answer that I had need of that which it was
not in his power to give me; for he had no money to leave me, nor many men, that would
not be more serviceable in France than in Tuscany: but that nevertheless I would do as
God should direct me, in whom I repose’d a confidence, that he would no more forfake
me now, than hitherto he had done; and that I humbly begg’d of him to make all
the haste he possibly could into France; for if God did not preserve the Kingdom men
could do very little towards it, all the Forces of the Nation being defeated and loot. The
Mareschal de Strozny, who was present, very much approv’d of my answer, and as highly
commended me, as other’s would have demand’d men and money, of both
which I had in truth very great need, but France was of greater concern to the King than
Tuscany, where I would try to draw money from the Country, and with war make
war. Onely I besought Monfieur de Guise humbly to entreat the King to recall me into
France,
France, to help to defend the Kingdom; for I had nothing to lose in Tuscany; whereupon he promised me to deal so effectually with the King, that his Majesty should send for me, but upon this condition, that so soon as I should be return'd into France, I should promise forthwith to repair to him. He had not given credit to all the false reports that had been made of me, he knew me too well, and ever lov'd me so long as he liv'd. I engag'd my word to him, that I would do so, and so he went to embark himself at Civita Vecchia, and carried back his Forces entire into France, wherein he manifested himself to be a great and prudent Captain. As for me I return'd back to Montalins.

Before my licence came to return for France, at the request of Captain Carbayrac, that Monfieur de Guije had sent Governor to Groffette (for he had taken our Monfieur de la Melle with seven or eight Foot Companies he had, and sent him to Ferrara, and had sent me Monfieur de Giury with thirteen Ensigns of Foot in his fleet, wherein I lost nothing by the change) I went in all haste to Groffette, to see if a disorder was fall out there: which was, that all the Ammunition of Corn that I had laid in there (which was sufficient for above a year) was so embezzeled, that there was not above a hundred Sacks in all to be found. There was a Commissary, whose name was Luberias, who laid the blame of this business upon Monfieur de la Melle; whereupon I sent post after Monfieur de la Melle, to acquaint him with what this fellow had depo'd against him; and Monfieur de la Melle on the contrary charg'd the fault upon the said Luberias. I lay that night in a pair of damp sheets, and it was in Winter, not having, at that time brought my field-bed along with me, because I would let my Mules rest in order to my Journey into France, by which means I got a continued fever, that in ten days deprived me of all knowledge even of my own servants. Without which fickness I had taken an order with Luberias for ever robbing the Kings Ammuniitions again, as I did another at Sienna who had done the same.

So soon as I began a little to recover my fenes, and to know people, my diffusion came, his Majesty writing to me within, that I should go to Ferrara there to remain some time with the Duke to advise him in his affairs, he being at that time engag'd in a War. The great joy of this diffusion put me into so much heart, that four days after I departed, causing my self to be carried in a Chair by six men to Montizel, where Captain Bartolomeo de Pescaro was, and where I stayed three days in expectation of a Letter, which Signior Marcolio de Santa Fiore was to send me. In which I departed thence, not being able for all that to travel above five or six miles a day, and came to Pescaro, where I found the Duke of Urbino, who sent five or six Gentlemen to meet me, to conduct me to lodge in his Castle: to which returning my very humble thanks, I sent the Duke an excuse, that I begg'd his pardon, for I was of necessity to acquaint Captain Bartolomeo de Pescaro's house, who had writ to his Mother to receive me, and where I was consequently expected. I then went thither, where I found his Mother to be an extraordinary civil person, and as well esteem'd in the City as any Gentlewoman whatever. So soon as ever I alighted they immediately put me to bed, for I was so worn, that I was nothing but skin and bone, and continually dying for cold, what Furrs fever they could put upon me. The Duke did me the honor presently to come see me, and feing me so ill, compel'd me to stay four days there, nor sufferme to spend a penny, but caused me every day to be serv'd with two dresses from his own Table, after which I fancied my self so much better, that I sent back the Letter. The Duke at parting would make me accept a horfe out of his Race, one of the most beautiful Courtiers that I almost ever saw, and the strongest for his height, and would have a little Friesland horse of mine, strong for his flature, and very handome; and so they let me upon a little pad Nagh that Monfieur de Giury gave me at my departure from Montalins (where he commanded till the arrival of Don Francisco d'Es, whom the King made his Lieutenant General as I had been) and after that manner I crawld on to Ferrara, where I was as welcome, and as well receiv'd both by the Duke, Duxhiefs, and the Cardinals, as I had been their own Brother, the Duke lodging me in his own Palace, and causing me to be serv'd from his own Kitchin equal to his own person.

Four or five days after my arrival I had a great desire to see the Cardinal de Trurnon, and Monfieur de Dux at Venice, which Sieur de Dux was Embassador there, and there I stayed four days with them, very much troubled that I had not health to see all the City of Venice (for I was yet so ill, that I had much ado to go to the Arsenal) after which I return'd back to Ferrara. Now that all the parxes are dead I shall do no harm to any one, in discovering that the Cardinal of Mantua manifested himself to be a great friend to the Duke of Ferrara, for he gave him notice, that his Brother Don Ferrand had a design to besiege Verjel, that he caused six pieces of Ordnance to be taken out
of Alexandria, with which he was march'd directly to Cremona, with great store of Powder and Bullet, affuring him that this preparation was for Vefel, which intelligence he dispatch'd away to him by two several Messengers, one upon the heels of another. I was also advertis'd from Cremona, that Don Ferrand was there making ready more Ca- men, and had prifl fourscore great Merchants Boats that trafficked upon the Pan, upon which Vefel is situate, as also Cremona; that part of the Spanish Companies, which were toward Piemont, began to march directly to Cremona, and that he was raising new Italian Companies about Millan. The Duke of Ferrara having receiv'd all these advertis- ments, was very much troubled, the place being as yet in no very good posture of defence; for there was not so much as any one Bulwark cover'd, and the Courtynes very low, at- to the Sparres, being but half removed, nor yet half fill'd, and all the Flancks open. The Duke sent the Prince his Son, who lay with his Army at Reges, word of all this, bidding him with all forthwith to send Signior Cornelio Bentivoglio to put himself into it: where- upon the Prince sent him word back, that if Signior Cornelio was taken away from him, he should not know what to do with the Army, the said Signior always commanding in his absence, and he having no safe but by him, and therefore humbly entreated him would please to make choice of some other. The Duke then immediately sent away to Moniteur de la Malle, who was with the Prince in his Camp, entreating that he would go to defend the place: but Moniteur de la Malle return'd answer back, that the King had given him no order to shut himself up in any place, but only to perform his office in the field; and therefore desire'd to be excus'd. The Duke was exceedingly troubled, (as also was the Cardinal his Brother that now is) that they had not a man in so great an exigency, whom they could entrust with the defence of this place.

I now began to gather a little strength, and these dispatches so and again were carried so privately, that I knew nothing of all this, till in the end a Gentleman of the Dukes, whom he had commanded to be continually about me, to see that I wanted nothing, discover'd it all to me one night very late, and told me moreover, that the Duke had al- most given over the place for lost, forasmuch as he was Governor in it was no Soldier, nor had ever born arms in any action of consequence: but that he was nevertheless a very honest man; so that the Duke did not in the least suspect his fidelity, but only his want of experience, and which was worst of all, there was no one in a time of so great need, who would make an offer of his person, to put himself into the place. Having heard this story, I all night confulted with my health about this affair; for as for inclination I had but too much, and in the morning finding my self indifferently lusty, I thereupon went immediately to wait upon the Duke, whom I found abed, for he always rose very late. He had given order to his people, that at what time ever I came to his Chamber door, although he was in bed, they should let me in; wherefore I no sooner knock'd, but that one of the Gentleman of his Chamber prenently open'd the door, where I found the Duke in Bed, and two Secretaries writing upon a little Table by his Bedside. So soon as I had given him the good morrow, I gave him an account of what had been told me over night, but withal naming the Gentleman. Whereupon he repeated to me the same things I had heard before, together with the great trouble he was in, but would not mention the Cardi- nal of Mantua to the Gentleman. Whereupon he repeated to me the same things I had heard before, together with the great trouble he was in, but would not mention the Car- dinal of Mantua to the Gentleman. Whereupon he repeated to me the same things I had heard before, together with the great trouble he was in, but would not mention the Car- dinal of Mantua to the Gentleman. Whereupon he repeated to me the same things I had heard before, together with the great trouble he was in, but would not mention the Car-

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The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize  

Book IV.

a'Daurade, (the fame who was after slain at Monfieur de Nimours his Chamber window at Vienna) with his Company and a Troop of Horfe for my Convoy. In this equipage at one of the clock in the afternoon we arrived at Versel, where there was one Company of Swifs, five of Italians, and now that of the Baron d'Aurade, who was glad to go along with me, and made the seventh. The Duke of Parmaf from the time of his being reconcil'd to the King of Spain, had call'd back his two Companies of Light-horfe, which had been with us at Rome, commanded by the Captain Bartoloni, and Ambrosio, and seven or eight days before this Captain Ambrosio had been taken, and brought prisoner into the Castle of Versel, where I found him just going away, the Prince having exchang'd him for another. He was amaz'd to see me there, and I told him, that not long ago me he had won the white (first together; but that I now saw him with a red one; to which he made answer, qua laegna for le commandamento del suo padrone, and ask'd me what he himself had there: In answer to which I mildly told him, that I was come thither to serve them in the quality of Marechal de Camp, where I would provide them Quarters to lodge their Army in at their ease: But Captain Pietro Gentili told and assure'd him, that I was come to defend the place, who hereupon said, O quefti non fuobhio doqnest lefede che, io potero coftare neto ai mio padrone, and fo bad me farewell.

Now the Duke of Parmaf at this fame time held another place of the Duke of Ferrara's befiegd belonging to Rejes. For five or six miles round about Versel I found neither Hay nor Straw, nor any other thing for the horfes to eat, neither was there any meat at all, and within few encampments to work withal, nor wine, but a little they had for the Swifs, and very little either meat, or corn to make meal of: A defect that I believe more tempted Don Ferrando to belewe it, than any other thing. Methought I was once more go into Sienna, where I was in the greatest necessity of all things; and in the morning the Troop of Horfe would needs be gone, their horfes not having any one bit of any thing of all that night to eat. Now there were three great Bourns upon the Road towards Parmaf (which as I remember they told me appertain'd to the Sieur de St. Swin, whom I have seen in a round Bonnet at Court:) half a mile distant the one from the other, and two miles from Versel, where they lay some Italian Soldiers in Garrison, to hinder those of Versel from drawing any relief from thence. I therefore fall out with the Swifs Company, that of the Baron d'Aurade, and three hundred Italian Harquebuzers, ordering Signior Pietro Gentili to command all the men, women, and children to follow me, together with all the horfe in the Town, and a great number of Ropes and Sacks, and so marched directly to the first Village, the Enemy who were quarter'd there, upon my coming presently abandon'd the Bourg, and retir'd to the next, and I still follow'd after, till at last they fortook them all, and retir'd in all haste towards Parmaf. I had given order that upon pain of death no one should touch any thing but provifions, and left the Baron d'Aurade with the Troop of Horfe at the furthermost Village towards Parmaf, the Italian Harquebuzers at the second, and the Swifs at the third nearest to Versel, giving them all in charge to suffer nothing to pass, but villat only, whilst I rid up and down from Bourg to Bourg to harass them in their work; for I never expected to go off without fighting. The Bourges were none of them all enclosed, and there was great plenty of provifions, infomuch that some made five or six journeys to carry victual into Versel, so that in the end there was not one who did not come to seek for provifion, and the wines we embark'd upon Boats, and convey'd them by a little River there was (I think an Arm of the Po) landing them about half a mile from Versel, the river coming no nearer to the Town. This work continued from Sun-rie to Sun-rie, so that I dare be bold to say there was but a very little provifion, of all forts put together, left in all the Villages, the men and women whereof were very much astonished at this proceeding, but I promised them satisfaction; and to the day poft, wherein so much provifion both for men and horfes was convey'd into the Town, that for three months we could not possibly want, and then the Captain of the horfe was content to fly with me a few days longer. The next day Signior Pietro Gentili fall out with all the men, women, and children of eight years old and upwards, and went to fall upon a Copie about half a mile from Versel, to caufe Bavins to be made and brought before the Town. The Inhabitants were by no means unwilling to go, and he also took the Swifs, and almost all the Italian foot along with him, whilst I with the Baron d'Aurade, and the Troop of horfe went along to guard him, where they pley'd their work as well at the Copie, as they had done at the Villages the day before, and came to throw down their Bavins within a Harquebus shot of the Town; neither till the night took we up did we ever cease, and for two days after did the same, infomuch that I am confident there were above three hundred Bavins made in three days, which afterwards we went with Colours flying to
fetch home, and bestowed them in the Town, filling the Church, and several vacant places in the Walls, and then fell to fortifying, none being excepted from the work, Signor Pietro and I carrying Baskets to give example to the rest. I can say nothing but very well of that Gentleman, for I perceived in him no want either of courage or industry, but only of a little experience, which is not to be acquired without being employed, which he had never seen; and how can one judge of a man until he be tried? 'Tis possible if he had been assaëd he would have acquired himself very well: though men who have never been a Siege are apt to be abstemious when they hear such a rattle about their ears, and if a Governor be once daunted, all is lost. So soon as we had got ours Bavings into the Town I releas'd upon another Enterprise, which was to go and sweep away the provisions of two Villages near Graslaffa, which belongs to Don Ferrand, in which there were two Companies of German, and one of Italian. To this end I sent the Captain of the Horse, and all the Gentlemen who were with me, to ride up to Graslaffa, and with them all along by a Hedge the Baron d'Aurade to second them, whilst I with the Swifs, and four hundred Italians was busie leading away the victuals. They fell then twelve horse up to the very Gates of Graslaffa, and the rest were plac'd in Ambush in a little Wood hard by. Whereupon the German Captains, and a great many people with them fell out, and pursu'd our Avant Courtreus. Our Ambuscado discover'd it felt too soon, otherwise all the Captains had been taken; but we pursu'd them up to the very gates, where forty or thereabout German were slain (for the Baron d'Aurade was got in amongst them) (the Ambuscado's both of foot and horse being plantèd close by one another) and a German Ensign with twenty or four and twenty German taken prisoners; and so we return'd home with the provisions we had loaded, and the next day I dismiss'd the Horse to return back to the Prince, who I was afraid would be displeas'd that they staid so long, though the men themselves were very willing to have staid longer with me, which if they had I should often have engag'd them with the Enemy; for I have ever taken care that my Soldiers, whether horse or foot, should not grow rely for want of employment, and stronger or weaker, have ever set them together by the ears with the Enemy, to see what they could do. 'Tis true a man ought to go discreetly to work not to lose them, but on the other side, he that stands over much upon caution, saying I will not throw away my men, or I will not do this or that to endanger the loss of my Company, shall in the end find, that he has perform'd no great matters. A man must both give and take.

The Duke of Parma lay still before the forementioned place, which he batter'd, and in the mean time I did my busines; Captain Balfernere and another French Company were in it, who behav'd themselves so well, that they for ten or twelve days held the Enemy in play. Don Ferrand, who was at German having intelligence of the victuals and Bavings we had put into Vertel, and of the great diligence we used in all our affairs, began to cool in his design: for (as I have said before) I had made head against him at Cassel, and he knew very well what order and diligence I had observ'd in my Fortifications there: he also remembr'd how I had serv'd him at Banne, and at St. Damian, all which together made him imagine he should not easily carry this place, and therefore he withdrew his Ammunition and Artillery, which were upon the banks of Po ready to be flipt aboard, and dismiss the Boats he had præt whereon to embark the Canon, and the Foot, for the Duke of Parma's Camp was to have join'd him before Vertel. And although it be in my own commendation, yet shall I not for fear to tell you, that the Duke of Ferrara so adorn'd in publick, and gave me that glory, that my presence had diverted the Enemies designs, who would not attempt the Enterprize, knowing (as I said before) what I could do for the defence of a place. 'Tis a great deal to acquire such a reputation, as to make a man's self fear'd and esteem'd by his Enemy. The said Don Ferrand was an old warly Soldier, and would not attempt a place where I had broken ground; and also if he had, having wherewithal to eat I should have batter'd him.

About this time the Duke of Florence procur'd the Duke of Ferrara's peace with the King of Spain, but it was with the knowledge and consent of the King, otherwise the said Duke would not have done it to have fav'd his Dukedom, he was so good a Frenchman; and when the peace came, which was five and twenty days after I enter'd into Vertel, I took my leave of the Prince, and return'd to Ferrara, where it is not to be asked if I was welcome to the Duke, the Dutchmen, and the Cardinal; for I do not think they ever christen'd any man of what condition ever he was, or could be, more than they did me; and when he died I might well say, as I now do, I lost one of the best friends I had in the world; and when I departed from Ferrara to go to Vertel, the Duke examine'd a Secretary of mine what store of money I had, and he telling him I had not a-

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The Duke of Ferriana presents the Sieur de Moniluc.

The Sieur de Moniluc arrives at Court.

The Duke of Guife created Lieutenant General of France.

Audelot arrested.

What an opinion King Henry had of the Sieur de Moniluc.

bove two hundred Crowns, he sent five hundred Crowns to my said Secretary, who had the ordering of my expense; and when three days after my return I took my leave of him, the Duke and the Cardinal, the said Duke seeing me have a great many Gentle men of Quality in my Train, and knowing I could not have money enough to defray my journey, he sent me five hundred more. And thus I returned rich from my Command in Tuscany. This money carried me to Lyons, where I found two thousand and four hundred Francs, which the King had caused to be paid for two years Salary of my place of Gentleman of the Chamber, and that Martinina had there deposited for me in the hands of Cathelin Jean the Post-maister, which brought me to Paris. Immediately upon my coming to Paris I went to kifs his Majesties hand, he being then at Creffy, where I was as well receiv'd by his Majesty as at my return from Sienna, and he was very well satisfied with what I had done for the Duke of Ferrara. Monfieur de Guife, who had not seen me before, embrac'd me three or four times in the presence of the King himself, and his Majesty commanded the said Monfieur de Guife to cause a thousand Crowns to be given me, wherewith to return and to joyn some time at Paris, which he presently did. And thus was my return out of Italy into France; the last time that I was in those parts, and the services I did there, wherein I cannot lie; there being so many yet living who can bear testimony of what I have deliver'd.

By this (Captains) you may see, and take notice what a thing reputation is, which also having once acquird, you ought rather to die than to lose; neither must you do like men of the world, who so soon as they have got a little repute are content with it, and think that what ever they shall do afterwards, the world will still repure them valiant. Do not fancy any such thing; for by performing from time to time still more and braver things, young men rise to greatness, have fire in their pates, and fight like Devils; who when they shall see you do nothing worth taking notice of, will be apt to say that the world has belofed the title of valiant upon you without desert, will feel s value upon you, ufe you with less respect, and behind your back talk of you at their pleasure, and with good reason; for if you will not still continue to do well, and still attempt new and greater things, it were much safer for your honour to retire home to your own house, with the reputation you have already got, than by still following arms to lose it again, and be looking at distance when others are laying about them. If you defire to mount to the highest step of the fairs of honor, do not flip in the mid-way, but step by step strive to get up to the top without imagining that your renown will continue the same as when it was obtain'd at flift. You deceive your selves, some new commer will carry away the prize, if you do not look well about you, and strive to do still better and better.

The same day that I went from Creffy back to Paris, Monfieur de Guife departed also to go to Metz to execute the Engraprize of Thionville. The King from the time of his return out of Italy had made choice of him for his Lieutenant General throughout his whole Kingdom, so that before my coming I found that he had taken the Town of Califer, and sent back the English to the other side of the Sea, together with Guinet, and that he was now come to him to Creffy, without giving me notice what it was about, and I heard that the next morning after I departed from thence the King had caus'd Monfieur d'Audelot to be arrested about some answer he had made him concerning Religion. So soon as I was come the King sent for me into his Chamber, where he had with him the Cardinal of Lorraine, and two or three others (whom I have forgot, but I think the King of Navarre, and Monfieur de Montencr were there) and there the King told me that I must go to Metz to the Duke of Guife, there to command the Foot, of which Monfieur d'Audelot was Colonel. I most humbly besought his Majestty not to make me to intermeddle with another mans Command, which rather than I would do, I would serve his Majesty under the Duke of Guife in the quality of a private Soldier, or else would command his Pioneers, rather than take upon me this employment. The King then told me, that Monfieur de Guife to soon as he had heard of Audelot imprisonment, had himself sent to demand me to exercise the said command. Seeing then I could get nothing by excuses, I told his Majestty that I was not yet cur'd of a Dyfficency my disease had left me, and that this was a command which requir'd health and disposition of body to perform it; which were neither of them in me; whereupon his Majestty told me, that he should think this Command better diacharg'd by me in a Letter than by another in perfect health, and that he did not give it me to exercise for another, but that he intended I should have it for ever; to which I made answer, that I gave his Majestty most humble thanks for the honor he design'd me herein, and made it my most humble request, that he
he would not be displeased, if I could not accept it. Whereupon his Majesty said to me: 'These words, let me entreat you to accept it for my sake, and with that the Cardinal repro'd me, saying: 'You fight it too long with his Majesty, it is too much contested with your Master,' to which I replied, that I did not dispute it out of any disaffection to his Majesties service, nor that I was unwilling to serve under the Duke of Guise. I having upon my first coming to Paris laid out money to buy me some Tents, and other Equipment, in order to my attendance upon him, having engaged my self before at Rome to do; but only upon the account of my incapacity in that posture of health wherein I then was. His Majesty then told me, that there was no more to be said, and that I must go, as which I had no more to say. And I fancy the King of Navarre, and Moniteur de Montpenfer both fell upon me to perswade me to accept of this Command, forasmuch as I remember the King told me, that there was no more excuse, for you see all the world is against you, and thereupon commanded the Cardinal to order me another chouand Crows towards my Equipment, which he prefently did. I then returned to Paris, where I stay'd but two days to provide myself of such things as I wanted, and so went away to the Duke of Guise to Metz. I found him just mounting to horse to go to discover Thionville, but he would not suffer me to go along with him, by reason of my long Journey, and to speak the truth I was not very well; and the fame night he return'd, and told me, that if God would permit us to take that place, there was honor to be got. He was always wont when dispos'd to be merry to call me, his heart, and smilling, then said to me, 'Courage my heart, I hope we shall carry it. And in the morning we departed, for he had all his tackle ready. I must needs lay one thing with truth, and without flattery, that he was one of the most diligent Generals that I had serv'd of eighteen, under whom I had the honor to bear arms for his Majesties service; and yet he had one fault, which was, that he would write almost every thing with his own hand, and would not trust to any Secretary he had. I will not say this was ill done, but it rendred him a little flow, and affairs of war require to prompt a diligence, that a quarter of an hour delay sometimes endangers the success of the greatest Enterprise. One day I came from the Trenches to demand of him four German Ensigns to reinforce our Guards, for we began to approach very near to the Town; and because the Artillery from the walls had forc'd him from his first Quarter, he was lodg'd in a little low houe, which had one little Chamber only, the window whereof was just over the door: I there met with Moniteur de Bourdillon, who was since Marechal of France, whom I asked where the Duke was; he told me he was writing; 'the Devil, said I, take all these writings for me, it seems he has a mind to save his Secretaries a labour, 'tis pity he be not a Clerk of the Parliament of Paris, for he would have got more money than du Tillot, and all the rest of them put together.' Moniteur Bourdillon was ready to die with laughing, because he knew (which I dream'd not on) that the Duke heard every word I said, and therefore eg'd me on still to delanter more upon this Clerk: when presently Moniteur de Guise came out laughing, and said, How now my heart, what do you think I should have made a good Clerk? but in my life I was never so out of countenance, and was furiously angry with Moniteur de Bourdillon, for having made me talk at that rate, though the Duke laugher it only, and gave me Count Ronneval with four Ensigns. But to return to what I was saying of his diligence, there was not any one who did not acknowledge him for one of the most vigilant and diligent Generals of our times, and withal a man of so great judgment in deliberation, that he having deliver'd his opinion and advice, a better was not to be expected. As to the rest, a Prince so discreet, affable, and familiar, that there was not a man in his Army, who would not cheerfully run all hazards for the least word of his mouth; to great dextery he had in gaining hearts. Only his dispatches took up a little too much of his time, I think because he durst not trust his Secretaries, a sort of men that do us a great deal of mischief, and is very rare to find out one that is faithful. He behig'd the Town then on that side beyond the River, the River being between, which he couldn't to be founded, to try it was not very deep, by five or six Soldiers The Siege of that I brought with me: we were not above five or six with him of which number were Thionville, Moniteur de Bourdillon, and Moniteur de Cire; and we found that some of the Soldiers had water up to the Codpiece, and others to the Girdle. I then told him, that in case this was the weakest side, he ought not to defer his making his Battery; for I doubted not to make the Soldiers pass over to the assault, and that I myself had lead them the way. The night following we planted Gabions upon the bank of the River, and in the morning by break of day the Artillery began to thunder against the Tower, which was open'd on the left hand towards a Ravellin that flank'd the said Tower, as also was a little Tower between the great Tower and the Ravellen. This was all that could be done.
at that place. The Enemy planned ten or twelve great pieces of Canon, just over against our Artillery, and about eleven of the clock in the morning began to make a Counter-battery, with which before two a clock in the afternoon they had beaten all our Gabions to pieces, excepting one, and the half of another, behind which ten or a dozen of us that were there were squat with our bellies close to the ground; for all the Soldiers and Pioneers were constrain’d to quit the post, and to go throw themselves behind another Trench above sixscore paces behind us; so that dutt the Enemy have ventured over the water, they might have taken our Artillery, and at great cost have thrown them into the River; for the Soldiers that were retired to the other Trench could not have come up to relieve us, but at the mercy of their Canon, and smaller shot, forasmuch as the River was not above three score and ten paces over, and ran within four foot of the Wall. Monseur le Marquis d’Ellamont, with fourteen or fifteen Gentlemen of the Dukes Train, never forsook me all the while, and to we lay till dark night, that we planted new Gabions, and double the number, but it was all to no purpose, for we could do no good with our Battery against the Wall, forasmuch as they had cast up great Terrasses within, so broad that two or three Coaches might have gone upon them abreast both in that place, and elsewhere quire round the Town; in my life I never saw a Fortres better fortified than that was. Monseur de Guise then call’d a Council, where every one was of opinion that he should draw off his Artillery from that place, and lodge all our Infantry and Germans on the other side the River, and there to begin his Trenches as near as he could to the Wall. This being resolve’d upon, the said Duke caus’d a Bridge in extreme diligence to be presently made, and we pass’d the River over it, though the plankes were not as yet nail’d, and encamp’d in a Village about five or six hundred paces distant from the City, situate upon a Plain, and so open, that a bird could not fly without being seen, and there they play’d off with their Cannon till they had not left a house standing in the whole Village, inform’d us that we were constrain’d to secure our selves in the Cellars under ground. I had pitch’d my Pavilions very cunningly betwixt two Walls, but they beat down both Walls and Pavilions; in my life I never saw a more furious Counter-battery. The night following the Marechal de Strozapcy pass the River with Monseur de Guise, and we began to cast up our Trenches along this Plain, where we lay seven or eight days before we could approach within two hundred paces of the City, by reason the nights were short, and by day they did so thunders the Trenches, that there was no working but by night. The Marechal never stirr’d from us, unless he went sometimes to his Tents, (which yet remain’d on the other side of the water) to shift his clothes, and that not above once in three days. He gave me leave to make the Trenches according to my own fancy, for we had at first begun them a little too narrow through the wisdom of an Engineer. At every twenty paces I made a back corner, or return, winding somewhat to the left hand, and sometimes to the right, which I made so large that there was room for twelve or fifteen Soldiers with their Hacquebuzes and Halberds; and this I did to the end, that if the Enemy gain the head of the Trench, and should leap into it, those in the back corner might fight them, they being much more Masters of the Trench than they were in the straight line, an invention that both the Marechal and the Duke did very well approve of.

Monseur de Guise then told me, that I must tend to discover what effect our Artillery had wrought against the Tower, and that I must do it by valiant persons. In order whereunto I took with me Captain Sarlabou, the younger Millac, St. Estephe, Cipier, and Captain Montue my Son, and went. So soon as we came near unto the Tower we were to pass over certain little Bridges the Enemy had made, by which to pass over the Marith to the Tower; and being come to the Tower we found a Pallisado of posts as thick as a man’s thigh, that from the Tower went seven or eight paces into the River, and we were to go all along by the Pallisado in water to the end of it, and afterwards on the other side of the Pallisado to return to the Tower. We had made two Soldiers bring two Pikes along with us; I for my part did not go into the water, but all the rest past the Pallisado after this manner, and one after another view’d the breach that had been made in the Tower, and they put a Soldier into it by a Pike, and found that within the Tower there was water up to the arm-pits, and being the River made a great noise at this place by reason of the Pallisado, their Cernins never heard us, though the Tower was no more than four paces distant from the Wall of the Town. This being done we return’d, and went to give Monseur de Guise an account of what we had seen, who would not give credit to our discovery, but told me he was certain there was no Pallisado, and that people who came lately from thence had affur’d him to the contrary; and that therefore the night following we must discover it better. I was vex’d to the blood at this answer; but said no more to him but only this, that I conceive’d the testimony of these Captains was insufficient.
Book IV. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

...sufficient, but seeing he was not satisfied with it, let some body in the name of God discover it better, to which he made answer, that he did not mean I should go my self, neither said I, do I intend it. The Marechal knew very well that I was angry, and said to the Sieur Adrien Baillon, and to Count Theophile, I know Montluc is angry by his answer to the Duke of Guise, and you shall see if he do not go this night to discover after a terrible manner, for I know the complexion of the man.

This night Monseur de Guise declared the Marechal with him in his Quarters, and so soon as it was night I took four hundred Pikes, Carlists all, and four hundred Harquebuzers, and went to lay the Carlists upon their belles upon the ground within a hundred paces of the Gate of the City, and I with the four hundred Harquebuzers marched directly to the Pallisado. The Captains themselves who had discover'd before, were as angry at the answer Monseur de Guise had given them, as I, and themselves first paffed the Pallisado. Now I believe the Enemy had in the morning perceiv'd that people had past by the end of the Pallisado, for we there found a Court of Guard of twenty or five and twenty men, of which the most part were kill'd, and the rest escap'd into the Rampoline, where our people pursued and enter'd after them; but the door of the Ravelin that went into the Town was so narrow, that one man only could pass at a time, which was the reason that our men flipt thence, for the Enemy defended the door. Nevertheless they made shift to difmounf, and tumble a Battard from the Ravelin on our fide down to the ground, and being that by the Tower our Artillery from the other fide of the water had beaten down part of the Wall, fothat it was pretty low; we with some Pikes that came along with us, came to dispute it with them, where the fight continued for above a long hour. Monfeur de Guise, who faw all from the other fide of the River, was stark mad at what he faw, but the Marechal who was with him faw with Sieur Adrien, and the Count de Theophile faying, did I not tell you he would make one? I had made the Soldiers to carry five or fix hatches along with them, which with the time during the fight, I caufed all the Pallisado to be cut, and pulled up, fo that we needed no more to wade the water at our return. Captain St. Elegpe was there plain with the Ensign of Cipiere, St. Elegpe, and another Ensign and another Ensign, but they had not their Colours with them, for I had brought none together with ten or twelve Soldiers kill'd, and wounded. Captain Serlo haw is yet living, and several others who can witness, that he had taken with us five or fix Laddcrs seven or eight foot high only, we had enter'd the place, for they kept very ill guard on that fide, and in that place, relying upon the Guard they had left without, fo that it was a long time before they came to the defence of this Poff, whilef in the mean time five or fix of our Soldiers helping one another mounted upon the Wall; fo that had we Ladders to reach from the top of the breach in the Wall up to the Terras, I think fortune would have faid it upon us, for they fay the favours the bold.

In the morning I fent Captain Serlo haw to give the Duke an account of what we had seen, for I would not go my self, being certain he was very angry. The Marechal was with him, who laughing faid, would you have a Breach better difcover'd than by giving an affault? This was a Gaffon trick you was not aware of. The thing that moft troubled the Duke of Guise was, that word would be fent to the King, that we had given an Affault, and were repul'd, otherwife he had not cared fo much. His incredulity and my desire were the fols of a great many good men. When we had brought up our Trench within fifty paces of the Tower, one morning by break of day the Marechal would retire to his Tent to fhift himself, and I also would do the fame. Now as our approaches came nearer to the Town, I ftilf made my back returns a little longer, to the end that two of them might receive a whole Company. I had even an opinion that the Enemy would make a Sally upon us, but it would never fink into the Marechal's head, for he would always fay, Would you have them fuch mad men as to make a Sally to left their Soldiers, never any man of fent at fuch a ridiculous thing; to which I made an fwer, why should they not? for in the first place they are able from the walls to fecure their men retreat, on the other fide they are in the Town twelve Ensigns of Foot, four hundred Spaniards choice men picked out of all the Spaniher Companies, and a good Chief to lead them, which is Joanne Gaytano, a man they esteem above all the Captains they have, and a hundred Horse besides, and the Town would be sufficiently defended with half the forces they are within. I could not for all this make him understand it. I knew not why, for the reafon of war I am fure was on my fide.

This very morning I had plac'd Captain Lage the elder, and his Company in two of the long back returns on the right hand, whom I caus'd to enter before day, that the Enemy might not perceivethem, fo that it was, as a man may fay, a kind of Ambufcado. The Captains who mounted the Guard, had in charge, that in cafe the Enemy should make a

...
falley, and attack the head of the Trenches, they should put themselves into the Field and run to charge them in the Flank, and those at the head of the Trench had likewise order, that in case they should attack the returns, they should likewise leap out of the Trench to assail them in their flank also. We had every night four German Ensigns quarter'd there where we began our Trenches, to avoid us in time of need, but what Regiment it was that was that night upon the Guard, I cannot remember, and before the Marechal and I were got to the end of the Trenches, it began to be fair broad day. The Marechal trifled the time a little talking with a German Captain, and also to stay for a horse, which I had sent for to lend him to pass over the bridge to his Tents, being at a stone Cross below the village, the horse I had lent him came, when, as my footman was alighting, on a sudden we heard a mighty noise, and saw the Enemy fighting with our men at the head of the Trench, and leaping headlong into the Trenches, and had not been for those back returns, had doublets gain'd them from us. With them therefall'd out also fifty or three score horse. Captain Lago did there approve himself to be a valiant and a prudent man, for he cried to his Lieutenant in the return behind him; to run with his Piket charged full drive upon the horse, whilst he himself ran upon the Enemy's Flank, who were disputing the head of the Trenches. Seeing this, I mounted upon the horse, whilst the Marechal remain'd at the Cross, spectator of the whole action, nor ever flaid till I came up to our own men who were at it pell-mell with the Enemy; who so soon as Lago came up to them would have retir'd, when our people leapt out of the Trenches, and flew upon them, and so we pursued them wounding and killing up to the very Tower on the right hand. I then presently sent back the horse to the Marechal, who found Monsieur de Guise, and all the Gentlemen that were quarter'd near him on horseback coming to relieve us: but he told them there was no need, for that he hadseen all the fight, and the victory was ours. As we retir'd from the pursuit, all the remainder of their Harquebutiers were upon the Walls, and sit't so round upon our retreat, that it seem'd as if it had been only a Volley in completement to us. I was alone on horseback in the middle of our men, and therefore let any one judge whether God did not by miracle preserve me in such a thower of Harquebus shot, considering what a fair mark they had of me. The Captains cried out to me to gallop off, though I would never leave them, but came along with them to the edge of the Trenches, where I alighted, and presently delivered the horse to my Lacquey to carry him to the Marechal as I said before, and with the rest threw my self into the Trenches, where I found a Captain and a Lieutenant of ours left dead upon the place: I do not remember their names (for they were French, and I was but lately come to command in the Army) with twelve or fourteen, what of theirs and ours dead in the Trenches. And yet notwithstanding the brave Vollet they gave us from the Walls, we had not above ten men hurt; and thus their sally did not so much endamag us by a great deal, as it did themselves.

You may here Captains take a good example concerning Trenches, and the order I took for the sally the Enemy might make, with the advantage we had by it. For never disregard the Defendants have need of men, and therefore will be loath to attempt to force your Trenches: 'tis true if you leap in them you will be surpriz'd. Take notice also when you make your Trenches, to make them high and sloping, and that they have back returns, or corners capable of lodging men; for they are as Forts to repel an Enemy. There was now no more talk of Monsieur de Guise his being angry with me, the Marechal and he holding no other discourse all dinner time, but of the fight, and principally of the providence and circumstance wherein I had proceeded, saying, that it would be a hard thing ever to surprize me. And also in truth I walk'd whilst others slept, without fearing either heat or cold. I was inured to hardships, which all young Gentlemen who will advance themselves by arms, ought to study betimes, and learn to suffer, that when they shall be old, it may not be altogether intolerable; but old age being once wholly come,

*Godnight Godlam.*

Within two or three nights after we brought up our Trench to the foot of the great Tower, whereupon Monsieur de Guise brought his Miners to try if the Tower was to be mind'd, and therefore fell to piercing the Wall within two or three foot of the ground, when I soon as the Enemy heard what we were about, they began to make Calems within the Tower, so that their Caemats answer'd to our Hole. We were three nights about piercing the Wall; and at the same time that our Miners were picking without the Enemy were picking within at their loop-holes. Every night Monsieur de Guise sent us four Gentlemen to help us to watch, and I remember that one night Monsieur de Montpencat, and Monsieur de Randian came to lie there. So soon as the hole was almost thorough, Monsieur de Guise caused a Cannon to be brought me to help to pierce the Wall, for he knew
Book IV.

de Montluc, Marefchal of France.

knew very well that the picking we heard was about Cafermats, and that so soon as over
the wall should be pierced through, they would shoot at us from them. The day before
the Canon was brought, the Marechal de Strassy was gone to his Tent on the other
side the water to refresh himself, and to take both his shirt and his clothes, for we were all
dirt.

Monsieur de Guise from the time that the Miners began to work at the Wall, caus'd a
great many Pioneers to come, and to begin a Traversè of Earth and Battis close adyning
to the Tower, making them to leave a little path, at which they wrought so hard,
that as the hole was pierced, the Traversè was also brought to perfection. The Enemy had
laid a great number of planks upon the Tower in manner of a Trench, and the night be-
fore we gave the assaut, going up by the little path of the Traversè, and with the help of
some Ladder, we took away the planks of their Trench from the top of the Tower, which
did us more harm than good; for when the planks were taken away, the great Platform
which was close by the Tower, there being only five or six paces between them, so soon as
any of us popp'd up a head, discover'd us.

Now as I have already said the Marechal was only gone to shift himself, but Mon-
sieur de Guise made him stay longer with him, and with great importance kept him all
that night, to his great misfortune: for Monsieur de Guise detain'd him the next morn-
ing, to see where they should plant four Culverines on that side where they were to play
into the Enemies defences, when we should the next day give the assaut. The Marechal
several times begg'd of him to give him leave to return, telling him, that should any bus-
iness befall me that night, he should be extremely troubled if he should not be there. At
left the said Marechal, to his great grief, was constrained to stay, and to much contrary
to his mind, that so soon as he was retic'd into his Tent, he ask'd the Sieur Adrian Bailen
and Count Theophrile, if they had the word to pass thorough the Germans: for as for our
people beside not care, and could pass well enough without. They told him they had
done, whereupon he said to them these words, It runs in my head, that Monsieur de
Montluc will this night have something to do, and that the Enemy will come to attack him
over the Counter part of the Duchy of the Town, which should it so fall out, it would trouble
me the longest day I have to live, that I was not there.

To which they made answer, he ought not to fancy any such thing, for that I had plac'd a Court of Guard of four hundred men within twenty paces of the Gate of the
City, which they must of necessity fight withal, before they could come to me. To
which he reply'd, I know not what it is, but I am strangely poss'd with an opinion, that
some misfortune will happen this night. They endeavou'rd all they could to put this con-
cer out of his head; for the Sieur Adrian had no mind to repast the River, and go to
lie all night at the Tower, he having been lately very sick, and not yet perfectly recover'd;
for had they told him, as they afterwards told me, that he might have pass thorough
the German Guards well enough without the word, being as well known to all the German
Officers, as to those of our own Nation, he would have gone, what promise fore'er he had
made to the Duke of Guise to the contrary; but when the hour is come, I think God
will have it to, that death shall follow, and 'tis to no purpose for a man to fly, or to
hide himself. He moreover said to them these words, Monsieur de Montluc is not yet
well known to the King and Queen, although the King loves him very well; but if I escape
from this siege, I will make both the King and the Queen understand his worth, and the
next day when he was dead, the Sieur Adrian and Count Theophrile told me, that I had
left the best Friend I had in the world, which I easily believ'd, and do still believe it,
and might well say, that having left the Duke of Ferrara and him, I had left the two
best friends I had in Italy and in France. He was kill'd the next day, as he was looking
and consulting with Monsieur de Guise where to place the four Culverines. Before dinner
he had been looking long, but Monsieur de Guise would needs return again in the af-
ternoon to consider of it better, having Monsieur de Salve with them. He was slain by
a Musquet-shot from a little Bulwark, that was at a Corner of the Town, pointing alone
by the River towards Metz. Thus when a man's hour is once come, he cannot avoid
it. This poor Lord had past thorough above six thousand Cannon, and above fifty thou-
sand Harquebus-shot, which could not all kill him, and yet this accurs'd Musquet-shot
could do it, at the distance of above five hundred paces, Monsieur de Guise being dose by
him. The King there lost a good servant, and as valiant a man dyed, as any was in
France. Two hours after, Monsieur de Guise came to the Tower, but gave express charge
that none should speak a word of his death, when seeing the Sieur Adrian and Count
Theophrile, I ask'd them where he was, to which they made answer, that the last night
he had not been very well, but that to night he would come to me; but perceiving

Monsieur de Guise underric the marechal the straterry all night in his Quarters.

The Marechal de Strassy him.
Montfieur de Guife to be sad, and all those who were with him very grave, my heart mis-
gave me, that something was amiss, when Monfieur de Guife being return’d, and hav-
ing left Monfieur de Bourdillon with me in the Marechal’s head, I earnestly entreated him
to tell me what was become of Monfieur de Stoneey; who made answer, Why, I will
tell you, and also if you know it not to day, you will know it to morrow, and thereupon gave
me the relation of his death, and how Monfieur de Guife had forbid them to tell me, fear-
ing my grief would hinder me the next day from performing my duty in the fight. To
which I reply’d, That it was true, no man under Heauen was more afflicted for his death
than I was, yet that I would endeavour to forget him for that night, and the day folowing;
but it should be to lament him ever after whilst I had an hour to breath; Count Theophile
and the Sieur Adrian fay’d with me all this night, during which we patcht together our lamenta-
tions, and by break of day began to play our Canon at the Hole. Monfieur de Guife
had caus’d an Engin of planks above a foot thick to be made, to put before the Canon fo
soon as it had fin’d, to the end that the Enemy from their Loop-holes might not kill our
Canoniers. At the foot of this Engin there were two little wheels for it to move upon,
and it was drawn with a little cord, which fo cover’d the muffel of the Canon, that
no Harquebuz that fhot could pierce it. After this manner we made twenty fhot at this
Hole, which we broke thorough, and made fo wide, that a man might eafily pass thorough;
but the Canon could do no hurt to their Cafemates, forasmuch as they were a little on
the right hand, and no man could approach the Hole, without being kill’d or wounded.
Monfieur de Guife then fent me order, that I should try to lodge three or four hundred
men betwixt the Tower and the Ravelin, and that he would to that purpofe fend me Ga-
bions and Pioneers. He had cauf’d Manetlets to be made, to place from the great Tower
to the River, which might be from seven or eight paces, and from thence our Harque-
buzers fhot at tho’s who appear’d upon the Courtine; our Enfigns planting themfelves
all along by the wall, from the Tower to the Ravelin. Thofe upon the Platform all
along by the Courtine, and ours who were by this Ravelin on that fide by the Hole,
fin’d at them, whilst I made them fhoot from behind the Mantelets. Monfieur de Nevers
the Father of three daughters now living was come thither, and flood by our Tra-
verle that was at the foot of the Great Tower, and Monfieur de Guife was on the other
fide of the River, by the Artillery. Poton Semefchal of Agenii commanded one of
the four Culverines, who made very brave fhots, and did us great service, for he play’d
continually upon the top of the Courtine and the Platform, at tho’s who fhou’d themfelves
to fhoot at our people below, and this continued four or five hours at leaft. Monfieur de
Guife then fent to me by Monfieur de Cipierre to try if we could by any means place the
Gabions he had fend me, bewixt the wall and the Hole, but all tho’s who prefented
themselves to plant the Gabions, were either kill’d or hurt. I then bethought my felf to
put a hundred or fixscore Pioneers into the water, under the bank of the River, to caft
up a Trench all along by the water fide towards the Raveline. Monfieur de Cipierre law
the great difficulty and imposibility there was in executing the Duke’s command, and
found Captain Borderleare dead, and his Enfign wounded who dy’d after. You could
have been nothing but wounded men carrying off to be ferved, and the Mantelets fha-
ter’d all to pieces with fhoes, fo that we lay all open fhooting at one another as one
fhoote at a mark. I had order’d our affairs pretty well; for I had plac’d moft of the
Harquebuzers by hundreds, fo that as one hundred had fpent all their powder, another
hundred came to supply their rooms, and still all the danger and mischief fell where
I was; for as well the Culverines that plaid from the other fide of the River, as tho’s
men of ours that fhot openly, and without shelter, kept the Enemy in much awe, that no
one durft pop up his head to fhoot at our people who were under the wall below, but
plaid continually upon us, who were almoft in a level right over againft them. Mon-
fiere de Bourdillon then at the bidding of Monfieur de Nevers, came and caugh’t me
by the arms behind, and hail’d me above fix paces backwards, faying, What will you do,man, in the name of God, what do you intend to do, do you not see, that if you be kill’d, all this
labor’s lofs, and that the Soldiers will be discouraged? to which, difengaging my elf
from him, I reply’d, and do you not also fee, that if I be not with the Soldiers, they
will abandon this post, and the Enemy will kill all tho’s that are under the wall? for then
they will hand up at their cafes, and fhoot plain down upon them. Monfieur de Nevers then
call’d to me alo from the other fide of the hole, to make me retire, which nevertheliefs
I would not do, but faid to Monfieur de Bourdillon thefe words, What God will do with
me this day is already determin’d, I cannot avoid it, and if this place be appointed for my
grave, it is in vain to fhow my deftiny, and fio, without faying any more to him, return’d
back to the place from whence he had drawn me, when on a fudden I bethought my
self
felf of an Enterprize, bidding Captain Volumat to take six Harquebuzeers, and two Halbets, and go place himself behind a Canton of the Wall, that remain'd of the Tower when it was beaten down, and there trie if suddenly leaping out from behind this Wall, he could not throw himself headlong upon the Cafemats, a design grounded upon my belief that they could not be cover'd with any thing but plancks, for they made them after the same manner that we made the Hole, or else that they were totally open. But be it how it would, I intreated him without dispute to throw himself upon them, affuring him, that I would go make another Captain fall on by the path of the Traverse, which lead up to the top of the Tower, and that both of them at the same time should throw themselves headlong upon the Cafemats. I then call'd to me a French Captain (I do not remember his name) and said to him in the presence of Monfieur de Nevers and Monfieur de Bourdillon, the same things I had said to Captain Volumat, and that so soon as ever he should be up, without pawing upon the matter, he should throw himself upon the Cafemats, defiring Monfieur de Nevers, and Monfieur de Bourdillon to encourage the Soldiers to follow this Captain, whilest I went to Captain Volumat to do the same. But soon as ever this poor Captain thrust up his head, he was kill'd by those of the great Platform, and another after him, so that they fell dead betwixt the legs of Monfieur de Nevers, and Monfieur de Bourdillon. I then cried out to Captain Volumat, being some fifteen paces from one another, that the Captain who fell on by the Traverse was already upon the top of the Tower (so beget in him an emulation, which ordinarily sharpens the noblest courages) whereupon the said Captain Volumat that up, for before he was kneel'd down behind the Canton, and ran up to the brink of the Wall. Now there was another Wall betwixt the Cafemats and the Corner of the Tower; so that although he should leap into the first only, he was never the nearer, yet for it was, that this very thing was cause of the winning of the place, for the Cafemat was all open and very low; so that so soon as ever they saw Captain Volumat upon the top, making shew as if he would leap in betwixt the two Walls, they acquitted the Cafemats, and fled away along by the Curtain of the Wall and the Terras, betwixt which and the Wall five or six men might march abreast, and then a Soldier of Captain Volumats at two leaps was with me, telling me in great hale that the Enemy had abandon'd the Cafemat. Whereupon I immediately ran up to the side of the hole, and taking the Soldier by the arm cried to him, leap in, Soldier, leap in, and I will give thee twenty Crowns: but he told me flatly he would not do it, for that he should certainly be kill'd, and thereupon struggled with all the force he had to get away from me. My Son Captain Montluc, and those Captains I nam'd before, who always us'd to bear me company, were behind me, at Whom I began to swear and curse, that they did not help me to trust this Gallant, when immediately we thrust him in with his head forwards, and made him bold in spite of his teeth, and seeing they shot no more from the Cafemats we put in two Harquebuzeers partly with their content, and partly by force, first taking from them their Flasks and their Matches, for there was water within up to the armpits, and immediately after Captain Montluc leap'd in, then the Captains Coffit, la Motte, Caffet, Segrat, and the Amblions, having all Targets, took the leap to save my Son, and three or four Harquebuzeers after them, when so soon as I saw they were nine or ten, I cried out to them, Courage Comrades, now show your selves true Gascon Soldiers, and fall upon the Cafemat, which they did, whilest the Enemy upon the Terras threw stones at their own people, to make them return to the Cafemats, and as Captain Montine came to the door of the said Cafemat he met with the Enemy, who would have re-entered into it, but a Harquebuzeer of ours kill'd the Chief of them, who was arm'd with a Mail cover'd over with green velvets, a gift Morion upon his head, and a damaske Halbert in his hand. Two others were also kill'd by hand, and then our people leap't into the Cafemat, and call'd out to me thorough the hole, Suc-cessors, succours, we are in the Cafemat: Monfieur de Nevers then and Monfieur de Bour- dillon help'd me in all hale to put more Soldiers in; we took their flasks and their fire, and so soon as they were in the water, they took them again in their hands, and past over throwing themselves into the Cafemats, and ever after that time Monfieur de Nevers call'd me his Captain so long as he liv'd, saying he had there serv'd under me in the quality of a private Soldier.

We had there two Captains of the Garrion of Meta called le Baron d'Angiers, and Valon-Ville, who at my request had obtain'd leave of Monfieur de Guise to be at the Affault, with five and twenty Harquebuzeers each, whom I had all this while kept under the Traverse, so that as yet they had not spent one shot. I call'd them, and they were with me at a leap, and threw themselves into the hole, and their Soldiers followed after, when as fast as they entered I made them run to the door of the Cafemat, and to

The Enemy quit the Cafemat.

Gascon Captains.

Honor done by Monfieur de Nevers to the Sieur de Montre...
enter into it. The door was little and very low, and the Enemy durft not deliver their shot plum down, because our men who were all along by the Wall would see them as soon as they put up their heads, as also would those who were there where I had been: but they rumbled down a great quantity of stones, for all which our people deftift not from going in and out of the Calmac as occasion requir'd; and as the Soldiers of the Baron d'Angliere and Valon-Ville entred the Calmac, I made those come out who had gain'd it before, the place not being capable to contain above forty or fifty persons. Now as God would have it, and to our great good fortune, the Defendants could not agree amongst themselves about the defence of the Calmac; for the Spaniards who were in the Town would keep them, but the Flemings would not suffer it; and the Governor would that some of his own Company should defend them; for which he lay a long time in prison, and the King of Spain would have put him to death, the Spaniards accusing him that he had put in corrupted people purposely to lose the place. The Governor defended himself, saying, that he had seen Jeanne Gayetano and his Spaniards behave themselves so ill, that he durft not trust them with the defence of the Calmac, and so they accuned one another; all which we knew from the Constable, and the Marechal de St. Andre at their return out of prison, who left this Governor still a prisoner. I have in my time observ'd the Spaniards to be severe punishers of those who by cowardice or treachery have left or surrendered places, and it were well and prudently done, if all Princes would punish such as commit so important offences, at least by degradation from arms, which is worse than death; but then they ought to be censur'd without prejudice or passion; for I have known a man accused by another who could not himself have done better.

But to return to our Siege, Monsieur de Guifie being with the Culverins, and making them continually to shoo at the Enemies' defences, perceiv'd that the Soldiers of the Trenches run straight up to the Tower (which were the two Captains, Angliere and Valon-Ville that I had call'd up to me) and Luxembourg (Colonel of a Regiment of Germans, who was at the farthest end of the Trench, to whom I had sent to lend me a hundred of his Harquebuzers in all haft, for ours had spent all their powder) came all running himself with the hundred Harquebuzers, and a hundred Pikes to me to the Tower; whom Monsieur de Guifie seeing to run after this manner, and seeing the others that were by the Tower run to the hole, he cried out (as they told me afterwards) "O good God the Tower is taken, do you not see how every one runs to the place?" which having fait he immediately mounted a bay Curral he had ready by him, and ran full speed to pass the Bridge, galloping all the way till he came to the Trenches. So soon as I saw that Angliere and Valon-Ville were in the Tower, I spoke to a Gentleman that stood by, and said run to Monsieur de Guifie, and carry him news that the Tower is taken, and that now I think he will take Thionville, which till now I did never believe. The Gentleman ran as fast as he could, and met him just as he was entering the Trenches, where he said to him, Sir, Monsieur de Monduc sends you word that the Tower is taken, who still gallopping on made answer, I have seen all my friend, I have seen all, and some fifty or threescore paces from the Tower alight'd, and leaving his horfe came running to us on foot; when I saw he was come, I began to smile upon him, and said, O Sir I now think you will take Thionville. Mais hazes trop bon marais de noire pet, & de bof monsigne; whereupon he threw his arms about my neck, and said, I now see, my heart, that the old Proverb is true, That a good horfe will never tire. Now Luxemburg was already got in, and fifteen or sixteen Germans, and the rest were entering in file, when Monsieur de Guifie also put himself into it; and by the little door entered the Calmac, and so soon as he was call'd to me through a loophole, that I should put him some Pioneers into the Tower to bear down the Calmacs, and that I should see that no more Soldiers entered, they being already so many, that they began to be crowded. I then put Pioneers into the Tower, who presently fell to breaking the Wall of the Calmac, when the Germans seeing the rascals lazy at their work, themselves took the picks, and fell to cutting the Wall, Monsieur de Guifie then sent out Luxembourg to look that no more entered into the Tower, telling him, that he would see that they should ply their work in the Calmacs, as they also did, and so well, that in less than half an hour all the Calmacs was overturned into the water that was in the Tower, the ruins whereof drank it all up, and then we had room enough, and every one enter'd that would, and then Monsieur de Guifie came out, as he also made the Germans to do, and to return to their Post; and then I drew off Captain Sarlambon and all his Companions, who was along by the Courtin, and under the Ravelin, and put them into the Trenches.

Now so soon as the Enemy saw the Tower lost, they shot no more so smartly as before, and
The English Miners the Duke of Guise had, had never flirted from me of all this while, and Monfieur de Guise before he came out of the Tower had confulted with them what steps to begin the Miners, and found that it was under the great Platform, marking the places where they were to be made, and so went back with Monfieur de Guise, who said to me, My Lord, I will gallop home to my Quarters to send the King word of the taking of the Tower, and assure your self Monfieur de Guise, I will not conceal from him the brave service you have performed at this Siege, I will send the Miners back to you at night, and I pray appoint some Gentleman to be continually with them, that by them they may find you word what they want, and let us away to dispatch a Courier to the King, for these great ones think the news will be heard there, and we very well perceived them to be down in the mouth. This single Miner, and many men of their due honor, relating what I did myself, I believe the Hiffians who write of no other but Princes and great

*Book IV.*

De Montluc, Marshal of France.
great persons will speak enough, and pass over in silence those of a more moderate
nature.

Behold then the City of Thionville taken. Notwithstanding that, some who had no
very great kindnecs for the Duke of Guife, had past a Libell at the Gates of the Palace,
and upon the Corners of the streets of Paris, that he should not find that at Thionville
he had done at Calais, where there were none but rascally people to oppose him, it
went in Rhymes, though I remember nothing of it; but it must be contrived by the envy some
unworthy people bare to this brave and valiant Prince, for the honorable command the
King had confer'd upon him, which I have nothing to do to treat of; neither do I
intend to trouble myself with such trumpery. Envy has ever reign'd upon the earth,
before we were born, and will do after we are dead and gone,unless God would please to
mold us anew. There were some who were ready to burst for spite that Monfieur de Guife
had to good success; for there are some, and too many of such a vertuous disposition,
that they had rather see the ruin of their King and Country, than behold the Triumph
not only of their Enemy, but of their Friend and Companion, and if any disgrace befal
him (for men are not Gods) they laugh, rejoice, and make an Elephant of a Goat.
Let us leave such to swell with their own poylonous envy till they burst. In the mean
time Thionville was ours with a great deal of honor. The night before the Enemy
march'd away, Monfieur de Guise put Monfieur de Ville-Ville into the City, who
refus'd to enter, unless I went along with him, because he should not, he said, be matter
of the Souldiers, but they would enter by force over the walls: I therefore took two or
three hundred Souldiers, and three Captains, and went in with him, he having his own
Company of Gens d'armes, where we were fain to play the Centinels all night, to watch
that the Souldiers did not climb over the walls, and never slept one wink. I wonder at
what we read in the Roman Histories, of those who before the day of a pitch Battel,
slept as profoundly, as it had been the day of their wedding. I have never, I confefs,
been fo indifferent and inapprensive: but on the contrary, have past three days and
nights without sleeping, or so much as having any great inclination to it. The next day
I advis'd Monfieur de Guise to remove his Camp from thence, for otherwize it had been
impossible to govern the Souldiers, and to speak the truth, they very well deferv'd to
have had the laced of the Town given them, for it is to discourage Souldiers, not to give them
some reward, and the least thing they gain from the Enemy gives them better content
than four pannys. But Monfieur de Guise would by no means permit it, saying, that the
Town must be preferv'd for his Majesties Service, being that thorough the Vicinicy of this
City to Germany, he might at all times draw what forces he pleas'd from thence; and that
moreover, John William Duke of Saxony, being to pass that way, the provisions must be
preferv'd, and to fcene away the Army to encamp about half a mile from thence, and
Monfieur de Ville-Ville, with three or four Ensigns of Foot, and his own Company of
Gens d'armes was left Governor there.

Here (Captains my Companions) you have an example, if you please to take notice of
it, by which you may fee of what use promptitude is; this place being won by the great
hafe I made, immediately upon Captain Volumas's Souldiers telling me, that the Enemy
had quitted the Calennas; I had not patience to put in above nine or ten men, but immedia-
tly I put in my Son the first, and after him the Gentlemen that had follow'd me at
the siege of Sienna, and at Montalbom, and it flood me upon to make haste, and to make
them go speedy to the fight; for had I stay'd till then there had been as many in the Tower,
as in appearance were necessary for such a service, the Enemy had re-entred into it, and
been sudenly re-inforc'd, so that it had been impossible ever to have taken it. I have
been at many Sieges, but never without some hopes of takeing the place, excepting at this;
for having discover'd and consider'd all that was to be done for the taking of it, I found
my self as far off, as Heaven is from Earth, and in plain truth the glory of it is due
to Monfieur de Guise alone, who was so obstinately bent upon it, that the fight lasted six
or seven hours, and I do verily believe, that without the continual incitement I had
almoft every moment from him, we had all retir'd, knowing that we might to as much pur-
pose have invaded Heaven, and we ought to believe, that through his good fortune, and
the assistance of God who would have it so, this siege was brought to a good issue, and
not by the power of men; being certain, that there was more Canon shot fir'd from with-
in, than we fired from without.

When (Camarades) then you fee an opportunity, hasten the execution, and never give
your Enemy leisure to recollect himself, take that advice from me. I have three qualities
that are not common to all, one whereof is, to be good at numbering of men, whereon I
never met with any Sergeant Major or other that surpris't me, and provided the Enemy
was
was not divided part flopping, and part in plain, let the Body be never so great, I could number them to fifty men, at the distance of almost half a mile. The second is, to know by an Enemies behaviour, whether or no they be in fear, either by their motion, their order, or their manner of firing, a thing from which you may derive very great advantages: So soon as ever I perceiv'd my Enemy never so little in doubt, I concluded him prettily for loft. And the third, a readiness: I always had to fight them in their apprehension, whether stronger or weaker; for if you know not how to make an advantage of your enemies' fear, you can never hope to derive any from your own, and I have ever had Alexander's device in my head, though I never wore it any where else, which is, 

*Defer not till to morrow what thou canst do to day;* and am of opinion, that next to the Divine assistance, all the facets I have had, have proceeded from these three things. If you have not the judgement, seeing your opportunity, to pres and folicate your men, and without further deliberation, to fall roundly to your work, you will never perform any thing of moment, either for your selves, or for him you serve: Fear not in a perilous leap to hazard the life of a Soldier. (There is no remedy, some must be sacrific'd to the Publick, the world would otherwise be over peopled) provided it be in a place from whence he cannot retire, as I did to the Soldierr I thrust into the Cafemates, for then they take courage, seeing themselves left, and make a virtue of necessity. Had I retur'd then when Monfeur de Bourdillon pull'd me back by the arms, I think our enterprise had been defeat'd another time. I have seen such as are glad when they are compass'd after that manner to retire, especially in a place of danger, and you will keep a great clatter at other times. I know those men by their Looks, Camarades, Friends, after having said your *in manus I never think of any thing more, but of doing well; if your hour be come, 'tis to much purpose to hide your heads, since you must once dye, 'tis best to dye like men of honor, and to leave a good name behind you.

I left, by the relation of the Capains, above five hundred Soldierr, kill'd and hurt, and caus'd all the wounded men to be carried to Metz, to which place Monfeur de Ville-Ville (who at this time is Marechal of France) sent to recommend them, for he was the Kings Lieutenant there, causing money to be distributed amongst them out of the Revenue of the Hospial the Admiral founded there, which has been the precaution of a great many wounded Soldierr, and also an encouragement to others to venture more boldly in fight, hoping that in case they should be hurt, they are fure to have a relief of money out of the Hospial for their cure. And truly Sir, both you and the other great Princes of the world, ought to make it one of your chiefest concerns to establish a Revenue for your poor maim'd and wounded Soldierr, as well for their present cure, as their future support, and that some pensions may be let apart for them. Can you do less for them, who expose and offer up their lives for you; this hope makes them more willing to hazard their persons. And doubtles your own souls will one day answer for all, for they will be no more priviledg'd than ours; nay, you will have a great deal more to answer for than we, for you make us do all the ills we commit, to satisfy and execute your paffions, and if God be not mercifull both to you, and to us, we are in a sad condition. For the honor of God then, Sir, provide for your poor Soldierr, that lose their arms and legs in your service; it is not you that gave them their limbs, but God, and can you then do less than maintain them, when they are lam'd in your service. Do you think that God will not hear the Maledictions they curse us withal, who have made them miserable all their lives? I have heard the Grand Signior has a very good order, as to that particular, and accordingly he is the best ferv'd of any Prince in the world.

Three days after the taking of Thionville, the Army march'd directly to Arlon, a little Town, but a very near one for its circuit. 'Tis a great fault in a General to lie still after the taking of a place, as I have known them often do. This both encourages your Enemies, and gives your own men opportunity to steal away; whereas their honor will oblige them to stay, when they see themselves employ'd: I mean, if the Army be not really broken or ruin'd, for then necessity compels you to go do; but otherwise to repose after a Conquest, and to lose never so little time, is very prejudicial to his Majesties service. I with our foot quarter'd round about the Town, Monfeur de Gaisfay a quarter of a League behind, and told me he was almost maap'd for want of sleep; for that since the beginning of the siege of Thionville till now, he had not had so much sleep in all, as he was wont to have in one night at other times (and I had had less than he) entreating me to make the approaches that night, that he would lend me the Commissaries of the Artillery with four pieces of Canon, to consult where they should be planted, and that he would give the tack of this Town to the Soldierr, in recompence of that of Thionville.
Thionville: Which having said, he retir'd himself into a little thatch'd house, where he was to lie.

There was in the Town a hundred and fifty Germans, and four hundred Walloons, the Germans kept one Gate, and the Walloons another; when (so soon as I had placed the Centinels, and the Courts of Guard very near to one another (because it was said that some (accourse would enter in that night) they within set a very good face on the matter, which made us think that they look'd for some relief) I began to make the Esplanade by the Gardens of the Town, to bring up the Artillery, resolving to make my Battery a little on the left hand the Gate, to affift my self at the assault with the Ladders of a little Breach they had made themselves, thorough which to carry up earth to the Terrasses they were making in that place; which to do they had made steps in the very earth it self, both at the dendent into the Graffe, and likewise in the ascent on the other side up to the Terrasses. I came up close to the Ditch of the Town, and to another little Ditch there was near unto the way, which I caus'd to be discovered by a Soldier; and I had three or four Captains with me in this little Ditch. The Soldier found the steps, by which he went down, and afterwards mounted three or four of those that went up to the Terrasses, and there stay'd without being perceiv'd: when having stayed a while he return'd to me, and told me, that there was no Centinell upon the Terrasses; so that he thought if we should throw our selves desperately upon the Terrasses we should carry the Town. Hearing this, I caus'd a Court of Guard (that was much stronger than the rest, it being designd to guard the Artillery) to come up to me, making the Soldiers to creep on their hands and knees, and to put themselves into the Ditch. I then made the Soldier return to the Ditch, with three or four Harquebuzers, and two Captains with Targets, of which Monsieur de Goas was one. The night was so very dark, that a man could not see a step from him, and this Soldier a Fleming. He goes down into the Ditch, the Captains after him, and the three or four Harquebuzers after them; and so soon as they were in the Ditch they plant'd themselves on that side of it towards the Town, and as near as they could to the steps. The Enemy hearing the noise began to cry who goes there? and the Soldier answer'd them in their own language, a friend, a friend, they then demand'd of him what he was, to which he made answer, that he was a Fleming, and that being their Countryman, he very much lamented their ruin, for that all the Artillery Monsieur de Guise had would be planted in battrery by morning, and that they were not to truft to the Germans who were with them in the Town, for they were affur'd to have no harm, nor the least offence from our people, they having already made them that promise by a German Soldier, who stol'n in the clofe of the evening to speak with us; so that all the slaughter would fall upon them if they did not surrender, which also would be too late after the Canon had once play'd. Upon this they sent immediately to the Germans Quarters, and found that a Soldier of ours who spake Dutch was sent to them; so that so soon as their Messengers return'd, this Souldier heard them all in a hurly-burly within, and began to ask them, if they would make him drink, to which they answer'd they would, and bad him come up boldly upon their word and faith. I heard every word, for I was not above six paces from the brink of the Graffe, and made the other two Captains go one after another into it, and three or four Serjeants with Halberts after them. The Soldier then mounted the steps till he came to the edge of the Terrasses, where he again spoke to them, saying that Monsieur de Guise had made fair War with the rest of Thionville, and would do the same by them, still amusing them with fair speeches, and they fetch'd him some drink. Monsieur de Goas was just behind the Soldier, and three Harquebuzers one after another (for they could mount but one by one) in heels of him whom this first Soldier spak'd with his body, that they could not see down the steps. The other Captain followed in the rear of the three Harquebuzers, and the Serjeants after him, inasmuch that all the steps were full from the top to the bottom; when Monsieur de Goas saw, he push't the Soldier that was before him upon the Terrasses, and the other Captain the other three Harquebuzers, and then the Soldier began to cry goot Krich, which is to say, good Quarter, good Quarter, the Harquebuzers gave fire, and the Captains threw themselves upon the Counterfeeps, and every body after them, and these poor people fled to their Quarters, the Soldiers chasing them thorough the streets. I then leap'd into the Ditch with the rest of my men,-morning the Souldiers as saft as I could one after another. The Germans who saw themselves surpriz'd behind, at the requell of the Soldier that spoke Dutch very courteously open'd a Potten, and gave themselves up to the discretion of the Soldiers, wherein our men did an act worthy the highest commendation, and by which they shew'd themselves to be old Soldiers, for there was not four men kill'd in the whole Town: but on the contrary they themselves led our people to the houses where the belt booty was to be had: And thus the Town was taken.
Monseur de Guife who had given order that no one should disturb him, but let him that night sleep his fill, knew nothing of all this till break of day, that asking if the Artillery had begun to play, they told him the Town was already taken, from about midnight, and the Artillery returned back to its place, which made him make the Sign of the Cross, saying, this is quick work, when presently making himself ready, and mounting to horse he came up to us. Now by mist, smoke the fire had taken in two or three hands by reason of some powder that was hand in hand, which in removing thence accidentally took fire, and burnt four or five Soldiers, so that the Town being almost full of flux ready defit for spinning, and the wind being very high, no so good means could be used, but that above half the Town was reduced to ashes, by reason whereof the Soldiers did not get so much as otherwise they had done.

The next day Monseur de Guise marched away with all his Army, and never said till he came to Pierre pont, where himself and all the Gentlemen of his Train lodgd in the Town, which was very large, whilft we encampd with on both sides the River; and there it was that the Swift came to us, and John William Duke of Saxony, who brought a The Duke of great and very brave Troop of Retires along with him, and, if I mistake not, a Regiment of German allies. The King himselflikewise came, and lay at Marches, a house belonging to the Cardinal of Lorraine, which altogether made up the greatest and the bravest Army that I think ever King of France had; for when the King would see them all drawn into Battalia, they took up above legie and a half in length, and when the Van began to much go to back to the Rear, and to return back to the Front took up three hourstine.

Two hours before day Meflieurs de Bourdillon and d: Taunante, Marechalz d: Camp, came to the place affiend for the Rendezvous, where as we came they still drew us up, and before all the Army was in Battalia it was above eight hours, and was excessively hot; Monseur de Guise came himself by break of day, and helped to put the Army into Battalia. I with my French Foot was placed betwixt the Swift and a Battalion of German, where as Monseur de Guise put by the head of our Battalia, he said, Would to God we had some good fellow here with a bottle of wine, and a crust of bread, that I might drink a glass or two, for I shall not have time to go dine at Pierre-pont, and be back again before the King comes; whereupon I laid to him, Sir will you please to dine with me at my Table? (which was not above a Harquebuz shot off) I will give you very good French and German wine, and a whole Cert of Partridges; yes my heart, said he, but they will be Garlicky and Miffieucent Onions; to which I made answer, that they should neither be the one, nor the other, but that I would give him as good a dinner as if he was in his own Quarters, and wine as cool as he could desire, and moreover German wine, and admirable good water. Art you in earnest my heart, said he? yet upon my faith and I, said I, why then, said he, I would willingly come, but I cannot leave the Duke of Saxony; why Sir, said I, in the name of God bring the Duke of Saxony, and who you please: I but, said he, the Duke will not come without his Captains; why, said I, bring his Captains too, I have livery-timber for you all. Now I had over-night promised Meflieurs de Bourdillon and de Tabanze to treat them at dinner, after they had drawn the Army up in Battalia; but they could not come, by reason that part of the Cavalry, who were quarter'd a great way off, were not yet come up; and on the other side, I had one of the bell Providers in the Army. Monseur de Guise then went to find out the Duke of Saxony and his Captains, and I sent in all haste to my Seward to get all things ready. My people had made a Cellar in the earth, where the wine and the water was as cool as ice; and by good fortune I had got a great many Partridges, Quetres, Turkeys, Leverets, and all that could be desired, wherewith to make a noble Feast, with bad meals and Tarts; for I knew that Meflieurs de Bourdillon and de Taunante would not come alone, and I had a mind to entertain them very well, they being both of them very good friends of mine. They were to be well treated that Monseur de Guise asking the Duke of Saxony by his Interpreter, what he thought of the French Colonel, and whether or no he had not treated them well, and given them good wine? the Duke made answer, that if the King himself had treated them, he could not have done it better, nor have given them better, for so to live. The Duke of Saxony's Captains spared it not, but drank freely to our French Captains, that I had brought along with me, neither though Meflieurs de Bourdillon and de Tanze had also come had I been surpriz'd, for next to the Duke of Guise his own Table, there was not one in the whole Army longer, or better furnish'd than mine. A way that I have always used in what command sooner I had been, being willing thereby to honor the Employments I have had from my Masters, to encreafe my expense; and have always obvied'd such as have liv'd after this manner to be in greater reputation, and better followed than others; for such a Gentleman may be,
and of a good family, that sometimes knows not where to dine, and knowing where a good Table is kept, will be glad to be there, who if he follow you at your Table, will follow you any where else, if he have never so little good blood or breeding in him. But to return to my Guefts, so soon as they rofe from Table Monfieur de Guife asked me, what Laundreis I had that kept my Table-linnen so white, to which I made anfwer, that they were two men I had that did it; believe me, faid he, you are ferv'd like a Prince; and thereupon entertain'd the Duke of Saxony upon that Subject, speaking better things of me than I deferved; whereupon I took occafion to tell him, that he would do well to per- fume the King to give me money to buy ftiver Veifts, that another time, when he and the Duke of Saxony would do me the honor to come eat in my Pavillons, I might ferve them according to their quality. Monfieur de Guife told the Duke of Saxony what I faid, who made anfwer, that he would tell the King; when being about to mount to horfe to return to the Camp, word was brought that the King was upon his way from Marches, and coming to the Camp; whereupon they two went out to meet him, and we return'd every one to his place, all of us affured you very well drunk, and our pates full. About a quarter of a League from the Battalions they met the King, where his Majefly asked them, if they had din'd, to which Monfieur de Guife made anfwer, that they had, and as well as they had done of a Year before: why, faid his Majefity (leting them come fromwards the Battalions) you did not dine at Pierre- pont, no Sir, faid Monfieur de Guife, neither can your Majefly eafe where we din'd, nor by whom so well entertain'd: I pray by whom faid the King; Maffy Sir, replied Monfieur de Guife, by Montluc; I believe them, faid the King, he fed you with his own Country diet, Carrots and Onions, and Wine as warm as milk: whereupon Monfieur de Guife up and told him how I had entertain'd them, when the King asking the Duke of Saxony by his Interpreter if it were true, the Duke made anfwer, that if his Majefly himself had treated them, they could not have had better meaf, nor cooler wine; and that since I was so good a fellow, his Majefly might do well to give me money to buy Plates, nothing having been wanting but that, and that Monfieur de Guife and he had both promis'd me to make that request to his Majefly in my behalf; which the King promis'd them to do, and that since I was fo honorable in my expecne, he would give me means to do it, more than hitherto he had ever done.

Though this paflage be not much to the purpofe, yet I thought fit to insert it here, to the end every one may know, that Avarice had never fo great a dominion over me, as to hinder me from honoring the Employments I have had from my Kings and Masters; and I would advise your fellow Captains, who command over a great many men, to do the fame, and never to fuffer avarice to be predominant over you; the little you spend will procure you fveral and confiderable advantages. A Captains handfome Table invifes worthy men, efcpecially that of a Lieutenant, to which the Nobility and Gentry repair; either for want of commodious Quarter, or sometimes perhaps upon the account of other inconveniences, where if the faid Lieutenant be miserable and narrow foul'd, they will look upon him as a man unworthy to be follow'd. I never did fo, but on the contrary always fpent more than I had, and have found that it has done me more good than harm: yet was not this my only way of fpending, but I had a trick of giving Hores and Arms alfo, and oftentimes to men that were better able than my felf. If the King or the Prince you ferve under know you to be of this humour, he ought alfo to be open-handed to you, knowing you to be of a liberal nature, and that you refuse nothing to your felf.

Now, as I was standing at the head of our Battalion, and every one of our Captains in his place, the Prince of Joinville, who is now Duke of Guife, came up to me, together with the Son of Monfieur d'Armale, both little boys; and delicately handfome, having their Governors and three or four Gentlemen attending on them. They were mounted upon two little Pad Nags, to whom I faid, Go to, little Princes, alight from your horses 5 for I have been bred up in the family from whence you are defended, which is the house of Lorraine, where I was a Page, and I will be the first who shall lay a Pike upon your shoulders. Upon which their Governors prefently alighting, caufed them alfo to alight: they had little Taffaft Ribbons over their shoulders, which I took off, laying each of them a Pike upon his neck, and faying to them, I hope God will give you the grace to,resemble your Anceftors, and that I shall bring you good fortune, for being the fift that has laid arms upon your shoulders. They have hitherto been favorable to me, and God make you as valiant as you are handsome, and the Sons of brave and generous Fathers: And fo made them march side by side at the head of, and before the Battalions, and return again to the fame place. Their Governors and all the Captains were fo ravifhed to fee there pretty Children march fo gratefully as they did, that there was not one who did not look upon that action.
Monfieur de Guise upon this occasion, *flaid* that night at *Marches*, and sent back *Meffieurs de Bourdillon* and de *Tavannes* to *Pierre-pont*. It was my constant custom to go every day to give *Monfieur de Guise* the good morrow, and thence to return back to my Tent, not differing of all day after from my command, neither did I use to spend much time in Courtship. That has never been my Trade, for which both the King, the Duke of Guise, and all the Princes of the Army, lik’d me the better, and were pleas’d to say, that no disorder could happen on our side. The next morning I went to give the good morrow to *Monfieur de Guise*, believing that he had return’d overnight to *Pierre-pont*, but at my entering into the Town, I met *Meffieurs de Bourdillon*, and de *Tavannes*, and *d’Effraye* on horseback going out, and ask’d them whither they were going, to which they made answer, that they were returning to the Council at *Marches*, being that over night they had not been able to resolve upon the means to relieve *Corbie*, for the King of Spain was marching in all diligence that way, and that *Monfieur de Guise* had flaid all night at *Marches*. I then ask’d him how far it might be from thence to *Corbie*, and I think they told me thirty Leagues or more: Whereupon I said to them, I pray gallop away full speed, and tell the King, that it is not now a time to inbflit upon Councils and Consultations, and that perhaps whilst he is in debate what to do, the Enemy is upon his march: but that he must suddenly resolve, and that if he pleases, I will take seven Ensigns, and march night and day to put my self into it: and tell him that no grass shall grow under my feet, but that I will make such haste, that I will be there before the King of Spain, or any part of his Army. And tell *Monfieur de Guise*, that I will only ask him five and twenty *Mules* laden with bread, for I will carry along four *Wagons* of wine of the merchants *Volunteers* of our Regiments, to make our Soldiers eat and drink upon their march, without entering into either Town or Village, and that therefore be give prefent order to *Monfieur de Serres*, freely to send me the *Mules* laden with bread. In the mean time I will run to the Regiment, to choose out the seven Ensigns, so that at your return you shall find me ready to depart; but you must make very great haste, and the King must suddenly resolve, for if they do not immediately conclude, without further delay, I will not undertake it. *Monfieur de Bourdillon* then began to lay that the King would think it a matter of great difficulty, that the relief could be there so soon as the King of Spain; at which I flew out into a rage, and faid swearing, *I see very well, that when you come there, you will spend all the day in disputes; but in despite of disputes and consultations, let the King but leave it to me, and I will relieve it, or break my heart for haste*. *Monfieur d’Effraye* then faid, *Let us go, or let us go, the King cannot but like of it*, and so they spair’d away directly to *Marches*, and I freight to my own Regiment. So soon as I came thither, I suddenly made choice of my seven Ensigns, bidding them pretend to take some repast, and telling them, that without baggage they must immediately depart to perform a good piece of Service. I gave them not half an hour to eat in, but drew them out presently into the Field, one part of the Harquebuzers before, and another in the rear of the Pikes. I then took four *Wagons* laden with wine, of those that had the best *Horses*, which I plac’d in the head of the Captains, commanding the Waggoners to take two or three *Lackeys* of *Oats*, and to throw them upon the Puncture, and a little hay: Which being done, I ran to my own Tent, which were behind the Regiment, and fell to eat, taking the Captains of the *Ensigns* to dinner with me.
Meffieurs de Tavannes, de Bourdillon and de Esfree made so good haste, that they found the King but newly rilen out of his Bed, where they prefently propos'd the busines to him: Whereupon the King would have call'd all the Council, at which Monfieur de Esfree began to curfe and iwear, as he told me afterwards (and he is as good at it as I) saying, Sir, Monluc told us true, when he said you would still delay time in debates and confutations, whether it be to be done or no, whereas if your Majesty had refolu'd left night, the relief had by this time been ten Leagues upon their way; and he says moreover, that if he have not what he demands immediately sent him, he will not stand to his word, for the Spaniards shall not triumph over him.

Monfieur de Guife then proceeded the affair with great vehemency and vigour, and Maffieurs de Bourdillon and de Tavannes did the fame, when upon the instant, without further deliberation, it was concluded, and Monfieur de Guife fend to Monfieur de Serres immediately to fend the five and twenty Mules laden with bread. The King then fend me word by Monfieur de Brilly (a Gentleman belonging to the Duke of Guife) that he had approv'd of my opinion, seeing that he could not confent I should go, because he had no other person to command the Regiments, in case he should be put to the neceffity of a Battel (for nobody knew whether or no the King of Spain was not coming with a resolution to prevent it, he making a fhew of attempting great matters) but that he was going to make choice of one to lead the Succours, and that I should make all things ready in the meantime. The said Brilly return'd in all haste to the King, to tell his Majesty that he had seen the seven Ensigns drawn out into the Field ready to march, and that I flaid for nothing but the Bread; and at the fame time that Brilly was return'd towards the King, the Mules arriv'd, and by the way he met with Captain Brueil Governor of Rou, and Broth'r in Law to Salades, who told him that the King had made choice of him to conduct the relief to Corbie. Captain Brueil flaid to car four or five bises only, whilst waiting for two fervants he had fend for, who prefently came, and fo they began to march. I accompanied them above a long League on their way, still talking to him and the rest of the Captains, representing to them, that God had given them a fair opportunity, which also they ought to have purchas'd at the price of half their efaters, wherein to manifest to the King the affection they bore to his service, and also to give a testimon'y of their own valour, in the fight, as it were, of the King himself, who would be ready to relieve them, and to fight a Battel rather than suffer them to be left. I found by their answers that they went with great cheerfulness, which made me leave then to go through the files of the Souldiers, and to reconnoitre to them, that it was their own fault, if they did not signalize themselves for ever, that the King fo long as he liv'd would acknowledge their service, and that I had done them a great honor in choosing out them from the rest of the Regiments, entreatting them not to deceive the good opinion I had of them, and that I would deliver to the King the names of thofe who should best acquire themselves of their duty, in obeying what should be improv'd upon them, after which I made them all lift up their hands and iwear, that they would march day and night; which being done, I return'd to the van to embrace Captain Brueil, and the reft of the Captains and Lieutenants, promifing them immediately to go to the King, and to acquaint his Majesty with the election I had made of their persons above all others of the Regiment, for this service, and to left both Officers and Souldiers cheerful, and very well resolu'd upon this long march, saying to them at parting, Remember fellow Souldiers, the diligence you have formerly ben me make in both Piedmont, and in Italy (for many of them had serv'd under me in thofe expeditions) and believe that upon your diligence now depend both your lives and honors. Now being I am not of that Country, nor was ever there, but at this time, I am not able to make any judgement of their diligence: but the King and all thofe who were acquainted with the Country, said, that never Foot before perform'd fuch a prodigious march; neither did they ever enter into either Town or Village, but when by day they met with a little River, they made a halt, and refresh'd themfelves two hours at moft, taking a little nap and away again, but march'd continually all night. They were out but two nights, and arriv'd by Sun-rife within a quarter of a League of Corbie, where they met a Gentleman who was riding poft to the King, to give him notice that the King of Spain's Camp was just coming before the Town; and who moreover told them, they muft run full fpeed if they intended to get in, for that the Cavalry already began to arrive. They then began to mend their pace, the Gentleman returning back with them almoft to the Town, that he might be able to give the King an account that they were entred; when so soon as they came within two or three hundred paces of the walls, the Enemies Cavalry began to appear, and our men run full career to throw themselves before the gate, and upon the edges of the Grafhe where they made head, The Enemy kill'd seven or eight Souldiers in the rear, who were not able
to keep pace with the rest, and so all our people got safe into the City, without losing any of their Mules or Wagons, for they had made an end of all their bread and wine four Leagues from thence, and had sent them back. I had also given them one of my five Cheffs, that I had conti'd to carry powder in, which was drawn by three horses, and that arriv'd at the Gates as soon as the Souldiers. There are yet living several Princes and Lords, who were then of the Kings Council, that can bear witness whether I speak the truth or no, especially Mejleirs de Tavannes and d'Estrees, who carried my deliberation to the King.

When ever (Camrades) the King or his Lieutenant shall put you upon a design, that requires extraordinary diligence for the relieving of a place, you ought not to lose so much as a quarter of an hour, and you had much better work your body and your legs to the utmost of what you are able to perform, and enter into the place with safety, than walking at your ease to be kill'd, and not to enter into it; wherein your selves will be the cause of your own death, and the los of the place; and where you might by your diligence gain a brave reputation, you will by loitering at your ease, finish your life and your renown together: and never excuse your selves upon the Souldiers, nor make the Enterprize seem difficult unto them, but always safer; and above all things to be sure to carry provision along with you, especially bread and wine, wherewith to refresh them by the way (for as I have said before, humane bodies are not made of iron) always speaking cheerfully to them by the way, and encouraging them to go on, representing to them the great honor they will acquire to themselves, and the signal service they shall perform for the King, and doubt not, but (proceeding after that manner) men will go as far and farther than horses.

I advise you to nothing that I have not often done myself, and caus'd to be done, as you will find in the reading my Book; for after horses are once tind, you shall not make them budge a step with all the purs you have; but men are supported by their courage, and require not so much time for refreshing, they eat as they go, and cheer one another upon their march. It will therefore (Fellow Captains) stick only at you; do then as I have often done; forfake your horses, and fairly on foot at the head of your men, shew that you will undergo the face labour they do, by which means you will make them do any thing you will, and your example will enflame the courages, and redouble the Forces of the most tind and overspent of all the Company.

Two or three days after the King mov'd with all his Army directly towards Amiens, and in his first or second days march, arriv'd the Gentleman from the Governor of Corbie, who found his Majesty marching his Army in the field, where he brought him news, that Captain Brueill was enter'd safe into Corbie, which was a great satisfaction both to his said Majesty, and the whole Army, to know that this place was secured; whereupon his Majesty merrily saide to Monfieur de Guife, Who shall be the first to tell Montluc this news? for I for my part will not be bet. Nor I neither, said Monfieur de Guife, for so soon as he Corbie shall bear it, he will so crow, there will be no dealing with him: which they said, because they had all of them been of opinion, that it was impossible for foot to perform so long a journey. The next day his Majesty was advertised, that the King of Spain had made a halfe little League from Corbie, and made no shew of having any intention to besiege that place; which made the King think, that by reason of the success it had receiv'd, he would make no attempt against it, and thereupon it presently came into his head, that he would march directly to Amiens, which having no more than one or two Foot Companies in Garrison, he immediately sent away the Marquis de Villars, who is yet living, with three hundred men at arms, to go in extreme diligence, and put himself into it, commanding me to send away other even Ensigns to follow after him, with all the halfe they possibly could make; which I accordingly did, and gave the charge of conducting them to Captain Forces, who is yet living, and being the Captains and Souldiers had all heard what commendations both the King and all the Army had given Captain Brueill for the halfe he had made in going to relieve Corbie, they would do the same; and arriv'd as soon as the said Marquis at Amiens; for nothing so much excites men of our Trade, as glory, and the desire to do as well, or better, than another. Two or three days before this his Majesty had sent three Companies also into Dowrains, and so with all great care provided for the safety of these three important places.

So soon as the King was come to Amiens, the King of Spain's Army also arriv'd and encamp'd within a League, the River benns them, and there the Treaty of peace was set on foot, of which the Contable and the Marechal de S. Andre had made the first overtures, during the time of their imprisonment in Spain; in order to which I think I can say, there was a truce from the beginning, because nothing of action past on either side, at least that I remember: for I fell very sick of a double Tertian Ague, which I got not by excess.
The Commentaries of Melleire Blaise

Book IV.

The mischief that ensued upon this peace.

Excels of reveling and dancing, but by passing the nights without sleep, sometimes in the cold, sometimes in the heat, always in action, and never at rest. It was well for me that God gave me an able body, and a strong constitution; for I have put this cares of mine as much to the proof as any Souland whatsoever of my time. After all the going to and again, that lasted for above two months, the peace was in the end concluded, to the great misfortune principally of the King, and generally of the whole Kingdom. This peace being cause of the surrender of all the Countries conquer'd, and the Conquests made both by King Francis and Henry, which were not to be considered, but that they were computed to be as much as a third part of the Kingdom of France; and I have read in a Book writ in Spanish, that upon this accommodation, the King deliver'd up an hundred fourscore and eighteen fortresses wherein he kept Garlton, by which I leave any one to judge how many more were in dependance, and under the obedience of these. All we who bear Arms may affirm with truth, that God had given us the best King for Soulandiers that ever Reign'd in this Kingdom; and as for his people, they were so affectionate to him, that not one of them ever repin'd to lay out his substance to affit him in the carrying on of so many Wars, as he had continually upon his hands. I shall not condemn those who were the Authors of this peace, for every one must needs believe they did it to good intent, and that had they foreseen the mischief that ensued upon it, they would never have put a hand to the work: for they were so good servants of the Kings, and lov'd him so well, as they had good and just reason to do, that they would rather have dy'd in Captivity than have done it; which I say, because the Constable and the Marshal of S. Andre were the first movers and promoters of it, who themselves have seen the death of the King, and themselves that in the mishaps that have since befallen this miserable Kingdom, where they both dy'd with their swords in their hands, who otherwise might yet perhaps have been alive, by which any one may conclude, that they did not make this peace, foreseeing the mischief it has since produc'd, which rightly to comprehend, let us consider the happiness wherewith God was pleas'd to blest this Kingdom, in giving it so brave and magnanimous a King, his Kingdom rich, and his people so affectionately obedient, that they would deny him nothing to affit him in his Conquests, together with so many great and brave Captains, most of which had been yet alive, had they not devour'd one another in these late civil Wars. Oh had this good King but liv'd, or this unlucky peace never been made, he would have sent the Lutherans packing into Germany with a vengeance. As to the rest, our good Maiter had four Sons, all Princes of great hope and singular expectation, and such, as from whom his Majestie in his declining years, might expect the reole, and comfort of his old Age, and consider them as proper instruments for the execution of his high and generous designs. The other Kings his neighbours could not boast of this, for the King of Spain had one Son only, of which never any one conceiv'd any great hopes, and he prov'd accordingly; the Kingdom of England was in the Government of a Woman, the Kingdom of Scotland neighbour to, fbool for us, and was ours, France having a Dolphin King; by all which any one may judge, that had not this unlucky peace been concluded, the Father or his Sons had sway'd all Europe. Piedmont, the Nursery of brave men had been ours, by which we had a door into Italy, and perhaps a good step into it, and we had seen all things turn'd topfe curvy: Then those who have so brav'd and harass'd this Kingdom, duft not have shelv'd their heads, have starr'd, nor so much as projected or thought of what they have execut'd since. But 'tis done and past, without any possible remedy, and nothing remains to us but sorrow and affliction, for the loss of so good, and so valiant a King, and to me of so gracious and liberal a Maiter, with the mishaps that have since befallen this miserable Kingdom, well may we call it so, in comparison of what it was before, when we felt it the most great and opulent Kingdom in Arms, good Captains, the obedience of the people, and in riches, that was in the whole world.

After this unhappy and unfortunate peace the King return'd himself to Beauvais, but Monsieur de Guise still remain'd in the Camp to dismis the Army. Before his Majesties departure, I understand the Commission he had made me to accept by force: Neither ought it to appear strange, that I disput'd it so long, before I would take that employment upon me; for I doubted well that would befal me, which afterwards did, which was to incur the perpetual disgrace of the Houle of Montmorency more than that of Chartillon, which was more nearly concern'd in the affair than the other. But there is no remedy, a man cannot live in this world, without contrading some Enemies, unless he were a God. I accompanied Monsieur de Guise as far as Beauvais, and from thence return'd to Paris, he having first promis'd to obtain me leave to go into Gascony, and moreover to caufe money to be given me to defray any journey thereto; for he knew very well

Monsieur de Montes not much below'd by the House of Montmorency.
I had not one penny. Both which I am confident he would have perform'd; but so soon as he came to Beausais, he found a new face of affairs, others having repeated in between him and home, and undermined him in his credit with the King. This goeth the world, but it was a very sudden change, and much wondered at by those who had followed him in the Conquests he had made, he having repaired all the disasters of others, and manifested to the King of Spain, that neither the loss of the Bastel of S. Quintin, nor that of Gravelines, had reduced the King to such a condition, but that he had yet one or two Armies stronger than those, having astro the rest, taken almost impregnable places. But let them deal it out. These are things that very often fall out in the Courts of Princes, and I wonder not that I have had my share, far greater than I, have run the same fortune, and will do for the time to come.

Now the King of Navarre had been driving on some enterprise or another in Biscay, which in the end proved double, and entreated the King to give me leave to go along with him; for that he was resolved to execute it in his own person, having an opinion that Monsieur de Bury had fail'd through his own default; and so I went along with him without any other advantages from Court, than bare promises only, and the good will of the King my Master: but he was divested from his liberalties both to me and to others, who deferred it as well, and perhaps better than I. We went then to Bayonne, where we found that he who was entreated to carry on this affair, and whose name was Gamure, plaid double, and intended to have cau'ted the King of Navarre himself to be taken; whereupon he sent back Monsieur de Duras with the Legisseries, and also the Beausais he had caus'd to advance therin in order to his design. I had brought with me threecore and five Gentlemen all arm'd, and bravely mounted, who were come thither for the love they bore to me, and being return'd home to my own house, within a very few daysafter came the gift the King had been pleas'd to give me of the Company of Gens d'armes, become vacant by the death of Monsieur de la Guiche, wherein his Majesty had nolitude to do, to be as good as his word, and to disengage himself from the several Traverses and obstructions my Enemies trew'd in his way, to hinder me from having that command; nevertheless the King carried it against them all, more by anger than otherwize, he being in the end constrained to tell them, that he had made me a promise of the first vacancy, and would be as good as his word, and that therefore no man was to speak a word more to the contrary. I made my first mallet at Beauvoir de Lousaigne, one le Peyre being Mutter-Mater.

At this time those unhappy Marriages were solemniz'd, and those unfortunate Triumphs and Tiltings held at Court. The joy whereof was very short, and lasted but a very little space, the death of the King ensuing upon it, running against that accur'd Montgomery, who I would to God had never been born, for his whole life was nothing but mischief, and he made as miserable an end. Being one day at Narac, the King of Navarre shew'd me a letter that Monsieur de Guise had writ him, wherein he gave him notice of the days of Tilting, in which the King himself was to be in person, his Majesty with the Dukes de Guise, de Ferrara, and de Nemours, being Challengers. I shall never forget a word I said to the King of Navarre, which allo I had often heard spoken before, That when a man thinks himself to be out of his affairs, and dreams of nothing, but how to pass his time well, 'tis then that the greatest misfortunes befal him, and that I fear'd the issue of this Tilting. It was now but just three days, reckoning by the date of the Letter to the Tilting, and the next day I return'd home to my own house, and the very night before the day of the Tilting, as I was in my first sleep, I dream'd, 'that I saw the King sitting in a chair, with his face cover'd all over with drops of blood, and dreamt.' methought it was just as they paint Jefus Christ, when the Jews put the Crown of Thorns upon his head, and that he held his hands join'd together, I look'd methought earnestly upon him, and could discover no hurt he had, but only drops of blood trickling down his face. I heard methought some say, he is dead, and others, he is not dead yet, and saw the Physicians and Chirurgens go in and out of the Chamber; and I do believe my dream continued a great while, for when I awak'd, I found a thing I could have never believ'd, which is, that a man can cry in his sleep, for I found my face all blubber'd with tears, and my eyes still springing new, and was fain to let them take their course, for I could not give over weeping of a long time after. My wife, who was then living, said all the could to comfort me, but all in vain, for I could never persuade my self any other but that he was dead. Many who are yet living are able to evince, that this is no fain'd story, for I told it them so soon as ever I awak'd. Four days after a Courrier came to Narac, who brought Letters to the King of Navarre from the Constable, wherein he wrote him word of the King's being wounded, and of the little hopes thic
there was of his life, whereupon the King of Navarre lent a servant of his to me, to acquaint me with the disaffair, and to direct me to come prefently away to him. The messenger came away in the close of the evening, and was prefently with me, it being no more than four leagues from Navarre to my house, where he found me juft going to bed. I immediately took him, and went to take a Neighbour of mine in my way, call’d Monsieur de Berand along with me, and so we went together at a good round rate to Nercac. The Gentleman is very kind, and a witness that I told, and foretold him all the miseries, or very near, to which we have since then happen in France, and said as much to the King of Navarre, with whom I flaid but two hours at Nercac, and return’d to entertain my former in my own house. Eight days had not past before the King of Navarre lent me word of the King’s death; by which I got no hope, having never since met with any thing but croffes and misfortunes, as I had been the caufet of it, and that God would punifh me for the offence; I am sure I had little reafon to be fo, for since his death, I have a hundred times with’d my own, and it even more ran in my head, that I should never after meet with any thing but misfortune, as indeed I have never had any thing else. For I have since been perfecuted to have intelligence with the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, whereas God Almighty knows, I was never of their Council, nor privy to any of their designs, as I have sufficiently manifested in the pinch of affairs. ’Tis very true, that I have often heard their two Princes complain of the ill usage they receiv’d, but when ever they fell upon that discourse, I ever was’d it all I could. God by his good grace has afflict’d me to demonstrate to all the world, that I never had intelligence but with the King and the Queen, and with those who have faithfully and loyally serv’d them, and have found that those who had receiv’d the deep impartial opinions of this ill opinion of me, have been, and at this day are, the best patrons and friends I ever had, or yet have. There are, who know very well what I laid to the Prince of Conde, at the fine conference held at Poiffy, when he attempted to draw me over to his party. After the first troubles the Queen of Navarre went to Rouffillon, where she carried to their Majesties a whole fack full of informations against me, that spoke of nothing but Treafons, and Intelligences that I had with the King of Spain, to deliver up Guienne into his hands, Rapes of Wives and Virgins, Depredations, Impofitions, and Thefts from the Kings Treasure: Nevertheless, their Majesties being come to Toulouse, and into Guienne, they found neither man nor woman of any Religion or the other, that ever open’d their mouths againft me, and found Guienne so abounding in all forts of provisions, that the whole Court wonder’d at it, considering that at the fame time in Languedoc, the whole Countrey was ready to dye of famine; and the Chancellor himself said, that having for three days joumey’d in that Province, in all those three days time his Clerk of his Kitchin could furnish him with no more than one Pullet only, which he spoke openly at Table, at an entertainment he made for some Presidents and Councillors; upon which the fift President took occasion to say, that notwithstanding he would find Guienne to abound with all sorts of provisions. Yes answered the Chancellor, but how comes it to be fo, for some have poffefed the King and Queen, that they would find nothing to eat in Guienne, and that Monsieur de Montluc had ruin’d the whole Countrey: whereupon all those who were at the Table attested the contrary, and that he should find the Countrey very well govern’d, as he did, by his own confefion; the Queen allo who fear’d she would want provision at Bayonne, law there with her own eyes, that they were fain to throw the fleifs into the ftreets, and yet before their coming, la Gravite Sentential of Quarrey, returning from Court, call’d at my honefly at Stillac, where he made himself so drunk with the good wine I gave him, that he dream’d in the night I had told him, that I would deliver up Guienne to the King of Spain, that the Cardinal of Armagnac, Mejletirs de T erride, de Negrespice and several others were of the plot, and that if he would be one, I would make him the greatest complainer of his Race, and so went with his night-cap to tell this fine ftry to Monsieur de Marchoffel, who immediately dispatched away Rappin to Court, to carry this news to the King, where it was believ’d for some days; for the Queen sent du Pfliff to me poft, to bid me fear nothing, for that nothing was believ’d; but I had had notice of it before, though I made no great matter of it, having so great a confidence in the Queen, that she would not lightly be induc’d to believe any fuch thing. Du Pfliff (who was of the Bed-Chamber to the King) found me at Agen dancing (for we muft make merry sometimes) in the Company of fifteen or twenty Gentlemens, who were come to see Madam de Campanne my Daughter in Law, who had never been in this Countrey before. And thus my Treason was found to be true. We demanded satisfaction of their Majesties, but could never obtain any, and that’s it, that nourishes to many Tale-Carriers and Slanders in the Kingdom, for they are never punifh’d, no more than falle witneffes in the Courts of Parliament. But I hope God will one day make them all known to the King,
King, and make him cut off so many heads, that he will cleanse the Kingdom of this vermin.

Though all things that have been forg'd against me have been prov'd utterly false, and without any colour of truth, my actions as well of the past as present time, having clearly manifested the contrary, yet could I not nevertheless so purge my self, but that the Queen belov'd something, or at least retain'd some jealousy of me, and I have sufficiently felt it, though I believe however it was only to hinder the King from giving me any recompence for the services I have perform'd for his Majesty and his Crown, which what they have been the very well known; and knows very well also, that I am no Spaniard, nor have any practices either out of the Kingdom, or within it, but what point at his Majesties service. She had no such opinion of me, when setting upon a chief betwixt the Cardinals of Bourbon and of Guise, the entertain'd me at Thsuaufc with tears in her eyes. Her Majesty may call it to mind if the plea, for though she have a great many matters to trouble her head withal, she has a very good memory. It was the her self who told me, that having received news of the loss of the Battle of Dresla (for some brave Cavalier had run away at the beginning, and carried this lying report) she came into consultation with her self, what she was best to do, and in the end took a resolution, if certain news should be brought of this defeat, to deal away with a small Train, with the King and the Monseur, and try to recover Guienne by the way of Amegue, both out of the confidence the repro'sd me (and indeed Guienne was clear and entire) as also because the King and the mighty there at great ease, have call'd in succours from other places. God be praised there Majesties came not thither; but this will appear hereafter. In the meantime, her Majesty may please to take notice, that hereafter I have not much importance'd her with demands, neither have they much troubled themselves with finding out something to give me, having refuse'd me the Country of Guise (which is not worth above twelve hundred Livres a year) after the first troubles. Every one knows what services I did the King, and particularly in the conservation of Guienne, not that I complain of his Majesty, for both his Father and he have confer'd more honor and advantage upon me than I deserve, neither did I ever hope for any recompence for the services I had done, or could do, after I was answer'd by a person who is yet living, when some friends spoke in my behalf, that I was already too great in Guienne. Which I do confess I was, nor in Riches, but in the friendship of all the three Eilates of the Province, both for the loyalty and fidelity they knew I had ever born to the service of the King and his Crown, as also for having ever more endeavours to make the Country of Garions, and all other Subsides, when I had the power to do it. And I hope at the return of the Commissioners who are now come into these parts, the truth will appear. I have not corrupted them, for I would not so much as fee them, let them do their work; and as to my estate, it is now fifty years that I have serv'd in command, having been three times the Kinges Lieutenant, thrice Camp-Master, Governor of places, and Captain both of Horse and Foot, and yet with all these employments, I could never do more than purchase three Farms, and redeem a Mill that anciently belonged to my house, all which amount to no more than betwixt fourteen and fifteen thousand Francs, which is all the wealth and purchases that I have ever made; and all the Eilate that I now possess can not be sold out of above four thousand, five hundred Francs a year. I should have been glad that any one could have reproach'd me, that I was too great, for the great riches the King had given me, and not for having had nothing, but remaining poor as I am. God be praised for all, in that he has made me an honest man, and ever maintain'd me in an integrity to walk with my face erect amongst men. I fear no man upon earth, I have done nothing unworthy a man of honor, and a loyal Subject; neither have I ever serv'd my Prince in a Vizor, or with dissimulation, for my words and my actions have evermore gone hand in hand; neither had I ever any intelligence or friendship with the Enemies of my King and Master, and whatever is m歆y, let him forch a Gods name, for I neither tech within nor without, having always kept my nails so short, that I had never any use of them: for which I praise God, and most humbly thank him, who has hid the guided my life to as to preserve it from any manner of reproach, and hope he will do me the grace, that as it is that he has gone along with my fortune in arms, he will also accompany my renown to my grave, so that after my death, my Relations and Friends shall not be ashamed to have been my Kinmen or my Companions, and I doubt not but with this fair Robe of Fidelity and Loyalty to signalize my self, in defiance of those who have ever been envious of my success, and envious of my honor. So it is, that bad King Henry my good Master liv'd, their misfortunes had never detain'd me, nor which is worse, the Kingdom: But I shall have this diction rising perhaps into too much passion for the death and loss of the best King that France ever had, or shall here have.
The Commentaries of Messire Blaize

Book IV.

I shall not meddle with the Factions and Rebellions that have discovered themselves since the death of Francis the second, though I could say something of them, as having liv’d in that time, and been an eye-witness of many things: for I pretend not to be an Historian, nor to write in the method of a History, but only to give the world an account, that I did not bear arms for nothing; as also that my Companions and Friends may take example by my actions, of which there are many that may be useful to them, when they shall be engaged upon the like occasions; and moreover, that by reason of my writing, my memory may not too soon perish: Which is all that men who live in the world, bearing arms like men of Honor, and without reproach, ought to desire; for all the rest is nothing. I do believe, that to long as the world shall endure, men will talk of those brave and valiant Captains, Messieurs de Lautrec, de Bayard, de Folx, de Brissac, de Strozzy, de Guifé, and several others, who have flourish’d since King Francis the first came to the Crown, amongst whose better names that of Montluc may perhaps have some place: And since God has depriv’d me of my Sons, who all dyed in the service of the Kings my Masters, the young Montluc’s who are descended from them, shall endeavour to exceed their Grandfathers. I will therefore write nothing of the Reign of Francis the second, nor of the Factions at Court; neither were they other than Seditious and Rebellions, of which I know several particulars, as having been very intimate with the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde: but as I have already said, I leave those affairs to the Historians, to finish the rest of my own life; wherein I shall proceed to give an account of the fights in which I have been engag’d during these Civil Wars, and wherein I have been constrained, contrary to my own nature, to use not only severity, but even sometimes to be cruel.

The End of the Fourth Book.
The Commentaries of
Mesire Blaize de Montluc,
Mareschal of France.
The Fifth Book.

King Francis being dead at Orleans, where I then was, I went to The death of
wait upon the Queen Mother, who although she was very ill, ne-
evertheless did me the honor to command, that they should per-
mit me to enter into her Chamber. I had taken notice of the
practices were set on foot, which did by no means please me, and
especially those of the Estates then sitting, by which I saw we should
not long continue in peace, and that was it, which made me resolve
to retire from Court, that I might not be book'd in, either by
one Faction or another; especially considering that I had been
made guilty that way before (contrary to all truth, as God be my help) which was the
reason, that taking leave of her Majesty, and not thinking it fit to trouble her with much
discourse in her indisposition, I said to her these words, Madam, I am going into Gascony, The Sire de
with a determination to do you most humble and faithful service all the days of my life, which
I most humbly beseech your Majesty to believe, and if any thing fall out considerable enough
to engage you to call your servants about you, I promise you, and give you my faith, I will never
take other sides than that of your Majesty, and my Lords your Children; but for that will
be an house back so soon as ever your Majesty shall please to command me. The very night
of the same day on which King Francis dy'd, I had given her the same assurance, for
which she now did me the honor to return me thanks, when Madam de Courtois, who stood
at her bedside, said to her, Madam, you ought not to let him go, your Majesty having
no servants more faithful than those of the Family of Montluc. To which I made an-
swer, Madam, you shall never be without Montluc's, for you have three yet remaining,
which are my two Brothers and my Son, who with my self will die at your feet, for your
Majesties service. For which her Majesty return'd me many thanks. She who had a
great deal of understanding, and who has given very ample testimony of it to the world,
was very well, that having so many affairs upon her hands, during the minority of her
children, she should have use for all the servants she had, and may her self remember what
she said to me, wherein if I have fail'd to execute her commands it was because I did not
understand them. And so I took my leave of her Majesty; Madam de Courtois follow'd me
to the middle of the room, where she took her leave of me, and Madam de Courtois
did the same, and thus return'd to my own house.

Some months after my return home, I had news brought me from all sides, of the strange
language, and most audacious speeches of the Ministers of the new faith impudently utter'd,
even against the Royal Authority. I was moreover told, that they impudently taxes upon
the people, made Captains and lifted Souldiers, keeping their Assembly in the Houses of se-
veral Lords of the Country, who were of this new Religion, which was the first begin-
ning and cause of all those Mischiefs and Misfortunes they have since exercis'd upon one an-
other.
other. I saw the evil daily to encrease, but saw no one who appeal'd on the King's behalf to oppose it. I heard also that the greatest part of the Officers of the Treasury were of this Religion (the nature of man being greedy of Novelties) and the worth of all, and from whence proceeded all the mischiefs, was, that those of the long Robe, the men of Justice in the Parliament and Senechallesys, and other Judges, abandoned the ancient Religion, and that of the King, to embrace the new one. I met also with strange names of Surveillans, Deacons, Confrataries, Sodals and Colloquies, having never before breakfasted of such viands. I heard that the Surveillans had Bulls piggled by them called _Iohannis_, with which they mifus'd, and very cruelly beat the poor Peafants, if they went not to their Conventicles; the people being totally abandoned by Justice, that if any one went to complain, they receiv'd nothing but injury instead of redrefs, and not a Sergeant that durft attempt to execute any thing in the behalf of the Catholicks; but for the Hugonots only (for so they were call'd, though I know not why) the rest of the Judges and Officers who were Catholicks being so over-aw'd, that they durft not have command'd so much as an Information to be made for fear of their lives. All these things together were prelages to me of what I have since feen to pass, and returning from another house of mine to that of _Stille_, I found the Town of _La Plume_ besieged by three or four hundred men. I had my Son Captain _Monteix_ with me, whom I sent with all sorts of fair language (for I had no more than ten or twelve horse in my company) to try to persuade them to desist. Whereas he prevail'd so far, that he overcame the _Brinmont_, the principal heads of this Enterprize (which was undertaken to rescue two prisoners of their Religion, that the _Magistrates of La Plume_ had for some disorders committed.) My Son having promised them, that if they would retire, I would caufe them to be deliver'd; they took his word, and drew off from before the Town. The next day accordingly I went to speak with the Officers of the said City, to whom having remonstrated, that for these two Prisoners they ought not to suffer a sedition to be set on foot, they brought them out to me; and let them go.

_Monfieur de Burie_, who at this time in the absence of the King of _Navarre_ commanded in _Guinée_, was at _Bourdeaux_, where he had as much work cutting out for him, as in any other part of the Province; but I did not hear that he made any great flux, and I believe he was very much astonished for my part I had command of nothing but my own Company, notwithstanding I would once take up with me to meddle at the request of the Court Privy, and the _Confuls of Agen_, about the concern of a Miniffer the _Magistrates_ had committed to prison, which fet the whole City in commotion one against another; wheretoo, on the _Conuls_ came to entreat me to come to _Agen_, for that otherwise the Inhabitants would cut one another's throats. Which I accordingly did, where, upon my coming, the Hugonots were of themselves poftiff with so great a terror, that some of them hid themselves in Cellars, and others leapt over the walls; not that I gave them any occasion fo to do, for I had as yet done them no harm; neither did I do any more now, but only take the Minifter out of a House to deliver him into the hands of Justice; but these people have ever fear'd my name in _Guinée_, as they have that of _Monfieur de Guife_ in France. But how little theven the thing I did was, the King of _Navarre_ took it so highly ill at my hands, that he mortally hated me for it, and wrote to the King that_I had disposifed_ him of his Lieutenancy, entreaty to know if his Majefly had given me authority fo to do, whilst in the mean time he meditated his revenge at what price ever. This hapned in the time when King _Francis_ was yet living: for in those times these new people began their innovations. _Monfieur de Guife_ lent me word by my Son Captain _Monteix_ that I should use all the means I could to reftore my felf to his favour, for although the King was satisfied with what I had done, he could not neitherfews make any thenf of it, it being requisite for him to proceed after this manner. This letter might very well have been the caufe of my ruine, for without this private advice from _Monfieur de Guife_, I had never reconcil'd my felf to the King of _Navarre_, as having much rather have chofen to have ftood upon my Guard, and in my own defence, than to have any tampering with the King of _Navarre_ in any thing but what should be by his Majeflities command; but I conceive I could not erre in following the advice of _Monfieur de Guife_; for he absolutely govern'd all things at Court.

But to return to my first subject, having heard and feen all these affairs and novelties which fill much more diflofed themselves after my return, and after the death of the King (for they now explain'd themselves in down-right Terms) than before; I deliberated to return to Court, no more to flir from the Queen and her Children, but to die at their feet in opposition to all such as should present themselves againft them, according to the promife I had made to the Queen, and put my felf upon my way in order to this re-resolution.
resolution. The Court was then at St. German in France. I said but two days at Paris, and at my coming to St. Germain, found not one person of the House of Guise, nor any other, but the Queen, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Cardinal of Ferrara, where I was very well receiv'd by her Majesty, and by them all. The Queen and the King of Navarre drawing me apart, enquire'd of me how affairs stood in Guise; to which I made answer, that they were not yet very ill, but that I fear'd they would every day grow worse and worse, telling them withall the reasons why I conjectur'd that it would not be long before they would break into open arms. I said there but five days, in which time news came that the Hugonots were risen at Marmagne, and had kill'd all the Religious of the Order of St. Francis, and burnt their Monastery: immediately came other news of the Misfortunes the Catholics had made of the Hugonots at Cahors, with that of Grenade near unto Tolosan. After that came news of the death of Monseigneur de Fumel, barbarously massacred by his own Tenants who were Hugonots; which troubled the Queen more than all the rest, and then it was that her Majesty saw, that what I had prophesied to her, that they would not long abstain from arms, was very true. They were six days before they could resolve at which end to begin to extinguish this fire. The King of Navarre would that the Queen should write to Monseigneur de Burie to take order in those affairs; but the Queen said, that if none but they put their hands to the work, there would be no great matters done, by which she implied some jealousy of him; and I know what he said to me, A little thing will serve to render us suspected. I perceive'd also that the King of Navarre was not so kind to me as formerly; which I believe proceeded from my own behaviour, I being not so obedient to him as at other times, and never flirring from the Queen. In the end they resolved to send me into Guienne with a Commission to raise Horse and Foot, and to fall upon all such as should appear in arms. I defended my self the best I could from this Employment, knowing very well that it was not a work done, but a work that was only about to begin, and such as required a great Master to execute it as it ought to be; and therefore remain'd at this time constant not to take it upon me. The next morning the Queen and the King of Navarre sent for me, and the Queen had in the interval commanded Monseigneur de Valetz my brother to peruse me to accept of this Commission; so that when I came before them, after several Remonstrances they made me, I was constrain'd to accept of it, provided that Monseigneur de Burie might be join'd in the Commission, for I would have him have his part of the Cake. But the Queen by no means hear'd of it, alleging but too many reasons (Princes may say what they please) till in the end I was forc'd to tell her Majesty plainly, that in case he was not comprehended in the Commission, he being the King's Lieutenant as he was, would underhand send to many Travails and difficulties in my way, that I should never effect any thing to purpose; which at first they allow'd to be a sufficient reason, and let it pass according to my own desire. The same Commission they gave me for Guienne, they also gave Monseigneur de Curfaul for the Province of Languedoc, giving us both in charge, that which Curfaul in Languedoc, of us ever so trust have dispatch'd our own business, should go help his fellows, if he should stand in need. Monseigneur de Curfaul was no more of this new Religion than I, and without all doubt afterward turn'd to it more out of some discontent, than for any devotion, for he was no great Divine, no more than I was: but I have known many turn to this Religion out of Spite, who have afterward very much repented. We both of us together took our leaves of the Queen and the King of Navarre, and went to Paris, and Monseigneur de Valetz with us. I demanded two Counsellors of that part of France to sit upon life and death (fearing that those of the Country would do no good, being that some of them would incline to the Catholics, and others to the Hugonots) and had given me two of the damndest Rogues in the whole Kingdom, one whereof was Compan's Counsellor of the great Council, and the other Gerard Lieutenant to the Prevost d'Hôtel, who have since gain'd no better a reputation, than they had before. I reprehend'd me that I had demanded them; but I thought I did well in it, and fo I came into Essex in all diligence. I found Monseigneur de Burie at Bourdeaux, where I deliver'd him the Patent, and where all the City was divided against one another, and the Parliament also, because the Hugonos would that they might preach openly in the City, alleging that by the Conference at Poissy it was permitted them to do; and the Catholics affirm'd the contrary; so that Monseigneur de Burie and I had for a whole day together enough to do to keep them from falling together by the ears; and thereto we agreed to raise some men, and that so soon as our Commissioners should be come, we would march directly to Fumel, our Patent expressing that we should begin there. Now the power of raising Forces, and of commanding them was in me, wherefore we concluded together to raise two hundred Harquebuziers,
Barrel a Miniftier attempts to corrupt the Sieur de Montluc.

The offers of the Churches.

A fauing English, or the fourth part of a penny, a Liard containing three Deniers, whereof twelve go to a penny.

The Churches make Captains.


A plot upon the Sieur de Montluc's life.

* Light-horse, Harquebuzers, and a hundred Argoulets, the command of which I gave to the younger Tillyad, the same who is now Lord of Saintfierens.

I had scarce been four or five days in my house effila, when a Minifter call'd la Barrel came to me in the behalf of their Churches, telling me, that the Churches were exceeding glad of my coming, and the Authority the Queen had given me, being now afford to obtain Justice against thofe that had Maffacred their Brethren. To which I made anfwers, that he might be confident all fuch as should appear in fafte, fhou'd be certainly punifh'd. He then told me, that he had in Commination from the Churchetos make me a handfome prefent, and fuch a one as therewith I fhould have reafon to be well fatisfied. I told him, that there was no need of any preffents to me, for asmuch as my integrity would oblige me to do my duty, and that for all the preffents in the world, I was never to be made to do any thing contrary to it. He then told me, that the Catholicks had declar'd, they would never endure to have Justice executed upon them, and that therefore he had in Commination from all the Churches, to prefent me with four thousand foot in good equipage, and paid. This word began to put me into fury, and made me angrily demand of him, what men, and of what Nation must thofe Four thousand Foot be? to which he made anfwers, of this very Country, and of the Churches; whereupon I ask'd him, if he had power to prefent the Kings Subjects, and to put men into the Field, without the command of the King, or the Queen, who was at this time Regent of the Kingdom, and declar'd by the Effiataes held at Orleau, O you confounded Rogues, said I, I fee very well what you aim at, it is to fet divifions in the Kingdom, and to you Minifters that are the Authors of this godly work, under colour of the Gospel; and thereupon fell to swearing, and feizing him by the collar, faid these words, I know not Raffel, what fhould hinder me, that I do not my felf hang thee at this window, for I have with my own hands, strangfed twenty hundred men than thou. When then trembling, faid to me, Sir I defire you let me go to Minifter de Burie, for I have order from the Churches to go speak with him, and be offed with him, who only come to deliver a message, neither do we do it for any other end, but only to defend our Selves. Whereupon I bade him go and be hang'd to all the Devils in Hell, both he, and all the rest of his fellow Minifters, and fo he departed from me, as fufficiently frighted as ever he was in his life. This action got me a very ill repute amongst the Minifters, for it was no les than high Treafon to touch one of them.

Nevertheless a few days after came another Minifter call'd Bonormont, alias la Pierre, went in the behalf of their Churches (as he faid) to entreat me to accept the prefent and offer that la Barrel had made me, faying, that it was not for the intention Limagin'd, and that without cofting the King fo much as a * Liard, I might render equal Justice both to the one party and the other. At this I was almost ready to lofe all manner of patience, and with great vehemency reproach'd him with the levying of money, and the lifting of men, but he deny'd it all. Whereupon I faid to him, But what if I prove to you, that no longer fince than yesterliday, you lifted men at la Plume, what will you fay? To which he made answer, That if it was fo, it was more than he knew. Now he had a Souilder with him, that had formerly been in my Company in Piedmont, call'd Antragues, which made me turn to him, faying, Will you Captain Antragues deny, that you yesterliday lifted men at la Plume? To which, feeing himfelf caught, he made anfwers, That indeed the Church of Nerc had made him their Captain. Whereupon I began to fay, What the Devils Churches are thofe that make Captains? and fell to reproach him with the good ufage and repect I had fhow'd him when he was in my Company; forbidding them ever again to come to me with the like Errand, which if they did, I fhould not have the patience to bear ftaying hands upon them; and fo they departed.

They afterwards began to rife at Agen, and to make themselves Masters of the Town, in which were the Seigneurs de Mene and Caffet-Segrat, and the Senechal of Agenois; Portou was alfo there, who did all that in him lay to pacifie affairs, and came to me, enquiring me to go to Agen, and that all obedience fhould be paid me there; there came a Minifter alfo along with him, who would engage his honor to me in the bufinefs, but I did not take that for good Security. The Senechal proceeded with integrity, and I believe it would have coft him his life as well as me mine, had I gone thither, for he would have defended me the beft he could; and it came so near it, that at their imprudence, I promis'd to be there the next morning. But the Sieurs de la Lande and de Nort in the mean time dispatch'd away a Meffenger in private to me, to give me warning not to come, if I had any care of my life, for if I did, I was a dead man; which made me fend them word, that I would not pass over the River, but if they would come to a House at the Ferry, I was content to give them the meeting there. When they faw they could not inveigle me into their power, they conntented to come to the place appointed, whither I accordingly went to
meet them with five and twenty Souldiers, whom I order'd not to stir from the water side, and there we din'd together. After dinner we fell to debate what was best to be done; where I told them, "that in the first place, and before we proceeded to any further particulars, they were to content themselves with the Church, that Monfieur de Barie had alow'd them for their meetings, which was a Parish Church, and that they must quit the "Jacobins, and permit the Religious to re-enter, to perform their offices there; that they must lay down their arms, and receive the one half of the King of Newarre Company "into their City for a Garison, and the other half should remain at Condorn. I could never persuade them to confend to this; wherefor taking the Sencehal of Ages aside, I said to him, Do you not evidently see, that they aim at a subversion, and to make themselvемMasters of Cities? I would not advise you to stay with these people; for you will be "miserable, either to let them do what they will, or refuse to have your throats cut; we have "a fair example in Monfieur de Fumel: consider with your self what is best for you to do, and "so farewell; and so without any more words, I abruptly left them, and returned to Stil-

luc, where at my coming home I found a Farmer of mine of Pach de Contant call'd Lidat, who came to tell me in the behalf of their Churches, that I was too Cholerick, and had not "patience rightly to understand what the Minifters Barrele and Bencornont had to say to me, and to present me withal, which was, that the Churches made me a tender of Thirty-thous-
dand Crowns, provided I would not take arms againſt them, but let them alone, without de-

firing nevertheless that I should alter my Religion, and that within fifteen days at the fur-

thoff, they would bring me the money to my own house. In answer to which I told him, that I was not for the love I bore him, and alfo that he was my Tenant, I would handle him after another manner, than I had done Barrele and Bencornont, and clap a dagger in his bosom, "that he knew very well I had the knack on't, and therefore henceforward let neither he, nor

any other be fo impudent as to make any fuch Propofals to me, for I would infallibly be the "death of them if they did. Whereupon very fufficiently frightened, he immediately left me to return to Nercet, to carry back my anfwer to his Church.

Eight days had not paffed after this, before Captain Sendat came again to tempt me with "much greater offers than before; for he made me an offer of fourty thousand Crowns, he did treat with himself having made them a promise to be of their party, provided I did not take arms against them; for which they also gave him Two thousand Crowns. We talked a prettily while of the buffoons, and when he faid he could no other way prevail with me to take their money, he prét and advis'd me, to take it, and lend the money to the King, wherewith to make war against them. To which I made an answer, That I very well perceiv'd he did not underſtand what it was to bring the reputation of an honest man in dispute: For in the first place, faid I, they will not give me this money, without ftrich making me take an Oath not to bear arms againſt them, which engagement they will have in writing to them to their Churches, to make them part with their money; and besides, it is impossible but that this must come to light, for fire can never be so cover'd and concealed, but that some fmalke will ifcore out. The "Queen will wonder that I fìt still in my own house and do nothing, fhe will folicite me to take "arms, which if I then refufe to do, will you not, that both fhe and all the world believe I "have taken money, and am a kidnapp'd of fellow? On the other fide, fould I give this money "to the King, his Council must need take notice, that I have taken an Oath not to bear "arms, and yet they know, that upon my receiving the Order, I have sworn to do it, and to "defend his Perfon and his Crown againſt all the world. How then can you imagine, eft"hether the Queen now, or the King when he grows up, can look upon me as an honest man, "when I have taken two Oaths expressly contrary to one another? Some will fay, that I took "the money at firft upon the account of infidelity; but that afterwards repeating, I would par-

litate my Knavey, by giving it to the King. Others will fay, that the Queen ought no more "to repute any truft in me, having taken two Oaths positively contrary to one another, and "that I made no confidence of cheating the Hugonots with an Oath, I would make as little to "deferve the King. Thafsall my honor be brought in question, and, with juft reafon, fen-
tend'd for ever incapable of any place amongf honest men, and such as are good and loyal Sub-

jects to their Prince. What will then become of me, and what a Minifter of men? If he be, "when I have left the honor I have fought for all my life, and parted with my blood to obtain? I will not "only fay, that the Gentlemen of France will avoid my conversation, but even the baff of the "people alfo will be afraid of my company. Ste then Captain Sendat what a fine condition "I should be in, foould I follow your advice: In return of which, I will give you better; for I "pray frequent thofe people no more, you have ever been brought up and born arms with Sendat the "Montluc's, let me entreat you to take them up now for the service of the King and Hu-

gonots, do me go over to that ridiculous Religion. Our Forefathers were honeft men more than they, and I cannot believe that the Holy Ghost is amongst a people who rife in rebellion againſt their
In the Commentaries of Messire Blaise, Book V:

their King: Here is a hopeful beginning. He promised to follow my counsel, and so departed.

By my behavior in this affair, I sufficiently manifested to all the world, that Avarice could never make me abandon my honor, nor my conscience to falsify the Oath I have in the presence of God made to the King loyally, and faithfully to serve him, and to defend his Person and his Crown, and yet some have not been afraid to accuse me of polling from the Kings Treasury, and of imposing taxes upon the Country to enrich myself. God and the truth are on my side, and the testimony of the Estates of Guienne, who will make it known to all those who have made all these false reports of me to their Majesties, that I have never done any such thing. But letting this alone, I will return to the Justice Montfier de Burie and I did with our zealous Commissioners, Compain and Gerard, who remain'd a long time without appearing in any place, or it being so much as known where they were. Which made me solicit Montfier de Burie to let us speedily fall to our business, and that since our Commissioners did not come, we would make use of the Counselors of Agen. Yea till we linger'd away the time in delays, whilst I had intelligence daily brought me, that the Huguenots continued their damnable Conspiracies. There was at this time Lieutenant of the Tribunal of Condom, call'd de Franca, a very honest man, and a good servant of the Kings, who was one half in mind to have gone over to this new Religion (for he was not the Son of a good Mother, that was not one of them) this man was one day call'd to a Council, in which there were some persons of very great quality, and where he heard an accused and execrable Proposition, which being once propos'd, he duff not when it came to his turn to deliver his opinion, say otherwise than the rest had done, fearing should he contradict it, they would put him to death, left he should discover their Council, and was therefore constrain'd to go thorough with it as the rest had done. I shall not say where this Council was kept, much less name the persons who were present at it, for the Council and the Proposition signifies nothing now, and there were some in the Company, who are since become very honest men. Hesitant to me to enquire, that he might have some private conference with me, between Sampoy and Condom, and appointed an hour. I took no more company with me, but one Footman only, and another, for I had agreed, and we met in a meadow that lay under the Heale of Montfier de Saintfere, where he told me all that had been said in the Council, and what there had been concluded, which was such a Conspiracy, as (to God I shall help me) made my hair stand an end, to hear it. After he had ended his story, he made me the Remonstrance of an honest man, telling me that now an occasion presented itself, wherein I might acquire honor to my self, and those who should defend from me for ever, which was with a courageous and magnificent heart to take arms, and to expose my life to all dangers, for the safeguard of those poor children who were the sons of a good King, and as yet in no better an age to defend themselves, than if they were in their cradles, and that God would assist me, seeing me take arms to protect the innocent, and those who were not able to defend themselves. To this, this good man added so many, and so powerful Remonstrances, that (as I shall be fav'd) the tears came into my eyes, entreating me withal, not to discover him, for if I should, he was a dead man. He told me further, that as to what concern'd my self, they had confided about me, and determined to surprize me in one place or another, and that if they could get me into their hands, they would deal worse by me, than they had done by Montfier de Penin. Nothing of all their Conspiracies was conceal'd from the said Lieutenant, because they thought him sure of their sides, for dexterously did he behave himself amongst them; but he afterwards shew'd them the contrary, several times exposing his life in the City of Condom, with his Sword in his hand, in defense of the Kings Authority: But however it came to pass, he was afterward either by poisons, or some other violent means, dispatch'd out of the world for this very business. I thought he had never discover'd himself but to me only, but I found that he had told the same thing to Montfier de Goudrin, who was a very intimate friend of his, and to Montfier de Maille, Receiver of Guienne, for they were both as it were Brothers. For my part, I never open'd my lips concerning it to any one living, but to the Queen at Tholouse, by the chimney of her Chamber, at which her Majesty was very much astonish'd, as she had very good reason to be, for more horrid and Diabolical designs were never heard of, and yet very great persons were of the Conspiracy.

Having heard all these abominable designs, I retird to my own house at Sampoy, where I concluded with my self to lay aside all manner of fear, resolving to tell my skin as cheerfully as I could, as knowing very well, that if I once fell into their hands, and was left to their mercy, the greatest piece of my body would be no bigger than my little finger. Moreover, determining to execute all the cruelty I could, and especially against those who spoke against
against the Royal Majesty; for I saw very well, that gentle ways would never reclaim those canker'd and invertebrate Rafsals. Monfieur de Barie departed from Bordeaux, sending the word of the day he intended to be at Clairac, that we might there together resolve where we ought to begin our Circuit. He sent me also Letters the Commissioners had writ to him, wherein they appointed us to come to Cahors, there to begin against the Catholicks; in answer to which I writ to him back again, that he should well consider the Parents, and that there he would find the Queen had commanded us to go and begin at Emsel. The Letters of these two honorable Gentlemen, were of so audacious and impudent a file, as by them they gave us to understand, that they were the principal Commissioners, and that we had no authority, having to justify their proceedings, and to be affidng in the execution of their Desires.

Now there was a Village two Leagues from Estitialles, call'd S. Mazarz, the greatest part whereof belong'd to the Sieur de Rouillac a Gentleman of eight or ten thousand Livres a year. Four or five days before I came thither, the Hugonotts his Tenants were riven up against him, because he offer'd to hinder them from breaking open the Church, and taking away the Chalices, and kept him four and twenty hours being'd in his own house; so that had it not been for a Brother of his call'd Monfieur de Aignan, and some other Gentlemen his neighbours, who came in to his relief, they had certainly cut his throat, as also those of Offset would have done to the Sieurs de Canj, and de la Monjoye, so that already there began to be open War against the Gentry. I privately got two Hangmen (which they have since call'd my Lasquais, because they were very often at my heels) and sent Monfieur de Fontenilles, my Son in Law (who carried my Corner, and was at Beaumont de Lomange, where he lay in Garrison) that he should come away upon Thursday the beginning of the night, and by break of day be at the said S. Mazarz, there to seize those persons whose names I had sent him in writing, and whereof the principal was the Advocate to the King and Queen of Navarre at Le Bourne, call'd Verdery. Now the said Advocate was he that fomented all the Sedition. And I had private Word sent to me, that he would come that very Thursday to S. Mazarz, for he had some efface there. I was resolved to begin with this fellows head, forasmuch as having advis'red the King of Navarre at Tours, that the said Verdery, and other of his Officers at Le Bourne, were the principal Incendiaries of Rebellion, and having writ as much to the Queen, of the Kings Officers, she had writ back that I should begin with those people first, and the King of Navarre had writ in his Letter, that if I hang'd the Kings Officers on the lower branches of a Tree, I should hang his on the uppermost of all. But Verdery came not, which was well for him, for if he had I had branch'd him. Monfieur de Fontenilles perform'd a very long march, and came by break of day to S. Mazarz, where at his first coming he took the Nephew of Verdery, and two others, and a Deacon, thereof escap'd away, there being not any one who knew the Houlies, for there was not so much as any one man at arms, or Archer who had any knowledge of the place. A Gentleman, call'd Monfieur de Corde, who liv'd at the said place, had sent me word, that when in the presence of the Confuls he had remonstrated to them that they did ill, and that the King would be highly displeas'd with their doings, they made answer, What King? We are the Kings, Infolence be that you speak of is a little turdy Roiets, we'll whip his breech, and set him to a trade, to teach him to get his living as others do. Neither was it only there that they talk'd at this precious rate, but it was common discourse in every place. I was ready to burst with indignation at it, and saw very well, that all this Language tended to what had been told me by Lieutenant du France, which in sum, was to make another King. I had agreed with Monfieur de Saintbruns, that he should also take me five or six of Aisfert, and especially one Captaine Morallet the chief Ringleader of them all, and that if he could take him, and cho' I nam'd to him, he should with good words bring them to me to S. Mazarz, the same day that I perform'd the execution, which was upon a Friday, which neverthe- less that day he could not do, but he snap'd them the Sunday following, and brought them Prisoners to Villeneuf. So soon as I came to S. Mazarz, Monfieur de Fontenilles presented the three Prisoners and the Deacon, all bound, in the Church-yard, in which there was yet remaining the foot of a Cross of stone they had broken, that might be about some too foot high. I presently call'd Monfieur de Corde and the Confuls, bidding them upon pain of death to deliver truly, what words they heard these fellows speak against the King. The Confuls were afraid, and durst lay nothing; whereupon I told the said Sieur de Corde, that it belong'd to him to speak first, and therefore bid him speak; upon which he maintain'd to their faces, that they had spoke the forementioned words, and then the Confuls told the truth, and justified the same the Sieur de Corde had done. I had my two Hangmen behind me very well equip'd with their tackle, and especially with a very sharp
As, when flying in great fury upon this Verdere, I took him by the collar, saying to him, O thou confounded rogue! durft thou affle thy wicked tongue against the Majesty of thy King and Sovereign? To which he reply'd, Ah Sir, have mercy upon a poor finner. At which more enraged than before, I said to him, Thou ungracious Rebel, wouldst thou have me to have mercy upon thee, who hadst no reverence nor respect for thy King, and with that pull'd him rudely to the ground, so that his neck fell exactly upon the piece of the Cross, crying to the Hangman, Strike Villain, which he did; and so nimbly, that my word and the blow were the one as soon as the other, which fuch'd off his head, and moreover above another half foot of the Cross. The other two I caus'd to be hang'd upon an Elm that was close by, and being the Deacon was but eighteen years old, I wou'd not put him to death, as also that he might carry the news to his Brethren; but caus'd him nevertheless to be well whip'd by the Hangman, that, as I was told, he dyed within ten or twelve days after. This was the firft execution I did at my coming from my own house without sentence or writing; for in such matters, I have heard, men muft begin with execution, and if every one that had the charge of Provinces had done the same, they had put out the fire, that has since consum'd all. However, this firs'd to flap the mouths of several feditious persons, who defir'd no more speak of the King, but with respect, but in great privacy, and with greater circumfpection carried on their practices and designs.

The next day I parted from Effillac, and went to find out Monfeur de Burie at Claire's, and there we fell to debate of the place where we should begin our busines, whether at Fume, or at Cabors; I found him won to go to the Commissioners to Cabors, who were come thither, and had begun to try the Catholicks, without vouchfaring to lend an ear to any thing whatever to the contrary. I then call'd for the Patent, where I then'd him, that it was the Queens intention we should begin at Fume, which he knew not how to contradict, fhowing him moreover, that by virtue of that Patent, we were the true Commissioners, and that Gerard and Campain were oblig'd to come to us, and not we to go to them; telling him, that on the other side, I had been advertis'd since my departure from Court, that they were two of the greatest Hugonots in all the Kingdom of France, and that we ought to have an eye to them, and to our own reputations, that the world might noftrac a blufh upon us, declaring us Hugonors; for as for my own part, I would not be branded with that mark: And to preach the truth, when I came to Bourdeaux, I thought I discover'd both by his carriage, and also by other advertisements that had been given me, that Monfeur de Burie enclud'd a little to that Religion.

Upon Monday we went to Villeneufue, where Monfeur de Saincteovens with his Troop of Light Horfe, and two hundred Harquebuzers came to meet us, bringing me along with him Captain Moralet, and other four, with two others that fome Gentleman had taken at S. Liurade, all which upon Tuesday, without holding them longer in fuppliance, I caus'd to be hang'd, which prook a great fear into the whole party, saying, What! he puts us to death without trial! Now their opinion was, that in cafe they should be apprehended, they muft be proceeded against by witneffes, and that then there would not be one who might give evidence againft them, for fear of their threats, and also that there was no Judicature great nor small, but would have fome of their own Religion amongst them, who would fet nothing down in writing, but what fhould be to their advantage, and in order to their justification, Thus was Justice flobber'd over, without any punishment inflicted upon them; and when they had mutther'd any one, or brooke Churches, the wicked Officers (for fo they may juftly be called) would immediately prefer themselves to take cognizance of the fact, when the Informations being perfected, the Catholicks were evermore found to be the beginnings of the brawl (the brave men bold the blame) and that they themfelves had broken the Churches by night, that it might be faid the Hugonors had done it. I do not think it is to be found in History, that ever fuch Rogueries, Cheats and Machinations were invented or pratifed in any Kingdom of the world; and had the Queen delay'd sending me with this Commiffion but three months only, all the people had been conftrain'd to turn to this Religion, or have loft their lives, for every one was fo terrified with the severity that by the Judges was exercis'd upon the Catholicks, that there was no other way left them, but either to abandon their habitation, to leafe their lives, or to turn to that party. The Minifters publickly preach'd, that if they would come over to their Religion, they fhould neither pay duty to the Gentry, nor taxes to the King, but what fhould be appointed by them; others preach'd, that Kings could have no power, but what ftood with the liking and confeft of the people; and others, that the Gentry were no better men than they, and in effect, when the Gentlemen Bailiffs went to demand rent of the Tenants, they made answer, that they muft shew them in the Bible, whether
Book V. de Montluc, Mareschal of France.

ther they ought to pay or no, and that if their Predecessors had been Slaves and Cow-
combs they would be none.

This insolence grew so high, that some of the Gentry began to fret to give way to its fury, as to enter into Composition with their Tenants, entreat ing them to let them live in safety in their houses, and to enjoy their own Demeans, and as to Rents and Chiefs they would not ask them for any. No one was so bold as to dare to go out hunting for, they came and kill'd their Hounds and Greyhounds in the field before their faces, and none durst say wrong they did, for fear of their lives; but if any one meddled with any of them, all their Churches were presently made acquainted with it, and within four or five hours, you had been dispatch'd out of the world, or enforce'd to hide your self in some of the Confederates houses, or in the church, there being no safety in any other place; and this was the miserable condition to which Guienne was reduc'd. The particulars whereof I am necessitated to insist upon, to let you see, whether or no the King had not reason to honor me with that glorious Title of Conserver of Guienne, and whether it was not necessary to fall to work in good earnest, for had I proceeded with Mildness and Moderation, as Monsieur de Barie did, we had been lost. He promised them great matters, but I perform'd nothing, knowing very well, that it was only to deceive us, and by degrees to get places into their hands: To be short, these Upstart Christians would give us the Law, and there was not a little Minister amongst them, who did not Lord it as if he had been a Bishop; and these were the hopeful beginnings of this fine Religion, and the manner after which the instructed men to live.

At our departure from the said Villeneufve, we went to Fumel, where we found that Madame de Fumel, with Monsieur de Conqon her Brother, and some other Gentlemen of the Family, had put themselves into the field, upon the news of our being come thither, and had taken five and twenty or thirty of those who had massacred the Sieur de Fumel. Monsieur de Barie then sent to the Commissioners to come, and to fall in hand with their Commission, who sent him word hastily they would not, but that we must come to them; and I had intelligence sent me by a friend, that they had said, that since I proceeded to execution without Form or Indictment, they would make bold to bring me to my tryal, after they had done with the rest, by which I saw that I was to try with them a better or a worse; for otherwise we should fall into the greatest misfortune that we could possibly fall into, and if we did not uphold our Authority, and keep the people in awe of us, without suffering them to be in fear of the Commissioners, all would go on the side of the new Religion. Neither did I fail to represent this danger to Monsieur de Barie; but I found by his answers, that he was either in fear of doing amiss or (as I said before) that he had a little enclined to that side; but his end has cleared that point to us. Seeing therefore that we could not have our own Commissioners, we sent for Counsellors from the Tribunal of Agen, who prettily fell to crying these people, whom they found to guilty, that they confessed themselves to have been Actors in the Mischief of their Lord; for they were all his own Tenants, who had begun the business, and sent to call in their neighbouring Churches to assist them in the performance of this Religious exploit, butchering this poor Gentleman with an infinite number of wounds, and being but half dead, laid him against a cushion upon his bed, and shot at Bats against his heart, pillaging and facking his house, and all that he had; these good people crying out when they had done, Let the Gospel live: For which to be short, in one day, what upon Gibbet, and what upon the wheel, thirty or forty of them were sent out of this world, I cannot tell whither.

From thence we went to Cahors, where we found these venerable Lords, who had begun, and were already a good way advance in their procures against the Catholicks, and kept in prison Monsieur de Violc Canon and Arch-deacon of Cahors, and Chancellor of the University, a Gentleman of a Family of seven or eight thousand Livres a year belonging to Meilleurs de Territoire, de Noggerie, and other Gentlemen of the Country. The said Commissary of Cahors predilect us. Monsieur de Auffin was come thither also, as being Kinman to his Wife, and the whole City was full of Gentry to solicit in the behalf of the said Sieur de Violc. Our reverend Commissaries had order'd their business so well, that they had call'd in to their assistance nine Judges, fix whereof were Hugonos, and the other three they had so terrified with their power and authority, that they pretended to have it in their Commission, that none of them was to dare to contradic what the others said, and especially Judge Mage, being a timorous person durst not pronounce a syllable but what the rest would have him say. They there condemned fourteen
fourteen or fifteen men, of which not above three had any hand in the Maffacre; but in
revenge of the execution we had done at 

**Fumel**, they would put to death as many as they
could justly or unjustly, and cauf'd them to be executed in the Market-place of the City;
at which both the Magiftrates and the Clergy entered into violent an apprehenfion, that
they gave thefe them all for lofT, feeing them to put Monfeur de Viole, and feveral others
upon their Tryal, who were none of them preffent at the Maffacre. All the Ladies were con-
tinually following after me, feeing they could obtain no satisfactory anfwer ftr Monfeur
de Barie, and Monfeur de Caumont that now was came to fpeak to Monfeur de Barie, I think
rather to take an occafion to quarrel me than for any thing elfe, because I had faid that he
fuffer'd a Minifer in the open Pulpit to fpeak againft the perfon of the King and his Roy-
al authority at Claire, of which he was Abbot, and he queftion'd me about it in the o-

**pen Hall before Monfeur de Barie;** whereupon I told him, that I had faid fo, and that he
was fo much obliged to the King for the benefits he had receiv'd, that he ought not to have
endured it, to which he replied, that the faid Minifer had not prefchied before him, and that
although he had, it was not to me to whom he was to give an accoumt; at which I had thought
to have flown upon him with my dagger in my hands, and clapt hand to his sword;
when in an infant fifteen or twenty Gentleman of mine leapt upon him, and there was
enough to do to fame him from being kill'd. Monfeur de Barie took my part in a very
high manner, and rattled him to fome purpofe, infomuch that fome friends of his threat
him out of the Hall to fame him, for every one had his word drawn, and he had not a party
fufficient to make it an equal match againft the friends I had prefent there; and this was
the occafion of the hatred they fay he bears me, for before we were very good friends; but
this is the leaff of my care.

But to return to our Justice, the Countefs of *Arein* who was at *Affier*, fent me a
Letter by one of her Gentleman call'd *La Brum*, wherein he entreated me to fee Justice
duly perfformed; to which I wrif her anfwer back, that I would by no means object it,
where I faw there was reafonable and juft caufe, and that Monfeur de Barie, and I were there for no other end.
The next day he return'd me again, and in pri-

vate entreated me, that I would further the execution of the Comminioners Sen-
	
tence, and that in return of fo good an office, I fhould not fail of ten thousand Francs.
He made me this offer in the prefence of a Merchant that told piffwells, which he
himself choke out for me, telling me, that he was privy to the affair, and would im-

mediately disburfe the fum. I told him, *He did me a very great pleafure, but that I
would leave them in his hands, being to go to Monfeur de Barie to fupper, where lodging
was hard by.* By the way as I went, I began to confider with my felf from whence these
Ten thousand Francs fhould come; but could not poffibly imagine, though I was fatis-
fed there must be muftice and knavery in the cafe. After supper, when it grew late, I re-
tir'd to my Lodging at the Archdeacon *Redanly* howe, where by the way I met Madam de
Longue, and Madam de Viole hard by the howe, who paffionately weeping, faid to me
there words, *O Sir, Monfeur de Viole is going to be put to death, if you do not fland his
friend, for feeence is paid upon him, and this night there is order given to ftrangle him in
prifon, and in the morning to prefent him dead upon the Scafhold.* All the forementioned
Lords and Gentleam had lend away poff to the King about this bufixefs, but the Meffen-
gar had return'd too late, if I had not been. I dinitfe them with the behalf comfort I
could, telling them that I would take care to prevent execution; to which end I appoin-
ted to General de *Nine-arms* of my own Company to ride the Patroulle before the prifon,
and before the Comminioners Lodgings, and never put off my cloaths my felf of all that
night. It was very late before the Archdeacon *Redanly* came home, when fo soon as I
heard he was come into his chamber, *I went to him, to talk with him about the bufixefs.*
He had been privately enquiring after the affairs of Monfeur de Viole, and the other Per-


**soners, who were all perfon of good quality, and brought this accoumt, that they were all
conformed to dye, and that for fear of scandal, and that no commotion might arife,
they were to be dispatch'd secretly in prifon by torch-light, and that by their Proces and
Judgement, they had divided the City into three dillrent Corporations, to wit, the
Church into one, the Magiftracy into another, and the third Eflate into the left; all which
diffrent bodies, were fentenced to a fine of Sixtire thound Franks: whereupon it
preffently came into my head, that the Ten thoufand Francs of which *La Brum* had made
me a rend, was certainly to come from hence; and the faid Archdeacon weps, faying, that
the City of Cahors was ruin'd for ever, and that though all the goods of the City move-
able and immovable fhould be fold, they could not make up that fum: Whereupon I
advised him not to affift himfelf, but leave it to me, for that out of the love I bore to
Monfeur de Viole and the reft, I would keep fo good watch, that I would trap them
before
before they could do their execution, and as to the fines you speake of, said I, it is not the Kings intention that your City should be destroy'd, for it is his, and assure your self he will remit them. Also Sir, said he, if the fines went into the Kings purse, we should have some hope that his Majesty would not set on destroy'd; but he is not to have one pence of them. Why then, said I? 'Tis the Count Rhinegrave, said he, who lent the King Fifty thousand Franes upon the County, and we have had a trial with the said Count about the fines of Tholouz, where he said to us, it being prov'd, that he had as good title to the fines and amercements, as to any other part of the Revenue, and that is the reason why we have no other remedy, but to abandon the City, to go live in some other place, and leave him all we have. Hearing which, I was ready to run mad, to think that these two Rogues should ruin one of the Kings Cities, for one particular man. I past over the whole night, in great anger and impatience, and in the morning Monfieur de Barie sent for me to hear the judgment of the Process; but by the way, I thought to prevent them from pronouncing sentence, which being once pronounced, there was no possible way to save the City, but that the Count Rhinegrave would have had the Fines, who though he was a stranger, yet he was one the King had very often occasion to use. In this hear I came to Monfieur de Barie's chamber, where I found them all already set, and the bags upon the Table. They perceived very well by my countenance, what I had in my bosom, and I said nothing, but took a little fool, and placed my self at the end of the Table, for they had taken up all the room round about it, and there the said Campain in a Learned Oration, began to lay open the offence that had been committed in this City, enlarging himself upon the hainmouns of the Fact, and remonstrating to us, how many women and children had lost their husbands and their fathers in this bloody Massacre, and that the King and Queen had lent us thither to do this Justice, which was equitable and right (his Harangue lasted for halve an hour at least) and that those offenders they had already put to death, would signify nothing, if they did not also execute the principal Authors of this Sedition, which would serve for an example to the whole Kingdom of France, concluding that therefore they would read the sentence before us, to have it afterwards executed in prison, entreating us to lend our assistance in the feeling it accordingly perform'd, and thereupon began to draw the Sentence out of the Bag. I look'd upon Monfieur de Barie, to see if he would speak, for it was for him to speak before me, but seeing him suffer'd him to proceed without interruption, and the other beginning to open the Sentence to read it, I said to him, Hold Monfieur de Campain, proceed no further, till you have first answer'd what I have to demand of you. To which he made answer, That after he had read the Sentence, he would answer my question, but that he would first read that, before he did any thing else. Whereupon I said to Monfieur de Barie (tapping out a great Oath) Sir, as the Court said, that comes out of his mouth, I will kill him, if he do not first satisfy me in such things as I shall in your presence demand of him. At which Monfieur de Barie said to him, Monfieur de Campain, you must hear what he has to say to you, for perhaps he may have heard something, that I know not of, and then I perceived my Gentleman to turn pale, and upon my word he had good reason. I then ask'd him, where is the City of Cahors? To which he answered, It is the Kings. And where is the judicature? I said I. The Kings, said he. And where is the Church? I said 1. To which he made answer, That he could not tell. Whereupon I said to him, Do you deny that the Church is not the Kings as well as the state? To which he made answer, That he did not concern himself about it. Then I said to him, Have you divided the City into three Corporations, that is to say, the Church, the judicature, and the City separate by itself, and imposed fines severally upon them all? To which he made answer, That I should give ear to the Sentence, and that would inform me, whether he had or no. Whereupon I began to humbl him, saying, Thou shalt declare before Monfieur de Barie and me, what I demand of thee, or I will hang thee with my own hands, for I have hang'd twenty bussier men than thy self, or those who have affiled at thy Sentence; and thereupon dart up from my fool, at which Monfieur de Barie said, Speak Monfieur de Campain, and say if you have done it or no. To Sir, answered he, I have: Whereupon I said, O thou damned confounded Villain, Traitor to thy King, thou wilt ruin a City belonging to the King, for the profite of one particular man; were it not for the revell I hear to Monfieur de Barie, who is here the Kings Lieutenant, I would hang both thee and thy Companions at the windows of this chamber; laying to Monfieur de Barie, Sir, for Gods sake let me kill these accursed Rogues, that are Traitors to their King for another's profite and their own; and thereupon drew my sword half way, and had they let me alone, I had order'd them for ever making more Sentences or Arrears; but Monfieur de Barie lay'd to me, and caught hold of my arm, entreating me not to do it, whilst in the mean time they recovered the door, and fled away to a great fright, that they
they leaped the stairs, without paying to count the steps. I would have followed after to have killed them, but Monsieur de Burie, and Monsieur de Courre his nephew held me so fast, that I could not break from them, the rage wherein I was not permitting me to be master of my self: I thought not then to appear strange, if I call them to offer Rogues in my Relation. This being done, Monsieur de Burie, Monsieur de Courre and I went into a Garden, where the said Sieur de Burly told me, That believes that I had prefer’d this city from total ruine, I had sav’d his honor also, for the King and the Queen, and all the world, would infallibly have concluded, that he had taken money, whereas he protest’d that he know not one syllable of all this, and then it was that I told him which way I came to discover it, and do really believe there was no intelligence on Monsieur de Burie’s side. I din’d with him, and do think he did not eat four bits, and all that day observe’d him to be melancholy and displeas’d, sending word to all the Commissioners not to proceed any further in any thing whatsoever, till the King should first be enamord of all that had past. I also sent to Judge Male and the rest to forbid them, that they should not be assisting in any thing should be done by Campain and Gerard upon forfeiture of their lives. They came in the evening one after another, I mean the Judges Affiliates, to excuse themselves to Monsieur de Burie, confessing to him, that they had not foreseen the ruine this Sentence would have inevitably have brought upon the City, which would also have been the undoing both of them and their posterity: but they durst never speak a word to me, not so much as come where I was. Monsieur de Burie told me all, but whatsoever the matter was, not one of them durst come in my sight; which if they had, upon my confidence I think I should have enraged one or another of them. About five or six days after came the Courier that the Relations and Friends of Monsieur de Viole had sent to the King, who brought an Injunction to the Commissioners, not to proceed any further in any manner whatsoever against the said Sieur de Viole, nor concerning this Sedition, commanding them to let the said Sieur de Viole, and the other Prisoners at liberty, upon Bail to appear when and to often as they should be summoned to do it. It is not to be wondered at if the City of Cabors have a kindness for me, as indeed they have, to such a degree, that by the respect they pay me, and the entertainments they cares me withal, it seems, as if the King himself, or some of his Brothers were come into their City.

This was the second time that they attempted to corrupt me with money, but it shall never be found in History, that Ever had a hand in any such dirty practices; neither do I fear any person living, not only in Guienne, but in Italy, where I have had great and honorable employments, and where I might have got Two hundred thousand Francs at least, would I have done as others did, who had no fault found with them for it, and have had more thanks for their labour than I have. But I can say, and say truly, that I never return’d from any of my Employments, that I was not necessitated to borrow money to carry me to my own house, and have ever been willing to beggar myself, and to suffer all sorts of inconvenience, only to spare the Kings purse, and not to enrich my self: Neither was I alone the sufferer, but moreover all those who were under my Command; as for example, the Treasurer Brancher, the Comptroller la Moliere, and others, who return’d as very Rogues as I. And if at any time any City has presented me during these troubles, it was only to maintain the great expense I must of necessity be at to entertain the Gentlemen and people of the Country, and was done openly, and not in private. This was the end of the strange proceedings at Cabors.

Now Monsieur de Burie having himself seen, that these two brave Commissioners did not go frankly to work, and that their only drift was to execute Justice upon the Catholic’s only, and not upon the Hugenots also, he sat in all haste to Bourdeaux, for Mefieur d’Alism the elder, and Ferron, Counsellors in the Court of Parliament, and men that very well understood their business, that he might join them to these Commissioners of ours for a Counter-poise to balance their wicked inclinations, and so we went fight to Ville-Franche de Rouergue, when hearing by the way, that the Hugenots from all parts, drew together in great numbers. Monsieur de Burie sent for the Companies of the Marshal of Termes, of Mefieurs de Ramon, de la Vauguyon, and des Jarres, for before we had no more than our own two Companies; and found at Ville-Franche Monsieur the the Cardinal of Armagnac, who said there expecting our coming, to complain of the Churches had been violated and defac’d in his Jurisdiction, and particularly at Ville-Franche, a member of his Bishoprick of Rhodes; when so soon as he saw us draw near, the Confts feiz’d of four or five of the principal of the Seditious, whom we found Prisoners. The next day after our arrival came the above named Sieurs d’Alismes, and de Ferron, of whom our Commissioners would by no means allow, saying, they had not the Kings
Kings Parents, though in the end we over-rul'd them whether they would or no. Monfieur de Burie had importuned me to do them no harm at our departure from Cahors, for they defir'd nothing more than to be gone; and at last they began to try these four or five that the Cardinal of Armagnac had caus'd to be taken: but it was impossible to perwade Campain and Gerard against to their execution, norwithstanding that an infinite number of Rapines and Violations, besides those of Churches, was by the testimony of the most eminent persons of the City, evidently prov'd against them. They continued eight or ten days in this dispute, evermore concluding that they ought to be releas'd, and although Monfieur de Ferrons Wife and Family were of that Religion, he nevertheless advis'd with Monfieur d' Alemagne, that they ought to dye. The Cardinal of Armagnac and all the Officers were in despair, to see that Justice was not executed, expecting nothing but all forts of violence to soon as our backs should be turn'd, if some example were not made. In the end Monfieurs d' Alemagne and de Ferrons came to my Lodging, to tell me, that it was not to be hop'd, that these people would ever execute Justice upon those of their own Religion, and that therefore setting no good was to be done with such men, they were resolv'd to return home. I then treated them not to leave us; to which Monfieur d' Alemagne made answer, Will you then do an act worthy your integrity and courage, and caus them to be hang'd at the window of the Town house where they are Prisoners, by which means you will put the sufferers out of dispute, and without that there is no hope that Justice will be done. Are you both of you of this opinion, said I. They answer'd me they were. Enough was said, I call'd to me Monfieur de Saintloures Serjeant, saying to him in their presence, Go fetch me the Goaler bishop; which he did, to whom I said, Deliver thy Prisoners to this man; and you Serjeant, take my two hangmen, and go hang them presently at the windows of the Town hall. Whereupon he immediately departed, and in less than a quarter of an hour, we saw them hang'd at the windows. The Commissioners were furiously enraged at this action, and endeavour'd to make Monfieur de Burie disapprove of it, which the next day I reproach'd them with, telling them in the presence of the said Sieur de Burie, that Monfieur de Burie and I should agree well enough, in despite of all their endeavours to divide us. And I doubt not, said I, but to make you hang your selves, before the go this be done, and that we go out of this Commission. There is a rumour that the Prince of Conde has taken arms and posseß'd himself of the City of Orleans, which if it prove true, hope for other, but that I will as good at my word. It was not two hours before Rance, the King of Navarro's Secretary arriv'd, and brought news to Monfieur de Burie, that the Prince of Conde was in arms, and had feiz'd of Orleans, telling wonders of the prodigious Forces the said Prince had with him, in comparison of those of the King, and that the King of of Navarro, the Confi able, Monfieur de Guife, and the Marechal de S. Andre were together, who could not all raise so much as one man, with a thouand other flam-flam stories. Whereupon the said Sieur de Burie expressly forbid him to speak a word to any one else, telling him it would be as much as his life was worth, should I come to hear the least whisper of it: He sent also privately to the Commissioners to get away before the news should be publish'd, for otherwise it would not be in his power to save them from being put to death; and he was in the right, for I would infallibly have done their business. They needed not to be bid twice, but immediately sneak'd away in great secrecy, so that I know nothing of their departure till the next day, and search'd very diligently for Monfieur Rance, who had he fallen into my hands, I think I should have taught him to carry news.

Upon this untoward news, we were of opinion to go directly to Montauban, and put our selves into the Town, before it revolted; for we understood that the City of Agen was revolted, and had feiz'd upon our Catholic Officers, Contiles and Canons, and accordingly that night went to S. Anthony, thinking the next day to enter into Montauban; but before we were got half way, we heard that the Town was revolted, which made us turn directly towards Ville Neuve d'Agenais, and found that all was revolted. We then came to a Village call'd Galieplan, near unto Port S. Marie, and found that Port S. Marie was also revolted, for those people had laid their design long before hand, and had carried their busines very cloze. And there we concluded, that Monfieur de Burie with the four Companies of Gens d'armes, should go put himself into Bourdeaux, and that I wish that of the King of Navarres, which was at Condom, that of the Marechal de Termes, and my own, should pass over the Garonne towards Gascony, and keep my self in the open Champain towards Tholouse and Beaumont de Lomanges, which being resolv'd upon betwixt us, and we just ready to depart, there arriv'd Captain St. Gime, who brought me Letters from the King, the contents whereof were these. Monfieur
IEntreat you, if ever you desire to do me a signal piece of service, that immediately, and in all diligence you come away to me with the Mareschal de Termes his Company, and your own, and fix Companies of Foot, for which I send you Commissions, with blanks for the Captains names, for you better know who deserve to be preferred to these Commanders than I; therefore leaving all things, I entreat you to come away, for we must save the body of the Tree, which being preferred, the branches will every day recover, &c.

These were the contents of my Letter, and that of Moniteur de Burie, made mention of what his Majesty had written to me, telling him withal, that he was to take the best care he could in Guienne; for his Majesty knew nothing as yet of its revolt. Moniteur de Burie then took his way directly to Théteins, where he found Meffieurs de Commont and de Duras (which said Sieur de Commont had been importuned by their Churches to be their Head, but he would never be persuaded to it, no more would Moniteur de Duras, though in the end he was constrained to take it upon him, at the perwasion of a person of greater quality than himself both which Gentlemen behav'd themselves with great civility and respect, and demanded nothing of him, for they still try'd to win him by obligations; but he was an honest Man. He went then straight to Bourdeaux, and the mischief on't was, that he carried away all his four Companies towards Saintonge, so that he remain'd naked, and alone in Bourdeaux, saving five and twenty Harquebuzers of his Guard: And the same day that we parted, I came to Quarter at the house of Moniteur de Beaumont near unto Agen, and in the neighbouring Villages, where I dispo'd of the fix Commissions the King had sent me, namely, to Captain Cherry two, to Captain Bazerdan other two, one to my Nephew the Baron of Clermont, and the other to Captain Arne.

The Sieurs de Canon de Monferran, and all the Catholic Gentry of Agenois were come in to me, and began to murmur amongst another one in the Hall, that if I left them, they were all lost, and their wives, children and houses ruin'd and destrey'd. For Lescure, another strong place, was also revolted, by which means the Gentry of Gascogne had no place to retire unto for safety, but were forc'd to fly to me; so that they concluded among themselves, that in case I should resolve to go away to the King, as his Majesty had commanded, and offer to leave them without a Head, that they must be fain to detain me in the nature of a Prisoner, and not suffer me to depart. In the Evening I assembled all these Gentlemen together, where I remonstrated to them, that it would be necessary I should fend away in all diligence to the King, to acquaint his Majesty with the revolt of all Guienne, Tholouse, and Bourdeaux excepted, which also if they were not suddenly reliev'd, would be in great danger to be lost, as well as the rest. What they all approving, I immediately dispatch'd away Captain Coiffe, to give the King and Queen an account of all that had past; which I had no sooner done, but that Moniteur du Mafles (who dyed lately at Limoges, and at that time carried the Mareschal de Termes his Cornet) told me before all the Company, that I had done very well to take this resolution, for otherwise they had determin'd amongst themselves to detain me by force. In the morning we paff the River at two or three Ferries, with danger enough, for Leyre was revolted, as also was the whole Country of Bazadois, la Roile excepted, and all as far as the very Gates of Tholouse, excepting Aviller and Condom, where Captain Arne lay with the King of Navarre Company, which also before his coming thither had twice revolted; but the Lieutenant General du Fraco, whom I have spoke of before, had taken Arms to defend the Kings Authority, and got the upper hand, nevertheless in the end he would not have been able to have kept it, without the said Company that I sent into it. I quarr'd my own Company at la Sauvetat de Garres, and Moniteur de Terride had his round about his house, in his own Territories, for Beaumont was also revolted. Moniteur de Gondrin and I conferr'd together at my house at Sempuy en Garres, to which place I had assign'd him to come, where we concluded to reconcile all the Catholic Gentlemen, that we might be united together, and being the Seigneurs de Fermandon and de Terride, though both of one Family, had an enthusiast for one another, we agreed to make them friends; to which end we assign'd them to come to Faudun, where there was a great company of Gentlemen, and where at last we made them perfect good friends. Captain Cherry departed in all haste to go put himself into Paymiral, because
because I had intelligence, that the Enemy had quitted it, and taken away the Artillery
that was there to carry co *Agen*. The said Captain *Charry* went to pass the River at la
*Magistere*, and by break of day was in the City, for the good people immediately open'd
him the Gates, and there was but ten Souldiers in the Castle, who pretently yielded, and
every one of the other Captains went forthwith about their busines to raise their Com-
panies, when fo soon as we had bin'd, there arrival'd a Horfeman who was come post from
*Cahors* (having rid all night, and hur'd a fresh horfe at la *Magistere*, where he was told
that I was at *Foudouin*) bringing me a Letter from *Monfieur de la Roque des Arts* near unto
*Cahors*, a Knight of mine ; which Letter is to be found enroll'd in the Register of the Parlia-
ment of *Tholouse*, and whereof there are the Contents.

SIR,

To day about noon at this place, and by great journeys, is arrival'd a Gentleman from
Court, who having enquir'd at the Inn, if there was any one that knew you, the Host
told him that I was in the Town, and was related to you; whereupon he sent the said Host im-
mmediately for me, and so soon as I came to the house, he bid the Host goin, I then enquir'd
to embrace him, but he made me a sign not to touch him; when he and I being left alone, he told
me that he was of the County of Foix, and belonging to the King of Navarres, and that at
Orcens a Physician had died in bed by him of the Plague, with which he was yet infected, bid-
ing me immediately go fetch pen, ink and paper; which I having accordingly done, he made me
in the streets to write this enclosed Letter, entreatling me to send it post away to you.

The said enclosed Letter was thus,

SIR,

Returning from Court, I pass by Orcens, where I left the Prince of Conde, who is
gathering great Forces together, and has already rais'd a great number of men. There
is a *Capitoul* of Tholouse, who is coming by long journeys after me, and I think this
night will pass by this place; who has engag'd to the said Prince by the eighteenth of this
month (which was May) to put the City of Tholouse into his hands. The said Capitoul
discov'd himself to me, of which I thought fit to give you speedy notice, that if possible,
you may prevent his design. For the Reasons that *Monfieur de la Roque* will write you
word of, I would not subscribe this Letter, but have caus'd it to be sign'd by him.

There were the contents of the two Letters, which having read, I took aside the fore-
mentioned Gentleman, to whom having communicated the said Letters, I immediately
sent them by an express Messenger post to the first President *Monfencal*, and wrote upon
the instant three dispatches to the three Captains *Bazardon*, the Baron de *Clermont*, and
*Arne*, wherein I sent them word to labour day and night to get the foot Companies I had
given them Commissions for to gather, and approach as near as they could to *Tholouse*,
*Monfieur de Terride* return'd in all diligence to make ready his Gens d'armes, and the
Sieurs de *Gondrin*, and de *Pimorcon* return'd in all haste to gather together the Gentle-
men of the Country. Now the Messenger could not get to *Tholouse* till it was three hours with-
in night, so that the President was gone to bed, by which means he could not deliver his
Letters till the next morning, which was the eleventh of May. And there the President
committed an Error, forasmuch as in the morning he assembled all the Chambers, and
there in the presence of them all caus'd the Letters to be publicly read: and I committ'd
another, having been no wife, as not to give him caution to communicate them but to few: which
was the cause that those of their Society who were of the new Religion, and also of the
plot, at their return from the Palace, gave notice to all the rest of the Conspirators,
that they must make haste to seize the Town house, and the Artillery, and not to deferre
it till the eighteenth day of the said Month: For I had also writ in my Letter, that I was
fending away in all diligence to Captain *Bazardon*, and the Baron de *Clermont*, that in
raising their Companies, they should approach continually nearer and nearer towards the
said City of Tholouse, which eight days before was enter'd into great surpicion, thofe of
the Town seeing every day Strangers that no body knew, enter into the City; and the
said Letters unluckily came just in the nick of this jealousie. I had (not as yet knowing
any thing of all this) sent away my own Company to *Montjoye*, near unto *Plume*, and the

*Capitoul of Tholouse* are 12 principal
Magistrates, whereas of the
first to be Gentleman
of that Province,
the rest Lawyers,
or rich Merchants.
the very next day, which was the eighteenth, being return'd to Sampsy, I receiv'd two Letters together, one from Monsieur de Terride, with two others of Advertisements enclos'd, in one of which was, Sir, Four Ensigns of foot are arriv'd at Montauban, who come fromwards the Seventeenth, and entr'd about break of day, having march'd all night; and in the other was, That a black Ensign had pass'd over the Bridge de Buzez, on the other side of Tholouze, wearing a white Scarf, and held the way towards Montauban. Monsieur de Terride sending me word, that I might take both these Advertisements for certain. At the same instant I receiv'd another Letter from the Vicar of Auch, and the Confuls of the said City, wherein they entreated me to come in all diligence to Auch, or that otherwise they would cut one another to pieces. I write in the open street for half four lines to Monsieur de Terride, encouraging him to make his Company ready, and to get together the moit men he possibly could, which having done, I mounted to horse, having Monsieur de Foutenilles with me, and went in all haste directly to Auch, though I was neither the Kings Lieutenant, nor had any power to command, but all I did was out of the particular affection, and good will I bore to his Majesties service, being affur'd that doing well, all would be well interpreted by thofe of the Kings party, and as for the rest I did not much care, having evermore rather have them for enemies than friends.

Coming to Sampsy a league from Sampsy, there came a man to me from Tholouze, sent by Monsieur le President Menefec to tell me, that he had receiv'd my Letters, entreating me to come and succour the said City, for the Hugonots had possefT themselves of the Magazine, and the Artillerie that was in it. I alighted at the Towns end under an Elm, and there write back to the President, that he should with all speed give notice to the fore-mentioned Captains, that they might put themselves into Tholouze, and that I would go fend away the Marchial de Termes his Company which was at Piffan near unto Auch, that they might be at Tholouze by break of day in the morning, bidding them take courage, for I would soon be with them, and deliver'd at the same time four or five Blancks to my Secretary sign'd with my own hand, to fend Letters to Monsieur de Gondrin, and others to bid them march away immediately to Tholouze, which being done, and having sent to my own Company to return in all diligence to la Sausona, I gallop'd away full speed to Auch, where being arriv'd fating at one of the clock in the afternoon, I dispatch'd two Letters as I fath dinner, one to Monfieur de Bellegarde, it being no more than two leagues from thence to his house, and the other to Captain Maffes, who was within half a league, fending to Monfieur de Bellegarde immediately to take post, and go pur himself into Tholouze, to command the Soldiery there, caufing his great horses and arms day and night to fow after. Monfieur de Maffes, as soon as he had spoke with me immediately departed, and never ftopp'd not ftaid till he was in Tholouze the next morning by break of day, and Monfieur de Bellegarde got thither two hours after midnight. The Baron de Clermont entred the fame morning, and at the fame instant that the Soldiers entred, they fell to fighting, which was from the place St. George even to the two Gates of the City that look towards Montauban, which two Gates were possefit by the Enemy. Captain Arne entred about two of the clock in the afternoon, as alo did Captain Bazouard at the fame time, and fo foon as I had pacfified them at Auch, I unbethought my felf of the Letters Monfieur de Terride had fent me, and concluded that these Ensigns which were come to Montauban, were come thither for no other end, but only to to relieve their people who were engaged at Tholouze. Whereupon I immediately dispatch'd away a Soldier upon a good Horse, commanding him to ride directly to Loucobeuf, and that he should pafl the River at la Peyres, by whom I write a Letter to Captain Charr', that immediately upon the receipt thereof he should march day and night directly to Tholouze, and should make a halt at Fronton. In like manner I dispatch'd away another to Monfieur de Terride to pafl his Company at Barret, fending him word also to halt at Fronton, and keep continually on horseback day and night, and whilst he waited for Captain Charr', to take care that fuch as should come from Montauban might not recover Tholouze. An hour after I had made these two dispatches, it came into my head, that in cafe the Soldier could not pafl the River at la Peyres or that he should chance to be taken, Captain Charr' could not be advertiz'd what to do, and the City by that means might be in danger to be lost, which made me immediately dispatch away another, whom I order'd to go by the way of la Magifter, and it was the next day at noon before he could get to him, for the fift had been purf'd for above three leagues together. Captain Charr' upon the Meffengers arrival immediately march'd away, caufing bread and wine to be carried along with him, as I had writ to him to do, and as he had learnt under me, that the Soldiers might not entcr into any house by the way. He understood as well as any man in France, how fuch diligences were to be perform'd, and two hours after midnight with two or three hundred men,
men, arriv'd at Fronton, where he met with Monfieur de Terrides Company, and so, that before they knew one another, they were like to have gone together by the ears. Now as Captain Charr was got within a league of Fronton, two or three Hugonot horse belonging to the Vicount de Boumaqul fell accidentally and undiscover'd amongst them in the night, when understanding them to be our people, they took their way straight to Montauban, and met the five Ensigns already advanc'd the midway between Montauban and Fronton, and not being able to number our men by reason of the obscurity of the night, told them, that ours were three times as many as they were, and that it was Captain Charr who commanded them; which was the reason that they return'd back again to Montauban; and I went away with my Company. Monfieur de Gendrin came to me to Enronage, and the next morning we advanc'd within two leagues of Tholouse, to a village called Doix, where we stay'd for the Gentlemen who were coming post after us, and where the Sieur de Terride came not up to us till night, by reason he could no sooner get to us with his Company. I sent word to the first President and Monfieur de Bellegerdes of our arrival, and that in the morning by Sun-rise we would be with them, but that in the mean time they should be sure to keep the Gate St. Sabran free, and let them take care for nothing else, but only that I might get in. The haffe wherein I was, made me forget to write them words, that I had sent to Fronton upon the road from Montauban to fight any relief that might come from that side; and they having heard as well as we of the arrival of the five Ensigns that were at Montauban, fearing they would that night enter by the two Gates the Enemy were possess'd of, were once in mind to enter into composition, and were advanced so far towards it, that in order thereunto Rapin was depott'd for the Enemy, and Monfieur de Maffes for the City; during the Treaty the skirmishes ceased for three or four hours, and in the interim of these transactions tame the Letters that I had sent to the President, and Monfieur de Bellegerdes from Auch. But forsooth the President sent his Letter to Monfieur de Maffes, to the end that he might shew it them, to encline them the more to an accommodation, so that unknown to Monfieur de Bellegerdes, the said Sieur de Maffes, who was already partott from Rapin, having seen my letter, turn'd back to him to shew him what I had writ, who upon the reading of it grew sodainly very melancholy, saying to Captain Maffes that they gave themselves for loth seeing I was so near (for they had heard that their succours were return'd back to Montauban, though our people knew nothing of it.) In the end they concluded to talk further of it the next morning, but he never intended it, for at the same instant he went to prepare his party, without giving any notice to those of the Town, in all haste to be gone, so that in the clofe of the Evening they began to quit the Bourricots they had made at the corners of the streets, and to clear away, which our Captains perceiving began to charge them from street to street, but were hindered by the night from seeing their issue out of the Gares, so that in rout and confusion they recover'd the Vines, and got away; but lost five of their Ensigns. Now we had concluded to fight after this manner, to wit, that Meffieurs de Terride, and de Gendrin should march on without staying in the Town, taking my Company and the Gentlemen Volunteers along with them, and plant themselves before the Gates the Enemy were possess'd of without the City, and that I should alight, and with Monfieur de Terride his Company, whom I would also cause to alight, our own foot and those of the Town to fight on foot, resolving to enter and fight by day. In the morning as we began to march an hour before day, there came to us a Captiolot of Tholouse, called Mefftre Dourdus, who brought me a letter from the President, and Monfieur de Bellegerdes, wherein they sent me word of the departure and flight of the Enemy; for which I was very forry, for had they sped my coming, not a Ralch of them all should have escap'd; and God knows whether I had not a mind to have made clean work, and if I would have spare d over a mothers lon. Those who were come from Pox return'd towards their said Country of Pox in rout and disorder, for the very Pealans kill'd a great many of them, and the reft fled every one to the place from whence they came, Thus was the City relieved, the fight continued for three days and three nights together, during which above fifty houses were burnt one after another, and many people on both sides slain: and amongst others two Brothers of Monfieur de Sanignac de Cormerage. At our arrival we went and alighted before the Palace all arm'd as we were, my Ensign and Guidon displayed, and indeed for a hundred and fifty or two hundred Gentlemen there might be of us together with my Company, it was a handclome appearance, and a very fine fight. We found all the Court assembled, and any one may judge, whether or no we were welcome. I there in a short speech told them, "That although I was not the Kings Lieutenant, nevertheless as the service I had of old devoted to their City, and particularly to that honourable Assembly, was the cause that after the advertisements I had received of the danger they were
in, I had gathered together all the friends I could for the conservation of their City.

The second of France, and had my self immediately come away in person to their rescue;

but Gentlemen, said I, in the long time that I have borne arms, I have learnt that in

affairs of this nature, 'tis best to keep without, and lend in continual succours, knowing

that such a rabble were not likely so soon to force your City, who had they flaid my

coming, should have been as well handled, as ever rafcafs were. If now remains, that

since God has been pleased to deliver you, you do your parts, and make your Captains

flunk with the carcasses of these accursed Traytors to God, their King, and their Coun-

try. So soon as I had done speaking, the President Manjefcal made me a very honors

able Remonftrance, concluding with great thanks both to me, and to all the Gentlemen.
The Capitouls then accommodated us with very handsome Lodgings, and at the very

same instant began to fall in hand with those of the Munitioners who remain'd in the Town,

and who had been taken at their going out, and the next day proceeded to execution, where

I saw more heads fly than ever in one day before. In the mean time was elsewhere suffi-
ciently employed, for it fail'd but little, that the City was not fackt by our own people,

so much as to soon as ever the neighbouring Inhabitants heard that the City was relie'd

they all came running both Peafants and others to the spot; neither would they be fatis-

fied with plundering the houses of the Hugonos only, but began to fall on upon those of

the Catholicks also, infomuch that the very house of President Paulo himfelf had like to

have been fackt, through a rumour that within it there was a Student a Kinman of his

who was a Hugonos, though nevertheless there was no fuch perfon found; fo that I was

force to run thither, and to remedy the diforder to caufe Monfieur de Termes his Company,

and my own to mount to horfe, the half of which continually from fix hours to fixhours

March arm'd, and mounted by fix and fix together up and down the streets of the City.

The third day I had word brought me, that Monfieur de St. Paul of the County of

Foyj was upon arrival, being come from the faid Foy with three or four thoufand

men, and Monfieur de Lamezàn of Comenge with seven or eight hundred more, who

had they entered, it had been impofible both for me and all the reft of us who were

within to have saved the City from being fackt; to prevent which I fent in all haffe to the

Capitouls to flut their Gates, and all night long we kept continually on horse-back in the

streets, and had the foot Companies upon Guard at the Gates, together with the whole

City in arms, after the fame manner as before, when they had been in continual flight.

All this while Captain Charry and Monfieur de Torrents Company never flipt from the

two Villages between Fronton and Tholouze. Monfieur de St. Paul quarter'd himfelf and

his people in the Suburbs, and Monfieur de Lamezàn alfo, very much displeafed that they

might not be permitted to enter the City, threatening that another time they would not

come to relieve them, though their relief now did more harm then good, confidering

that they came not when they ought to have come. The next day I fent out Monfieur

de Bellofard to tell them, that they did but lofe time in staying there, for they should

not enter, whereupon Monfieur de St. Paul return'd with his people, and Monfieur de

Lamezàn fent away his, entering himfelf and his fervants only. After this the Capitouls

and I concluded together to drive out all thofe who were come in from the neighbouring

places, and accordingly with the Trumpets of the City, and our Drums, Proclamation

was made for all ftrangers to depaf, that in the end we were absolute Masters of the City.

Nevertheless it was not poifible fo to govern our own people, but that there was

fullfome diforder, which made me fend all the horfe and foot out of the City, furren-

dering the whole power into the hands of the Magiftrates. I gave a Company to Captain

Maffet the younger to remain in the Town, and to Monfieur de Grejat Son to Prefi-

dent Manjefcal another, who already had it almofl fault, and fo I clean'd the City, leav-

ing no body in it but the Inhabitants, and two Companies of foot.

Captains my Companions, confidcr I befeech you how narrowly this great and opulent

City, the fecond in France, elcap'd being ruin'd and deftoy'd for ever. There lives a

Gentleman at the Gates of MONTABAN, called Monfieur de la Serre, whose houfe was

burnt by the Hugonors, who told me that he had been poffect at a Synod, where it was
determin'd, that could they bring about their Enterprise upon Tholouze, they would to-

tally raze it to the ground, and take fuch of the ruins as were of any ufe to MONTABAN

to enlarg their own City greater than it was, intending to comprehend their Suburbs

within the Walls, and to draw a River thorough it that turn'd a Mill belonging to the

said Sieur de la Serre, that there might be no more memory of Tholouze for ever. Besides

the testimonies of this Gentleman, a hundred others have confirm'd the fame, which must

be the difcourfe of their little Minifters only, for the great ones who had the Government

of affairs, would have been better advis'd than to have destroyed such a City, which would

The execution at Tholouze.
would have been to great a loss both to the King and the whole Kingdom. You may then take notice of the great and extraordinary diligence I used, beginning from the advertisement I had of the Capitouls promise to the Prince of Conde to put the City into his hands, and next the haste I made the Captains to make in completing their Companys, which were not half full, to put themselves into the City: then the diligence of Monseur de Bellgardes, and Captain Masses with his Company: and on the other side the diligence wherewith I caus’d notice to be given to Captain Charry, and my foresight in sending another Messenger after the former, to bid Monseur de Terrides Company cross the River at Borret, besides my diligence wherewith I advertiz’d Monseur de Gondrin and others, all which was done in three days and three nights. Wherefore if you will take notice of this example, and herein it, it will serve you to do good use, that you will never lose an hours time; and although I have writ in the beginning of my Book (and as some may think with vanity enough) that my diligences and ready foresight have procur’d me the reputation God has given me in point of a Soldier, as great as other men; yet it is evidently true in this as well as upon other occasions: for had I fail’d but a minute the City had been absolutely lost. You ought not then disdain to learn of me, who am at this day the oldest Captain in France, and whom God has blest with as many successes as any man whatever of my time: but you ought to avoid learning of those who have been continually beaten, and have eternally run away where ever they have been engag’d; for if you go to school to such Masses you will hardly ever come to be any great Doctors in Arms. If I had bored long considering, and confum’d the time in consultations, to be satisfied whether before I intermeddled with these affairs, I should not first lend to Monseur de Burie, who was the Kings Lieutenant, I leave you to judge whether or no the Hugonots had not sufficient leisure wherein to do their work. But whenever they heard of me, they presently fancied the Hangman at their Breche; as also they ordinarily call’d me the Tyrant. When ever you shall be in place to do a notable piece of service, never stay for a command if the occasion be pristine; for in the mean time you lose your opportunity, therefore fall back fall edge try your fortune, it will afterwards be well interpreted. I know there are some who think it strange that the City of Tholouse had so great a respect and kindnes for me; but should they have other, they would degenerate from all good nature; for they will confess that I sav’d the City together with their lives and effairs, and the honor of their wives, without my relucence and speedy succour had all been lost. Upon which account I hope they will never be ungrateful to me, for the good office I did them upon this occasion: and if any one will say, that what I did was all for the service of the King, I shall answer to that, that at that time I had no Employment from his Majesty, excepting the command of my own Company of Gens d’armes; for Monseur de Burie was the Kings Lieutenant in Gironne, and the Conflable in Languedoc. Yet shall I not deny, but that I was prompt’d to it out of an honest desire I have ever had to do my King service, and that not only out of respect to the obligation I have to my Countrys preservation, but also out of a natural affection I have ever had for his Majesties service; and moreover, out of the love and friendship I have ever born, and do still bear to this famous City. For the dispair I was in to see it in danger to be ruin’d, made me take the pains I did: It is not then to be wondered at, if this City have an animosity against those of this new Religion, for there is not a City in France, who has run so great a hazard as this City has done, nor that has ever manifested it fell more affectionate to the King and his service, or fought sharper brunts to maintain themselves in his Majesties obedience. Rouen suffer’d it to be taken without striking a blow, Lyons, Bourges and Poitiers did the same. Paris was never reduc’d to that extremity, being also another kind of thing than the rest. Bordeaux made no defence at all, being no other than a fairprize they would make upon Château Trompette, which they also made themselves sure of, as much as Monseur de Duras was at the same time at the Gates of Bourdeaux. We may all therefore confess with truth, that no City whatever has fought so well, and run so great a hazard as this, having bravely repuls’d the Hugonots after they had feiz’d of the Magazine, and were possest of the gates, by which they might introduce succours from Montauban.

I was then advis’d to go before Montauban, but it was more to draw the Souldiers from about Tholouse, and out of the City, and to live upon the Enemies Country, than out of any hopes I had to take it; for I knew very well there were a great many men within it, that were there assembled for the enterprise of Tholouse. I then march’d thither, having no more than five Ensigns of Foot, which were those of Monseur de St. Laurant, de Bazan-dan, the Baron of Clermont, Arne and Charry, to which those of Tholouse gave me two pieces of Canon, and one Culverine, bestowing moreover a civility upon the Soldiers, that
they gave them one pay. So soon as I was come before Montauban, I found that there was in
the Town two and twenty hundred Souldiers strangers, and a thousand or twelve hun-
dred Townsmen, all very well arm'd. I might have about eight or nine hundred in all,
the most of which had never been in arms before; for all the good old Souldiers were gone
over to the Hugonots, after the unfortunate peace, and that upon meer necessity, for they
had no Trades, the Wars having continued long, and they having been all that while em-
ploy'd in Italy, and other of the Kings' conquests. The godly Ministers promis'd them
not only riches, but as I have been told, even Paradise it self, as if they had kept the
Keys; and another inconvenience this peace brought after it was, that we had lain long
idle, without having any employment whereby to make good Souldiers. So that when I
came before Montauban, I was constrain'd to quarter all my Foot together in the Bourg de
l'Evesches, for to have separated them had been madness, the Enemy making so great fal-
ilies upon me, that they continually beat up my Foot to my body of Gens d'armes, without
which they had been stronger than I, and would have cut me to pieces; for one that I
had they came out ten, so that the second day I was constrain'd to leave the Evesches,
to relieve Monseigneur de Terride, whom I had left in the Suburbs on that side the Town to-
wards Mollas, to whom I had given Monseigneur de Baseurans Company, where I found
that the Enemy had beaten him out of the Bourg to a Brick-kill hard by, which made me
speak to the Souldiers to run full drive to recover the Bourg, and to charge them bravely,
so that being some running in so great huff, and going on immediately to the charge, I had
no body with me but Captain Cabaret, who is yet living, Monseigneur de Clermont, who is
of the Hufe de Fauques, Monseigneur de Beauchare, who is since dead, and three or four
of Monseigneur de Terride's men only, with which we gave them so brisk a charge, that we
beat them back, flying on in their rear, to the very wicket of the Gate of the City, most
of them not being able to get in, but were forc'd to take on the left hand directly to the
Bridge, and the others on the right, so that the great Gate been open, we might have
enter'd the Town; for Monseigneur de Beauchare's Horse was kill'd before the Gate, hard by
the wicket, and mine was tro'd close by him, and so we retir'd, for all the wall was too
thick with Harquebuzers, and two horses were shot in our coming off, of those of Mon-
seigneur de Terride's Company, who had follow'd after us. The third day I took a resolu-
tion to retire, for the Gens d'armes were no longer able to guard the Foot; and on the other side,
though I had made a Battery, I had not da't to give the Assault to so many as they were
within, with so few as I had without. Wherefore I sent back the Artillery to Thiboue,
and the Captains to the places to which they desir'd to go to make an end of filling up their
Companies compleat. Monseigneur de Terride went to Beaumont de Lomeigne, and
the places adjacent to his house, for the Enemy had quitted Beaumont so soon as they perceiv'd
us to approach. I repulst the River at Mollas with the Marechal de Termes his Company,
my own and that of Monseigneur de Saintloren and Harquebuzers both on horseback, and on
Foot, which I always kept about me for my Guard. I sent Captain Charr to Paymirol,
to compleat his two Companies, and to make War upon those who kept Agen; and so
soon as I had pass'd the River on the side of Gujonym, I sent back the Marechal de Termes his
Company towards Aucb, to keep that Quarter in array, and Monseigneur de Gondrias into Armag-
ns, with the Gentry he had brought along with him, to see that nothing revolted there.
Now I had left Captain Arne at Condom, to hold that Country in subjection, who
might have about fourscore Laurens in his Company, and I had intelligence that Monseigneur
de Duas and de Comont had a confinement at Agen, and that Monseigneur de Comont would
come at night to lie at la Passage: Which having heard, I sent a man to Captain Arne
that he should not fail two hours after midnight to be at A affect, and that he should not
enter the Town, but stay for me in Battalia till I came, which he accordingly did. And
as I was going away in the evening, Monseigneur de S. Paul, to whole house I was retir'd
near unto Donas, asking me whether I was going, I told him in his ear, that I was going
to carry a clean thing to Monseigneur de Comont at la Passage; whereupon he told and affur'd
me, that he was gone the day before, after they had concluded of their affairs, and given
Commisssions to Captains to raise more men; which was the reason that I said to give our
horses, and Monseigneur de Saintloren his Company a little repose. But as this enterprise
failed, another preferred it self; for the same morning that I would have given a Camisado
to Monseigneur de Comont, Six hundred men were come out of Neraus, to go give another
Camisado to Captain Molta, who had put himself into Francisco's with threecore or
fourcore men, and the people of the Town, and those of Neraus, had taken four hundred
Cortsets out of the King of Navarres Magazine, and at break of day gave three assaults,
one immediately after another, but were always repuls'd. By Misfortune I had there till
night, for had I gone away in the evening, as I had done but for what Monseigneur de
S. Paul
S. Paul told me concerning Monfieur de Carnmont, I had come time enough to have fought the six hundred men of Neroe. And there my diligence once fail'd me.

By break of day Captain Arne and I met, and march'd together straight to Mynest, because he told me he had intelligence that this very morning those of Neroe would come out, and had taken all the arms in the Castle, but he knew not whether they were to go; so that yet we had met them, had it not been that Monfieur de Saintibene would needs stay to skirmish those of Leynae, who were come out a great way towards the Vines, so that it cost me an hours time before I could get him away, because he had a mind to have charg'd them up to the very gates of the City, could he have tempted them out of the Vines; and when we came to Mynest, we heard that the enemy was before Franciaca, which made us put on to a good round trot, to hasten thicker, sending six light horse before to discover where they were, who sent me word that above an hour before, they were retreate to Neroe, by reason they had had notice of Captain Arnes departure by night from Condum; for they had heard nothing of me. I sent to the Arvati-Coureurs still to go on, and that I would follow after; which they did, and at last discover'd them half a quarter of a League from Neroe, we still at a long trot following after, but in vain, for they got safe into the Town. I had a great mind to have been fingering those arms, to arm our new rais'd and naked men.

This was the naughty beginning of our War in Guiene, wherein the Hugonots took us at unawares, and unprovided; so that it is a miraculous thing how this Country could fave it self, considering the secrey intelligences the Rebels had in all the Cities of the Province: but they shew'd themselves Novices, and indeed they were guided by their Ministers only: if before they had made so many Surprises, they had attempered Bourdeaux and Tholozie, they had not fail'd of carrying the one or the other, and possiby both; but we were already upon our Guards, and God prefer'd those two Forts, the Bulwarks of Guiene, to save all the rest. I very much broke their desigins, by sending people every where, and never resting long in a place, for by so doing, a King's Lieutenant shall hold all the world in suspense, because they cannot guess at his design, every one imagining that he is coming upon him; whereas should he always lie still in one Quarter, he cannot pro- vide against all accidents, nor come in time, where there is immediate and pressing need; and also your being settled in one place, gives a great advantage to your Enemy, who by that means has his arms at liberty to do what he will; but I was not only my self in continual motion, but also with Letters and Messages was perpetually soliciting and employing all the Friends we had. Believe me, you who have the honor to be Governors of Provinces, it is a very good thing, and of great utility to your Prince, to keep a corre- spondence by Letters with those you know have never so little interest in the Country, and I am certain, that had I not done for the greatest part would have sided with these new people, who have made all this fine work in the Kingdom.

Soon after Captain Coffer return'd with Letters from the King and Queen, wherein they commanded me to stay in Guiene, there to do them the best service I could, for the conservation of the Country, recommending to me the care of their affairs, in more ho- norable expressions than I could any way deserve; By which I discern'd their Majesties were in great anxiety, especially the Queen, who writ me a very pitiful Letter. The great ones sometimes, when it pleases God, have need of the small, they must now and then be put in mind, that they are men and women as the rest of the world are; for if all should go as they would have it, they would not so much regard tho' that do them service, as when they felt themselves diffcrct, but consult the time in Plays, Masquarades and Tri- umphs, which are the cause of their ruines: as it hapned to my good Master, whorunning at Tille for his pleasures was unfortunately slain, which he could not have been in war, he would have been too well guarded for that. "Tis an old saying, that men slay always where they like, and I also am leasafe when I rub upon the old fore, which is the los of my goood King, whom I lament, and shall do the longest day I have to live.

Not long after Monfieur de Duras took his way all along by the River Garonne, and rend- ersouz'd his Army at Clairac, Tonneins and Marmande, which consist'd of thirteen Ensigns of Foot, and twenty Captains of Horse, and so soon as the Pardaillans, Savignac (Cap- tain of the Guard to Monfieur de Burie) Salignac and other Chiefs, were ready to execute their Enterprize upon Chafteau Trompitte; Monfieur de Duras march'd towards Mont- figar, and the places adjacent to Cadilac, with a great number of Boats, wherein he had ship'd the best of his Souldiers, to present themselves in the beginning of the night before Chafteau Trompitte, where the forenarm'd Captains had thought to have been got in, and by it to have given them entrance into the City. But their enterprize succeeded ill; for Chafteau-

The Siege of Duras for the Hugonots.

The Enter- prise upon Chafteau Trompitte, where the forenarm'd Captains had thought to have been got in, and by it to have given them entrance into the City. But their enterprize succeeded ill; for Chafteau-
his Brother in Law re-enter, who pretended to be in great tear, saying that those of the City had a design to take him: and Captain de la Salle who belong’d to Monsieur de Villiac did also very good service upon that occasion. Now this happened at one of the clock in the night, and all the City was in an alarm. Monsieur de Burie was at the Maistre, the Inhabitants besought themselves to arms, and fell upon the Hugonots (but the said Sieur kept himself in the Maistre with some Gentlemen of his Guard, and chose but very few, for most of them were of the Conspiracy) whereof some escap’d over the walls, and under a Pallisado that goes down towards the River. They were above two or three hundred Conspirators, some of which were taken, and as Monsieur de Durut his people, who were in the Boats, were under Cadilac, they met with the Count de Candalle, Son to Monsieur de Candalle, as he was coming from Bordeaux to the said Cadilac, whom they took Prisoner, and sent him to the Queen of Navarre, who was at Durut, but newly come from Court: and who made him promise her to take arms for their Religion, upon which promise the let him go to his own house, where he stay’d for a few days making new as if he meant to go join with Monsieur de Durut; but it was only to expect when I should draw near, that he might come in to me, as he did; saying, it was a promise extorted from him by force which he was no way oblig’d to keep, being no prisoner of Warre. Ever since which time this Count has been a mortal Enemy to the House of Durut.

At this time Monsieur de Burie dispatch’d away to me Raze his Secretary, post, entraining me to come to his relief, or that otherwise the City would be lost, for he had no Forces with him; and besides there was not one grain of corn in the City, infomuch that he was reduc’d in a manner to Famine, by reason that the Enemy were possess’d of all the River of Garonne, and that of Dorudin, which are the two Teats that nourish the City of Bordeaux. I immediately sent back the said Raze to assure Monsieur de Burie, that I would soon be with him, and in order thereto presently dispatch’d away to Captain Maffet to come to me with the Marechal de Termes his Company, and to Captain Arnaud, to send me forty Lances of the Company belonging to the King of Navarre, commanding him vrthalt not to flir from Condum, but stay to keep the Country in any, and to take care the Town did not revolt. I sent likewise to Captain Bazordan, that he should not flir with his two Companies from Beaumout de Lomagne, and the places adjacent to Monsieur de Terride, to whom I vrrt all to put himself into Grenade with his Company, and that I had left Captain Bazordan to be near him. I sent in like manner to Monsieur de Gondrin, that he should gather to him his Relations and Neighbours, and some Souldiers, to put himself into Eufa, and that I was going to relieve Monsieur de Burie at Bordeaux. I was not the Kings Lieutenant, and yet every one obied’d me as cheerfully as they could have done any man in the world; by which you may fee what it is for a man to get the love of the Gentry as I did, and who doth not fo, shall never perform any thing vorthy speaking of; for upon them, almoft all things depend, especially considering howe Gascony and Armaignac abound in Gentry.

All things depend upon the Gentry.

The fifth day after Raze’s departure, there came to me Monsieur de Courbe, nephew to Monsieur de Burie, and Lieutenant of his Company, who came again to sollicite my haft, by whom the said Sieur de Burie sent me word, that if in fix days he was not relievt’d, the City would be lost. The Sieur de Courbe told me also, that although he had only travell’d by night, he had nevertheless met with the Enemy almost at every step, and that all the Country was up in arms against us; either voluntarily or by force. I sent back the said Sieur de Courbe by les Landes, he having with him five and twenty Lances compleatly arm’d, recommending him to houles of Gentlemen of my relations, and the next day assembling all my men both Horde and Foot, I began to set forwards directly to Bordeaux. The fifth days March was to Bruch, which belongs to Monsieur de Gondrin, and another Village a quarter of a League from thence, call’d Fongrolles appertaining to the Queen of Navarre, where I lodg’d the Companies of Monsieur de Terride, and that of Monsieur de Saint Savoy, Brother to Monsieur de Terride, which vvas newly rais’d, and so soon as ever their Quarrels were made, there came three Esquifs of Nerac, led by one Captain Dussan, which might be in all betwixt five and fix hundred men. I had not eaten six bits, when they came to tell me, that a Caffle had by, call’d Castel-Vieille there were some people who defended the place; whereupon I presently went thither, commanding Captain Burdaubin, that with a hundred of his Musketeers, he should go and set fire to the gates, and give an assault, which he did, and we carried the place, when as we were entering, there came an Alarm from Fongrolles, that the Enemy were fighting with the Companys of Meflieurs de Terride, and de Saint Savoy; whereupon I left the Caffle, and ran to Fongrolles, fending to Captain Chatry, who was quarter’d with his men close by me, (I never suffer’d him to be very far off, for if it came to striking, he would always give
give the first blow') that he should advance with his men to come to the fight. I had some Gentleman with me; and but a few, forasmuch as they durst not as yet declare, seeing the Enemy to have the upper hand, and amongst others the Governor de la Mathe-Rouge Captain Poy, and fifteen or twenty others. I gave Captain Bardachin order to make the Soldiers give over the fack, and follow after me as fast as he could, but he left the charge thereof to his Lieutenant, and went along with me, with five or six horse more of his.

Now from Caftel Vieille to Fosgrolles it is no more than a quarter of a League, when so soon as I came thither, I found Monsieur de Termes his Company in Battaila by the Bourg, and that of Monfieur de Saint Saly so close by one another. The Enemy were at the other end of the Bourg, who faw us coming, and began to face about and retire. Whereupon I bid Captain Maffes take ten of his Lunaces, and that the reft should quarter themselves with the Company of Monfieur de Saint Saly, for we had made a long march on's, and would be going an hour before day, by reason of the excessive heat. Captain Charry also came up to me with five or six horse, and the reft were coming after as fast as they could, for I put my left in the Rear of the Enemy.

Close by the Village on this side towards Nerac there is an ascent, and when we were at the foot of the Hill, they were in the middle, and upon the top, and there they faced about: I had no great mind to fight, because my design was to relieve Bourdeaux, and therefore was unwilling to engage, fearing some disaster might happen, and that then I could not relieve the City. Nevertheless seeing them upon the top of the Hill I followed after, and when I came to the top, faw them in the great High-way betwixt two Copies marching left on, and in very good order, this Captain Donacan, with four or five horse, and ten or twelve Harquebuzers bringing up the Rear. We might be in all with the ten Lunaces some five and fifty horse good and bad: I made the Harquebuzers slant, and put themselves in their Rear, whereupon I perceiv'd them to make a little more haffe than before, which made me cry to the Governor la Mathe Rouge, Monsieur de Saintlorent, Captain Charry, and the reft of the Gentleman, follow them close, for upon my life these people are afraid, I see by their march, they have a long retreat to make, and I will second you with Captain Maffes. Captain Bardachin then fent to his Musketeers, that they should run as fast as ever they could, and we had not march'd after this manner above two hundred paces, but that I saw our Avant-Coureurs were fallen in bell-mell amongt them, and our Harquebuzers began to make a little more haffe; when seeing their horse pas thorough the files of the foot, to recover the Van (which was because Donacan's horse was shot) I rid up to the head of our men, and shew'd them that the Enemies horse gain'd the Front of their own people, either with intention to make them face about and fight, or elle they ran away for fear: But I rather think, said I, it is for fear, for their foot also begin to mend their pace, let us charge them, but first let Captain Maffes come up to us, who might be about some two hundred paces behind, to whom I fent that he should gallop away: but as soon as ever they faw our people coming upon the gallop, they began to ply their march, and gave over shooting, and then I cried, let us fall on, The Hugonots let us fall on, for they are afraid, which we did, and without resistance charg'd them through and through the very bellies of them. Their horse fled full speed towards Nerac, and the foot like cowardly rackets crept into the Copies, and lac'd in the ditches, where our Musketeers fough them in the Woods, and shot at them as they shot at Birds. Part of those who escape drownd'd, the reft paff through the Woods, and recover'd the Vines. We were so few that we were not enow to kill them all: for in those times there was no talk of Prisoners, and had the King paid his Companies, I should not have suffered Randoms to have been in use in this quarrel, which have only serv'd to maintain the War. But neither Gent-d'arms nor Soldier were paid, and therefore it could not possibly be avoided, though indeed there were not many. It is not in this cafe as in a foreign War, where men fight for love and honor; but in a Civil War, we muft either be master or man, being we live as it were all under a roof; and that's the reason why we muft proceed with rigour and cruelty, otherwise the temptation of gain is fuch, that men would rather defire the continuation, than the end of a War. But to return to our Runaways, the Alarm ran quite thorough our Camp, so that all of them came powdering in both Horse and Foot, but at their arrival found that all was done; so that would we have pursued the Victory as far as Nerac, they had all run away, and we might with great ease have taken the Town: but my design was only to relieve Bourdeaux. In this Engagement there died of the Enemy above three hundred men, whom the Judge of Viane caus'd to be interred, as I have since been told, without compiring those that were slain in the Vines.
and those who were drown'd, who might in all amount to be with four and five hundred men; and it was fought upon a Friday. This Victory very much defected the Brethren, and encouraged the Catholicks, for if you once begin to drum your Enemy, you may certainly conclude that you have the better of the Game, for they will ever after be so afraid, that they will never dare to stand before you.

The next morning an hour before day I began to march, and thought to have entred into le Mas d'Agnois, but I found that there was there three Ensigns of the Enemy who had taken possestion before me, and was thereupon contrain'd to quarter at Guere and Calonges, close by the aforesaid le Mas, both by reason of the long March I had made the day before; and also because the Secretary of the Queen of Navarre call'd Barbans, brought me letters from the said Queen from Duras, wherein the writ me said, that I did not need to proceed any further, for that Monfieur de Burie and he had compos'd all things, and that he was come out of France purposely to appose these Commotions, and to make those of the Religion to lay down their Arms. In answer to this Letter I told Barbans, that I would not return back unless I was first commanded by Monfieur de Burie so to do; for that if the City should chance to be lost, the whole blame of the miscarriage would be laid at my door. We there disputed it above two long hours in the field, he still espostulating with me, whether I thought the Queen of Navarre was against the King, and if I thought he had a mind to make his Majesty lose the City of Bourdeaux; to which I answered with all moderation and respect, for that was the way I was to proceed in this affair; but all he could get of me was, that I would send two Gentlemen along with him to the Queen of Navarre, to see in what posture affairs were betwixt her and Monfieur de Burie, and that in the mean time I would make four days March, of what I had design'd only for two, to give the said Lady time to make an end of the Treaty he had begun with Monfieur de Burie: and accordingly deliver'd him to the two Captains Pueg and Sendat, who were in danger to have been kill'd more than twice by the way; for in all the Corners and Villages the Hugonots had planted Courts of Guards to hold every one in supefence, and to fright people into their Party. In the Evening I call'd a Council of all the Captains, where they were all of opinion, "that I should lend no ear either to the Letters or Missages of the Queen of Navarre, who should the falsifie her word, the loss of the City of Bourdeaux was of so great importance, that what excues former I might make, they would not be sufficient to justifie me from the blame that all the world would justly lay to my charge: and on the other side should I be put to vindicate my reputation with my sword, I could not fight with the Queen of Navarre, insomuch that all the world would laugh me to scorn, and she herself the first of all, so that the fault would still lie where it did; and I should have no possible means to clear my own honor. I was very glad to hear them all of this opinion, because should my actions be disapproved, I had to pay in my excuse, that all the Captains had advis'd me to it; for if a man commit an error, it is at least more excusable if it be done upon deliberation and advice, than upon the meer account of his own humour and fancy; for alwaies to trust to a mans own headpiece is not so well. In the morning two hours before day I departed from my Quarters, and past above the Vines, leaving le Mas on the right hand, and came but by break of day onely near unto Caumont, by reason that the Paris was very freight, and I would not leave the Baggage behind me, for a great many people entred all night long into le Mas; who came from that side towards the River. Tho' of the Castle of Caumont sallied our, and came thorough the Vines, where we could not charge them by reason of the ditches, so that we continued on our March, till we came near unto Reole, and there I found Monfieur de Courre, who at his return to Bourdeaux had taken the rest of Monfieur de Burie's Company, and was come out to meet me. A little before I had sent to Monfieur Deynep my cousin-German, who was raising two Companies, to go and put himself in to Reole, which he had done; but the Hugonots had besieged it before my coming, and batter'd it with some field-pieces; but they could do no good, and raised the Siege. By which it is to be concluded, that they were Masters of the field, since they durst adventure to March with Canon, and had not God inspir'd me to oppose them, and to hang up those that fell into my hands, I do believe the whole Country had been lost; for Monfieur de Burie's moderation was by no means fafonable in such a time as this. I quarter'd my self in some houses over against Reole, those of the Town bringing us in provisions, and at midnight without sound of Trumpet or beat of Drum (by reason of a certain jealousy Monfieur de Courre had possest me withal) we began to March, and never stand till we came within two or three leagues of Bourdeaux, I there quarter'd my men in certain Villages, and my self went straight to the City, where I found Meffieurs de Cancon,
Cançon, and Montferrand, the Vicount d'Uza, Clur'ac, and others, who were there expecting my coming, and where by reason of the great scarcity of all things in the City, I could stay but three days only; in which time it was concluded between Monfieur de Burie and me, that the fourth day we should pass over the River, and go fight Monfieur de Duras, who was in the Territories of Monfieur de Candale in the County of Benangles. Accordingly I began to pass the River, and by noon had got over all the Foot, and in a few hours after my own Company, and the forty Lances belonging to the King of Navarre: when, seeing it began to grow late, I was of opinion that Captain Maffes should return to his Quarter with the Company belonging to the Marechal de Ternois, and should pass them over at midnight; which order being given I returned into the City again to conclude with Monfieur de Burie, that at midnight he should begin to pass over the rest of the men. He had caused four field-pieces to be made ready, which already were upon the thore, and the Company of Monfieur de Randan commanded by Monfieur d'Argence was arriv'd, as also that of Monfieur de Vandon commanded by Monfieur Cardin. So soon as it was night Monfieur de Burie caused all the Boats to be brought up under Chefe Trompette, expressly forbidding that any one should pass the River without leave, so that in the night when Captain Maffes came to the water side, it was not possible for him to get Boats to carry him over. I shall not here declare what every one paid upon this occasion, and what they reported was the cause why the River was not pass'd at the time appointed; for it signifies nothing, but Monfieur de Maffes in exciting himself spoke very plain, and without caring who heard him. I was quarter'd not above half a league from Bourdeaux, and above an hour before day mounted to horse, and (saying word to Captain Charry, who was Camp-master, that he should play for Monfieur de Burie with all the foot Companies, excepting those of the Baron de Clermont, and Monfieur de Saintloren) march'd on till I came to la Sene, sending word to Monfieur de Burie, that I had left him the Foot to accompany the Artillery. The Messenger pass'd the River, and found him in his Chamber not yet quite drift, though it was then past six a clock in the morning, by which time I made account he was come over, and lo soon as I was come to Seuse, Monfieur de la Sene's Uncle to Monfieur d'Andauz, told me that the Enemy was at Targon, and had no intelligence of our passing the River, and lent me one of his Servants to carry the news to Monfieur de Burie, whom in my Letter I entreated to advance, for that the Enemy was in a very convenient place to be fought withal. Now from la Sene to Bourdeaux it was about three leagues, and as Monfieur de la Sene's Servant came to the water side, he saw Monfieur de Termes his Company going aboard: I also by the fame Messenger sent to Captain Charry to solicit Monfieur de Burie to advance, who seeing them make so little halt, and knowing that I was gone to attack the Enemy (as I had sent him word) he took three-score light horse that he had of his own, and leaving the other Captains to wait upon Monfieur de Burie, and to guard the Artillery, came away after me.

So soon as I came within sight of Targon, which is a Village (as I think belonging to Monfieur de Candale) Messengers of Saintloren and de Fontenilis went on before, where at some scatter'd houses, they fell upon the Enemies Quarters, and kill'd fourteen or fifteen men, by reason whereof the Alarm in their Camp was so great, as made them draw all their Foot into Battalia in a great field, and their Cavalry all along by a little River there is in that place, whom I could not discover by reason of a Wood between them and me, and they were also in a Valley. The field where their Foot was drawn up, was a little more advance'd than the River, and when Monfieur de Saintloren fell into their Quarters, it might be about leven of the clock in the morning, after which they never stir'd from this field where they were first drawn up. I was upon a little Eminence at three or four houses that were there, from whence I despatch'd away another Messenger to Monfieur de Burie to entreat him to make haste, for that I was at the head of the Enemy, thinking that he was near at hand. The Count de Candale, who was then very young, and full of spirits, came to me this place, with ten or twelve Gentlemen in company with him, and amongst others the Sieur de Seignan, who had been a Captain of Foot with me in the Kingdom of Naples, at which time we call'd him Captain Monfleur, who also brought two of his Sons along with him, all three very brave Gentlemen. There the Count told me of the promise the Queen of Navarre had compelled him to make, without which he could not have escaped out of her hands; in answer to which I mildly told him, that I would confine the Bishop of Bourdeaux to assure him from that Engagement, neither would I promise any way bind him, forasmuch as he was not a prisoner of War; and besides, it was made to the Queen of Navarre, who profest her self to be a most humble servant of the King, and very passionate for his Monfieurs service.
About twelve of the clock the two Messengers I had sent to Monsieur de Burie return’d, and brought me word, that they could not be past over the River till after noon, and that the Company of Monsieur de Termes only was already landed on this side. I had sent back all our Horse to la Seine to bat, having kept with me only twenty, or five and twenty Horse, and there I flood Centinel, letting our horses eat the while under a Hedge, with the bridles in our hands. The Enemy saw me, and I saw them, and our men having got some victuals came back to me, just as the Enemy began to remove and to take the way directly towards me. We obtai’d that they march’d off by Companies, by which we very well understand, that they meant to take some other way than to come to us, and thereupon I fell to consult whether we should fight them, or no. In which Consultation the greatest part of the Company said, “That in case we should fight them, we should put all Guinne in danger, they being twenty for one, and that therefore it was better to stay for Monsieur de Burie, than commit such an error, which would neither be approved of by the King, nor by any other person whatever. Whereupon I granted them that what they said was very true: but that nevertheless we faw all the Gentry in Guinne in fear, and though it be true, said I, that you are not here above thirty Gentlemen, yet the whole Country is posseft with so great a terror, that they dare not rise against them to affift us, which when they shall hear, that we came to face them without daring to fight, will be so augmented, that in eight days time we shall have all the whole Country against us: therefore fall back, fall edge, it is my opinion, that we ought rather to hazard the loosing our fellows by fighting, than by avoiding the Com- bat, which is equally pernicious, especially considering that all things are in the hands of God. I have already told these people, where I have had the fortune to meet them, and have found them men of very little resolution; believe me they will never stand us, and we shall certainly rout them; neither ought we to have come so near if we had not intended to fight; and moreover you see that they are about to steal off, and to escape away. As to what concerns our overthrow, should it so fall out, Bourdeaux will notwithstanding be in no more danger to be lost for that, Monsieur de Burie being there, and a Court of Parliament to defend it. Monsieur de Seignan then being the oldest in the Company answered, and said, that it was very true, we should have all the Country infallibly upon us, and therefore seeing we were reduc’d to this necessity, and that there was no hope of Monsieur de Burie’s coming up to us, we ought to fight, whereupon they all in general began to cry, let us fight, let us fight; when as we were mounting to horse, the Marechal de Termes his Quarter-master, called Moncorneil, came up to us, and told me, that their Company having been on horseback from the beginning of the night, they had been necessitated to stay, and bate at Seine, at which news I was almost fit to despair. The two foot Companies were marching as fast as they could; but it was so excessively hot that we forcht as we froid, however Moncorneil seeing us going to fight, gallop’d away to la Seine to make Captain Maffes mount to horse.

We then march’d on the left hand of the Enemy, when being come within two Harquebuz shote of them, I divided my horse into two Troops: we might in all be twixt a hundred and excelleseight-horse; for I had not above thirty Leagues in my Company, it having been that of Monsieur de la Guiche, and the Soldiers being almost all gone home to their own hones, excepting a very few, and I could not supply their places with others. The Enemy fell by little and little mounted this Hill, sending most of their Harquebuzers down into the Copse below, which was there very thick, and to come to them we were to march thorough a great high-way enclos’d on both sides with Vine, I made Captain Churry follow in their Rear, and gave one of my Troops to my Son Captain Mont- luc and Fontenilles with the Cornet of Gudions, and kept to my self the other Cornet of Gens-d’armes, which was carried by Mon.tr de Berduson the Senelchal of Bazadous. When we came to the Vines I saw we could not pa$s them to come to fight, and therefore took on the left hand under the Vineyards. Captain MontLuc was about two hundred paces before me, who seeing us take on the left hand, they march’d on by the higher way before us, and when we were got clear of the Vines, and some ditches that were there, we saw Captain MontLuc still making on to gain the top of the Hill, to whom I then joynd Monsieur de Saintl’orens with his Harquebuzers on horseback, and kept with me the Baron of Clermont, who also had some fow.

Now, so soon as we came within twixt twenty and thirty paces of them, they began to fire, and not before, whereupon the Harquebuzers of Monsieur de Saintl’orens fir’d also, whilfe in the mean time Captain MontLuc charg’d full drive into the middle of all their Horse: I had an eye to him, and at the same instant a little on the left hand charg’d quite thorough their Foot, where we roued and put them to flight, but not without ha-
ving first stood our foot, and maintain'd their ground. Their horse seeing their foot defeated, fled down the Hill along by the Wood, and the foot enclosed in the Copse. Though being we had no foot to do execution (for every one knows, that horse do not fly to kill, but pursue the victory) there was not many men slain, yet though their loss was not very great, the reputation of the victory was of as great advantage to us, as the shame of the defeat was prejudicial to them, and every one on our side began to take heart, as they, and those of their Religion began to lose it; both Gentry and Common people now taking arms, and declaring for us. My son had two horses killed under him, and was himself wounded in two places: both the horses were mine, and one of them was my grey Turk, which next to my children I lov'd above all things in the world, for he had three times fav'd my life, or at least my liberty. The Duke de Polignac had given him me at Rome, I never had, nor ever hope again to have so good a Horse as that was. The Prince de Conde would gain have had him of me, but I put him off as well as I could, for I saw that such a Treasure was not every where to be found. Monsieur de Seignan left his, the Vicount d'Uzès, and the Count de Candalle their's alo; to be shore, after the charge we rallied upon the very place where they had fought, and found that in so great a necessity we could not make twenty horse to fight had the Enemy rallied upon us, almost all the horses being either killed or shot, and above the third part of our men: but they had not the judgment to examine their own condition, nor ours either; and I must needs say, it was one of the rudest and most furious charges, without a Battail, that ever I was in my whole life; neither can it be laid, that they ran away for fear without being fought, for they fact'd about upon us, either to give or to receive the charge, and in plain truth I did not expect to have found them to brave. We left upon the place but one Gentleman call'd Monsieur de Vigneaux only; but two or three that were wounded died after of their wounds. From the top of this Hill we discover'd the Enemy marching off as fast as they could, and saw that they rallied still as they went, full getting further off from us; and then we began to retire, come on horse back, and come on foot, for most of the horses were killed, and those that were not, were almost all fail to be led off, for they were wounded. I was in such a condition, that there was not a horse of mine to be found to remount me: so that had an hundred horse only return'd upon us, I had been a left man, and theref that were with me; for as for my part it was not to be hoped that all the world could have fav'd my life, these new Sains had such a malice to me above all others.

This was the Engagement of Targen, which was very shameful for the Hugonos, considering that they suffer'd themselves to be beaten by a handful of men; and as we were returning back, the two foot Companies arriv'd, who all day had run as fast as they could, and were ready to faint with excessive heat. Monsieur de Termes his Company, though they came as a good round trot, yet could they not possibly come up in time; for before Montcornet could go to Stenay, which was a long league from the place where he left us, and they mount to horse and march another league and a half, which they must do to the place where we were, we had done our business, at which they were all very much concern'd, especially Captain Maffes: I never saw man in so furious a passion, as that I was fail to enter him to be quiet, and to hold his tongue, for he had a great mind to say more than I had a mind he should. And so we return'd back to Stenay, where we found Monsieur de Burie, who was but just come, and yet it was between four and five a clock in the afternoon. He was glad to hear of our victory, and I believe had made all the haste he could; but he was old, and old men cannot be so diligent as young. We cannot have it twice, I know it by my felt.

We here concluded that Monsieur de Burie should return to Bourdeaux to bring from thence three pieces of Canon, with which to go and batter Montfignon, and the other places the Enemy held upon the River of Garonne, to clear the River, that provisions might come into Bourdeaux, for they were in a manner reduc'd to famine, and carry back with him the four Field-pieces, knowing very well that we should be no more in probability of a Battail, by reason of the Bruith the Enemy had lately receiv'd: and that in the mean time I should march with the Army up the River, towards Montfignon and Rolle, there to flux till the said Sieur de Burie should come with the Canon. But before we separated our selves, it was necessary to turn towards Bour, being that one of the Sons of Montandre had perfec'k himself of it, whose business it was to hinder all sorts of provisions from going down the Dortogne to Bourdeaux, which we did, and when we came to the River near unto [which] we cam'd our Cavalry and Monsieur de Saintloures to advance before towards the Town, who coming before it, the said Montandre quitted the place, into which we put some few men, that we sent for from Bourdeaux. I then mons...
ted to Monfieur de Burie, that we were to run a dangerous fortune, and that therefore it would be convenient for him to take the Castle of Blanquefort, which belonged to Monfieur de Duras, and was his habitation, and rearre, and that in the mean time I would go feize upon the Castle of Camont, which we did, and I garrison'd Camont by the way.

A thing that Monfieur de Camont was by no means pleased withal, being afraid that I would make prize of all I found within it; but I was very far from any such intention, as I made it evidently appear; for though there were in it goods to the value of above an hundred thousand francs, yet did he not lose the worth of one single penny, saving that the Count de Candalle, and Captain Montilue took some Chappels of Corel from the Warden of the Castle, and those with a receipt and an obligation to make them good.

And yet if I would I might have taken all the goods in the house, and it had been lawfull prize, forasmuch as within it there had been a party of Hugonots, which had made a Sally upon our people coming from Bordeaux, where Captain Sendar had his horse killed' by wretix his legs, which was a sufficient reason; for that was to declare himself an Enemy.

At the same time we had intelligence brought us that the Enemy had abandoned Bazas, out of apprehension that we would pass the River, because they heard that Monfieur de Burie was return'd to Bordeaux, and that I went up to la Reole: and so they began to carry in some little Corn to Bordeaux. I had notice at Gironde there was three or fourecome Hugonots, that were retir'd thither upon the rout of Monfieur de Duras, whom I trapp'd, and without more ceremony hang'd three corps and ten at the pillars of the Town-Hall, which fired to great a terror into the whole Country, that in every place they quitted the Banks of the River, and fled towards Marmette, and Tonneins; to which place Monfieur de Duras was retired to rally his scatter'd people, and recruit his Troops, and was forc'd to remove from thence, and to retire to Dordogne. One might see there all about which way I had gone, the Trees upon the High-ways wearing my Livery. One man hang'd, terrify'd more than an hundred that were kill'd. The Queen of Navarre who was at Duras, after having heard of the defeat of Monfieur de Duras, departed from the Castle of Camont (which was before I feiz'd upon it) where she had been, but made no stay, and retir'd into Beaum, and we came after to the said Castle of Camont. God knows how dearly the lov'd me, and how the baptiz'd me, calling me the Tyrann, and all the ill names she could invent; but she was a Princefs, and moreover a Woman, and consequently not to be question'd. Being a Servant to the King, and a Catholick, I did my duty, and had every body else done so, we had never seen such doings as have been practis'd since. Both I and mine have ever been most faithful servants to her and her Family, but it was then when the Kings interest was not in question.

Monfieur de Burie being come to Reole with the Canon, we went to besiege Montsegur, and lay one night at Sauvetetere, where I took fifteen or sixteen whom I hang'd every Mothers Son, without the expense of paper or ink, or without vouchsafing to hear them speak; for these people would promise mighty matters, which they never intended to perform. Now in Montsegur there was bewitx onen and eight hundred men. The Town is little, but fortified with walls as good as good can be, and of a very advantageous situation. We besieg'd it on that side by the Tannery, where they dress their Leather. Monfieur de Burie quarter'd himself in the Houses before the Gate which looks towards la Sauveur, where there are great Towers, and I hard by him. Monfieur d'Ortoile and Fredeville, Cümpaniaries of the Artillery would needs go view the Town in open day, where we wanted for no Harquebus shot, and after the discovery had been made, we concluded to attack it by the said Tannery. There was on that side a Gate of the Town, which they had lately covered with a Wall, and had let down the Portculisse, which the Wall covered, and within had catt up a Rampire of earth and rubbish. I made the approches by night, and lodg'd Bardachins Company in the Tannery. We let Monfieur de Burie take his rest, and presently after midnight our Artillery was plantung upon a little Emminence overagainst, and within a hundred and fifty paces of the said Gate. Against the opinion of the said Commimaries I would try to see what was behind this Wall that cover'd the Gate, and to that end caus'd some Fagots to be set on fire hard by the Gate; by the light whereof I caus'd five or fix Canon shots to be made at the said Gate, which beat down all this new Wall; whereupon I sent Captain Bardachins Ensign all alone to discovery the place.

The Tannery was bewitx the Artillery and the Gate, and bewitx the Gate and the said Tannery there was a great Walnut Tree, behind which Captain Bardachins and I planted our felves, it being no more than five or six paces from the Gate, where the Ensign came and brought us word that the thing we saw that lookt white was the Portculisse. We
Book V. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

We thereupon made him to return back again, and to climb up the Portculrice; which he did, and at his return told us, that over the top of the Portculrice he had perceived a Terras within, but that it was but low, and a man might pass betwixt the Arch of the Gate and the Portculrice, creeping upon his belly. The Enemy could not see him, by reason of the fire, but we could who stood behind the Tree, and yet they made above twenty Harquebuzz shot. I then sent in all haste to Captain Charrwy, to bring all the Companies without bear of drum, or making any noise, whom to soon as they came I made to squat close upon their bellies behind the Artillerie, bidding Monfieur d'Orrtie begin to shoot, though it was not yet day, and try to make a Battery hard by the Gate; when so soon as he had made two volleys, I sent away the said Bardachin Enviged called Captain Vines, who had a Targer upon his arm, a Morion upon his head, and a Coat of Mail with sleeves of the same, and after him two Harquebuzzers without Morions, who all went creeping with their bellies almost to the ground. Captain Vines began to mount the Portculrice, and Bardachin and I were again advance' behind the Tree. The dawning of the day began to appear, and Monfieur d'Orrtie still continued firing at the Wall, and the Enemy advanced to enrench behind the Battery, which was on one side of the Gate, taking no heed at all to the Gate itself, as not suspecting the Wall which cover'd it. We thereupon made him to return back again, and to climb up the Portculrice; which he did, and at his return told us, that over the top of the Portculrice he had perceived a Terras within, but that it was but low, and a man might pass betwixt the Arch of the Gate and the Portculrice, creeping upon his belly. The Enemy could not see him, by reason of the fire, but we could who stood behind the Tree, and yet they made above twenty Harquebuzz shot. 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At the next Volley I made Bardachin approach the Portculrice, having a Target and a Morion, and the Harquebuzzers one after another concealing their matches, when so soon as Bardachin had got five or six men about him he mounted the Portculrice where at the top his Enviged drew him in, and the Harquebuzzers one after another as they came; and still as the Harquebuzzers came behind the Tree I made them flip in, when seeing there was already twenty got into the Town, I my self drew up to the Portculrice. They within entred into a little Chamber of the Tower, to which there was two little doors, which open'd upon two pair of stone stairs on the right hand, and on the left, by which they went up and down on the inside of the Town to the said Tower. In the mean time I still put in more men, one after another, till Bardachin sent me word, that he began to be strong enough to be Master of the Tower, and that he was not as yet discover'd. Whereupon I sent to Captain Charrwy and the Baron of Clermont, that they should ride and come running all along a high-way there was that came directly up to the Gate; which they did, but before they could come up Bardachin was discover'd, where they began to fight, and to defend the flairs. Immediately upon which came the Envignes of Captain Charrwy and Clermont, and mounted with all their men after them. The Enemy made good thoce stairs, but our people gain'd the top of the Tower, by the help of a little hand ladder they met withal, and were Master's of the inside of the Gate, when the Captains on the right hand ran desperately down the stairs, and came to disfigure it hand to hand in the Streets. The Enemy once repuls'd our men, but in the end being overpower'd by numbers they retir'd, the Assailants falling in pell mell amongst them, till they came to the Markes-place, where they found three hundred men in Battalia, who made head and disfigure it for a time, but in the end were put to rout and fled every man to thift for himself. I sent an account of all to Monfieur de Buris, but he had heard of it before, and he must needs know alo by the Harquebuzz shot that they were fighting; whereupon he sent some Gens-d'armes about the Town; but they could do nothing there. I took a town or a hundred Soldiers, and with them march round the Walls, so that as many as least were disordered. The slaughter continued till ten of the clock, or after, because they were faint to ferret them out of the houses, and there was not above fifteen or twenty taken prisoners, whom we presently hang'd up, and amongst the rest all the Kings Officers, and the Confuls with their hoods about their necks. There was no talking of Ransoms unless for the Hangmen. The Captain who commanded there, was called Captain Herrand, who had formerly been of my Company at Montcallier, as brave a Soldier as any was in Guienne, and was taken alive. There were many who would faint have lavi'd him for his valour, but I said, that if he should escape there he would make head against us at every Village, for I very well knew his courage, which made me hang him. Nevertheless he still thought I should save him, because I knew him to be valiant; but that made me rather put him to death; for I was very well assured that he would never return to our side, as knowing him to be a stubborn obstinate fellow, and moreover befotned Montfegur carri'ed by assault.
The number of the dead.

befotted with this new Religion, and found them to be above seven hundred, all the Streets and the Walls were cover'd over with dead bodies, and yet I am sure a great many died without, of those who leap over the Walls, whom I counted to be slain.

Thus was Montfieur taken; but I believe it would have been a hard dispute, had we been put to have entered by the breach we were about to make, and yet it would have cost us above five hundred Cannon shot before we could have made a Gap wide enough for two men to enter a breast only: for the Walls were built of admirable good stone, and exceeding thick, as strong as any whatever in the whole Province; and withal it had been a matter of great difficulty to enter, though the breach had been never so sufficient, they having means to entrench themselves within, and I do believe they would have found us work, and it would have been a Mart of honor both for them and us; but it was better as it was.

Two days after, we went to besiege the Town and Castle of Duras, in which there was a hundred and fifty men. All night long I never slept to lodge the Artillery to batter the Town; for to batter the Castle was a thing of extraordinary difficulty, unless on that side of the Garden behind it, and there also it was very hard to bring up the Artillery: which made us conclude, that it was better to attack the Town, and afterwards from within to batter the Gate of the Castle; when so soon as I had made all things ready, they call'd to us to know if Monsieur de Burie was there, to which they were answer'd, that he was quarter'd at the Farms two or three Harquezuit shot distant from the Town: but that I was at the Artillery; whereupon they desired to know if I would give them leave to come out in safety, which I promised they should, and so came to speak with me; but I refer'd them to Monsieur de Burie. The day began to break when they return'd, and they told me they had capitulated. Monsieur de Burie with some few with him presently entred into the place, but I entered not till eight of the clock in the morning, but laid me down to sleep after the Capitulation; for I wak'd when others took their rest. Monsieur de Burie told me that there was nothing in the place, but a hundred and fifty Cor- flets that belong'd to the King of Navarre, which the Warden of Thomens a Hugonot had left there, intending to have carried them to their Camp, but that he was afraid of being snapt by the way. We cau'ted them to be divided amongst the Captains to arm the Soldiers; and from thence Monsieur de Burie went to Bourdeaux, and I with the Army marched down towards Marmande and Thomens. Every one quitted the places they held for fear, so that I met with none but some few Catholics; and from thence marched directly to Clairac and Aquillon where I pass'd the River. And as I was passing it I halted before the said Town, because there were three or four thousand men in Agen, and I would go to environ them to trap them within it. Having then reimbarkt the three Can- non at la Ruelle, which I made to mount up the River, it was night before I had pass'd over all the men, and as I was marching in the night I had news brought me: from Agen, that in the beginning of the night they had abandon'd the City, and were gone away to- wards Montaum. I wond'red that these people should be so dammably timorous, and that they did not better defend their Religion, they having so much leisure as to take their prisoners along with them; a sudden terror having surpriz'd them, when they heard that I was at hand; for they no sooner heard my name, but they fancied the rope already about their necks. Those whom they had clapt up in prison were Maitres de la Lande, de Nort, all the Officers of the King, and the Conufs, excepting the President of Agen, against whom they had no prejudice. These poor Officers, very honest men, had been two or three months detaine'd in prison, in which space above a hundred times the ropes were present'd before them to hang them up, so that I wonder they did not die for fear.

Monsieur de Burie being arriv'd at Port St. Marie, we there and in the adjacent Vil- lages quarter'd the Army, and from thence went with a few men only to Agen, where we found the City ruin'd; for these people where ever they came left sad marks behind them, and there we staid three or four days. Monsieur de Burie lent to Ville-Neufle, and to Montlaunquin three Companies of Gen'e-d'armes, namely his own, that of Mon- sieur d'Agenes, and that of Monsieur de Carlus, Lieutenant to Monsieur de Vanguium. They lent to Monsieur de Burie to send them four or five hundred Foot, and that they would go and fight Captain Bordet, who was coming from Saintonge, with three hundred Horfe, of which fixscore were Cuirassiers, and Lances all, the rest Piftoleers, and Harque- buzters on horfe-back, together with three Ensigns of Foot. I offer'd my self to Monsieur de Burie for this service, who told me that he would go himself, and be engag'd in this aotion, and that he would go away at midnight. I would not contradict him for I should think
think that I had a mind to do all my self, and get an advantage over him, and therefore
rein’d my self to Esfend to take some order in the affairs of my Family, hearing that my
Wife was lately dead. The next day Monfieur de Burie was yet at Agen, and the next
day after that, and in the mean time Burdet pass’d by, and mistrust to get to Montauban,
where Monfieur de Durats flaid to expect him. I knew very well that Monfieur d’Ar-
tage and his Companions adviz’d Monfieur de Burie in all hafte to fend them the Foot
they defir’d, that they might fight, and am very confident the fault was not in them: but
Monfieur d’Argence is yet living, who is able to give an account where the fault lay, I have
nothing to do to meddle, or make in the busines.

At my return back to Agen we concluded to go and affault the Castle of Penz; for du-
dring the time that our Company lay about Agen, there came to us three Spanish Com-
panies commanded by Don Luis de Carboa, in the absence of his Uncle Don John de
Carboas, who afterwards came and brought the other ten Ensigns. We arraig’d the Castle
in the Front of it, for we could batter it in no other place, it being very strong both in
structure and situation; and there we made above three hundred Canon shot. They had
here a great Terras call’d up within, and in the Terras had made a Trench where the Sol-
diers lay to defend the Breach, which also was of very difficult access, because we were to
mount by ladders from the Breach up to the Terras. Now we had the first night taken
the Town, for Captain Cherry and his Companions had set fire to the Gates, which the
besieged having long and bravely defended in vain, they all rein’d into the Castle. They
might be within it about three hundred men; and I went to discover the Breach by the
Houles on the right hand, which I caus’d to be pier’d thorough, passing from one to an-
ter till I came to the left, which was so near to the Castle, that there was no more than
the way beswift them; from whence I perceived an out-jut of stone at the flank on
the right hand in the Wall, and sent a Soldier creeping on all four to discover this place.
He went up the half-way, and found that it was made, as if they had purposely left steps
to go up by in that place; which having done, he came back to me, and upon his report
I went immediately to Monfieur d’Orthe, where we drew a piece of Canon a little on the
right hand this place. We had enough to do to lodge it there, by reason that it was a
very great Precipice that went down to the River; and from thence we shot side-ways at
this Wall, which being not very strong, was in four shots pier’d quite thorough; so that
one might fee thorough the hole into their Trenches; whereupon I immediately went
down, and made the same Soldier climb up by those steps to far as to discover if the hole
was over against the Trench, bidding him in no wise to discover himself; which he ac-
ccordingly did, and brought me word, that they flood all in Batallia in the Trench, and
that there was a great number of Corells, as it was true. I then caus’d the Ladders to
be brought, which I had made to be fought for in every place, and which might be some
twelve or fifteen in all. Monfieur de Burie was with the Artillery, whether I went to con-
clude the Assault before him, entreating him that the Gafcons might go on first, and the
Spaniards after: but Don Luis defir’d they might fall on together, which was allo
grant’d. In the mean time I made choice of four Harquebuzers to mount these steps, for
more could not stand upon the topmost thorough the hole into the Trenches when ours
should give the assualt to the Front of the Castle, and I committ’d to them the assualt.
The Soldiers themselves took the Ladders, and I went to the forementioned steps with my
four Harquebuzers, when as the one were rearing their Ladders, the four went up by the
steps, and at the same instant that the Spanish and Gafcon Foot mounted the Ladder,
the four Harquebuzers fir’d into the Trench. They kill’d one of them, who tumbled
down dead at my feet, and I sent up another in his room: but when the Enemy saw
themselves kill’d thorough this hole, they retir’d into another Fortresses, where they de-
defended themselves above three long hours, and twice repul’d our people to the very Breach.
Where I perceiv’d two things, though I had very well observ’d them before, the one that
the Spaniards are not more valiant than the Gafcons; and the other, that the brisk di-
sputes are always made by the Gentlemen, for above five hundred Spaniards and Gafcons
were overturn’d either upon the Ladders, or down to the ground, yet mutt we not de-
prove thole of their due honor, who worthily achieved it; for though the Gafcon Cap-
rains, and the Gentlemen of their Companies, all day bore the brunt of the fight, I will
not lay that the Spanish Captains very bravely behav’d themselves, but I truth their
Soldiers did very little. In the end I encourag’d our people, making them again to mount
the Ladders, encouraging some, and threatening others, for I had my sword drawn in my
hand, ready to have given them a cutt of my Office, had I perceived any Poltrons. But
they all now began to do better both Spaniards and Gafcons, inomuch that they gain’d
the second Fort. The Enemy then divided themselves into two other Fortes, namely the
great Tower, and another quarter of the house on the left hand. Now we were to go up a pair of stone steps into a base Court, betwixt the said Tower and the other Fort, so that our people were constrain'd to set fire to the Gate of the said Base-Court. On the top of these steps, and close by the Gate there was a corner on the left hand, where fifteen or sixteen men had room to stand. Captain Chappie and the Baron de Clermont were in this place encouraging the men to shoot thorough the Gate into the Base-Court, and so soon as the Gate was burnt it fell down just in the Passage. I was upon the middle of the steps, when seeing the Gate fall'n down, I call'd to Captain Chappie, that they should leap in thorough the fire, which they did without disputing the bastides, a man needed not to bid him twice, he fear'd not death. I put forthwards those who were upon the steps before me, whether they would or no, and so we all entered in fury, but found no body in the Base-Court save Women and Maids, of which it was all full, even to the very Stables. Tho' of the Tower of the other Fort on the left hand shot at us in the Court, and killed five or six Soldiers. Captain Chappie was there a little hurt, and the Sieur de Barbachin also. We made the Women go down by those stone steps, where the Spaniards who were at the foot of the stairs in the great Bafe-Court below, kill'd them saying they were Lutherans disguis'd. We redoubled the assault upon this Fort on the left hand both by a door, and by two windows that went into it, which we carried, putting all we found within it to the Sword. Now we were afterwards to assault the great Tower, and the Gate that was between. I there left the Captains who were not hurt in this Fort on the left hand, and in the Stables to keep them pent in, and as fortune would have it, they had all their provisions in this Fort on the left hand, and none at all in the great Tower; and that was the reason that in the close of the Evening they surrendred themselves to the Captains upon Quarter for life. The Spaniards were lodg'd in the Town, who knew they were surrendred, and that in the morning our Captains were to bring them to Monfieur de Bure and me, who were quarter'd in the Halfe of Monfieur de Cathou a Harquebuz shot from the Castle. Monfieur de Pont lay there also, being come with Monfieur de Burie, and so soon as the Prisoners came, who might be forty or fifty in number, we deliver'd them to fifteen or twenty Soldiers in guard; but the Spaniards came and took them from those fifteen or twenty Soldiers, and kill'd them all excepting two servants of Madam la Marchesalle de St. Andre, that I had kept at my lodging; so that of all these three hundred men there was not a man escaped, having these two that I sav'd, and another that went down the Wall of the Castle by a Rope, and swam the River, who had also a great many Soldiers at his heels plying him all the way with their Harquebuz shot, but he miraculously escap'd in despite of them all. His hour was not come, for he had an infinite number of shots made at him, but none of them had the fortune to hit him. Here perceiv'd that Don Lemo his men were for the most part raw rascals; for old Soldiers do not use to kill Women, and those kill'd above forty, at which I was seriously angry. Their Captains were sorry for and abash'd of the action, but they could not help it, for they said they were Lutherans in disguise, because having been a rumbling with one of them to lie with her, they had found that it was a beardless Deacon, who had disguis'd himself in women's clothes. This was the taking of Penes which was of no little importance, as being an extraordinary strong place, and in a good Country upon the Rivers, where a great many Rogues were dispatch'd out of the way, whose bodies serv'd to fill up a very deep Well that was in the Castle. It may truly be said, that every one here play'd his part, as also did Monfieur de Burie, who never flir'd from the Canon, but took as much pains as any man of his age could possibly do.

Now so soon as Captain Burdet was joynd with Monfieur de Durais, their Army began very much to encroach, forasmuch as those who before had forborn to declare themselves in expectation of the said Burdetts coming, now that they saw he was come, conceiving a better opinion of their affairs, they repair'd boldly to the Army. The Enemy then being in this condition, we were one night afraid that they would take from us Moiffac, or else Cahors, by reason that the Rivers were so low, that they were almost every where to be forded, which made me tell Monfieur de Burie that it was necessary we should speedily send away some men to Cahors; for the water being every where to be forded over, they would at the very first carry the Town, there being no body there but the Inhabitants only to defend it; whereupon he presently made choice of Monfieur de Saint-Brunes with fourscore or a hundred Light-horse he had beside his Foot Company, whom I entreated to make all the haste he possibly could, and never to rest day nor night, till he had put himself into the place. I made account that from the place where the Enemy lay he would go in eight hours to Cahors, and (as God when he pleases will prevent the evil from coming to pass) we had news brought, and did believe it, that the Enemy was design'd
design’d for Moiffac, and had no thought of Cahors at all. Monseur de Saint-Loup made very great haste without either stop or stay, unselt to eat a little bread, and drink a little wine, he had cause’d to be carry’d along with him for the Soldiers by the way: and also it
flood him upon lofe no time. He was to go very near to their Camp, and as he march’d by night, the Enemy at the same time did the fame, fo that in the morning by six-trees, just as he was got over the River, the Enemy came to the water side, to little had be the
terror of them, and so narrowly they shift of him. At his coming to the Town he found all
the people in to great a terror and confusion, that they were forking the Town to fly to
the mountains for safety, but as his coming they took courage; and immediately without
entering into any house, Monseur de Saint-Loup went out to skirmish, and put himself
upon the passage of the River to defend it, for he had very good men, and it was also the
first Company that had been rais’d. All day the Enemy was howering about the River,
making a shew as if they intended to pass it, and I believe shewn for the rest of the Army,
who were marching after them; but made no attempt to pass. At left the night drawing
on, Monseur de Saint-Loup fortified himself with Barrels, logs, and stones, and such
materials as he could find; wherein the whole City were employed at work, and plied it
so well, that in the morning the Enemy saw there would be no good to be done; so that
the remainder of their Army coming up to them, they all quarter’d themselves in the
Villages nearest to the River, and there some days remain’d without making any further
attempt. In the mean time we went to Moiffac, to which place Monseur de Burie had
caused two great Culverins, and twp Field-pieces to be brought from Bourdeaux, and
where we left the three pieces of Canon, and march toward Caufade, Mirabel, and
Raville; to which places their Camp was retir’d. A little before this the King had
sent to Monseur de Malcourt, to give us an account how affairs stand in France, and alfo
to bring him word in what posture they were with us. In two or three days we came
to Mirabel, during which I could not make it sink into Monseur de Burie’s head, that
we were to make haste to nap the Enemy, there being some who continually laid diffi-
culty upon difficulty before him.

All of us who were there, and who are yet living, must needs confess that we were
all troubled at him, and at this cold proceeding of his, because he had ever had the
repuration of a fighting man, and was reputed a great Captain, of which he had alfo upon se-
veral occasions given sufficient proof: where as we found him so heavy, and fo low, that
it appeared to every one as if he avoided fighting only to give the Enemy opportunity
to escape out of our hands, in much that he flood highly suspected to many, both by rea-
son of this fupinenefs and remis way of proceeding, and alfo for that almost all his Ser-
vants, especially a Secretary of his, whom he extremely lov’d, were Hugonots. A Servant
of his a Bafques, whose name was Haffes, told us, that would Monseur de Burie have gi-
ven care to him he should have chang’d his Servants, knowing very well that they rendred
him suspected, especially to the Spaniards; and in truth it was intolerable, by reason of the
jealousie we all had, that the Enemy had perpetual intelligence of our designs; for I never
knew any of that party, how moderate ever they might seem to be, that did not hear-
tily defire the King’s ruin. As for my own part I do really believe that never any ill
entred into his heart, and that which made him defere things fo, was only the continual
buzzing him in the ear, that I would make him lose himself.

So foon as we came to Pecornet, which belongs to Monseur de Thoines, Monseur de
Burie would take up his Quarters there, and I with my own Company, and a good
Troop of Gentlemen march’d on straight to Mirabel, sending my Son upon the Forlorn
Hope before; who coming to Mirabel, found the Enemy newly retir’d from their Quarters,
and marching away towards Caufade, where he fell upon the Rear, and defeated a Troop,
the rest putting themselves into two or three houses, which being near unto Caufade,
where their whole Army was, and he having no Foot with him, he was constrain’d to
let them alone, and to retire to Mirabel, where I flaid to expect him. Now I had fent
to Monseur de Burie to entreat him to come and quarter at Mirabel, it being no more
than a league only from Pecornet; to which he fent me anfwer back, that the greatest
part of the Army was already quartered in their Quarters; whereupon I went my feet in all
haste, where at my coming I found that he had already taken up his lodging in a Grange
belonging to Monseur de Thoines: but with the help of Meffeirs de Malcourt, d’Argen-
tence, and other Captains of Gens d’armes, I prevailed to far upon him, that he per-
swaded him to march. I never (as I have already faid) what reports forever were made
of him, suspected him in the leaft, but ever attributed his flow and wary proceeding
only to his fear of misadventure, being unwilling to hazard any thing, as knowing very
well, that should he lose a Battail, the Country would be totally lost, and on the other
side.
sire, he saw also that the Enemy was going into France; but I always said it would be a good service to the King to defeat them before they should join with their Confederates there, and that a hundred Rebels and Traitors would never dare to stand ten honest men. He would often complain of me to Monsieur de Courc his Nephew, laying that one time or another I would make him lose all, and consequently the Province of Guise would be left to the King; so that as to my own particular I durst answer for him, that it was this apprehension only that restrained him; for he was neither corrupted nor disloyal to his Master, and neither wanted courage, nor conduct; but he would hazard nothing, which was a great fault in him.

Twice that night we sent our Parties to discover the Enemy at Camfide, which was no more than half a league distant from us, and the second time it was by Monsieur de Ver- dunes Ensign, who fell upon one of their Courts of Guard. Now I would fain have beat up their Quarters in the night: for all their Army lay without the Town, and far enough from one another; but it was impossible ever to persuade Monsieur de Burie to it. The next morning I went with the King of Navarre Company, that of Monsieur de Termes, and my own, to discover, taking Monsieur de Malicorne along with me, and found that there was some Harquebuziers in the Town, who shot at us. Now Monsieur de Duras and Captain Bordet were gone to Montauban, it being but two Leagues thither, and had left there all the good Horse, that Captain Bordet had brought, behind them; Monsieur de Duras and he having taken only ten or twelve along with them, and had lain all night at Montauban by reason of whose absence they never offered to appear, and were in very great fear, left all our Army should come down, it being from Mirabel to Carmes, no more than a quarter of a league. We dallied there above two hours before the Town, not knowing that these people were within it: 'tis the true the Country people told us, that Monsieur de Duras was gone the day before to Montauban, but they did not know whether or not he might not be return'd. At night we return'd to Monsieur de Burie, and entered into Council, to which were called all the Captains of Gens d'arms, and Don Lewis de Carbacce also, where we fell to debate, whether the Walls being of no strength, we should not go with the two great Culvering, and assaile them in Camfide. To which proposition some said I, and others no; but in the end the Negative voices carried it, which so soon as I perceiv'd, I made a motion, that after dinner we should descend into the Plain, and there draw up in Battalia, by which I said we should produce two effects; the first, that we should by that means discover the strength of the Enemy, and discern by their countenance whether they were in fear, or no; and secondly we should order our men as if they were to fight, and separate our Harquebuziers from the Gens d'arms, so that every one might know his own place when we came to fight, which we could not do where we were quartered; by reason that there was no even ground. This in the end was concluded of, and agreed, that so soon as we had eaten a little we should mount to horse. All the Gentry, which was a sprightly and brave Troop, retir'd with me, and we soon dispatch'd our dinner; after which I sent away a Gentleman to Monsieur de Burie to give him notice that I began to march to take my place in the field; when presently there came Monsieur de Malicorne, who had been present at the former deliberation to tell me, that Monsieur de Burie was resolv'd not to come down into the Plain, nor to suffer the Army to do it, and told me moreover, that those whom I thought to have been the most forward to have stood to the former resolution, were the two who retir'd, and were now of a quite contrary opinion; which is an abominable thing, that men should out of respect to authority go contrary to their own fene. I entreated him that he would go back again, and remonstrate to Monsieur de Burie the great error he committ'd in not ordering our men as they ought to fight, and that I would engage my honor to him we would not fight, but only observe the countenance of the Enemy, and play upon him with our Artillerie in case they should present themselves on the other side of the River: but I had something else in my thoughts, and had I seen a fit opportunity, would have come so near that it should not have been possible to have retir'd without fighting. However the said Sieur de Malicorne absolutely refused to go, saying that he had already said all he could to persuade him, and would meddle nor make no more in the business, and I perceiv'd was very angry, though he forbore to say all that he thought. I therefore sent Monsieur de Madaillan, but Monsieur de Malicorne said with me, and would no more return. We then march'd and pass'd before his Lodging, all of us hoping that when he saw us upon our march, his humour would come about, and that he would come, and to soon as we came into the bottom were aware of the Companies of the King of Navarre, and the Marchal de Termes, commanded by Captain Slvere, and Captain Mages, who told me that Monsieur de Burie had sent to protest against them
them if they came down to me, but they had return'd him answer that before dinner they had concluded to go into the Plain, and that for their part they would stand to the first resolution, that I was there already, and that should the Enemy come out to fight me, they would share in the part. He proceeded also against the other Captains (I have heard since, that Don Lewis was one of those who alter'd his opinion) and particularly against Captain Cherry the Camp-master, who thereupon left him the Companies, and came himself alone to find me out, and to run the same fortune with me. In short we were all in division, which is an unandy Beatt when it once gets into an Army; and therefore you, who have the command of Armies as much as you can oppose its entrance, for if it once get a foot within the door, it is very hard to thrust him out again.

The Enemy departed from Caunside, taking their way directly to Realville, to escape towards Montauban, when so soon as they came into their side of the Plain, they were aware of me, and made a halt: after which they began to put themselves into Batail, and were above a long hour in doing it, by which I very well perceiv'd they were but raw Soldiers, and that their orders were either not well given, or not well obeyed. They durst not venture a step further upon their march, fearing I should change them in the Rear, and so we stood fighting one another above four long hours with a little River between us, I would not suffer some Harquebuzers on horseback that I had to make any attack upon them, to the end that Monfieur de Burie might see that I had no mind to fight unless he himself was there, hoping that his knowing us to be so near would bring him out into the field, but all signified nothing, and so we were constrain'd to retire from thence. As we were retreating towards Mirabel some of their Cavallry that was in Realville, and that before had not dar'd to shew their heads pass'd the River (which were Captain Bordey men) they had all white Capfocks, which were the first that I had ever seen, but so soon as they saw us face about upon them, they turn'd back again to repafs the River, and in our fight crost the water above Realville, taking the way to Montauban. I then retir'd to my Quarters as angry as ever I was in all my life, that we had lost so fair an opportunity of fighting the Enemy, and what promise ever I had made to the contrary, had the gros of our Army come down to us, we would have had a brush with them, and I would (as I have already laid) have approac'd them so near, that it should not have been possible for either side to have retir'd without fighting.

In the Evening Monfieur de Burie sent to me to know if I would come to the Council, which after many entreaties, with much ado I did, but they had much ado to perfwade me to it. Where being come, I remonstrated to him what a piece of cowardize we had committ'd, who thereupon told me, that it had not fluck at him, we had not fought; but he did not go without an answer. Meilleurs de Maliceone and d'Argence ar both of them yet living, who I believe can better remember what I said than I; for I was scarcely my self, I was so transport'd with passion. To be short, in this huff I left him and his Council, upon which occasion he Hewl'd himself to be wiser than I, and more patient to bear with my imperfections, and I do believe in his conience knew himself to be in fault. At night Captain Mauffet, Arme, and I, with my Company, and the Gentlemen went out thinking to find the Enemy on this side the River Labyron; not imagining the palling being very dangerous and bad, that they would offer to venture over in the night; but so soon as ever they came to the water side they hurried over in great disorder, and went to gain a Wood neath unto Montauban call'd le Rambier. Captain Mauffet and Captain Arme met with some who staid behind in the Farms on this side the River, as being afraid to venture over, having seen some of their men drown'd in the palling, and those they took an order withall for drowning, and so we return'd back without being able to do anything more; having resolve'd to have fought could we have met with them, though it had cost us all our lives, and I do believe that the rage wherein we were, would have redoubled our Forces to have fought them to some purpose; but in spire to have left the flame and reproach at their doors, whose gums were to tender they would not bite. The Farmers affair'd us that they would neither flop nor stay till they came to Montauban, which was the reason we did not pass the River, and they moreover affirm'd, that had a hundred horse only come in, when they began to fear the River, they had defeat'd them all, or they would have drown'd them selves, they were in to great a fright, and that a great many of them were drown'd upon a false alarme, Horse and Foot throwing themselves desperatly into the River to shap away. And this was the fine piece of cowardize we committ'd, which never went of my heart till after the Battle of Veri, that we fought a little while after. Me thought the very stones looke upon us, and that the Peasants pointed at us; for we had here a much better opportunity to have done their bittincs, than we had afterwards at Vierr.
I was in so great a rage, that I was very near going away from Monfieur de Burie in the morning, and had it not been for the Captains and Gentlemen, who were with us, and dissuaded me from that resolution, I had done it, being very sure that the greatest part of the Army would have gone along with me; but he that of all others most prevailed upon me to stay was Monfieur de Malicorne, who recommended to me, that the King would take it highly ill at my hands, that all things would go amiss, and that afterwards all the blame would be laid upon me, which would be sufficient to pull down upon me the Queen's hatred and indignation, and ruin me for ever. As for my own part I had a mind to have pursued the Warre after my own way, wherein I fancied at first I should succeed much better, the businesse of Tarfion evermore running in my mind, where I had defeated them with few men; and I had also an opinion that the Sieurs d'Argence and de Carolus would go along with me, although they came with him. Nevertheless I suffer'd my self to be govern'd by the said Sieur de Malicorne, and the rest who reconcil'd me to him; for my anger though it be sudden and violent, is none of the worst sorts; and besides he was the Kings Lieutenant. He was pleased upon our reconciliation to assure me, that upon the first occasion that should present itself he would lay aside all fear of losing the Province, and resolutely fight them; and that which made him bear with my rough humour was, that he knew all my heat proceeded from the zeal I had to his Majesties service, which made me talk after that dispassionate manner, neither had any thing else restrains'd him but only the fear of disaster, being certain that the King would lay all the fault to him with whom he had entrusted the Government and care of the Province.

Oh 'tis an ill thing when a Lieutenant of a Province is always in fear of losing; in the name of God be as cautious as you will when you are to keep a place, raise fortifications as high as Heaven if you can, watch, ward, and fill bejalous of surprizes: but to have sufficient Forces, and evermore to be in fear of losing, this favours of I know not what, and believe me (Lord Lieutenants) 'tis an ill Omen. For my part I was of a quite contrary humour; for I evermore saw that if the affairs of Guisene went well, those of France would succeed the better, and if we defeated the Forces on this side, we might afterwards go over into Languedoc, and by that means frustrate the Prince of Condé from having either men or money out of those two Provinces.

A few days after Monsieur de Malicorne return'd back to Court, and I believe acquainted the King with what he had seen, which I presume was the reason of his Majesties sending Monseur de Monsenffer into these parts, having heard that there was very good intelligence between Monseur de Burie and me. A thing very prejudicial to the service of those we serve, and I should never advise that the supreme power be divided between two, for an indifferent Captain will do better alone, than two good ones in joint Commission. It is true that I took more authority upon me than the King invested me withall; and perhaps it was necessary so to do; there are now that can witness it. Would to God the King had taken the same course in this last War, he did here in sending Monseur de Monsenffer, which if he had, there would perhaps have been a better account given of his service in this Country; neither was I single in this opinion, for I was very well accompanied, and with men of the best understandings. And I would always advise his Majestie, that when ever he shall hear of any division in an Army, evermore to send away a Prince of the blood to command in chief, and the sooner the better, before the division have got any great footing to endanger his affairs: for after it is once established, and that the disorder is once happen'd, it is never to be remedied but with great difficulty and damage; or by seperating those who disagree, which also is not do to be done without great inconvenience,considering that both the one and the other must needs have many friends and servaunts depending upon them.

A little while after Monsieur de Burie propos'd an Enterprise, which was to goe and lay Siege to Montauban on that side towards Toulouse, and that in order thereto we should return back to Maffiac, and there pass over the River; and to this end he caus'd another Canon and another Culterin to be brought from Bourdeaux, and took the way directly to Maffiac. He was resolv'd to let him alone without contradicting him in the least (having made a vow not to speak a word) to see what he would do, though I was certain beforehand that his Enterprise would vanish in smoke and come to nothing; for seeing we had not dar'd to fight them in the field, what hopes could we have of doing any good upon them in a Town, and such a one as that was? Nevertheless I followed as others did, and we came to the Bourg, where we staid seven or eight daies, having spent some Canon shot against the Tower of the Bridge where there was a Church the Enemy had fortify'd. In short I know not at which end to begin to give a Narration of this brave Enterprise,
prize, neither can I make of it either good Pottage, or good Broth, and therefore I conceive it better without saying any more to let it alone, and only to tell you, that after the seven or eight days, it was resolved that we should retire to Montuech.

As our coming to Montuech, I had there intelligence, that those of Leisnre had taken the Field, making prodigious havock, and committint infinite infolences upon the Gentlemen and their Effectts, in all places where they could get in, and that they expected Forces out of Benthe, that Captain de Mesmes was bringing into them, being five hundred men. Their design was to make a flying Army, which was the reason that I sent back Captain Montine with part of my Company; upon which occasion the Count de Condalle, the Sieurs de Cancon, de Montferran, Guisiniere, and some other Gentlemen would needs bear him company; Captain Parrau also went along, taking with him the Company of the Baron de Pourdeac commanded by Captain la Ronce d'Oroms, for the Baron himself had some days before this been wounded in a skirmish Captain de Montine had made before Leisnre. So soon as they came to Florence they understood that the Begollc, Nepehs to Monfieur d'Auffun, were the Heads of those who were gone out of Leisnre, and that they had taken their way directely to Sampy, to go meet the said de Mesmes, who was to be that morning at Aiguefui. Monfieur de Bartuen, who was raising a Foot Company happening to be there, went to put himself beewixt Tarranbe and Leisnre, because they there intendted to fight them: but the Enemy having intelligence of his departure from Florence, thought to return back to Leisnre, and also because they had notice that Captain Mesmes could not that day come to Aiguefui, when having passed Tarranbe to return to Leisnre, they faw they must of necesrity fight Captain Montine by the way, who had intercepted their retreat, which rather than do they would return to Tarrane; though they could not do that neither, but so as there was some skirmishing at the entertring into the Town, and had they had but five hundred pasces further to go, Captain Montine had defeated them before they could have got in. He then dispatched away to Auch, Florence, la Sauvetat, la Sampy, and as far as Condom for succours to come in to besiege them, which every one did, so that there came in to him above two thousand men. He dispatched away a Courier to me alfo in all haste, giving me to understand, that if I would come thither with the Artillery, we might take Leisnre, for that all the good men that belong'd to it he kept that upp in Tarranbe to the number of four hundred men, together with the two Begollc, Nepehs to Monfieur d'Auffun, who were alfo coop't up with the rest. I shewed the Letter to Monfieur de Barue, and we had some disput upon it, he being unwilling to suffer me to take any of the Foot Companies, but in the end he granted me the Baron of Clermont my Nephew, to whom I had given a Company of recruit, and Monfieur d'Ortobie, and de Fredeville immediately yoked three pieces of Canon, and went before to Montuech to prepare the Boats, so that when the Canon came they founded the Boats all ready, and all night long we did nothing but pafs the River. I then sent a Quarter-Mater from Village to Village to get Oxen ready to relieve the others, which having done, I gallop'd away before, and found that Captain Monfieur had besieged the Town, and that the four hundred men which were in Tarranbe had turrendred to him upon Quarter for life.

Captain Mesmes advance as far as the River Baife within a League of the said Tarranbe, when hearing the others were belig'd, he went back the fame way he came, and retir'd himfelf into a little Village called Roubrune near unto Viefcaniue. My Nephew Monfieur de Gebas, who had been Lieutenant to Monfieur de la Mith-Goudin in Piedmont, and had married his Daughter, hearing of his motion, had taken the Field with some Gentleman his Neighbours, and some Country-fellows whom he had call'd together by the ringing of a Bell, and putting himfelf in his Rear had contriv'd him to take into Roubrune for his safety: where the Peafants impatient of lying all night to besiege him, almoft all of them ftole away, fo that Captain Mesmes went away in the morning towards Bear, from whence he was come, to tel his friends there the news of the fine frights he had been in.

Now Monfieur d'Ortobie made so good haste, that the next morning two hours before day he was got over the River, and come before Leisnre. At break of day, he, Monfieur de Fredeville, Monfieur de la Mith-Range, and I went to view where we fould plant the Leisnre be Arthurly, and concluded to plant it on a little Hill on that fide by the River, where there was a Windmill, to barter the Town on that fide by the Fountain. And here we bartered it all day long, and to fo good effect, that a Breach was made between seven and eight paces wide. They had entrenched themselves within, and had Bullion'd the ends of the Streets with the way that went all along by the Wall, and pierced two or three houses that lookt into the Breach. In the interim that the Canon was batter ng I was busie casting
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize

Book V

causing Ladders to be made, wherewith to assault the Bulwark that flankt the Breach, to hinder those that mann'd that Bulwark from flowing into the Breach; but being they had environ'd the Bulwark with Pipes and Gabions fill'd with earth, and that also the Breach was not yet reasonable, I would not this night do that which I did the night after.

The next morning I caused the Artillery to play upon these Pipes and Gabions, and to widen the Breach, and lay it lower, and the night following we put our selves into Ca-

A mine sprung at Lissart.

The Siur d'Ortobie mortally wounded.

Treachery of the besieged.

mises, where I ordered that Captain Montue should assault the Breach with the two Companies of the Baron de Clermont, that of the Baron de Poudrac, and such Gentlemen as would go along with him, of which the Count de Candalle was one, a young Lord full of noble courage, who also has since left his life in a Breach in Languedoc; as I have been told; and as for me I was by the Ladders to storm the Bulwark, with the Sieur de Buffon's Company, and another with my own Company of Gens d'arms, whom I had dismoun-
ded for that purpose. This order being concluded I caused them to take up the Ladders, putting Captain Montue and his men before, and marching myself in their Rear, to see what would be the issue of their assault, and after me came the Ladders, and my fellows. They carried the Breach with very great boldness and bravery, entered thorough it, and began to disipate the Rampires they had cast up in the streets, and were already almost Masters of one.

Now the Enemy the night before had made a Ditch between the Breach and the Rampires, and had put a very great train of powder into it, to which they were to give fire from within a House in the Town. We set up our Ladders, and two Enfongs mounted up to the very top of the Battalion: I was making the Soldiers still to mount, and to rear the rest of the Ladders, when just as our people of the Breach were as good as Masters of the Rampires, some of those who came after, clapping a foot into the ditch of the Train, which was cover'd over with Bavin's, began to cry out we are in the Train, and took such a fright, that they overthrown'd one another upon the Breach. Upon this accident, the for-

The next day Monsieur d'Ortobie, the Governour of la Mobje-Rouge, and I went to view the other side of the Town towards the little Bulwark, but could find no place where we could conveniently plant any more than two pieces of Canon, for this Town (for a Town of War is one of the best situated in all Guienne, and very strong) and there also was the little Bulwark that flankt the place where we had a mind to batter, which put us to such a stand, that we could not resolve what to do; so that about noon Monsieur d'Ortobie return'd to batter again by the Breach at some flankers there were there, because the next morning I was resolv'd to give an assault in open day, where as he himself was levelling a piece of Canon, he was wounded in the thigh by a Faulconet shot from the great Bulwark; which went very near to my heart, for he was a valiant Captain and an admirable Engineer. He died two days after. 'Tis of all others of our Trade a Command of the most danger; nevertheless in all Sieges where I have been, I was ever by the Canon, and fancied that all things did not go right, if I was not there. This Gentleman very well understood his business, which is very rare, and (as I have said) exceeding dangerous, and few escape of those who expose themselves too much. In the mean time the Enemy parted, where it was agreed, that they should give me three of those within in Hotfage, and that I should send them in other three, which they desir'd might be Meflieurs de Berlious, de la Chapelle, and another, who being accordingly advanc'd near to the Gate, and that we expected the others should come out, thirty or forty Harquebut shot was spurr'd upon them all at a clap, by which they narrowly escap't being slain, and one of my Trumpers was wounded; whereupon I caus'd them to call out to Bri-

But the treacherous Rogues instead of executing justice upon the offenders, hang'd a poor Catholick at the Battlements, who could be in no fault at all. Now they were ever-
more asking to fee me, saying they could not believe I was there, whereupon I was ad-
vis'd by some to throw my self; but they could never persuade me to it, and it was well
BOOK V.

de Montluc, Marshal of France.

for me. Old Birds are not caught with Chaff: suspect every thing from an Enemy, without discovering otherwise openly your mistrust. After the hang'd man was dead, they cut the rope, and let the body tumble into the Graft; after which it was again concluded, that the same Deputies should go in, and their Hostages come out, for we believe'd, that he who had been hang'd was the man that had committed the treachery, and now every body went confidently into the street near unto St. Claire, and in a Crowd to see what the Deputies did, and when the others would come out. The Enemy had level'd and priz'd three or four pieces of Ordinance they had, and some Muskets exactly upon the Company, thinking that I was there; so that when our Deputies were again advanc'd almost to the Wall, they began to fire their pieces directly at the Crowd, and there kill'd a Gentleman who liv'd hard by Agen call'd Monseur de Castells, and hurt three or four others.

I saw all this from behind a little Wall, and wondered that our Deputies were not kill'd, for they fired at them above threefour Harquebuz shots, but they got off, running as fast as they could drive; when seeing this treachery the second time practiz'd upon us, I sent to tell them from behind the Wall, that since they had made so little account of their faith, and promises, I would make as little of mine, and accordingly sent Monseur de Berdazan my Ensign, who was one of the Deputies, with my own Company of Gens-d'armes, and another of Foot to Terras, to kill and dispatcch all those that were there, giving him with the Hangman to trust up the Chief, which he perform'd with a very good will (as he had reason, considering the foul play thro' of Lecloure had twice practiz'd upon him) and after they were dead threw all the bodies into a Well of the Town, which was very deep, and yet so well fill'd, that a man might reach the bodies from the top with the hand, which was a very good riddance of a pack of very rogues. They brought their treachery required.

They sent me the two Begollers, and two others of good Families of Lothir, whom I cauit to be hang'd upon a Walnut-tree by the Town in the sight of the Enemy, and had it not been for the honor I bore to the Memory of Monseur d'Auflun, the Begoller his Nephews had fared no better than the rest: they were within two fingers breadth of it, for I had once given the word to dispatcch them; but afterwards, I know not how, alter'd my resolution. Their hour it seems was not come, and as for the other two, had it not been to give thro' of Lecloure the pleasure of the spectacle, they had not been put to the pains of coming so far for their hanging, but had been lodg'd in the Well with the rest.

The next following I bega'n to remove my Artillery to the other side, where Monseur d'Ortobe, the Governor of la Motte-Rouge and I had discover'd, by which removal, which the Enemy was prtempty aware of, they perceived where I intended to begin a new Battery, and therefore began to doubt they had not men enow to withstand an assault at two Breachts at once; which made them desire to speak with Captain Monules, who accordingly had some conference with Brimond, who told him, that he would capitulate, and he would beforehand give him his faith to let them march out with their Arms, and quarter for life. In the mean time the day appear'd well, when at the improntunity of the Captains I grant'd their conditions, for I saw very well I was not yet at the end of my task.

When I parted from Monseur de Burie I carried Monseur de Saintlorenz along with me, and Captain Gimond; but when I came to Mouffac, I was there advisizd by Monseur de Burie, that the Enemies Camp was upon their March from Montauban, and taking the way towards Cahors, which made me send back Monseur de Saintlorenz and Captain Gimond, to put themselves into Cahors, where if Monseur de Saintlorenz had with great difficulty entred before, he found it much harder to do it now, which was the second time, that by great and extreme diligence he faved the Town. The said Sieur de Burie lent me word also, in case I saw I could not carry Lothir in two days time, I should let it alone, and come joy'n with him, for that without me he was the weaker party, having since I parted from him lost four hundred Spaniards in two days time, and which was upon a Friday. Into Lothir I put the Baron de Pouinon with his Company, for he was now come up to us with his foot bound up; and upon Saturday morning I therefore sent a Gentleman after these Spaniards, who being able to prevail nothing upon them, I was fain to lead again Monseur de Dufort de Boismonde with letters and enterizades to reduce them to reazon, which letters to flagg'd them in their ill taken resolution, that they call'd a Council to deliberate what they were best to do. In my letters I told them, that I would not give the assault unless they were there, which so tickled their vain humours, and was taken to kindly by them, that they all resolved to turn back to me; so that just as I had sign'd the Capitulation, they arriv'd at Florence a league from Lothir, which was upon a Friday. Into Lothir I put the Baron de Pouinon with his Company, for he was now come up to us with his foot bound up; and upon Saturday morning
morning I made all the Hugonets march out of Town, that every one might go whither he pleased; some whereof lifted themselves into our Companies. They had never heard any thing of the death of their fellows at Tarraube, till I had taken possession of the Town, and then expected to escape no better than the rest: but I kept my word with them. I then immediately sent away the Baron of Clermont with the five Ensigns I had, bidding him go and pass the River Garonne at Leyce, and went my self to talk with the Spaniards in a great Meadow, where I promised to reconcile them to their Captains, remonstrating to them so many things, that in the end they resolved to follow me; whom I left under the command of Monseur de Durfort, and they march away with the five Companies to pass the River at Leyce. The remainder of the day I spent in refecting the Clergy in the Bihoprick, and the Monafferies, and those of the Long-Robe in their Courts and Tribunals, leaving with the Baron de Poujoude such orders as he was to observe for the Government of the Town. Which being done, on Sunday morning I went to dine at Stilias a house of mine own, and to lie at Agen, where I was told that Monseur de Durat had taken the Castle of Marquis belonging to the Bishop of Cahors, and the Bishop himself in it, whom he had carried away prisoner; when having heard that Monseur de Saintlorens had put himself into Cahors, they march away directly to Sarlat. I was told allo that Monseur de Burie followed after them, and moreover heard news of Monseur de Montpenfier, who was come to Bergerac, having with him the Seigneurs de cantadle de la Vauguyon, d'Effiffac, de Lanzun, and de Chaviugy.

All Sunday and Sunday night our people were continually ferrying over at Leyce, for there was but two Boats, so that they could not get over till near ten of the clock on Monday morning, by which means I could that night march no further than Villeneufme; and there the Count de cantadle fell sick upon our hands, so that we were constrain'd to fend him home to his own Houte, and Captain Montjac allo, who had already had two fits of an Ague. Upon Tuesday the Baron of Clermont lent me word, that upon Monday he could march no more but two leagues, being hindered by the passage of the River, and that he was making all the haste he possibly could to Belves, to which place I had appointed him to come: wherefore to give him some advantage, I march behind three leagues on Tuesday morning, which was to Montaignac, near unto Monflaunquin. Upon Wednesday, two hours before day I was on Horsecback, and went to bat at Belves, where the foot Companies began to arrive, and where I made them lay two hours, whilst I went before to Claran upon the Dordogne. There I was advertis'd that Monseur de Burie was at the Mirandes (which belongs to Monseur de cantnam) with the Army, and that Monseur de Montpenfier was at Bergerac. Immediately upon my Quarters being made, a Gentleman of Claran of the new Religion lent me two of his Servants, one to fend to Bergerac to Monseur de Montpenfier to give him notice of my arrival, and of the taking of Lecloure; of which till then he had heard nothing, and withall to tell him, that if he pleased to advance a little towards us, we might find means the next day to joyn, and to fight with Monseur de Durat, who was encamp'd upon a little River called la Vezere, near unto Fages. I write to Monseur de Burie to the same effect, that he might by break of day, pass the Dordogne, as I had already done: at which Monseur de Burie was strangely affoniffht that I could be so soon there, considering that but two days before he had receiv'd intelligence from Agenois, that I was yet before Lecloure, and in danger not to carry the place.

I had scarce made an end of my dispatches, when the Baron de Clermont arrived with the five Ensigns, and the Spanifh Foot, whom I made to pass the River in two great Boats, and go to lye at Saint Sabran near unto Fages, to which place they came not till two hours within night, and there found already quarter'd the Companies of Meffieurs de Burie, de Randan, and de la Vauguyon; so that had it not been for Madamefelle de Fages, Mother to Madam le Lious my Sitter-in-law, they had not that night got one bit of any thing to eat; but she shew'd her self to be the Wife of a brave Captain, which was the late Monfeur de Fages; for the not only gave them all the bread she had in the houte, and (even or eight puncions of wine, but moreover did nothing else but make her people bake bread all night long, giving them all her Bacon, and other Provisions, without sleeping a wink of all night, and was never at rest till they had all eaten enough.

In the Morning, which was Thursday, I foraded the River Dordogne (for the River was fordable here, and there in some certain places my Guides led me to) having with me in all not above forty or fifty Light-horfe, and upon my departure from Claran I receiv'd an answer from Monseur de Burie, who sent me word that he was exceeding glad of my coming, and that I had taken Lecloure: but that nevertheless he was not of opinion to pass the River Dordogne by reason the Enemy was stronger than we, and that therefore
therefore it was our best way to try to join with Monfieur de Montpenfier, after which the said Sieur would himsclf determine whether we should fight or no. This answer put me into a fuddain turm, for we should do here as we had done before at Mirabel, and was advised by the Gentleman who were with me to tend to proceed against him if he did not pass the River, and that I was my felf gone with a resolution to fight: which notwithstanding I did not think fit to do: but by Seigneur one of my men at Arms, fent however to proceed against Meiffleurs d'Armes, du Maffe, and de Charray our Camp masters who thereupon immediately went to Monfieur de Burie, and plainly told him, that as for their parts they were resolved to pass the River, and that they would not have it laid in their doth before Monfieur de Montpenfier, whom we already look upon as our General, and immediately caused their Trumpets to sound to horfe, whilst Captain Cherry drew out his Enfigns of Foot into the field. And then it was, that seeing no other remedy, he prepared himself to go. Captain Cherry according to his custom put himself before with his Foot, and coming to the water side, suddenly made a Bridge of Carres, and passed over in all hafe.

I flaid not at St. Sulbra under Fages, but only spoke with Meiffleurs d'Argence, and de Coure, on treating them to mount to horfe, and telling them that I had write to Monfieur de Burie to come, and that at noon we were to fight. They promised me they would mount to horfe, but that whereas they must of necessity fend away a Meiffenger poft to Monfieur de Burie to acquaint him with it. I then spoke to the Baron de Clermont immediately to make his Soldiers eat something, and Monfieur de Darfot to do the fame by the Spaniards, and precisely to come away after me to the Ferry of Vezere, when as I was talking with them, came Seigneur (for he had gone away at midnight to go speak to Monfieur de Burie) who brought me word that he had left Monfieur d'Arne, and Captain Maffe ready to fent out, and that Captain Cherry was already paffing the River. I then went before. Now from Fages to the Ferry at Vezere, it is not more than a good league, fo that I was presently there, where I met with several Country people coming back from the Enemies Camp, who had been to listen after some Attes they had taken from them, who told me, that the Enemy were dilodging from two or three Villages where they had lain that night, and that we were not above a league from thence. I paffed the River, and at night fent out Monfieur de Fontenilles with two or three horfe to fcout. Meiffleurs d'Argence and de Coure had also fent out the Quartermaster of Monfieur de Randan, fo that Monfieur de Fontenilles and he happened to meet, where the Quarter master affaid him that he had been the Camp dilodge, and upon their march, and (as God when it pleafeth him will sometimes affift some, and punish others) it was from the Quarters they rofe from, but two little leagues only to Ver, and from Ver but two little leagues more to the paffage of the River de l'Ifle, where they had made account to pafs over that day. But being they faw Monfieur de Montpenfier was at Bergeras with very small Forces, and Monfieur de Burie at the Mirabels, they would make no great haffe, forasmuch as they had two good Quarters between: Ver for the Foot and the Artillery, and St. Andras and two or three other little Villages for the Horse; for they knew nothing of me: but it had been better for them to have confulted their cafe lets, and their safety more.

Monfieur de Burie came having only two or three horfe with him, and found metaling with the Quarter master, who was telling me that the Enemy was going to pafs the River de l'Ifle, as he had been told by a prifoner he had taken, and some Pealants that came from their Camp; and that from thence they were going into France to join the Prince of Condé. I then told Monfieur de Burie, that it was necessary he should make haffe and fight them that day; to which he made anfwer, "that Monfieur de Montpenfier would take it ill if we did not try for him: but I replied again, that he was too far off, it would hardly be poiffible for us to paff that day; and that therefore we were not to forbear to fight out of that confideration; for should we favour them to pafs the Rivers, and join with Monfieur de la Richefontain, who waited with his Forces in expectation of them about St. Jean d'Ageney, the King and Queen would never more look upon us as men of honor. I warrant you, said I, they are our own, and your genius tells me so. "As we were in this dispute came Captain Cherry, and I began to discover my men coming down a little Hill that throns down on the other fide towards la Vezere. I also faw the Corners of the King of Navarre and Monfieur de Termes, and at the fame tune the three Corners of Monfieur de Burie, de Randan, and de Vauguyon, at which I very much rejoayed, telling Monfieur de Burie that we must inflantly march, and fall into their Rear, and that at the paffage of the River we would fight them. To which he made anfwer, that it should not ftick at him; but that if Monfieur de Montpenfier were not placated, or that matters did not fauce well, he would lay the blame upon me. To which I replied in the presence of
of a great many, Sir, Sir, let every one charge the fault upon me, and spare not, I will bear the blame of all, my fudders are broad enough, but I do assure you I will be loaden with honor, and not with shame, or be left with my belly toasting against the Sun. Whereupon Monfieur de Burie making a sign with his hand, said, let us go then in the name of God. In the mean time the Baron de Clermont and the Spaniards were passing the Vizere, where the water was deep to the middle of the thigh only, and Captain Chavy return'd to pass over his, when still as the Foot go over they drew up in Battalia in a Plain there was in that place. The Captains Arne and Mosfes then came to me full gallop to embrace me, and all the Gens d'arms after them; Meffieurs d'Arcene and du Couvre, and de Carlus did the same, having already understood by the Quartermaster, that the Enemy was not far from us, and we all hoped, that within three or four hours we should fight. I have been in seven or eight Batallas besides this, but never saw the Captains and Soldiers both Horfe and Foot so cheerful as at this time, which I look upon as a very good Omen. Now that I might lay to give all the Army time to pass over, and be drawn up in order to fight, I drew all my Horfe along by the side of a Hedge, lending to a Farm hard by for a little hay wherewith to bait them, for every one had brought a few Oats along with him, and to say the truth, I never in my life saw Monfieur de Burie so pleafant as that day, which gave me sufficiently to understand, that all his delays had proceeded more from his apprehenfion of losing the Province, than from any defect in himself; and I dare answer for him, that neither reachery nor cowardize ever entered into his heart; for he was an old and a valiant Cavalier, and one that had ever given very brave testimonies of his worth and valour; but he was afraid of failing. I sent Monfieur de Fontenilles, and the foremention'd Quartermaster with thirty Horfe to follow in the Rear of the Enemy: and myself, who might have some fifteen Curafllers of my own Company, and about thirty Gentlemen (betwixt forty and fifty Horfe in all) march in the Rear of them, intreating Monfieur de Burie to follow after; and so we set forwards.

Monfieur de Fontenilles had gone above half a league, before in some certain Farms upon the way he met with some Strangers of the Enemies Camp whom he cut to pieces. They had three Cornets of Horfe in the Rear of their Army, who some of them sometimes faw about upon Monfieur de Fontenilles, and now and then the whole Body made a halt. I ftook fow'd after him, fending Monfieur de Burie continual notice of all that pass'd, and lingering him withal to march as fift as he could, for that I was within fight of their Army; and fo I march'd continually in the Enemies Rear, till about two of the clock in the afternoon, about which time there came to me Monfieur de St. Genies, the Father of Monfieur d'Andres, whom Monfieur de Burie had lent to me to enquire of my news, and to bring me an account of him; by which I found that he was still in the Plain of Vizere, where I had left the Army in Battalia, and he told me: many stories, that my joy was soon turn'd into vexation. I enumerated the faid Sieur de St. Genies, that he would return back to him, and entreat him to come away, which he refufed to do, being resolved not to leave me; feeling which I took him aside, where we concluded together to fpeak to the Captains of Horfe, and tell them plainly what we thought, which perhaps might induce them to come away, and then he return'd, and found them yet in the fame place, but after he had f spoken to the Captains, and as a fecret told Monfieur de Burie what had been concluded between him and me, he was then refolv'd to set forwards. And I muft needs give Monfieur de St. Genies this due commendation, that he was the caufe the Battel was fought.

Thus then Monfieur de Burie march'd after me, with an intention to quarter all his Army at St. Alvare. About half a quarter of a league above the faid St. Alvare, there were ten or twelve Housels that kept entertainment for passengers, and chiefly for the trading Merchants, it being a great Road from Perigueux to Bergerac. So soon as I came to these houfes, I joyn'd my felf with Monfieur de Fontenilles, who fowed me that the Enemies Camp was taking up their Quarters on the further fide of a little River in certain little Villages that lay before us; wherefore we were of opinion to bait our horfes, for we found there Hay and Oats, but no people, faving fome few poor wemen, the Peafants being all fled away upon the report of the Enemies approach; and fo soon as our horfes had bared (which they did with every man his bridle on his arm) there came a fervant of Monfieur d'Alvare, who had been to vwait upon two Nephews of the faid Sieur, and the younger Bourdet to their Camp, and told us that the Artillery and the Foot were quarter'd at Fer, which is a great Bourg, and Monfieur de Duras with the Cavalry at St. Andres within half a league of the place we were, throwing us the Villages. We faw that there were three Cornets of Horfe of them, and he told us that on this fide, close by the River were quarter'd the Captains Salignar, Mincant, and another of whom name I have forgot, who
might have with them twenty or five and twenty horse only; but that the Village where the three Cornets lay was within less than two Harquebuz Shot of the said Houses, and that he had left the said Salignac preparing a Supper for young Monferran, since called Lanteau, Lepuch de Paradis, and five or six others, whom he had left hawking in a field hard by, having brought their Horses along with them. You may judge whether this was a time to haw in, or no, and whether this was to march like Soldiers, when they had an Enemy so near. I then ask the fellow if he would guide me thither, to which having made answer that he would, we immediately mounted to Horse. I gave half the Troop to Monfieur de Montferran to fall upon the House, and with the rest went to put my felt between the House and the Village where the three Cornets lay: but I would not give Monfieur de Fontenelles, who was quarter'd at an odd House at the end of the Village, notice of my design, because I intended that the Company should remain all night on horseback, and so we went, and came up to the House so little expected, that they never dreamt of an Enemy within two leagues of them. Monfieur de Montferran flew suddenly into the Court of the House, and at his first coming took Salignac and Monseigneur, and forcing a room into which some of them had retir'd themselves, kill'd all they found within it. Monfieur de Cavan was with me, and Monfieur de St. Alvare's Servant advised me to retire, telling me that the three Cornets in the Village were the best Horse in the whole Army, it being Monfieur de Tors his Troop, who was come with Captain Burde. I took his advice, and we retraced to the place from whence we came, where at my coming I found that Monfieur de Burie was passe'd by, and was gone to quarter at St. Alvare, the Army going after him. I flaid the five Ensigns that had been with me Lettours, and the mutinous Spaniards, whom I quarter'd promiscuously among our Horse. Fleth, Wine, and Cheats we found store, and got some great leaves of coarse brown bread they make in that Country, which I gave to the Spaniards; which being done without slautering, I went to wait upon Monfieur de Burie, taking Monfieur de Montferran only in my Company, who also carried Captain Salignac his Prisoner along with him. I found him lodg'd in Monfieur d'Alvare's Castle, where at my coming I faid to him, Look you Sir, I have taken one who was once in times past a great favourite of yours, Captain Salignac. He then demanded of me where I had taken him; I made answer in the Enemies Camp. He thought their Camp had been three leagues off towards the pabbage of the River de l'Ile, and ask'd me where their Camp was, whereupon I told him it was close by, and that we were quarter'd promiscuously among one another. At which news he feem'd to be something amaz'd, when I took occasion to lay these words to him, Sir you must now justify the old Proverb to be true, That a good Horse will never tire. In like manner you must resolve to fight to morrow morning, and send order to all the Gent'arms who are not yet advantage'd, that they must batt their Horses with their bridles in their hands, and not a man of them to return; for we are come so near, that it is not possible to avoid fighting: In laying of which I was aware of Monfieur de St. Alvare, whom I saluted, defiring him to call in his Servant, whom he had lent along with his Nephews to conduct them to the Enemies Camp, who flood without, which he did, and being come in I entreated him to tell Monfieur de Burie where the Enemies Camp lay, which he accordingly did, place by place, and so exactly, that their own Quartermasters could not have given a more perfect account. Whereupon Monfieur d'Alvare said, you are quarter'd within four Harquebus shot of one another, excepting the Infantry which lies at Vers, from whence it is a league and a half to St. Andrays, where Monfieur de Duras is quarter'd, and whose Quarters take up all the space betwixt St. Andrays and this place. Well, said Monfieur de Burie, I see we are engage'd to a Battel, and seeing it is so, we must fight as well as we can. Whereupon I law joy sparkle in his eyes, which I was exceeding glad of, and taking him in my arms, I laid to him these words: Sir, if we must die, we cannot leave our deaths more than dying in a Battel for the Service of our Prince, to which he made answer, and laid, that is the least of my concern, 'tis no matter what becomes of me, but I fear to lose the Country. I then entreated him that by break of day, every one might be on horseback, and that we must lay with the Italian, Qui offensiva vince, and thereupon bad him good night, and retir'd to my own Quarters, leaving him very well resolve'd to fight. All night we remain'd in arms, and our horses faddled, theirCentinels and ours being so near, that they could hear one another talk, and by break of day we were on horseback, when I fent to see if Monfieur de Burie was ready, and to tell him, that it was his way to pass by my Quarters. He sent me word, that as soon as ever the Army could be got ready to march, he would immediately come away, and in the mean time I marched directly to St. Andrays, where I found that Monfieur de Duras was already dislodg'd, and gone.
gone to Ver. I then sent Monsieur de Fontenelles with five and twenty horse upon the
Foulorn, giving him order to halfe at the entrance into a little Wood there is under Ver,
and telling him that I would halt at a little Village four or five Harquebuzers on this
side, till Monsieur de Barrie should come up to me. Monsieur de Durat this while made
no haste at all, believing that our Camp was yet upon the Pecours, and that those who over-
night had taken Saligane were only some Avant-Coureurs of the Army. Monsieur de Fon-
tenelles lent me word, that he had lent out two Light-horse to discover the Enemy, who
had brought word back, that their Camp was drawn up in Battalia in the Meadow of Ver.
Whereupon I sent to Monsieur de Barrie to make haste, and to hasten away four Field-
pieces he brought along with him, which he did, when so soon as I was advertised that he
was within half a mile of me, I marcht up to Monsieur de Fontenelles, and the three
Companies of Geno arms, namely that of Monsieur de Barrie, and those of Meffieurs de
Randan, and de la Vauguyon, advanced to come up, and joynt with me. But they mift
their way, and went by the Chefnas Trees directly into the view of Ver, thinking that I
was already at Ver, and never perceiv'd their error, till they were just upon the Enemy,
having with them also a Company of Light-horse which Captain Peché of Perigort com-
manded. So soon as I came to the Wood I commanded Monsieur de Fontenelles to ad-
vance, which he did, and it was well for us he did so, for he came just in the nick of a
charge that Captain Bordet made upon the Companies with a hundred or fixscore Har-
quaises all; which so soon as Captain Peché's Light-horse faw coming upon them,
they fac'd about, and fled aliente into the three Companies. The Charge was fo rude,
that all our three Companies were once disordered, and there Monsieur d'Argence bravely
signalliz'd himsely, but for whom, as I was told, they had all run away. Monsieur de Fon-
tenelles then with only five and twenty Launces that he had with him, charg'd desperately
in amongst the Enemy, and so fortunately, that he made them retire three hundred paces,
where they made a halt as ours did also. Upon this I came in, seeing which the Enemy
clos'd up with the other Troops of horse. There were above twenty Launces broken in
this charge, and all the Enemies Camp made a halt. I then took Monsieur de Monfier-
ran only, and went to discover the Enemy at my ease, where I saw that they began to
march with Drums beating, that they had left in a corner of the field on the left hand
Harquebuzers both on foot and on horfe-back, and in a little Wood on the right hand
Harquebuzers on foot.

In the meantime Monsieur de Barrie arriv'd, where I acquainted him with all I had seen,
entreating him to caufe his Field-pieces to advance to the brink of a Ditch, and to shoot
at those people in the Corner, which approving of my advice, he did; I then spoke to
Monsieur de Maffes to place himself on the right hand by the side of a little hill there was
there, and placed the King of Navarre's Company, and my own on the left hand towards
that Corner, as I also did the three Companies of Meffieurs de Barrie, de Randan, and de
Vauguyon in the Meadow betwixt them. Monsieur de Barrie then began to make his Ar-
illery play, and so soon as we had put our felves into this poffure, all our foot came up
together, the Guepons before, and the Spaniards after within fourscore or a hundred paces
of one another. I then rid up to the Spaniards, where addressing my felf to Don Lewis de
Carbajous, and the rest, I fpoke to them in Spaniſh after the lefl manner I could; for du-
ring the time of the War I had learn'd fomething of their language; and you Gentlemen
who have Effaires to allow your Children a liberal education, take it from me, that it is a
very good thing to make them, if poffible, acquainted with foreign Languages, which
will be of great ufe to them, both upon the account of Travel, Eclapes, and Negotiations,
and also to gain the hearts of Strangers. I fpoke to them then after this manner, which
I had been hammering in my head the night before, and God has given me a gift, though
I am no great Cleric, that I can expref my felf well enough upon occasion.

"Remember, Fellow in arms (for fo í may now call you, since we fight together under
the fame Emblems) remember the great and noble reputation whereby your Nation have
at all times signaliz'd themselyes throughout the whole world, where they have obtein'd
so many famous Victories, as well over the Turks, Moors, and Barbarians, as againft
those of our own Faith. You have often made us feel the valor of the Spaniſh In-
fantry, which throughout the Universe are allow'd to have the precedence of all others,
and since it has pleas'd God that we, who not above three days ago were Enemies, are
now assemblem to fight under one and the fame Standard, make it appear, that the opi-
nion we have ever had of your worth and valor is juftly grounded. Our French Foot
will have an eye to your behaviour, they are emulous of your reputation, and have an
ambition to excelf you, therefore maintain your ancient renown, or you dijhonour the
Spaniſh
Book V. de Montluc, Maréchal of France.

As Don Lewis had made an end of speaking, I defined them all as a token of their cheatfulness to hold up their hands, which they did, after they had first kids the ground: after which I returned to the Gafcons, bidding Captain Harry remount to horse, and go bring all the Harquebuzers on horseback on my left hand, that they might be ready to alight when I should command them, which he accordingly did. I then made a speech to the Gafcons, wherein I told them, that there had been a long dispute between the Spaniards and the Gafcons, and that they were now to end the Controversie, that above fifty years ago had been begun; which was, that the Spaniards pretended to be flouter than the Gafcons, and the Gafcons on the contrary to be braver than they; and that God had done us the grace to bring us upon this occasion to fight a Battel under the fame Standard, the difference was to be determinately decided, and the honor made clearly our own. I am a Gafcon, said I, but I will henceforth renounce my Country, and never own my self to be a Gafcon more, if this day you do not bravely fighting win the Prize, and gain the procels of your adveraries, and you shall see I will be a good Advocate in this cause. They are Swash-bucklers, and think no people under the Sun so brave as they; therefore (fellow Soldiers) let them see what you can do; where they give one blow, give you four. You have more reason to fight than they; for you fight for your Prince, for your Altars, your Fries, your Wives and Children; and if you be overcome, besides the shame that attends your defeat, your Country is loft for ever, and which is worst your Religion. I allure my self I shall not be put to the trouble of thrusting my Sword into the reins of such as shall flue their backs to the Enemy, and that you will every one do your devoir. These people are no other than a Crew of baffe'd Rascals, gather'd feriously togerther, people int'rest'd to be beaten, and that already fancie the Hangman at their heels, so highly do their own consciences accuse them. It is not so with you, who fight for the honor of God, the service of your Prince, and the conservation of your Country; therefore fight like men, and hold up your hands in token of your cheatfulness, and content which they all did, and began to cry with one voice, Let us go, and we will never stop till we come to grapple with them with the Sword, and therupon kids the earth. The Spaniards then drew up to our men, and I commanded both the one and the other to move but a foot pace only, that they might not put themselves out of breath; which order being given, I gallop up to the Gent's-arms, entreating them to move gently forward, and laying to them, It is not to you (Gentlemen) that fine speeches are necessary to enflame your breasts, I know you stand in no need of such encouragements; there is not a Gentleman in France equal to ours in Gafcony, to um then Gentlemen, to um, and you shall see how I will second you.
The Order
of the Battel.

Monseur de Burie then mounted upon a great horse, having put on his arms behind the Artillery, where I told him, that if he would please to march at the head of the Foot with the Artillery, the three Companies of Gens-d'armes should flank him, and he should make the main Battail, which he instantly consented to, and in truth I never saw him so brisk, nor more full of noble resolution to fight than at that time. Neither did he contradict me in any thing whatever, as if I had been in his place, and I was told that he should lay, this man is fortunate, let him do what he will. So soon as the whole Army began to move in this order, I galloped away, Monseur de Monferran, and the Sieur de Caillettes (who is of the Family of Monguier, and now Knight of the Order) along with me, and being not till I came within thirty or forty paces of five or six horse who were under a Tree. The Sieur de Puch de Perdallan has since told me, that these were Monseur de Duras, de Bordes, and himself, Captain Peyralongue and another, whose name I do not remember. The said Captain Peyralongue was their Camp-mater of Foot, and in the Charge that Captain Bordes had made, they had taken an Archer of Monseur de Randon's Company, whom they led prisoner near unto this Tree, and there gave him two pistols shot in cold blood, and being not yet dead, demanded of him, who was in our Camp, and who commanded in chief. To which he returned them answer, that I was come to the Army, and that I commanded, Monseur de Burie having refered all things to my conduct, which he said, as knowing very well that news would flutter them. Captain Peyralongue then went to Monseur de Duras, who was under the aforementioned Tree, about some ten paces from the Archer, who himself came to him, and again demanded of him if I was in the Camp, to which he answered, that I was, and was come thither the night before, having taken Lefcours, at which they were safely down in the mouth. They thereupon returned roundly to their men, who were marching a foot pace only, and were not yet got clear of the Meadow, where I perceived that upon their coming the Foot began to double their pace, and said to Monseur de Monferran, do you see these five horse that were under the Tree, they are run to make their people mend their pace, do you not see what long strides they take? which having said, I turned upon the pure to the Troop where Monseur d'Argence was, and said to him these words: O Monseur d'Argence (my Comrade) see, see the Enemy are in fear, upon my life the day's our own, and cried out aloud, O Gentlemen, let us think of nothing but killing, for the Enemy is a fraid, and will never this day make head against us. Let us only go boldly to the fight, they are our own. I have a hundred times had experience of the same, they are only endeavouring to steal off the Field. I then embraced the Captains, and returned to Captain Maffes, and said as much to him, after which I returned to Captain Arne, and the Gentlemen who rid under my own Corner, being come along with my Company, and we began to march at a fast trot. I then galloped towards the Enemy, being my self very hot, and my horse all of a foam, having only Monseur de Monferran with me: when being come very near them, I observed their countenance, and saw their design was to make all the haste they could to recover a little hill that was hard by; and on the other side our own men coming on in great fury: I observed also their Cornets of horse, and saw onemarching, and another facing about. I took notice likewise of three or four Horse amongst the Foot, and perceived by their gesture, that they were hafting their people forward, and thereupon turn'd back to our own Horse, crying out to them, they are afraid, they are afraid, let us take them at their word, Comrades, let us take them at their word, that they fly not back. These are Poltrons, they tremble at the very sight of us. I then sent to Monseur de Burie to leave the Artillery, and advance to put himself into the Squadron of the three Companies of Gens d'arms, and we began to march at a good round trot towards them. Some there were who call'd out to me to stay for the Foot; but I made answer, that we must not suffer them to recover the Mountain, for they would make head against us, and fight at their advantage. I evermore rememberd Torgon, where they had made head against us upon the Hill, so that we were constrain'd to charge them against the ascent of the Mountain, where had they come down upon us, we had infallibly been defeated. Our Foot made all the haste that Foot could possibly make, and when the Enemy saw they could not recover the Mountain, they rallied a thousand or twelve hundred old Soldiers they had left in the corner of the field, whom Monseur de Burie had plaid upon with his Artillery, and so all their Forces march'd side by side at a good round trot; when so soon as we came within two hundred paces of one another, I began to cry out, charge, charge; which I had no sooner said, but that we all fell in pell-mell amongst their Horse and Foot, except Captain Maffes, who at the same time that he saw their people overthrown, saw also another great party of them hard by the Hill, who did not offer to move, and therefore did not charge till he came up to the party, and then
then flew in harmouly amongst them. Monfieur de Fontenilles, who had rallied some of our men, was in this second charge also, and there they were all defitred, and their Artillery taken. We pursued the Victory all along the Plain, and thorough the Vineyards, where many of them threw themselves into a Wood on the left hand, and swarmed up the Chênes Trees, where the Spanish and Gofian Foot took at them as they do at Roos. It was well for me that I was well arm'd, for three pikes had enclosed me amongst them, and put me to my Tramps, but Captain Barreman the younger, and two others had done so to me, where the said Captain Barremus had his horse kill'd under him, and mine was hurt in the nose, and in the head, with two thrusts of Pikes; for my horse had carried me whether I would or no into their Battallion, and I never knew that he had an ill mouth till then, that it had like to have cost me my life: the Captains Arret and Bouxillon were both wounded close by me. My being thus engag'd was the reason that I could not rally with the Cavalry, for they were following the Chace on the left hand; and I with fifteen or twenty horse that were rallied pursu'd the Victory on the right hand towards a little Village, where thirty or forty were plain. I there made a little halt to take breath, after which I returned to the Artillery we had taken, where I found Monfieur de Burie, and wherein we found the return of our people, who were yet pursuing the Chace, and rallied our men. We found that some of ours had followed the pursuit for above two long leagues from the Field of Battle, and about two or three a clock in the afternoon return'd to quarter at Fer, from whence we sent Oxen to fetch in the Artillery we had taken, and all the next day continued there.

The Runawayes fould but a very little of meeting with Monfieur de Montpenfier, who went to put himfelf into Mufkidan, thinking to join with us, which had it pleased God that it had so fall'n out the busineses had been done, though he had but very few Forces with him; for men that fly seldom or never face about, and are so afraid of every thing, that they take Bushes for Squadrions. Thofe who escaped of their Foot (which were very few) rallied to their horse, and march all the rest of the day, and the night following towards Saintonge to carry the good news to their Brethren. Of three and twenty Ensigns that they had we took nineteen, and of thirteen Cornets of Horse, five, all which we fent to Monfieur de Montpenfier, by that Complement acknowledging him for our Chief. The Country people kill'd more than we, for in the night they stole away to retire themselves into their houses, and some hid themselves in the Woods, but so soon as ever they were discovered, both men and women fell upon them, so that they could find no place of safety. There was numbed upon the Plain, and in the Vineyards above two thousand plain, besides those who were dispaich't by the Boors.

After this Victory we marcht straignt to Mufkidan: Monfieur de Burie went before to attend Monfieur de Montpenfier, and we left all the Army at Orignaux in two or three great Villages there are betweenus Mauriac and Mufkidan, where after I had seen them settled in their Quarrells, I also went to pay my duty to him at Mufkidan, where I was as well receiv'd as I shall ever be in any Company what ever so long as I live, and do think that Monfieur de Montpenfier took me above ten times in his arms, making me lay above four hours with him. He was a good Prince a truly honofit man, and very zealous for the Catholick Religion. He was of opinion that I should return into Guienne, which was also the Judgement of all the formentioned Siegeurs who were with him, and indeed in the King of Navarre's Company and mine there were not thirty Horse that were not wound'd, and was reliev'd to take along with him Monfieur de Burie, the three Companies of Gens-d'arms, and that of the Marechal de Termes, together with the three Spanish Companies to go and joyn with the other ten led by Don Juan de Carabajac, who was that day to be Burger. This was the faccels of the Battel of Fer, and because some perhaps may faยว that I commend my felf as the fole caufc that the Battel was fought, and attribute to my own courage, and conduct the entire glory of the victory; Monfieur de Montpenfier, and Mefieurs de Chevigny, and de Vauguyon are yet living, who if they please can bear witnes, what they heard the whole Army fay, and particularly the very Servants of Monfieur de Burie, which Steur de Burie himfelf did not deny, but that he relefs'd the whole management of that busineses to my conduct: for he was old, and not to active as I to command, and to run up and down from one to another as I did, being at the end of the Battel as wet as if I had been plung'd into the River. Neither is the faid Steur de Burie to be reprehend'd, for he came in good time, and though he did not meddle himfelf, yet the Battallion he brought along with him froke a terror into the Enemy, which made us have a better match. If this Body of Hugonots could have joyn'd Impetue of with the Prince de Conde they had made the King's Army, as may well be fuppof'd, the Battel of Dreuex; and besides had it

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not been for this Battel the Spaniards would never have dare'd to have entered into France, neither could Monfieur de Montpenfier himfelf have been there, but had been fent to de- fend and relieve Guienne, whereas by means of this victory he carried all the Forces of Guienne and Saintonges, which conftifted of four Companies of Gens-ARMES, and fiex, what of his own, and what of Saintonges, and Monfieur de Sainfaye with his three and twenty Enfigns of Gafons and Spaniards, which were no contemptible foecours that he car- ried to the King, of which a good part also were at the winning of the Battel, and I have been told, that all those who went from that fide behav'd themfelves admirable well at the Battel of Dreux (and indeed there are no Soldiers in the Kingdom that furpafs the Gafons, if they be well commanded) efpecially the ten Enfigns of Captain Churry, whom the King fince honor'd fo far, as to take them into his own Guards, and keeps them to this day, that Monfieur de Strozzy has the command of them after the exceflable murtherer of Captain Churry most vilely affaffinated at Paris. And although a man fhould not commend himself, I fhall not neverthelefs forbear to deliver the truth, and to give it under my hand, that I did at that time as great fervice for the King my Lord and Mafter, as ever Gentleman did, and in a time of extreme need, and the greateft neceffity of his affairs. And if the Queen pleafe to lay her hand upon her heart, I am confident the will confefs the fame; the better known than any other the condition affairs were in, and how much I travailed and prevented the intelligences the Prince of Condé had in Guienne, of which he counted himfelf cock sure.

You Lords then and Companions of mine, who fhall read my Book, take example by the great diligence and fludden execution I perform'd after the taking of Le Bourre, and do not (you who are Lieutenants of Provinces) I befeech you depend upon the reports others may make you of the discovery of an Enemy, at leaft if you be able to do it yourfelves: for you yourfelves ought to fee and obferve their order, conftance, and motion; and in doing fhall ever be better able to command, than upon the report of another. Your own eyes will better difcern what is neceffary to be done, than any other whover you can fend to perform that fervice, you may take an old Captain or two along with you; but above all things have a care of taking an old Captain out of any particular affection you have to him, in company with you when you go to discover; for it is to be fear'd, that that affec- tion of yours may make you take some appafling insignificant Coxcomb, infeft of a good Soldier, who fo soon as he fhall difcover the Enemy, will find a falle friend about his heart, which will be the caufe that out of the opinion you have of his judgement and valour, and the friendfhip you have for him, he will make you commit to great an error, and lose fuch an opportunity as perhaps you fhall never again retrieve; but always take some old Captain, who in all places wherever he has been, shall not only have fought but have been moreover the occasion of fighting; and although he may have been sometimes, unfortunate, and beare, provided it was not thorough deftruction or understanding, do not forbear out of that confideration to take him about you. For all the world are not fo fortunate as Monfieur, who was never defeated. Rather take fuch a one, than one who has never either wonne or loft, and that has never ferr'd in an Army otherwise than as a looker on. I do not fay this without experience, I have learned thofe Leffons under the late Monfieur de Lautrec, who was a brave commander, and if he was unfor- tunate, it was rather thorough the defect of his Council, than thorough want of courage, or good conftance, for he had as much of both thofe qualities, as any Lord Lieutenant I ever ferr'd under. I continued my Apprentifhip under Messieurs les Marees de Strozzy, and de Briffac, and others. I have feen errors now committed by the King's Lieutenants upon the reports have been made them by thofe they have fent out to discover, and will moreover be bold to fay, that when a General has himfelf fent and difcover'd the Enemy, he is more confident, and commands with greater boldnes; and if before he was in some apprehenfon (as no man living is without fear, when he fees his Enemy make head againft him) he will reiffe himfelf, and forget his apprehenfon. How many times did Monfieur d'Anguen curfe and revive himfelf upon Saffer day at night, be- fore the Battel of Serfoufets, that he had not trusted to his own opinion, and that of the refh who were for fighting, when he faw the Enemy face to face, and had not his Army with him? Affure your felves (Lords Lieutenants) I do not write this without great reafon on my fide, but you will fay, that this were to put the perfon of the Chief in haz- ard, though it may be done without any fuch apparent danger. Let fuch as are afraid of danger be abed, go to difcover in your own perfon, no one can be a better judge than yourfelf, who will easily difcern if you have never fo little experience, by your Enemies conftance and motion, if he be timorous or refolute. And pardon me if I be contrain'd to write my own praifes, for feeing I am to write my own Life, you fhall have the truth, neither
neither would I have scrupled, had I been beaten, to have confessed it. If I lie in any thing I have said, there are a thousand Gentlemen that are able to disprove me.

But to return to my Subject, and to make an end of this War, Monfieur de Montpenuier went with all his Forces to Flary for the Spaniards at Barbezieux, where he met with intelligence from Monfieur de Senac, that Monfieur de Duray was ret'd, and Monfieur de la Rochefoucault, and that they made a show as if they intended to turn towards him. I was come to Bergerac, to which place Monfieur de Montpenuier dispatched away to me two Couriers, one in the heels of another, intreating me with all possible speed to return back to him, for that Melleurs de Duray, and de la Rochefoucault were rallied together, and as he was out of it, were turning towards him. As God shall help me, amongst all the Gentlemen, both of the King of Navarre's Company and my own, I could not find thirty Hors that could go a step without great pain, however two hours within night I set out, and except to eat a bit or two by the way, never rested till I came within two leagues of Barbezieux: in which march I twice met parries of the Enemy by the way, of those who were escap'd from the Batel, whom I eat to pieces, and about one of the clock in the night took up my Quarters at St. Privats; my Brother Monfieur de Lianes was with me, who could not come time enough to the Battles, and we were at Monfieur de Montpenuiers riting, who took the great haste I had made to come to him very kindly at my hands; and there I found Monfieur de Senac, who told me that the Enemy in a day and a night had march'd eighteen or twenty Leagues. There being then nothing to do, Monfieur de Montpenuier dismis me, and I return'd to lie at St. Privats near unto Aubeterre, and the next day to Bergerac, where at my return I found Don Juan de Carbajac with the ten Span hole Companies, who flied one day there, and the next morning march'd away. Thus I return'd and dismis every one to his own house, there being nothing that flir'd in all Guienne, nor a man that dar'd to own he had ever been of that Religion, every one going to Ma's, and to the Proffecions, and affilting at Divine Service, and the Ministers who had been the Trumpets of this Sedition were all vanisht and gone, for they knew very well that in what corner ever they could lie, I should trap them, and then they knew what would follow.

Being come to Agen I there heard that Monfieur de Terride was gone to engage himself the Sieur de Montauban, with the Artillery of Tholusoe, and the two Companies of Bazardon, Terride before Montauban, that I had left to guard the Country, and seven or eight more that thels of the City had set on foot, which Siege he had undertaken immediately upon the news of the Batel being won: and after I had been eight days there the Cardinal of Armonques, who at that time commanded Tholusoe, sent to entreat me, with whom the Court of Parliament also joynd in the request, that I would go to Montauban, they conceiving that matters there were very slowly on, which put them out of all hope of any good account of that Enterprize. I immediately then departed, and took the way directly to Tholusoe, where I received a Letter from a friend of mine, wherein he writ me word, that Monfieur de Terride had sent a Letter to the Cardinal, another to the Cour, and another to the Capitoul, wherein he writ, that he had heard they had sent for me to command at the Siege of Montauban, complaining that they did him great and manifest wrong, and invaded his honor; for by that means after he had beaten the Bath another must come and take the Hare, There were the contents of his Letters, which were brought by Captain Bilouin. Being then at Tholusoe, I was pri'd to go to the Leager; but I made answer to the Cardinal and the ref, that I would not do my friend that wrong, especially since it appear'd by his Letters, that he made himself sure of the place; when seeing they could not prevail with me, to take upon me the command of the Siege, they entreated me at least to go thither, to see how matters went, which I did.

At my coming thither Monfieur de Terride shew'd me all he had done, by which I found that in twelve days he had lain before it he had not done two days work, and saw the beginning had not been very good, which made me doubt the end would be worse: for I found that he had quitted the Fauconberg St. Antoine, which is upon the way from Conflades, by which they carried out, and brought into the Town whatever they would. He had indeed been neccesitated to do it, because the Soldiers had forfacken him after the death of Captain Bazardon, who had been there slain, and fend'd him in the quality of Camp-maiter, which had in so to fall out, it was my opinion, and several others were of the fame, that matters would have gone much better, for he was an understandmg man, and a good Soldier. Neither is it to be wonder'd at, if Monfieur de Terride was not very perfect in the besieging of places, for I will maintain that no man understands a Siege but a Master of the Ordinance (who has also been long in that employment) the Commissaries of the Artillery, an Engineer, the Camp-maiter, and the Colonel, if they

Captain Bazardon slain before Montauban.
be old Soldiers, who in these commands (if they have been long in them) must necessarily have been much of that kind of service. All the rest understand nothing of it, nor the General himself, if he have not learnt by being very much with them, but having us'd to go with them, when they have gone to discover places, learns to know what belongs to a Siege, but otherwise not: for the Captains of Gens d'armes never go to discover; nor to the approaches, it being their business to be in a readiness to fight, and to watch that no kind of relief enter into the place. How then should they be expert in Sieges, confiding that they have never asil'd at discoveries, nor heard the debates that old Soldiers enter into with one another upon that Subject; for there they argue upon what they themselves have discover'd, and in fight of the strengths and defects of the place. "Tis a thing of all others in War of the greatest difficulty and importance, and by which many who are otherwise great Captains are put to a hand; and it requires a long practice to understand fortification, to observe and know the defects of a Battlion, a Spur, a Flanker, and to judge what may be within it, by what you your felves would do if you were in the place.

Monfieur de Terride was a good Horse Officer, and very proper for fighting, but not for beleaguer of places, no more than several others, who have never had other command than those he had been trained up in; although in his Quarters every one will be giving his voice, and spending his judgment upon a Carpet, or over a sheet of Paper. It is indeed good to see the Map, but that very often deceives. I could wish, that when any one, who has never been employed in any of the formentioned Commands, or ever follow'd the Kings Lieutenant when he went to view a place, nor heard the dispute of the above named Officers upon their said discovery will be prating, and offering to put in their Verdict: the Kings Lieutenant would bid him, first go hazard himself through the Enemies firr at the discovery, and then deliver his advice. "Tis always the tickleft place, forasmuch as if the besieged be men of any metal, they will hinder as much as in them lies, the affilant from discovering their Fort: and as much as they possibly can will dispute all they have without, as much as to a hurt, if for they fuffer them to make their approaches at fift, they either discover themselves to be weak, or that they are no Soldiers.

I left then this hopeful Siege, and return'd to Agen, having told Monfieur de Terride my opinion, that he would have no better succes, than what I had prophesied to him. A few days after the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and Monfieur de Nouvailles Governor of the City, lent to entreat me that I would come to Bourdeaux, to help to pacifie a Tumult that was in the City, which I accordingly did, and there I laid some days; after which I returned again to Agen, that I might be in the heart of the Country, to which all the Gentry ordinarily repair. And there it is that the Lieutenant of a Province ought to refide, and not at Bourdeaux, although that be the Capital City, it being too far off. And moreover there is a Court of Parliament, that will have a hand in every thing, and the Gentry cannot go thither without great expense, and besides there is always something or other amiss, and some one or another question'd, which frights the Gentlemen from going thither.

Not long after the Cardinal of Armagnac, Court of Parliament of Tholouse, and the Captitols of the fame, lent to entreat me to come thither about some affairs of importance they could not commit to writing, which I did, they needed not to summon me twice, and when I came there they called a Council wherein were asilting Meiftrecs de Cardinals of Armagnac, and de Strozzy, Monfieur le premier President d'Affes, the Seigneurs de Terride, de Negrepelne, Fourquevaux, du Font the Kings Advocat General, and the Captitols, where they gave me to understand that they intended to fee some Forces on foot to go into Languedoc, and that they had chosen me for head of the Army: but I excus'd my felf, reprefenting to them, that the Conflable would not take it well, confidering it was in his Government, and that besides he had no great kindness for me. Now the Banne of Drum had already been fought, where, as every one knows, his Majeftries affairs were very folt shaken, but the Victory remain'd to the King, thorough the valour and conduct of the Duke of Guife. Nevertheless the faid Conflable was taken prisoner on the one fide, as the Prince of Conde was on the other, and fo both the Gentlemen were taken, a thing that was never known before; which shews that it was well fought, but being that I was not there it nothing concerns me to speak of that busines: I was fom much concern'd by thefe people, that in the end I was fain to accept the Commission, and we fett down in writing all things that were neceffary to be provided for the expedition. Of which the Cardinal de Strozzy undertook to caufe twelve hundred Canon firr, and a proportionable quantity of Powder to be brought from Marelles, and Monfieur de Fourquevaux took upon him to fend some allo from Narbonne; and so we began to distribute the
the foot Commissions, concluding within thirty days to have all things in readiness, together with the money that was to be levied by the City and the Country of Languedoc, who were also associated in the Design.

During these transactions in a day and a night's time no less than three Couriers came to me from Bordeaux, of which the eldest Son of the Recorder Pontae was the first, the Kings Advocate La Het (who since has been Attorney-General) the second, and a Gentleman belonging to Monseigneur de Novailles the Third; who all came upon one and the same errand, which was to tell me, that if I did not suddenly, and with the utmost diligence go to relieve the City of Bordeaux, it would infallibly be lost, through an unhappy difference was fallen out there betwixt the first President Logaballen, and Monseigneur de Novailles the Governor: wherefore the Court of Parliament, the Jurats, and the said Monseigneur de Novailles, all of them entreated me to make haste, or otherwise I would come too late, for Monseigneur de Novailles had already sent for all the Train's Bands to bring them into the City by the Castle of Hes, that was in his possession, and some of those of the Town poiffed themselves of the Gates, for part of the City sided with Monseigneur de Novailles. I had much ado to prevail with these Gentlemen to let me go thither, till I was fain to promise them upon my honor within fifteen days to return to Tholouse, desiring them in the mean time to hasten their Levies and Preparations, that I might find all things ready at my return; and so I put my self upon my way, for I was never a man of delays; and being I had a great number of Gentlemen with me, I could not go by water, but was constrain'd to make my journey by land, by reason of the arms and great Horrors we had, fo that we were three days in going to Agen. I had despatched away Pontae, and Monseigneur de Novailles his Gentleman, to assure those of Bordeaux of my coming; but Monseigneur de Het would not go away till he first saw me on horseback, and afterwards rid so hard, that he fell sick, and had like to have died. Their arrival held every one in suspense, both on the one side and the other. We flaid but one night at Agen, and went forwards, and in three days more I came to Bordeaux, where I found a Patent the King had sent me, by which he made me his Lieutenant in the one half of the Government of Guienne in the absence of the King of Navarre, and the other half to remain to Monseigneur de Burde, without making nevertheless any distinction as then, which part should belong to Monseigneur de Burde, and which to me.

They believ'd that at my coming I would presently have recourse to arms, and have kill'd all those of the Presidents Party, and out of that believe many were fled away: but I knew very well that that had been to ruin the City, and that the King would be a great loser by it; for had I gone that way to work the Earth could not have laved the City from being sacked. I went by Cadille, where Monseigneur de Candille did me the honor to bear me company, and we thipt our selves in his Gaiton, and other Veillets for there was a great number of Gentlemen, and by the way met news, that Monseigneur de Novailles died that night, having lain only two days sick, which gave occasion to some afterwards to say that he died of poison, how true it was I know not, but it was great pity, for he was a prudent honest Gentleman, and a good Subject.

The next morning after my arrival I went to the Palace, and there propounded to the Court what I had receiv'd from the Siege of Stenans, and after what manner we ought to proceed in a great City, either in Warre or in Sedition; telling them that should we put our hands to bloods, the City would be totally destroyed, wherein both parties would suffer alike, laying before them the example of Tholouse, where had I permitt'd those who came from the Mountains, and Comings, to enter the City, it had not been in the power of man to have prevent'd it from being lack, which would also befall them, if we once proceed to blood, and gave reins to the peoples fury, especially thofe from without, bidding them remember what happen'd when Monseigneur de Montal was flain, that the people took the Authority upon them. That they were therefore to begin with a good reconciliation and union, without engaging in any disorders or trouble, after which they might proceed to punish the Delinquents by the way of justice. All the Assembly approv'd of my advice, and return'd me infinite thanks. At my departure from thence, so soon as I had dined I went to the Town Hall, where I had appointed the Jurats and all the Council to meet me, and made them the same remonstrance, where though there were some who only had a mind to blow the coals, nevertheless I laid to many examples and good reasons before them, that they all altered their resolution, and about four of the clock I went to the Arch Bishoprick, where I had sign'd all the Clergy to expect me, and there made them also a Remonstrance touching the Efface of the Church, as I had done to the other two concerning them: so that that very day I appeas'd the City, and the next day we fell to consult of the order was to be observ'd, that the pacification.
The Nature of
the Sieur de
Montluc.

Confiderations
of the Sieur de
Montluc.

The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize

Book V.

fication might endure, where I fo before'd my self, that in three days all tumults were converted into peace and perfect union. I will be bold to say, and call all the City of Bourdeaux to witnesse it, that had I proceeded otherwise the City had been destroy'd; neither ought we to have recourse to violence, where there is any other way left open, especially considering, that it was a division amongst the Catholicks, or at least those who professed themselves to be such, for I am not God Almighty to dive into mens hearts.

Oh that the King ought well to confider to whom he entrusts the Government of a Province, and above all things to make choice of such as have formerly been Governors of places; for if by a long experience he be not intelligent in such employments, the Country or City where such Tumults shall arise, run a manifold danger. I had been Governor of Montcaller and Albe, and the Kings Lieutenant first at Saint, and afterwards at Montlucin : Where the various accidents I had heard of, had taught me to know, and to foresee the ruine or preservation of a place; without which experience I do believe I had taken the way of execution, I being in my own nature rather inclin'd to scuffle, than to pacifie affairs, and more to fighting and cutting of throats, than to making of speeches: but my discretion govern'd me upon this occasion; neither ought a man to suffer himself to be hurried away by his own inclination, or transported by his passion, forasmuch as his Matters affairs will suffer by it. There were now in the City that would have been glad to have cut our work enough, in hatred to the chief President, who was never much below'd amongst them; but whether he were hated with reason, or otherwise I referre to others to determine. Monfieur de Bourdeaux who is yet living, knows very well what intelligence a certain person brought me as I was walking with him in his Garden.

I was then solicited by all the Court of Parliament, all the Gentry, and the whole City, to accept the Charge the King had confer'd upon me, which nevertheless I would by no means be perfwaded to do, and had sent away a dispatch to the King and Queen to return their Majesties my most humble thanks, and to excufe my self from that employment; for I still fancied to my self that that would happen which has since befaln me, and that this Government would bring upon me the envy and hatred which pereadventure I might otherwise avoid: neither did I ever prophetic any thing of my self that has not come to pafs. Let any one ask President Logebuffon, who made me the Harangue in the Palace to perfwade me to take the Government upon me, what answer I made him there in publick, and what I afterwards said to him in private. There are also other Presidents and Counsellors yet living, who heard my reasons, and who I am confident can remember if the Predictions I then made of my self be come to pafs. So it was that at that time I did not accept it, nor of two days after; nor that the King did not herein confer a greater honor upon me than I deserv'd; nor that I would not have been glad of so good a fortune; but I had evermore a thousand niceties before my eyes. But the present President Logebuffon, the other Presidents his Brethren, and the ancient Counsellors, came to my lodging, and gave me many arguments to perfwade me, and on the other fide Monfieur de Landle, Monfieur d'Escars (whom I found there) Monfieur de Lisse my Brother, Monfrieurs de Barfuc, d'Oza, and all the Gentlemen who were with me, were very perfwing upon me, faying that I ought to accept it; and the Jurats, together with the whole Body of the City did the fame; by which means being left fingle in my opinion, I was constrain'd to pafs the Wicket, like a man that is hurft into the Gaol; for so I may fay I was forc'd in, and had I been left at liberty, I would have loft my life, or have perform'd some fervices that should have been acceptable to the King, and from which I would have deriv'd some remonfance, whereas by the fervices I have perform'd in my administration in these parts, I have reapt no other advantage than reproaches and disgrace. And yet I will be bold to fay that no man under heaven could have behav'd himself better than I did, by the testimony of all the three Estates of Guienne, and had I done such fervices in the life time of either of the late Kings, Francis, or Henry, there had not been a Gentleman in France under the Title of a Prince, who had been higher preferv'd, or in greater esteem than I had been. But God be praised for all; all the remonfance I have had is a great Harquebuz shot in my face, of which I shall never be cur'd so long as I live, which makes me eternally curse the hour that ever I had this Command. Many better men than I would have esteem'd themselves honor'd by it, and so did I, but being to serve a King in his Minority, and in a Country where I forefaw I should have enough to do, and very little means wherewithal to do it, I conceived it might have been more advantageous to me, to have gone further off from my own Dunghill. And I would ever advise any friend of mine rather to accept a remote Command, than one near
Book V.  de Montluc, Mareschal of France.

near home; for no man is a Prophet in his own Country. However for the benefit of my Country I was content to take this great burden upon me.

Now as I thought to have departed from Bouches to go to Tholouse after I had appeaRed all things here, the Peace came, which was brought by Captain Fleuret. He had met with Captain Montluc hard by Mussidan, who was carrying twelve Companies of Foot (the fiVe Companies, and the left arm'd that ever had been raised in Guinnee) and one Troop of Light horse, to the King; the Sieur de Laques was his Lieutenant, and the Sieur de Montferron his Ensign. The City of Bouches had lent him two pieces of Canon, and one Culverine, which I had said Captain Fleuret should not take any pieces from Mussidan; but Captain Montluc would not stop his March till I told him from me. The Peace being declared, every one was of opinion that I should countermand him, which I therefore did, brought back the Artillery, and disbanded all the Foot and Horfe, that the people might no longer be ravin'd: sending in like manner to Tholouse to do the fame; so that in eight days time every one was retir'd to his own home, I making no question of foearing Guinnee without Garifon either of Horfe or Foot; which I did, and so well, that for the space of five years neither Troop nor Foot Soldier eat so much as a Hare throughout the whole Province upon the account of arms. I had three pieces of Canon at Agen, and with threats and bravades kept all the world in awe, making every one lay aside his arms, especially fire arms, so that not a man was seen to wear any arms, the Gentlemen excepted, who were allow'd their Swords and Stilettoes. And for two Catholic Souldiers that I caus'd to be hang'd for tranfgressing the Edifi, I broke for a great terror into the whole Country, that no one dar'd any more to lay hand to his arms. The Hugonots thinking to escape better cheap, and that I would never offer to punish them; two other Soldiers of the Religion also tranfgressed the Edifi, whom I likewise immediately transferr'd up to bear company with the others; so that the two Religions feeing there was no impunty for either of them, and that neither the one nor the other could promise to themselves any affurance of one if they should offend, they began to love one another, and to frequent one another's houses. Thus did I maintain the Peace for the space of five years betwixt both parties in this Country of Guinnee, and do believe that if every one would have taken the same course, without partiality to the one side, or the other, and have executed justice indifferently upon those who deferv'd it, we had never seen so many troubles in this Kingdom. And it was no little thing that I perform'd, for I had to do with as capricious and fanfick head-pieces as any in the whole Kingdom of France, or peradventure in all Europe; and who governs a Gafton may aflurc himself he has done a Masterpiece, who as he is naturally warlike, so is he proud, mutilous, and insolent; the Nature of nevertheless by playing one while the gentle, and another the auffere, I subjected all to me, without any so much as once daring to lift up his head. In brief the King was acknowledge'd, and his Laws obey'd.

This was the end of the fiVe Civil War, and the fiVe troubles in those places where I was, with the account of what I did in them, which is in tumme, that if God had not inspir'd me with courage to oppose the Hugonots in due time, they would have been fo establisht, that it had not been in the power of the King of a long time to have remov'd them; for I am not of the opinion of thofe, who fay it had signified nothing; and that though they had been canton'd here, one might have thum them up: It is a rich and plentiful Country as any in the Kingdom of France, abounding in Navigable Rivers, strong Hold, and very good Harbours; how then should such a Country be that up, considering that the English, and other foreign Nations may at all times come to it by Sea? The King has fet but two little value upon it; 'tis well if he do not one day repent it. But provided thefe fiVe talking Gentlemen, who prate at their eafe, may have their own arms at liberty, they care not for any body elfe, and when one comes to demand of them affiance of money (for of every thing else we have but too much) they cry, let them raife it upon the Country, and to the Soldier, not being paid, is accierated to plunder, and rob, and the King's Lieutenant to endure it. 'Tis all one fay they, a Country Spoiled is no left. O lewd expreffion, and unworthy of a Counsellor of the Kings, who has the management of affairs of State! He has not the trouble of it, nor does he bear the reproach; but he who has the charge of the Province, and whom the people load with continual excreations.

Behold then our Guinnee thus loft, and recover'd, and since maintain'd in peace for the good of the people; and to my particular and great misfortune: for my Son Captain Montluc being no more able to live at ref than his Father, being himself Abile in France, as being no Courrier, and knowing of no foreign War wherein to employ his arms, de- fign'd an Enterprize by Sea, to go to make his fortune in Affrick, and to this end followed by
by a brave number of Gentlemen Volunteers (for he had above three hundred with him) and by a great many of the best Officers and Soldiers he could call out, he embark'd at Bourdeaux in a Fleet of six Men of War, as well equip'd as Vessels could possibly be. I shall not insist upon the design of this unfortunate Expedition, wherein he left his life, being slain with a Musket shor in the Island of Maderas going ashore to water, and where being the Islanders would not peaceably permit him to refresh his Ships, he was constrain'd to have recourse to violence, to their loss and ruine; but much more to mine, where there left my right hand. Had it pleased God to have preferv'd him to me, they had not done me thro' charitable Offices at Court they have since done. In short I lopt him in the flower of his age, and then when I expected he should have been both the prop of mine, and the support of his Country; which has very much mis't him since. I had lopt the brave Mark Anthony my eldest Son at the Port of Oli, but this that died at the Maderas was of such value, that there is not a Gentleman in Gattenne who did not judge he would surpas his Father. But I leave it to those who knew him, to give an account of his valour and prudence. He could not have fail'd of being a good Captain, had God been pleas'd to preserve him; but he disposed of us all, as seems best to his own wisdom. I think this little Montluc that he has left me will endeavour to imitate him both in valour and loyalty to his Prince, which all the Montluc's have ever been eminent for, and if he prove not such, I disclaim him. Every one knows, and the Queen more than any other, that I was once the Author of this unfortunate Voyage; and the Admiral knows very well how much I endeavour'd to break the design; not that I had a mind to keep him idle by the fire, but out of the apprehension I had it might occasion a Breach between the two Crowns of France and Spain, which though I might perhaps in my own bosom desire, to remove the War from our own doors, I would also have with'd that some other might have been the occasion of the rupture. My Sons design was not to break any Truce with the Spaniards; but I saw very well that it was impossible, but he must do it there, either with him or the King of Portugal; For to hear these people talk, a man would think that the Sea was their own. The Admiral lov'd and esteem'd this poor Son of mine but too much, having told the King, that never a Prince nor Lord in France, upon his own single account, and without his Majesties assisnance, could in so short a time have made ready so great an Equipage. And he said true, for he won the hearts of all that knew him, and that were enamour'd of the practice of arms; and I was so wise as to think that fortune was oblig'd to be as favourable to him as the had been to me. For an old Soldier as I am, I confess I committed a great error, that I did not discover the design to some other (considering that the Vicount d'Uza, and de Pampadour, and my young Son were of the party) who might have tried their fortune, and pursu'd the Enterprize projected; which nevertheless I shall not here discover, because the Queen may peradventure another day again let it on foot.

The End of the Fifth Book.

The
THE COMMENTARIES OF

Messes Bleize de Montluc,
Mareschal of France.

The Sixth Book.

Or the space of five years France enjoyed this tranquility and repose with the two Religions that divided the Kingdom; notwithstanding I still doubted there was some Snake lurking in the grass: though for what concern'd the Province of Guyenne, I was in no great apprehension; for I had evermore an eye to all things, lending the Queen notice of every thing I heard, with all the fidelity and care wherewith any man living could give an account of his truth. The King at this time sent a Progres to visit the several Provinces of his Kingdom, and being come to Tholouse, I went to

kiss his Majesty's hand, who gave me a more honorable reception than I deserv'd. The Hugonots fail'd not upon this occasion to make use of their wanted artifices, and practices, and made me false fire under hand, for openly they durst not do it; but I did not much regard their malice. The Queen did me the honor to tell me all, wherein she manifestly the confidence she receiv'd in me, and I by that very well, that she did not love the Hugonos. One day being in her Chamber with Maffets the Cardinals of Bourbon and Guîse, she repeated to me all her fortune, and the perplexity she had been in. And amongst other things, that the night news was brought her of the los of the Battle of Dreuix (for some brave fellow who had not leisure to stay to see what Monseigneur de Guîse did after the Conflagration was routed and taken, had given her this false Alarm) the was all night in Council with the said Cardinals, to consult what course she should take to save the King; where in the end it was resolv'd, that if in the morning the news should be confirm'd, she should try to retire into Guienne, though the Journey was very long, accounting that she should be safer there than in any other part of the Kingdom. May God for ever refuse to afflict me, if hearing this sad story, the tears did not start into my eyes, laying to her these very words: Good God! Madam was your Majesty reduc'd to that necessity? which the affair reduc'd me, and I swore upon her soul, she was, as also did both the Cardinals, and to speak the truth had this Battle been lost, her Majesty had been in a very deplorable condition, and I do believe there had been an end of France; for the whole State and Religion had been ruin'd too.-turvy, and with a young King every body does what they will.

Now their Majesties having pass'd thorough Guienne, found all things in a better posture than had been represent'd to them: For my good friends the Hugonots had spread a report that all was ruin'd and lost: but their Majesties found it in a much better condition than Languedoc. They employ'd some time at Mont-de-Marson in expectation of the Queen of Spain coming to Bayonne; and I will here set down a thing that I discover'd there, to shew that I have ever inviolably kept with the Queen the Promise I made her at Orleans, after the death of King Francis, that I would never depend upon any other than the King and her, as I have never done, and although I have reap'd no great advantage by
A League for ever on foot in France.

The Sieur de Moulan's advice to the Queen.

The advice of Messieurs de Noves and de Montpenfier.

The advice of the Sieur de Montfort.

The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize Book VI.

by it, yet I had rather the default should be on the other side, than that I had fall'd of my word: I heard then some whisper of a League that was forming in France, where in were several very great persons, both Princes and others, whom nevertheless I have nothing to do to name, being engag'd by promise to the contrary. I cannot: certainly lay to what end this League was contriv'd: but a certain Gentleman named them to me every one, endeavouring at the same time to persuade me to make one in the Association, alluring me it was to a good end: but he perceiv'd by my countenance, that it was not a dish for my pallate. I profess I gave the Queen private intimation of it; for I could not endure such kind of doing, who seem'd to be very much afforded at it, telling me it was the first syllable she had ever heard of any such thing; and commanding me to enquire further into the business, which I did, but could get nothing more out of my Gentleman; for he now lay upon his Guard.

Her Majesty then was pleased to ask my advice, how she should behave her self in this business, wherupon I gave her counsel to order it so, that the King himself should say in publick, that he had heard of a League that was forming in his Kingdom, which no one could do without giving him some jealousy and division: and that therefore he must require every one without exception to break off this League, and that he would make an association in his Kingdom of which he himself would be the Head; for so for some time it was call'd, though they afterwards chang'd the name, and call'd it the Confederation of the King. The Queen at the time that I gave her this advice did by no means approve of it, objecting, that should the King make one, it was to be feared that others would make another; but I made answer and said, that the King must engage in his own all such as were in any capacity of doing the contrary, which however was a thing that could not be conceal'd, and might well enough be provided against. Two days after her Majesty being at Supper called me to her, and told me, that he had consider'd better of the affair I had spoke to her about, and found my counsel to be very good, and that the next day, without further delay, the would make the King propound the business to his Council, which he accordingly did, and sent to enquire for near my lodging, but I was not within. In the evening the ask me why I did not come to her, and commanded me not to fail to come the next day, because there were several great difficulties in the Council, of which they had not been able to determine. I came according to her command, and there were several disputes. Monfieur de Noves made a very elegant speech, representing 'T that it would be very convenient to make a League and Association for the good of the King and his Kingdom, to the end, that if affairs should to require, every one with one and the same will might repair to his Majesties person, to make their lives and fortunes for his service, and also in case any one of what Religion soever, should offer to invade or assail them, or raise any commotion in the State, that they might with one accord unite, and expose their lives in their common defence. The Duke of Montpenfier was of the same opinion, and several others, saying, that this could not choos but so much the more secure the peace of the Kingdom when it should be known, that all the Nobility were thus united for the defence of the Crown.

The Queen then did me the honor to command me to speak; wherupon I began, and said, 'T that the League propos'd could be no way prejudicial to the King, being that it tended to a good end for his Majesties service, the good of his Kingdom, and the peace and security of his People; but that one which should be form'd in private could produce nothing but disorder and mischief: for the good could not answer for the evil dispos'd; and should the Cards once be shuffled between League and League, it would be hard matter to make of it a good game; that being the most infallible way to open a door to let Strangers into the Kingdom, and to expose all things to spoil and ruin; but that all of us in general, both Princes and others, ought to make an Association, which should bear the Title of the League, or the Confederation of the King, and to take a great and solemn Oath, not to decline or swerve from it upon penalty of being declar'd such as the Oath should import; and that his Majesty having so concluded, ought to dispatch Messengers to all parts of the Kingdom, with Commission to take the Officers of such as were not there present, by which means it would be known, who were willing to live and die in the service of the King and State. And should any one be so foolish or impudent, as to offer to take arms, let us all Sir swear to fall upon them; I warrant your Majesty I will take such order in these parts, that nothing shall thine to the prejudice of your royal Authority. And in like manner let us engage by the faith we owe to God, that if any Counter-League shall dissemble it self, we will give your Majesty immediate notice of it: and let your Majesties be subерib'd by all the great men of your Kingdom. The Feast will not be right without them, and they also are eafe.
"to be persuaded to it, and the fittest to provide against any inconveniency may happen.

This was my Proposition, upon which several disputes ensued; but in the end the King's Association was concluded on, and it was agreed, that all the Princes, great Lords, Governors of Provinces, and Captains of Gen's d'arms should renounce all Leagues and Confederacies whatever, as well without as within the Kingdom, excepting that of the King, and should take the Oath upon pain of being declar'd Rebels to the Crown; to which there were also other obligations added, which I do not remember. There were several difficulties about couching the Articles, some saying they were to be couch'd after one manner, and others after another; for in these great, as well as in our inferior Councils there is black and white, and obstinacy and dissimulation, and some perhaps there were, who though they set a good face on the matter, were elsewhere engag'd. So goes the World. 'tis a miserable thing when a Kingdom falls to a King in minority, had he then had the knowledge that he has had since, I do believe he would have made some people speak good French. In the end all was past and concluded, and the Princes began to take the Oath, and to sign the Articles, where though I was but a poor Gentleman, the King would also that I should sign with them, by reason of the charge I had under him, and it was allo sent to the Constable at Bayonne, who sign'd it there. On the other side they sent to the Prince of Condé, to the Admiral, Monfieur d'Anetot, and other Lords and Governors of France, and at the return of the Messengers the King (as I was told) caus'd an Instrument to be ingraft of all, and put amongst the Records of the Crown. I do believe it cannot be lost, and that there a man may fee in black and white some people forewarn'd to some purpose. I know not who was the beginning of the War a la St. Michel; but whoever it was I know he went contrary to his Oath, and that the King, if he pleased, might justly declare him perjur'd, forasmuch as he stands oblig'd by his Oath, and his own hand and seal are against him: neither would he have any wrong done him, because he was contenting to the conditions. And although there was no fighting work in this affair, I do neverthelesse conceive, that I did the King and Queen a good piece of service in discovering this practice, which had it not been discover'd, matters might peradventure have gone worse than they did.

The King at his return from Bayonne took his way towards Xainctonge, and Rochelle, to which place I attended him, and there he commanded me to return, giving me instructions to cause the Edicts of Pacification to be inviolably observ'd; which I have ever done; neither can it be said that the War began in my Government: and all if they had begun with me, they would have had no great match on't, neither could they have taken me unprovided: but their design was at the head. The Queen who is yet living may remember what I said to her concerning Rochelle; for had this feather been pluck'd from the Hugonots wing, and sec'd to his Majesties devotion, as I advis'd her it ought to be, France had never seen those many mischiefs that have follow'd since. But the was so numerous and fearful of giving any occasion of new troubles, that the dartt attempt to alter nothing, and I know very well, that the one might entreate'd me above two hours, talking of nothing but things that had past during the life-time of the King her Husband my good Master. And yet, one, who was none of the least, went and reported that I was contriving something to the prejudice of the Peace, Would to God her Majesty had taken my advice, Rochelle should never have dar'd to have mutter'd.

Now as the King was going out of Brittany, to take his way to Blois, I had intelligence from Rouen, Spenser, Perigord, Burdeles, and Agnois, that the Hugonots were seen to go up and down with great horses in small parties, carrying Sumpers along with them, wherein 'twas said they carried their Arms and Pistols. Three or four times I gave the Queen notice of it, but she would never give credit to my intelligence. In the end I sent to her Martinet, the same who at this present is * Comptroller of the Wars, who was not very welcome to bring such news, and three days after his arrival at Court Berry a Secretary of mine arriv'd also with other intelligence from me to the Queen, that they all march'd openly day and night, though I think the would hardly have believ'd it, had it not been, that at the same time her Majesty had advierements from all the other Governments of the Kingdom, which made the King go in all diligence directly to Moulins. I know not to what this tended, nor why they marcht up and down in Troops after that manner, but it ought to have been known, and it was a sign of no good: for without the knowledge of the King, or his Lieutenant, no one ought to have attempted any such thing: and had it not been that I was afraid of being accut for breaking the Peace, I would soon have sent them to their own houtes with a vengeance: for I did not sleep. I went however very well accompanied with a good number of Gentlemen, and

* A kind of Secretary who is to give an account of the charge and expense of the Warr.
my own Company of Gentz’arms into Reuerge, Quercy, and all along by the skirts of Perigord, to see if any one would openly stir, and sent to the King to tell him, that if his Majesty pleas’d to give me leave to talk with them at their return, I hop’d I should be able to give him a good account of their intention: But the King sent me a positive command not to do it, but let them quietly return every man to his own house, and then it was, that I perceiv’d the League of Mont de Marfon would not long be obser’d. I thought fit to write this passage, to the end that every one may see how vigilant in my Government I have ever been, seeing that I was the first to give his Majestie the first intelligence. And now I will begin the War de la St. Michel, which were the second Troubles.

Though it has been said, and I know it also to be true, that the Hugonots did perfectly hate me, yet was I not so negligent in my administration, but that I had acquir’d some friends amongst them, and even some who were of their Conspirity. It was not now as in the former troubles, our Cards were so shuffled, and confus’d, as nothing could be more, and these people were not now so hot in their Religion, as they had formerly been; many either out of fear, or for good will, came to us, so that we began to be faconce, and to converse with one another. The fear also they were in of me made some few my friends, or at least seem to be. About two Moneths and a half before la Saint Michel, I had notice by a Gentleman, and another rich man in the Country, who knew nothing of one another, that the Prince of Concé, and the Admiral, had sent to them all to make themselves ready, with horses and arms, as many as had wherewithal to procure them, and that those who had not, should arm themselves as well as they could; and alfo that they should lay in great store of Corn and other provisions of Virtual at Montanban. I judg’d this intelligence to be very probable, forasmuch as there was not a horfe to be bought for money in the whole Country, and there were who sent to the Passes of Spain to furnish themselves from thence, and nothing was too dear, young nor old. I therefore dispatch away the Sieur de Lusban post to the Queen, to give her an account of all these things, but her Majestie would believe nothing, fending me word that I was not to give credit to such informations, and was only to take care, that the Edicts were duly observ’d. In the mean time from day to day I had continual advertisements, that their practices still continued, and that they had a private Assembly at Montanban, and another at Tholouze in the House of Doctat. I again sent the Queen word of all I had heard; but her Majestie would never be induc’d to believe anything, though I sent three or four Messengers one after another. In the end the grew so angry at my frequent and reiterated Advertisements, that the commanded Armes Sindle of Condomnien, to bid me send no more, for that the knew the contrary of what I fent her intelligence, and faid moreover, it leem’d as if I was afraid, and I had word also sent me by others, that they laugh’d and jest’d at me in the Council, calling me Trompetter and make-war, they might have faid more because I did not hear them; but had I been within a Pikes length, I should have made some of them filent that spoke very loud. I except tho’ that ought to be excepted: but these Courtiers, who never handle other Iron than a knife and fork, prate at their own pleasure, and play the Demi-Gods, and keep a clatter, as if nothing could be well but what passeth through their learned Courtiers. Nothing of this kind is strange from such people as tho’; but I could not but wonder that the Queen being a woman of so great understanding, and knowing what the faid to me, should use me for. There was no remedy; for I was so far off I could make no reply.

About fifteen or twenty days before la Saint Michel, I went to dine at a Gentleman’s house a friend of mine, to which place also came one of those who used to give me intelligence, who told me, that but two days before one of the Admiral’s Gentlemen passed by Montanban, and that he was going post from Church to Church, to give them notice to be all in a readiness to rise at the time, when another Gentleman from the said Admiral, or the Prince of Concé should come to call them out, which at the furthest would be within fifteen or twenty days. I thereupon entreated him, that if he should be in Montanban at the time when the Gentleman should come thither, that he would save all the Catholicks that were in it, which he promis’d he would do; and so I departed thence and came to Coaffagne, where I met with a Letter from a Gentleman, who was at that time at Tholouze, where he gave me the fame advice: but being the Letter was not sign’d, I would not fend it to the Queen, doubting he should not believe it. The next day there came to the faid Coaffagne the Baron de Condrin, whom we now call Monfieur de Montifbon, who was going post to Court to obtain her Majesties Letters in the behalf of his Father and himself, concerning a Suit they had depending in the Parliament of Tholouze. I gave credit to tho’se who gave me intelligence; and they were faithful to me; forasmuch as of three they
they were two of them had occasion to use me, in the concern of some. Efforts they were in faire about, and upon that occasion it was, that I knew by their complexion they were not so zealous in their Religion, but that they had a greater kindness for worldly concerns, and would forsake Religion, Ministries, and all, to gain that for which they were in contest. (I believe this Religion is nothing but a meer cheat) and without me they could not do their business: neither was I wanting to affit them all, I could, that I might have considerable influence from them: for I had some interest, and was well belov'd in the Parliament of Thoulouse and Bordeaux, and by the Kings Officers. They had reason to do as they did, and to require their kindness, forasmuch as I ever found them very affejonate to the Kings service. I then intrated the Baron de Gondin to present my most humble and obedient service to the Queen, and to defire her Majesty to remember, that she had never been pleased to give any credit to the several advertisements I had continually given her upon all occasions; and to tell her that her own eyes would shortly weep for her unbelief; that her Majesty had sent me word she was afraid; and that in the Kings Council they had been pleased to call me Trompeter, and Make-war; but that I did most humbly befooth her Majesty, that I had no other apprehension for myself, who God be thanked was born without fear, and knew not what befell to any other than what an honest man ought to have: but that I was afraid of the King, and of her, they being threatened with no less than death, or imprisonment; and that therefore he should look to her self for a few days, and desine the King from going to often a hunting, and appearing so much in publick as he used to do; especially if she had a mind to save his life and his Crown. The Baron de Gondin acquitted himself faithfully of his Commission, and told me her Majesty had made answer, that she would give ear to no intelligence I should send her, and that the better knew the Hugonots intentions than I, and also their power how far it could extend; and that they de¬fird nothing but peace. Tho' people pursued their practices with great cunning, and a far of, and she was certainly charmed by some of their Agents. The said Sieur de Montferrat made so great haste, that he return'd ten or twelve days before la St. Michel, and told me what answer her Majesty had given him. It is impossible, but that as I have said, she was either gull'd or bewitch'd by some one or other she had about her, who did it either out of malice or ignorance: but it was however a most strange thing, that the should be so deluded, it being a thing so notoriously publick with us, that so much as the very Pages and Footmen knew of the Preparation the Hugonots made to rise, and before the said Baron de Gondin return'd, I had intelligence, that eight days before or eight days after la Saint Michel, the Admirals Gentleman was certainly to come. Upon these flight answers of the Queens I had like to have committed a very great error, in laying aside all suspicion, believing that her Majesty was better enformed than I, and that therefore I ought no more to give credit to those who gave me the daily advertisements. Whereupon I made a match with the late Bishop of Condum, and the Sieurs de Saintferron and de Tilhaut, Brothers, to go the Baths at Barberan, as I had been by the Physicians appointed to do, for a pain in my hip I got at the taking of Quires, which Monfieurs d'Animale I know does very well remember, and that I believe I shall carry along with me to my Grave.

We went upon the Saturday from Coffagne to go lie at Monsieur de Panier his house, taking two Tails of Golfs along with us, wherewith to pass away the time at the Baths: and the very night that we came thither in my first sleep I dream'd a dream, that did more discompose and weaken me, than if I had four days had a continued Fever, which I will here set down, because there are many living to whom I told it, for these are no tales made for pleasure. I dream'd that all the Kingdom of France was in Rebellion, and that a stranger Prince had seiz'd upon it, and had kill'd the King, my Lords his Brothers, and the Queen, and that I was flying night and day on every side to escape; for me thought I had all the world in search of me to take me: sometimes I fled to one place, and sometimes to another, till at length I was surpriz'd in a house, and carried before the new King, who was walking betwixt two great men in a Church. He was low of stature, but gross, and well knit, and had on his head a square velvet Cap, such a one as they wore in former times. The Archers of his Guard were clad in yellow, red, and black, and me-thought as they led me prisoner through the Streets, all the people ran after me crying, kill the Villains: one presented a naked Sword to my throat; and another a Pill of fire to my breast: those that led me, crying out, do not kill him, for the King will have him hang'd to his own presidence. And thus they carried me before the new King, who was walking, as I laid before. There was in the Church neither Image nor Altar; and to soon as I came before him, he said to me in Italian; (a) Veni que forte, tu mi hai fatto la guerra,


& à quelli i quali fummi servitori, io ti fara a peque a deffe, adeffi. To which I made

answer in the same language, (for me-thought I spoke Tufcan as well as when I was in

Sienna) (b) Sura Maefla, io fervito al mio Re, fi come fummi obbligati farti tutti gli huomi-

ni da bene, fi Maefla ne deve pigiar quefto a male. At which, enfamed with fury, he

laid to the Archers of his Guard, (c) Andate, andate menate lo adicrare quel fortane, que

mi ferebe ancora la guerra. Whereupon they would have led me away, but I would

flee, and faid to him, (d) lo faplico fu Maefla voler mi falvar la vita, poi che il Re mio figni-

re è morto enfimi gli fignori fuoi fratelli: To vi prometto che vi ferirfo con medefima fede

la quale io fervito il veme vivens. Upon this the Lords who were walking with

him, begged of him to save my life: upon whole interceffion, looking Redfefly upon me, he

faid to me, (e) Prometti tu quello del cuore? or Sa la ti da la vita per le pregié di

quelli che mi pregano, e mi fidele. Thefe Lords me thought I spoke French, but we two

spoke Italian; whereupon he commanded them to take me a little aside, and that he

would by and by talk to me again. They then fer me by a Cheef that fhad hard by

the Church door, and thole who were to look to me fell to talking with the Archers of

the Guard. As I was there standing by this Cheef, I began to think of the King, and

repented me of the oath of Fidelity I had taken; for that peradventure the King might

not be yet dead, and that if I could escape away, I would rather wander alone, and

on foot, throughout the world to feek the King if he were yet alive; and thereupon took

a resolution to run away. Thus refolv'd I went out of the Church, and being got into

the Street began to run, and never thought of my hip, for me-thought I ran fatter than

I would, when on a fudden I heard a cry behind me, fop the villain; whereupon some

came out of their houfes to take me, and others ftood in my way; but ffill I eap'd both

from the one, and the other, and recover'd a pair of ftoe fairs that went up to the

Wall of the Town, where coming to the top, I look'd down, and meditated the Precipice

was fo great, that I could hardly fee to the bottom. They mounted the fairs after me, and

I had nothing where with to defend my felf, but three or four ftoes that I drew at them;

and had a very great mind to make them kill me; for me-thought they would put me to a

cruel death; when having nothing left to defend my felf withall, I threw my felf head-

long from the Battenfets, and in falling awaked, and found my felf all on a water, as

if I had come out of a River, my Shirt, the Sheets, the Counterpan all wringing

wet, and I fancied that my head was bigger than a Drum. I called my Valet de Chambré,

who prently made a fire, took off my wet shirt, and gave me another. They went alo

to Madam de Pantul, who commanded another pair of Sheets to be given them, and her

felf rode and came into my Chamber, and faw the Sheets, Blankets, and Counterpan

all wet, and never departed the room till all was dried; which whilft they were in doing,

I told her my dream, and the fright I had been in, which had put me into this fweat; She

remembers it as well as I. The Dream I dreamt of the death of King Henry my good

Matter, and this put me into a greater weakness than if I had had a continued Fever for a

whole week together. The Phyficians told me that it was nothing but force of imagina-

tion, my mind being wholly taken up with thofe thoughts; And I do believe it was so:

for I fancied my felf in the night fighting with the Enemy, dreaming of the mishaps,

and the successes alo I afterwards fome came to pas. I have had that misfortune

all my life, that fleeping and walking I have never been at rest, and was always sure

when I had any thing working in my head that I was to doe, nor to fail to dream all

that night; which is very troublesome.

The next day being Sunday they would needs have had me away to the Baths; but I

would never be perfwaded to go; for it fell in my mind, that some diflider would

befall the King, ever remembering my dream about King Henry; fo that for all they could

fay upon Monday we return'd. Upon Thursday came a Conful from Leffouers, who told

me that Monfter de Fonneftalles, Senefchal of Armagnac, kept himfelf shut up in his Castle,

and fthir'd not out, and that all night they heard a knocking within againft some Wall,

or Wood, and that the Hugouets of the City were secretly providing arms. I made

him to return, afuring him, that the Sieur de Fonrefalles would never do any thing pre-

judicial to the Kings fervice, which I faid, relying upon his word, and a promise he had

made me in my Houfe at Agen. But the faid Conful would not take this for current pay:

wherefore I had him to pry more narrowly into what the Senefchal was doing.

Upon Friday there came to me two Confuls from Moiffac, who came to tell me, that two

of the Kings Officers of Montauban, and feveral others were fled to Moiffac, upon fome

apparences they had feen in the faid Montauban of the taking of Arms. I made thems elfe

to return, giving them in charge that without any buffle, or raising of arms, they fhouId

be careful of the prefervation of their Town, and that if they fhould hear, that the others

took
Book VI. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

took arms they should break themselves to arms also, and send me an account of all. Upon Sunday Moniteur de Saintlourens came to dine with me, where we made a Match the next day to see our Hawks fly, and that he should come by break of day in the morning to Caffaigne. At midnight there came to me a Message from the Sieur de la Londe, Canon of Agen, who brought me a letter from him, and another that had been sent to him by Moniteur de Lanneau. Moniteur de la Londe's Letter was, I send you a Letter, which Moniteur de Lanneau has sent me in so great haste, that the man who brought it is able to go no farther. In that of Moniteur de Lanneau there was Moniteur de la Londe's Letter, I pray to send only notice to Moniteur de Montluc, that the Huguenots have taken arms at Bergerac, and are gone in all arms to seize upon some horses of the Marquis de Trins, which are kept at Eymet, and that all those of this Country take horses where ever they can find them. Now because the Marquis de Trins was in fuit with his Brother-in-law call'd Moniteur de St. Lawrence, it presently came into my fancy, that these might be some of the said St. Lawrence his people, who were going to execute some diffrets for Coffs against the said Marquis, and made no other account of it. About break of day I rose, and looking out of the window whilift my man was thrusting me, to see if Moniteur de Saintlourens came; there was a man on horseback, who came from a place upon the River Gironde, whom I will not name, for fear he should be kill'd; for the man that sent him to me is yet living; and as I was opening the Letter my Valet de Chambre law a Ticket fall down upon the floor. I fell to reading the Letter, the content thereof was, that he entreated me to give him leave to sell a Quintal of Pepper to Portugal, which made me in a rage; for the Letter to pieces, cutting all the Portuguese to the pit of Hell, for it put me in mind of the death of my Son at the Maderas. This Letter was only purposely contriv'd to encoate the Ticket, and my Valet de Chambre began to gather up the Ticket, telling me it fell out as I open'd the Letter. I fell then to reading the Ticket, where it was thus written, Betwixt the twenty eighth and thirth of this present September, The King taken, the Queen dead, Rochelle taken, Bergerac taken, Montauban taken, Lecloure taken, and Monlud dead. These were the very words of the Ticket; which put me quite out of the humour of Hawking, and reclined me to the Portugal, so that I immediately sent away Captain Montrui, who had been Lieutenant to the late Captain Monluc in Piedmont, Captain Jean de Agen, and Taranville Commissions of the Artillery, commanding them to go directly towards Moniteur de Saintlourens his house, whom they would meet by the way, and bid him return home, and fend notice to Moniteur de Tilladot his Brother, and the Gentlemen his Neighbours, to come by ten of the clock to Sumpay (a Town in the Kings possession, where I have a house) with their horses and arms, without any noise at all; for we were within a league of one another. I gave them also in charge, that to soon as they had spoke with Moniteur de Saintlourens, they should gallop away to Lecloure, which was three leagues from Caffaigne (for what the Conful had told me came into my head); and it was very probable, that to cut out work in Gofcony they would begin with this strong place) giving them instructions withal, that to soon as they should come within sight of the Castle, to ride softly, pretending to be Merchants, and enter in by the Gate of the Bulwark (doubting the Senchal might have some people into the Castle by the Postern Gate, who if they perceived themselves once to be suspected, might presently seize upon the Town by the help of the Huguenots who were in it) but that to soon as they should be got in, they should talk privately with the Conful, persifling themselves of the said Gate of the Bulwark, and that dead or alive I might find them within it, for I would soon be with them; which they accordingly did. I sent Dispatches also to Moniteur de Verdun, Senchal of Bazadois, and to several other Gentlemen his Neighbours affigning them all to repair to Sumpay by ten of the clock; to which place according to appointment I went myself, but found no body there but Moniteur de Saintlourens, who by misfortune had found none of the Gentlemen his Neighbours at home, and Moniteur de Tilladot had been let blood that morning, so that no body came but an Archdr of my Company call'd Stridus, and two Sons of Moniteur de Berard, who were also of my Company, their Father being ill, and a Kindman of mine call'd Moniteur de la Vit. I laid therefor Moniteur de Verdun till twelve a clock, when seeing no body come, I resolved to go to Lecloure without expecting any longer, where also I doubted I should come with the last. Those who were in my company remonstrated to me, that if the Senchal was crathy, and that he had men in the Castle he would easilly defeat me in the Town; to which I made answer, that should I longer delay going, he would have notice of the three Gentlemen I had sent before, and would so secure the Gates, that I should not be able to enter, and that it was better for us to venture our lives in the Town, than to keep out, and suffer the Town to be left. We then mounted to horses, being no more than his Light-
Light-horse, and we might be in all (the Servants compriz’d) thirty horse. I commanded fourteen Harquebuzers to follow after me, under the conduct of a Priest called Malambre, commanding them to follow at a good fleet trot, and so we march with these mighty Forces. When we came near unto Terrano, a little league from Leterence, there came a man on horseback, dispatch away the Conful and Captain Maurice, by whom they sent me word, that they had poifoned themfelves of the Gates, and that the City was all in arms, deiring to know by which Gate I would enter, I told him by the Gate of the Caftle; whereupon he return’d upon the fpar as he came. By good fortune there hapned to be in the Town the Sieur de Laffan, and the Captain his Brother, who came out to meet me, knowing nothing of all this bufinefs, they being come thereto by application of Pofiefs, and so we entered into the Town. So soon as we were come into Monfieur de Poifegur’s house, I entreated the Sieur de Laffan to go bid Monfieur de Fonterailes come and fpeak with me, for I had something to fay to him that concerned his Majefty’s Service. He lent me word back, that he would not come, and that he was in the Caftle in the behalf of the Queen of Navarre, Lady and Miftrrefs of the faid Caftle and Town. Whereupon I fent him word again, that if he did not come I would affault the faid Caftle, and at the ringing of the Tenquefants call in all the neighbouring Towns to my affiance: which I think ftruck him, for he came. At his coming I told him, that I would have the Caftle to put people into it, who were of the Religion of the King, and a Gentleman to command them, till I should see at what the beginning of this Commination tended; to which he made anfwer, that he was a faithful Servant of the Kings, and that he would rather die than do anything contrary to his Majefty’s pleafure. To which I replied again, that I did believe him to be fo, but that notwithstanding I would in the mean time secure the Caftle, and that I had a greater confidence in my felf than in him: and after some disputes Monfieur de Saintorrens put in, and faid fomething, to which the other replied briskly upon him; but he did not go without his anfwer; and had he not suddenly revol’d, I was about to have taken him prisoner. Monfieur de Laffan then took him aside, remonfrating to him, that he was highly to blame not to obey, and that it was as much as his life was worth; for I would die there but I would have it, and that he himfelf knew well enough what a kind a man I was. Monfieur de Fonterailes thereupon came to me, and told me, that he was ready to deliver up the Caftle into my hands, but that he earnestly begged of me, that I would permit him to recollect it, and fleep there that night, that he might pack up all the goods be had there, ready to go away in the morning. I defir’d him on the contrary, that he would not offer to flir out of the Town, and that I would deliver the Guard of the Caftle to fuch Catho¬lick Gentlemen as he fhould name. He therefore nam’d several, but I would like of none of them, when feeing I would not put in those he defir’d, he nam’d Monfieur de Caffagne (a neighbour to the Town, who fince has been Lieutenant to Monfieur d’Armes Company) with whom I was content, and fent prefently for him. However I plaid the Novice in one thing, for I let the faid Sieur de Fonterailes go in again upon his word into the Caftle, which was not differently done; for a man fhould always in fuch cafes take all things at the worft.

In the mean time Monfieur de Verduzan arriv’d with four or five Gentlemen in Company with him, and prefently after Monfieur de Maugnay, and every hour fome or other came in to us. After Supper we went out of the Caftle, where I fto lay to view and confider the Poffern of the falle Bray, and began to remonftrate to thofe friends who were with me, that in cafe the Senfchal fhould have made an appointment for thofe of his Party to come that night to the Portal, the Guards and Centinels of the Town could not possibly hinder him from letting in whom he pleafed, wherefore I was revol’d to lodge Thonville Commiitary of the Artillery, and the Priet with the fourteen Harquebuzers in the falle Bray, bewi th the two Portals; and it was well for me I did fo, for otherwife they had trapped us, and cut all our throats that night. See how a man may fall into danger thorough his own fault: for I thought my felf wonderful wife and circumjpect; and yet notwithstanding I put a place of fo great importance, together with the whole Country in danger to be left. I was not yet satisfied with this Guard, but I moreover order’d all the Gentlemen and their Servants to lie down in their Cloaths, and fent a command to all thofe of the Town to do the fame. In the morning by Sun-rife the faid Senefchal came to me again, to entreat me to leave him the Caftle, and that he would give me security, with a great many other fine good-morrows; but I told him he did but lofe time in fuch proposals; for I was revol’d to put men into it: fo that seeing no other remedy, he receiv’d the Sieur de la Caffagne with twenty Soldiers into the place, and then came to take his leave of me. I did what I could to perfwade him to flay in the Town; but he made anfwer, that he would not trufi himfelf with the Inhabitants, beginning to tell me, that I put
put a very great offence upon him, in not confiding in his Loyalty; that he was a man of a
race too remarkable for their services, and fidelity to the Crown of France, to be suspected,
and that his Ancestors had serv'd the Kingdom. To which I made answer, that his Grand-
father, of whom I intended to speak, did never serve the Kingdom, and that in his time
reigned Lewis the twelfth, in whose Reign the Kingdom had never been in any such danger,
and that if it was of the time that King Charles retir'd to Bourges, that he intended to pro-
long his own tenure, and if such an act of ingratitude was to be attributed to Potton, and the
Hors of whose valour all the Chronicles are full.
For he Hire and Potton, two Gaucon Gentlemen, were indeed cause of the recovery of the
Kingdom of France: yet would I not deny but that his Grandfather was a great and valiant
Captain, who having fifty Gens-d'armes des Ordonnances, and being General of twelve hun-
dred Light-horse, the most of which were Alaboinois, performed great services for the Crown.
In recompence whereof the King also married him to the Inheritance of Chartillon, by whom
he had seven or eight thousand Livres yearly revenue: but that the Hors from which his
Father descended, which was that of Fontenailles, was an entire Family at mine: At which
he broke out into a sudden passion, saying, would God, would to God I might die at this
instant, provided the Prince of Navarre was at age to command! why said I? what reason
have you to with your own death for the Prince of Navarre, seeing that neither you, nor any
of your Race, have ever receiv'd any benefit or honor from the Hors of Navarre, nor other,
than from the King? to which he replied, that it was true, but that he did love the
Prince of Navarre, that he would be content to die upon that condition. I then began to
that the Gene-
supecf there was some knavery in the wind, and so I bad me farewell.
Monseigneur de la
Caffaigne, who was present at all this discourse, waited upon him to his Horse, where,
as he was going to put foot in the stirrup, he cried out like a man in despair, O unfortunate
one that I am, I shall never again have the confidence to show my face amongst men of
honor! Whereupon Monseigneur de la Caffaigne took occasion to tell him, that he was too
blame to complain of me, who had treated him with all the civility he could himself expect,
or desire, and that perhaps another would not have used him so with great respect, as I
had done; to which he replied in these words, but you do not know all, this day the
Kingdom is set to fall, Farewell France; and so mounting to his horse, he went directly to
la Garde, the Hous of Monseigneur de Firmacos his Uncle.
Before the Sieur de la Caffaigne could return back to me there came fifteen or sixteen
People laden with Harquebuses, Halbers, and Cross-bows, leading a boy prisoner a-
long with them, whom they brought into my Chamber, in the presence of all the Gentle-
men that were there, telling me they were of la Magoure, within a quarter of a league of
Le Touvre (which is a little Hamlet consisting of seven or eight Tenements) and that at
midnight there came a great company of armed men, both horse and foot, and drew them-
sems into themselves a great Mesvod de by the horsemen, where they laid them down upon
the ground. The poor people lay them, and durst nor flit out of their houses: but they
saw them send six horse-men as far as the Suburbs of Le Touvre, where they met intel-
ligence, that I wished a great number of Gentleman was entred into the Town; and had also
sent to discover thofe whom I had plantad without to hinder the relief: by which seeing
their enterprise was defeated, and concluding that the Senechal was taken prisoner, they
returned full speed to their Troops, telling them that I was entred into the Town, and
had taken the Senechal prisoner, wherefore they must retire before it was day, that they
might nor known. And (as the time had no shane) they took to great a fratte at the
news, that they began to throw away their arms in flying, and by break of day pass'd by
Pileux, where the common people began to pursue them, and they running away to a
abandon their arms, which the Inhabitants of Pileux had almost all, excepting some
few that fell into the hands of thofe of la Magoure. The horse ran frighted to their
other Troop that had made halting at St. Roé, till they should be commanded to march;
who also took a terrible fright in retiring, running every man as fast as his horse would
carry him to his own house. The chief Leaders of these two Parties of Horse and Foot
were the Sieur de Montamart, brother to the Senechal, the Sieurs de Caffemain, d'Audax,
de Popas, and de Peyrecau. I knew nothing yet of the Troop at St. Roé, for neither
the Bay nor the Boors of la Magoure had heard of any other than that they had seen
All the Gentleman hereupon advis'd me to go take the Senechal, and clap him up priso-
nor, which nevertheless I would not do out of respect to the House of Firmacos, to which
he was a Nephew, reemonstrating to them, that should I take him prisoner, the Court of
Parliament of Tolosane would immediately tend to demand him of me, whom I could
nor justly deny, and if they once got him, he would not be two hours alive, and I would
by no means be the occasion of his ruine.
Pp Whilt
Whilest we were in these disputes, Monsieur de la Caaffaigne came, and told me the words he had laid to him at his going away, no body being by; whereupon I entreated him to go into the Town to seek out some Hugonot, who was a friend to the Senefchal, and to give him all assurance that he should receive no manner of injury, nor displeasure, provided he would reveal the Enterprize. He went then to speak with one who was a very intimate friend of his, telling him what words the Senefchal had call’d out at his departure, and that it was as much as his life was worth, if he did not discover all he knew: who after he had given him all the assurance he defir’d, made him this reply. What did the Senefchal mean to enter into so many disputes with Monsieur de Montuic, I was behind him when he contes’d so highly with the said Stear, and do wonder that he did not seize him prisoner, which bad he done all we of the Religion had been dead men: I pray be faithful, and take care, that we may have no harm done to; for there it not a person of the Religion, who knows anything of the Enterprize of France, and of this Town, but those who are gone out with him, my self excepted, who dare not go. This day or to-morrow the King or the Queen shall be taken or dead, and all the whole Kingdom of France revolted.

I pray consider a little how closely these people could carry on such an Enterprize as this: I was told that in their Conistory they made them swear to renounce Paradise, if they ever reveal’d any thing. Monsieur de la Caaffaigne returned presently to me, and taking me aside told me all that the other had laid to him, and then I remembered my self of the Advertisements in the Ticker, and of my unfortunate Dream, and began with tears in my eyes to declare all I had heard to Meiffures the Senefchal of Bazadois, de Sentlaven, and to all the Gentlemen who were present, who all began to cry out, that we ought to mount presently to horse: and gallop after the Senefchal; which nevertheless I would not do for the aforementioned reasons, renostrating to them, that though he should be taken, the evil would not be prevented by the seizing of his person, and that the mischief was sufficiently discover’d by the words he had call’d out to Monsieur de la Caaffaigne: which also this other had confirm’d to him: but that I would presently send away to all the Gentlemen, to give notice to all the other Gentry, and their Neighbours, to assemble together for the common safety, which I did, and was very glad within my self, in this ill aspect of affairs, to have pluck’d so considerable a feather from their wing.

I sent immediately post to Tholouze to adverize the Court and the Capitouls, that they must forthwith beake themselves to arms, and employ all they could wrap and wring, either to succour the King, if he was living; or to revenge his death, if he were dead. I cauf’d some provisions immediately to be put into the Castle, and left the fourteen Harqueuzzers with Monsieur de la Caaffaigne, lending to the Soldiers of Florence and Panciullae forthwith to come, and put themselves into the Town, and that they were to obey Monsieur de la Caaffaigne. Whilest I was about these dispatches there arriv’d Monsieur de la Chappelle, Vice-Senefcal, and Monsieur de Romagas (the same who has so signaliz’d him self against the Turk at Malta) who had both of them been all night on horse-back, by reason that a Hugonot (whole life Monsieur de la Chappelle had sav’d) came mid night to give them notice that we were marching diectly to Lébours, where the Senefchal was by the Postern to let them in. Upon this intelligence they had mounted to horse (for they were near Neighbours) and put themselves into a little Wood, where they discover’d these people, who were retiring in great fear, but duff not flit out of the Wood, having no more than seven or eight horse; but so soon as it was day took their way towards Lébours, though they fear’d it was already taken, and as they came to the Town were inform’d, that I was within it, where they told me of the disorder they had seen in the Troop of St. Rois, and then we knew that they had been in two Troops. Monsieur de la Chappelle then began to enform him self on his part, and the Court of Parliament sent in all dilligence to enform themselves on theirs. The Indictments was drawn up, and a hundred or more Witnesse examin’d, the most of which were of the new Religion, and who had actually been in those fornamed Troops, who all depos’d one and the same things, of a Conspicry plotted against the King and Sare.

In the progres of the Tryal the Witnesse gave evidence of the Enterprize, which was,

That that very night de la St. Michel the Senefchal was to let in the two Companies of Foot into the Town by the Postern of the Falfe-Bray, and afterwards into the Castle by the Postern belonging to it. Of these the Consuls of the Town kept one key, and the Senefchal another, and so soon as he was gone the Enterprize being discover’d, they went to examine the two Locks, and found that those of the Consuls were broke open, and put again into their place, with nails that were not clencht. (All this is couched in the Proceeds) and charater the two Foot Companies should be Masters of the Town, the Horse were to come at a good, round trot before Caaffaigne where I was, which was but three leagues
Book VI. de Montluc, Marschall of France.

leagues from Latture, and thrst me up in the Caftle; and that at the fame time all their Churches of Nerac, Casteljoune, Thoutins, Citrac, Mountan, Comoa, Montauban, and other adjacent places were to come flocking about the Caftle. These were the fruits of the good prayers of their Godly Minifters; and being the Caftle had no Flanckers, they made fure to have me in four and twenty hours by tapping. Repis the fame day came with four hundred men to Grenou, being come from Montauban, who loon as ever he fhould have notice that I was that up, was to march day and night to come before the faid Caftagne, they making account that I could not be relieve d in eight days, there being no place of any strength to which any one could repair, they having poifoned themfelves of Letteure. The Enterprise was fo laid, as it had been certain, and would infafibly have taken eftect, had I been asleep in the biffines; or if to move in State like the Kings Lieutenant, I had flaid till morrow, that thofe I had fent for had come in.

The Kings Lieutenant may here take a good example by me, both as to the good intelligence I was careful to keep, in my judgment to provide againft the preient extremity, and in my prompt resolution (not regarding whether I was weak or strong) to go, as I did, to put my felf into the Town: for all thofe things together preferv'd the place in the Kings obedience, together with my own life, and confequently the whole Country, which had been abfolutely left had I been kill'd, and Letteure taken: for that being faifed, there had been no place of safety, but within the Gates of Tholoufe and Bordsaux: and when all France had heard that Guinonne was left, I leave men of understanding to judge how the Kings affairs would have been difcourfent, and the arduity of thofe who ftood for him cou'd at the news. I believe the greateft part of them would have defoled with the Enemy. Therefore do not you who are the Kings Lieutenant propofe to yourfelves: I muft fay for the Nobifls, I muft go well attended; for if you be fuch as you ought to be, that is to fay, fear'd, and belov'd, you your felf alone are worth a hundred. Every one that fees you march will come in to your affiance, and take courage by your example, and your Enemies for one man that you have will fay you have a hundred. It is no time to dally, and stand upon punctilio's in fuch affairs, for whileft yo deferre time, to Lord it in greater flate, you lose your place. And take warning by the error I had like to have commit'd in permitting the Sencfhal to go again into the Caftle upon his word; we live in a time wherein it is the fadlon with many to difpence with the breach of their faith; and a man fhall excufe himfelf that his promife was extracled from him by force, and in the mean time you are ftruc out of your Fort. Never deferre that till to morrow that you can do to day, for it failed but very little that I was not loft; and had I not fent thofe people without, the Succours had entered, and the Sencfhal had had good reafon to laugh at my cabinet. This was the Enterprise upon Guinonne; and I dare be bold to fay, thofe Bordsaux if left had not been very fecure had my ftoom been cut: for a Country without a head is in very great danger, and the Hu- gonors had very great intelligence, and a very strong party in that City.

After I had left order with Monfieur de la Caftagne about Letteure; the fame Tuf- day (being Michellinas day) I went in all difcretion to Agen, where to foon as I arriv'd, I immediately fent for the Sieurs de Not the Kings Counfellor, and De la Kings Advocate to come to me, who were affilting to me in all my dispatches, and were ever my Counfel in all affairs. We fent then for two Clerks of the Town, and two Secretaries of mine, and of all night long we did nothing but write Letters to all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Country, and I do believe amongst us we write above two hundred. The Elder Brother of the Counfellor call'd de Navy was Conful, who did nothing all night long but run up and down to fee our Meffengers to fend every way. I gave notice in my Letters to every one, as well of the attempt upon Letteure, as of the words the Sencfhal had call'd ou, and of the other who had confirned them. I gave them "likewife to understand, that now the Kings good and faithful Subjects would be known, as alfo who were good Frenchmen, and that since there had been a King in France, fo fair an occafion had never preffed it felf, wherein to mannifefl the fidelity we owe to the Crown of France: for that at that very time the life of the King was in apparent dan- ger, if not already taken from him, which fhould it prove fo, we were all bound by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations to revenge his death: or at the leat he was threatened with captivity, and in fuch an extremity, tho'fief who fhould fit at home, ought to be brand'd for diloyalty, and mark'd for Traitors to their Prince and his Crown for ever: that the Gifons had never hitherto been brand'd, with thofe Characters, and that therefore I begged of them we might not leave such an obloquy upon our own Poffefion, nor our Children's Children, that should succeed them. In thofe I omitted nothing I could think of that might excite or encline them to take themfelves to arms, and
The Sieur de Montluc's humour.

The Sieur de Montluc, having sent for a confiderable number of forces, that they might be ready to march at a moment's notice, did not fail to make the most of his time, writing letters to all his friends, informing them of the success of his enterprises, and the prospects of his future operations. He was particularly solicitous that they should not lose any time in proceeding, as he knew that the enemy was advancing with great rapidity. He was also diligent in writing to his officers, giving them directions for the conduct of the troops, and enclosing them with such arguments as might infinually influence their judgment.

The King sends to the Sieur de Montluc.

The People of France very good and loyal.

The Sieur de Montluc's Hangrange to the Lords and Gentlemen of Gascogne at their going to the King.

"Gentlemen and fellows in arms, of all the good fortunes I have had since I came into the world (and I have been blest with as many perhaps as any Captain in France) nor all the services I have perform'd for the Crown (which have been no insconsiderable ones, as you your selves know, and have also therein had all of you a part, and that your lives and fortunes in the Quarrel) I never met with any that gave me so great satisfaction as this occasion that now presents it self, of manifesting our loyalty and courage. And you ought to feel the same joy in your bosoms that I do: for what greater blesting could God Almighty have confer'd upon you, than to let your selves assembled together in so brave and so patriotic a body, in so short a time, for a noble and in the relief of your Prince, for whose defence God has given you life, and made you men, and me also; I say for the defence of his Person: for, as you very well know, the Malzke is now taken away,
away, and there is no more question of the Majfs, or the Prefebs, but it is immediately done. So they were engaged in the wicked Enterprize of Meaux, as you your selves very well know, and I do all for the good fortune of the to preferve them, and for the service of the Majfieys sacred person. How great a fortune is it then to see, that God has refer’d you to revenge to great an injury, and to affift your King, and natural Prince in a great necessity? O my Companions! How much ought you to esteem your felvves very happy, how highly ought you to be satisfi’d with your fortune? How will the King be ravished with joy to see such a Noblest from the extreme part of his Kingdom, in so short a time, and in so brave an equipage come in to his relief? He will never forget so great, and so timely a service, but for ever acknowledge it to you and yours. Believe me Gentlemen, though I am infinitely pleased to think, that I have some share in this service, yet I am very sensibly afflicted, that I am like to have no hand in the main stroke of the busines, and that I cannot have the honour to lead you to this glorious work, that we might go together to lay down our lives at his Majfieys feet for the defence of his life and Crown. May God never prosper me, if I do not desire it more than ever I did any thing in this world, but you see it cannot be without putting the whole Province into manifest hazard, which I hope to preferve with those few Forces are left me in despite of the Enemies practices. Indeed, Gentlemen, remains that you make the haffe requir’d, remember what you have seen me do, and how often you have heard me lay, that diligence is the left part of a Soldier. You know not what condition the Kings affairs may be in, nor how preffing his danger may be; therefore do not delay time I beseech you. I know there are many amongst you, not only worthy to lead a Troop, but to command an Army: but let me interest you to approve the choice I have made in the person of Monfieur de Terride for the leading of this, to whom Monfieur de Gondrin shall be affisting. He is the old Captain, and of greatest experience amongst you, and will, I am confident, acquit himself worthy of his charge; and rest you assure, that I will remember to have a care to preferve your Houses in your abscence. Do me the favour also to think of me when you come to the work we have often been employ’d in together, and then make it known that you are Gentlemen, and Gascons, and that there is not a Nation in the world to be compar’d to ours for feats of arms. I have been conversant with all the Soldiers of the world, but have never felt the like to ours, and in all engagements and exploits of war, whether little or great, that I have been an eye-wiitness of, the Gascons have ever carried away the Prize. Maintain I beseech you this reputation, you will never have such an opportunity again wherein to manifest your valour, and the zeal and affection you bear to your natural King and Sovereign.

They all return’d me thanks, assuring me, that they would not stay longer than was necessary to bate, in any place till they came to the King, and Monfieur de Terride made me a particular acknowledgment for the honor I had done him. After, they fell into consultation, which way they should go, where every one adviz’d what he thought best, for in matter of Counsel, it has evermore been my custom, to make every one deliver his opinion; I have found advantages by it: but after many disputes, it was at last determin’d that they should take the way directly to Monfieur de Montluc. For me, Monfieur de Monsalig had like to have made me a little angry; for he would needs have been going before, as if he had had more desires, and a greater affection than the rest: but I told him, that it was neither safe nor fit to be the Party; and it was after such a manner that he law very well he had displeas’d me. I deliver’d to him the leading of the Vant-Guard, and to Monfieur de Saintoërs the Command of the Foot, and before my departure from Limoges, I law them all march away. I shall lay nothing of this Enterprize of St. Michiel, it was so foul and unworthy a Frenchman, and worse than the busines of Ambois, whereby I perfectly discern’d the effects of the League, or Counter-league I had heard whisper’d at Monseid Marj. I know not what use was made of those Succours I fear, but I dare be bold to say, that never any Lieutenant of Gaiolle drew so many Gentlemen, and so great a number of Foot, all on a sudden out of the Country as I did: nor so many men of singular note for their parts and valor, of whom I had so good an opinion, that had I met the Prince of Condé without the Trariers, I would not have given our Victory for his: and I return’d back I till met several parties who were coming in to join with the rest. Neither shall I meddle to set down how these Succours behav’d themselves in the occasions preferred, forasmuch as the Monfieur himself was there, and all the Princes and great Captains of France.
Now when I thought to have this great diligence of mine very kindly taken, and expected to receive a return of thanks from their Majesties for so opportune a service, I was quite contrary presented with a Patent, that one Dragone Deputy to the receiver of Guienne brought from Court, and that was sent by the King to Monfieur de Candale, by virtue whereof his Majesty made the said Sieur de Candale his Lieutenant General in the City of Bordeaux and Bourdois, with as ample commision, and full power, as if I was there. I was very much surpriz'd at this, and knew very well that some one or another had given me a Traverel at Court, and that the King and Queen would never have put such a trick upon me, had it not been for some back friend of mine; and thanks be to God the Kings of France have ever such kind of Vermin to spare, who have evermore lent their Charities to the light and most faithful servants our Kings have had, which made me not so much wonder at this last kindness of theirs. It was not the first office of that kind I had receiv'd at their hands, Monfieur de la Maloysse, who is yet living, did me one in România to Monfieur de Guife, endeavouring by that means to make me be put out of the Government of Tussony, to make way for Monfieur de la Mole, making the Duke believe that I had spoke unhandfomely of him, which the said Duke gave credit to, and for a time bore me ill upon that account. Since in the presence of Monfieur d'Aumale, Monfieur de Montpezat, Melfieurs de Cipierre and de Randon (which two first are dead, and the other two living) at Macerate, I acquitted myself; yet could I not far dis- pose of him of his ill conceiv'd opinion, but that some seeds of it remain'd, so that he was never absolutely reconcil'd till the business of Thionville. At my return to Montaljic is fail'd but very little that I did not cut the throat of him that was the cause, and therefore is no wonder if he continue to do me all the ill offices he can; yet I will not here insert the reasons for several considerations. I shall full let him proceed to do as he has hitherto done, managing the Queen, though I hope her Majesty will one day alter her opinion, as did Monfieur de Guise.

I had another good office done me when King Henry sent me into Piedmont after my return from Sienna, at the taking of Vipia, only because I kept about Monfieur d'Aumale, not sparing my life no more than the meanest Soldier in the Army, and I think they had no mind that Monfieur d'Aumale should have the honor to take it, nor other places that he took; I had theret a Letter brought me from the Constable, wherein he writ me word, that the King had commanded him to write to me, that I should retire to my own house till further order, charging me, that I had said I would not obey Monfieur de Terms, as if I had not always been accustomed to obey him; for I have all my life preferred him before my self in all things; and he did deferve it. Not long before, some body had done him such another courteisy, saying, that by reason of his Marriage in Piedmont, and the friendship he had contracted with the Birages, he might easily seize Piedmont into his own hands; as if either the one or the other had ever so much as thought of any such thing: however this was sufficient to make him to be call'd back out of Piedmont: but he was too honeft a man, and that was not a fit recompence for so many services as he had done. Monfieur d'Aumale also had the fame piece of service done him, it being reported to the King, that the Princes would not obey him, and that therefore his Majesty must send Monfieur de Terms to command; as if Monfieur d'Aumale was not of a better Family than Monfieur de Terms, and that the Princes would sooner obey a private Gentleman, than one who was a Prince, though he was not of the Royal blood: I can affirm, as having been an eye-witness, and no man can give a better testimony than my self, that the said Princes no more spair'd themselves than the meanest Gentleman in the Army, and performed a piece of bravery worthy the noble Families from whence they defended; for they went on in their own person to the affaults, and mounted the breach at Vipia, scrambling up with the help of their Pikes, and some few Ladders of Ropes, for the Breach was not reasonable, as I have said elsewhere before.

And since I am enter'd upon the discourse of the good offices honest men have done them at Court, I will reckon up some others that I have been in my time, as also some that I have read of in the Roman Histories. And of these I will first mention that which had like to have cost Monfieur de Lautrec to dear; which was, that a certain person detest'd from him a hundred thousand Crowns, which the King had commanded St. Blazey to send him, wherewith to pay the Swifts, which summe had it accordingly been sent, the Swifts had not returnd into their own Country; for they only return'd for want of pay, and by that means the Dutchy of Milan was lost. Upon which occasion this poor Lord Monfieur de Lautrec was hardly thought good enough for the Dogs, for a certain time, and could never obtain the favour to be heard to justify himself: but in the end the King was pleased to hear him, and thereupon caused St. Blazey to be hang'd, though the fault
was none of his; but the poor man paid for't. I know who was the cause of all this disorder: but I have nothing to do to write it. Oh! 'tis a tikele thing to serve their great ones, and the thefts are very slippery men are to walk in, but we must thorough. God has confin'd them to command, and us to obey, and others also obey us, and yet we are all of one Father and Mother; but it is too cold fled to derive our Pedigrees.

I saw also the trick that was played Monſieur de Bourbon, by which he was reduc'd to that defpair, that he was constrain'd to do many things unworthy of a Prince; for they Bourbon would take his Effaire from him, and reduce him to his Childs part only of the inheritance of the House of Bourbon, of which he was a younger Brother. At the Camp of Messires, and in the Expedition of Valenciennes, they made him livelie two injuries at once; if Monſieur Bonvét, who was Admiral, was or no the caufe I am not able to Monſieur de fay, but it was so reported: some one or other muft always bear the blame. I think Monſieur had not the King of himself been difposed to use him ill, neither his Majefly nor the Queen his Mother would have driven this brave Prince into fuch extremes. However it was, the foul play that was offer'd him was the caufe of a great mischief to France, and the King repeated him of it more than once afterward. The Prince of Auvergne, who the Prince of commanded the Emperor Army after the death of the faid Seigneur de Bourbon, had also a little before quited the King's service by reason his Majefly had commanded the Marefchal de Logis to dilodge him for the King of Poland's Embaffador. The occasion indeed was very light, but it is nevertheless very true, that a brave heart disfains to be defpaim'd.

There was another good office also done to Andrea Auria, who was Admiral of his Prince Andrea Auria Majefties Galleys, at the time when he accounted the Kingdom of Naples as good as fure; and that was by giving the Galleys to Monſieur de Barbaxienne, which for any default on his part could not juftly be done, for Count Philippin d'Auria his Nephew had won the Battel by Naples, which I have already writ of, againft the Viceroy Don Hugues de Moncalde, who was there fain, and the Marquis de Gofft, with feveral other great per- fons taken prisoners. The faid Count was fo careful and vigilant, that fo much as a Cat could not enter into the City of Naples; fthose within were reduc'd to the left extremity, the Viceroy dead, many of the Grandees prisoners, and the reft revolted to the King; it muft therefore of neceffity be confet, that the Kingdom had been the Kings in defpite of all the world, when the juft fpare and indignation of the faid Andrea Auria deprav'd him of it. When the King was taken prisoner at the Battel of Pauve, and that they carried him by Sea into Spain, Andrea Auria went out to meet the Galleys that convoy'd him, to fight them to deliver the King out of their hands; which he had done, and put it to hazard; but the King fent to advise him not to do it, for if he did he was a dead man; and they had determ'm'd to put him to death, should Andrea Auria profent himfelf to fight them; which was the reafon that the faid Andrea Auria returned to Genoa, which at that time was the Kings. See here another great miftune, and an unfortunate Traverfe, which brought as great an inconvenience along with it, as that of Monſieur de Bourbon; upon which occasion we not only left all we had got in the Kingdom of Naples, but Genoa and for all the lofes as well of the Kingdom of Naples, as of Genoa, hapned by rea- fen of the revolt of the faid Andrea Auria, who took offence at the weight and disadvantage had been done him, in taking from him the Command of the Galleys to give it to another, without having any way midleman'd himfelf, or having receiv'd any disadvantage in his Charge, and fato for that they would make him give up his Prifoners of war without any recompence. Now the faid Andrea Auria kept the lea in fo great awe, that the King durft never offer to pass into Italy till fuch time as he had won him into his own service; and the Emperor having heard how he had been used, fent him a Blank to write his own conditions, provided he would come over to his service. After which the faid Andrea Auria went to Count Philippin his Nephew to retire from before Naples, and aban- doning the Kings service to come to him at Gajetta, which he did, and before he went, put all the provision he suddenly could into the City; that it might not be loft, and fo he that had done them the mischief did them the good, without which they muft within eight days have been necessitated to capitulate. Of that fuch a man as this ought to have been married, for I think that he alone ruin'd the affairs of King Francis. Kings and Princes ought not to use Strangers at that rate, nor their own Subjects neither, when they know them to be men of service: and if our Matter was well advised, the Emperor was very difperate to put in time, to win the faid Auria over to his fides, that the King might not have leisure to reconcile himself to him, and to rediflufh him in his service. Wherein Princes ought to take good example, and learn to be wise at others expence, and should have a care of dilobliging a generous heart, and a man of employment, espe-
chal when you have no such eye upon him, as upon a natural Subject of your own, who has his Wife and Children and Eforest at your mercy. The King had none of all thee ties upon Andrea Aureio, and it was one of the best great incongrities I have seen in my time, and alto of far greater importance than that of the Duke of Bourbon.

I saw another done to the Prior of Capua, who was one of the bravest men that these hundred years has put to sea, and as much feared both by Turks and Christians, whom they unjustly accused of Piracy, so that he was constrain'd to go put himself and his two Galleys into the protection of the Maltafe. 0 how invincible a wrong did the King there do this worthy perdon, to be so facile of belief to the prejudice of his honor! How great a disadvantage was it to himself, and how great a loss to the Kingdom of France? for this Signior was a man of service, and one that very well understood his Trade, for he was a very able Seaman. I saw another trick allo put upon the Marshal de Bier, I dare pawn my soul that the Gentleman never thought of doing any unhandsome act against the King, and yet he was highly flander'd a little after the death of King Francis the Great, it being laid to his charge, that he was the cause that Monfieur de Vervin his Son in Law had surrendered Bullen, and one Cortel appointed to try him, the most infamous Judge that ever was in France. Was it ever seen, or heard of, that one man should be punish'd for the treachery or cowardize of another? When he came to his tryal they confronted him with three great Rogues, who all of them depos'd, that the day he had the Encounter with the English he was mounted upon a great Courier, bearing a plume of white Feathers for a mark, that the English might not fall upon him, as if it had been an easy mark to be discern'd when men are mixt in a Battel, the duft, the smoak and the cries confound a man's judgment; and besides his usual with gallant men to appear in their greate,brevity, that they may be known in a day of Battel, especially in a War with Strangers, which is for honor, and not upon the account of animosity; but in a Civil War 'tis not so proper, Monfieur de Guiile being very much endanger'd by so distinguing his perdon at the Battel of Dromex. Thus did they calumniate this poor Lord, though he that very day defeated eight hundred English: I do believe had the King sent such a Judge, and that he would have heartened to the Hugonots, he would have found Wint-nesse now that would have been depos'd. I had promised Guillaume to the King of Spain, though I never lov'd that Nation, nor ever shall, I am too good a Frenchman for that. But to return to the said Marshal, when those who had given him this Traveller, saw that they could no way ensnare him, and that he was likely to be fet at liberty, to the great dishonor of those who had brought this trouble upon him; they then accused him, that he made certain Skip-Jack hirelings pass muster in his Company of Gens-d'armes, to get so many Pays, which (as it was said) was prov'd to be true, but it was to pay men withal he had in Flanders, to fend him continual intelligence of all that passed in the Enemies Country; for we are sometimes necessifated to make use of such shifts for the Kings service: but I leave any one to judge, if this was sufficient to bring him upon a Scaffold, and to degrade him from his Nobility, his Arms, and Marshally, and to condemn him to the losr of his head. Nevertheless as they were proceeding to execution, King Henry calling to mind, that he had made him Knight of the Order, sent him his pardon, so that five or six moneths after, what of old age, and what of grief, he died a natural death, and who would have liv'd after such an injury and disgrace? The Judicature of France is not without Cortels, for there are now, who should the King put into their hands the honeftest man of his Kingdom, would find out enough against him, as Cortel boast'd, who said, that deliver up to him the most upright Lieutenant in the Kingdom of France (provided he had been but a year or two in that employment) and he doubted not, but to find matter enough to put him to death. This poor Lord had perform'd a Soldier-like action if ever man did, at the Fort of Montreuon, when the English fall'd out of Bullen to give him Battel; he had with him the Count Rhinegraves Regiment (and as I think the Count himself was there) that of the French commanded by Monfieur de Tails, and seven Ensigns of Italian. So soon as the Enemy charg'd our Horfe, they were immediately put to rout, and fled: when the said Sieur feeing the disorder of the Cavalry, he ran to the Battalion of Foot, and said, Oh my friends, it was not with the Horfe that I expected to win the Battel, but it is with you, and thereupon alighted, where taking a Pike from one of the Soldiers, to whom he deliver'd his Horfe, and causing his Spurs to be pull'd off, he began his retreat towards Andelet. The Enemy after they had a great way pursu'd the Cavalry, return'd upon him, who was four hours or more upon his retreat, having the Enemies horfe, sometimes in his Front, and sometimes in his Flancks, and their Foot continually in his Rear, without their ever daring to break into him, and I was told by the Captains who were presente in the Action, that he never advance'd fifty paces without facing about upon the Enemy;
by which this may be call’d one of the bravest retreats that has been made these hundred years. I should be glad any one could name me such another, having upon him the whole power both of Foot and Horse, and his own Cavalry all run off the Field. Behold what this poor Lord did for a parting blow, at above three-score and ten years of age, and yet he was used after this manner. Let any one ask the Cardinal of Lorraine, who it was that did him this crouchet, for at the Assembly of the Knights of the Order before King Francis the second, he reproach’d him with this busines, and they grew into very high words upon it; for my part I am too little a Companion to name it, though I was present there, and also there were some Ladies who had a hand in the busines.

A year after I saw another pranck playd Monseur de Tais, wherein he was accus’d to Monseur de have spoken unhandsomely of a Court Lady; ’tis a misfortune France has ever had, that Tais brend, they meddle too much in all affairs, and have too great credit and interest: for upon this the command of the Artillery was taken from him, and he never after return’d into favour. The King of Nature entreated the King not to take it ill, if he made use of him in the taking of Hodin, which his Majesty gave him leave to do, and he was kill’d in his battle, the Trenches of the said Hodin, doing service for him to whom his service was not acceptable, which is a great heart-breaking, and the greatest of all vexations, to die for a Prince that has no regard for a man’s service; wherein our condition is of all others most miserable; notwithstanding I believe the King would in the end have made use of him again, for in truth he was a man of service: and I moreover believe that his Majesty was forry he had banish’d him the Court; but very often those of both Sexes, who govern Princes, make them do things against their own natures and inclinations, and afterwards they are forry for it; but it is too late to repent, when their Travelleres have brought upon a Prince such an inconvenience as is irreparable, and those who would afterwards seem to excuse them, endeavour to make the matter worse by contriving new accusations, and laying other aspersions upon them. I shall not mention the Contables busines, which drow he alfo from Court, and all, as it was said, about women; nor that of the late Monseur de Guihe, we have seen them sometimes out, and sometimes in. The King would do well to stop the mouths of such Ladies as tattle in his Court; for thence proceed all the reports and flanders; a prating Gossip was caufe of the death of Monseur de la Chauffaignesy, The death of Monseur de la Chauffaignesy, who would have taken my advice, and that of five or six more of his friends, he had done his busines with Monseur de Farnac after another manner; for he fought against his confidence, and loft both his honor and his life. The King ought therefore to command them to meddle with their own affairs (I except those that are to be excepted) for their little tattle has done a great deal of mischief, and after, as I said, it is too late. These are the good offices that in my time I have seen done several great persons, and also such poor Gentlemen as myself, all which proceed from the jealousy and envy they bear to one another, who are near unto the persons of Princes. In the time that I have been at Court I have seen great diffimulations, and several carry it very fair to one another in shew, who would have eaten one another if they could, and yet outwardly who so great as they, embracing and caring one another, as if they had been the greatest friends in the world. I was never skill’d in that Trade, for every one might read my heart in my face.

By this one may judge, that the misfortune into which this Kingdom is fallen, is not come upon it through any fault of courage, or wisdom in our Kings, nor for want of valiant Captains and Soldiers; for never Kings of France had so many both of Horse and Foot, as Francis, Henry, and Charles, who had they been employed in foreign Conquests would have carried the War far enough from our own doors, and it was a great misfortune both to them and the whole Kingdom, that they were not so employed, and yet can we not lay the blame thereof, either to the Church, or the third Estate, for all that have by the Kings been demand’d of them, have been freely granted. Every Child then may judge where the fault lay, and from whence sprang the Civil Wars; I mean from the great ones; for they are not wont to make themselves parties for the word of God, If the Queen and the Admiral were together in a Cabinet, and the late Prince of Condé, and Monseur de Guihe together with them, I could make them confes, that something else than Religion mov’d them to make three hundred thousand men cut one another throats, and I know not if we have yet made an end; for I have heard there is a Prophecy (I know not whether in Nostradamus or no) that their Children shall shew their Mothers as a wonder when they see a man, so few shall be left, having kill’d one another. But let us lay no more of it, it gors my heart to think on’t, mine who have the least interest, and who am shortly going into the other world.
Should I repeat all the Travels and Charities that I have read of in the Roman Histories, I should never have done; which Histories I have formerly delighted to read, wondering why, and what should be the reason, that we are not as valiant as they. I shall only reckon one or two, and begin with that I have read in other than what Book, of Camillus a great Roman Captain, who after he had won many Battles, and enlarged the Roman Empire, with the addition of a large extent of Dominion, was in the end called to judgment, for having dedicated the spoil of his conquests to the foundation of Temples, wherein to sacrifice to their Gods, of which spoil the one half belonged to the Soldier: but that the Gods might afflict them in their Battles and conquests, he preferred them this gift, saying, That the Soldiers stood as much in need of the assistance of the Gods as he. So that upon his return to Rome, for the reward of the great services he had performed, and the famous victories he had obtained for the Commonwealth, they brought him to his Tryal: yet did they not nevertheless put him to death, but sent him into exile to a City the name whereof I do not remember, for it is long since I read Livius, not in Latin (of which I have no more than my Pater Nofter) but in French. Now when he had remained some time in this City, there came two or three Gauls Kings with a mighty Army, and took Rome, killing almost all the Citizens, having some few who withdrew into the Capitol, and there held out for some time. Livius reports, that one night those who were there retired into the Capitol were all asleep, and the Enemy had already gained a part of the Capitol, when a Goose beginning to cackle awoke the Guards, who thereupon entered into a combat with the Enemy, and repelled them. At this time the said Camillus, gathering together all the men he could, took the field, where the Enemy finding nothing more to plunder, nor provisions to maintain their pleasures in Rome, having dispersed themselves all over the Country ten or twelve leagues distant from the City, he flew in the fields, seven or eight thousand of them. (When I was at Rome in the time of Pope Marcellinus, I caused those fields to be shew’d me, taking great delight in viewing the ground where so many Battles had been fought; for me, thought I faw before my eyes the things I had heard of, and read; but notwithstanding I faw nothing, either like, or any way resembling the great Camillus.) The rumour of this defeat having run thorough all the neighbouring Cities, caused several gallant men to repair to Camillus’s Camp; by which means finding himself strong enough he march’d directly to Rome, possest by an infinite number of Gauls, whom he defeated, and faw’d a vast fortune of money, which those who were retired into the Capitol had promised to give, and was afterwards called the second Founder of Rome. The Historians can give a better account of this story than I, who perhaps mistake it; it being above thirty years since I have so much as taken a book in hand; and much less dare to read now by reason of my ill eyes, and the wound in my face.

In Spain the two Scipio’s were defeated by Asdrubal in thirty days time, and within thirty leagues of one another, to wit Pub. Scipio the first, and his Brother Cornelius Scipio afterwards, and of both the one Army, and the other some effects away, who all retired to the Garrisons where they had lain all Winter, where being come they found that all their Colonels were slain, and were therefore necessitated to choose one, whom they called the New Captain. Asdrubal having intelligence that this new General had rallied the Roman Soldiers who were escaped from the two defeats, went immediately to affaile them; but was stoutly repul’d, and constrained to retire himself to a certain place, where this valiant Captain fell upon him by night, and not only defeated the Army he had there with him but another also that lay in another place hard by; insomuch, that by his valour he not only faw’d those few Romans who were escaped from the two lost Battles, but moreover both the Spaniards for the people of Rome, which but for him had been lost to Rome for ever. Now the Senate in the mean time continued a great while without hearing any news of the Scipio’s, or of their affairs: but had at length intelligence brought of the losst of the two Scipio’s, together with the victories of this new Captain (I do not remember his name before he was created, and call’d the new Captain, the Historians will better remember it than I, who have not seen the book of so many years) which so soon as the Senate had notice of, they sent away Scipio the younger to command the Army (I think soon to the first Scipio who had been slain) and withall commanded the new Captain to Rome, whom, so soon as he came, instead of rewarding his service, they call’d to judgment, accusing him that he had accepted the Soldiers Election, and taken upon him the command of the Army from them, and not by Command from the Senate, and I think put him to death, at least I find no more mention of him in Livy.
Oh how many other great Captains have been recompened with such rewards in the time of the Romans, the Historians are full of such examples, and the Judicature of France being rul'd and govern'd by the Laws of the Romans, 'tis to be expected that the Kings of France should govern themselves by their Customs. Would to God the King would perpetuate his own glory, and leave such a memorial of his prudence as should for ever be commended; that is, that he would burn all the Books of the Laws by which his Judicature determines of affairs, and erect a new, equal, and upright Judicature (for I dare be bold to say, there is nor a Monarch in Christendom, who is govern'd by his Laws, the Kings of France excepted, all the rest have Laws made by themselves to cut off all redious Suits; so much as even in Beaura and Lorraine, which are in two Corners of the Kingdom) that no Suit might be above two years depending. If his Majesty would please to do this, I might boast to have a world of Soldiers, who would be necessitated to take arms, having nothing to do in the 4 Palace: for this Protection being taken away, to what would you that a brave and generous heart should apply itself, but to arms? What is it that so much encreaseth the Power, and enlarges the Empire of the Grand Signior but this; he thinks The greatest of nothing but arms? O how many brave Captains would this Kingdom then supply the world withal, whereas I do believe that two Thirds of the Nation are taken up in these Courts, and pleadings, and in the mean time, though they are naturally brave, by degrees degenerate into Poltrons and Rascals. This Kingdom would then be formidable to Strangers, and besides how rich and opulent? for the whole ruine of the Gentry proceeds from no other cause, but those pestiferous Counsellors wherewith the Advocates seduce their Clients; and fer them together by the ears. I remember I once read in the window of a house at Theleus, which one of the most eminent Advocates of that Court call'd Mainery, had caufed to be written there these words,

Faux conseils, & mauvaisi ines Tesles,
Mont fait boiter ces Fenêtres.

Evil advice, and idle brains
Have help me to erect these paines.

and since they themselves record it, I may well say after them, that we are very great fools to destroy one another to enrich them: it being equally ruinous to him that prevails, with him that is baffell'd, for they spin out the Suits in such length, that when he who has got the better of his adversary comes to reckon the money he has spent, he will find himself still a great deal out of purse, besides the los of his time. And if the King would do this perhaps the custom of Traverses, and ill offices men now practice upon one another would be laid aside with the Laws; and his Majesty's good Subjects, who meditate no other thing, but how loyally and faithfully to serve him, would either be maintain'd about his Majesties persons, or elsewhere employ'd in his service.

Now seeing I have the honor in my disgraces to be ranked with so many great Personages, both of former ages, and thefe whom I my self have known in my owne time, I shall the better enjoy my retirement, and be proud of being assoociated with so many illustrious personages, being allured of two things, one whereas is my fidelity, which no one can by any means deprive me of; and the other that I have to do with a gracious King, who in time will (I doubt not) acknowledge the services I have perform'd for him, and for his Crown. And if I am retir'd into my owne house, it is with no great regret, it being a thing I have long defir'd, provided it might be with the good favour of the King and Queen, which also they cannot juffly take from me, for which I prifie God, who has guided me so well through all my severall Employments, that I never gave them any just cause of offences, and am in this privacy of mine more happy, and better satisfied, than they who have given me these Traverses: for I laugh at the anxiety they are in, both how to wound and defend themselves from one another. I think the Souls in Purgatory are not in so great pain, whilst I live here in repose in my Family, with my kindred and friends about me, passing away my time, in culing to be writ down before me the things that I have seen; so that were it not for the great Harquebus shot in my face, which I am constrain'd to keep open, I should be very well content, and think my self exceeding happy. For concerning the los of my Sons, I comfort my self that they all died like men of honor with their swords in their hands for the service of my Prince, and as to the ruffe, I should be a man void of sense and understanding, if I did not look upon them as tricks that are commonly practised in the world, and consider my self in a happy estate, who have no more occasion to do harm to any one, which continuing in such, and in great an employment, as that wherein I was before, I could not sometimes possibly avoid.
But I shall leave this discourse, which has half made me angry, to return to what became of me. After I had taken my leave of all those Lords and Captains who were into France, I returned through Provence, where I gave the Seneschal of Navarre Commission to make head against whatever Interruption should stir on that side: and so soon as I came to Agen, I sent a Packet to Monsieur de Bellegarde at Toulouse, in my abstinence to command in the Country of Comingue and Bigorre, and as far as the Frontiers of Bearn: another to Monsieur de Nigrepelis to command in the Juridictions of Verdun and Riviere, and a third to Monsieur de Cornillon the Elder to command in Rocheville; which being done, I left yet fourteen or fifteen Ensigns more of Foot, whereas part I quarter'd in Lacaue to make head against the Viçouns (who never stir'd out of the Country, and were evermore flattering new Commissions) and theretowards Bourgoin, and not long after the King sent me a Command to go and besiege Rochelle, in order whereunto he would send me a Commission to raise money wherewith to defray the expense of the War.

First he would that those of Toulouse should deliver me twenty thousand Francs of the money rais'd upon the Confiscation of the Hugonots Goods, wherewith to pay the Foot, and for the charge of the Artillery that I should take fifteen thousand Francs upon some Revenues the King has in Xaintonge, whereas his Majesty never himself made above nine thousand, and that his said Majesty would fend order to the Governor of Nantes to send me four pieces of Canon, and some Culverine. There were my assignments, Wonderful certain, and very proper for such an Enterprise, which seem'd rather a Mockery, and a Farce than any thing else; and that they would lend me before Rochelle, either to be thrown away, or to suffer some notable disgrace. However I would try always to execute his Majesties Command, to which end I immediately dispatch't away a Courier with his Majesties Letters to the Parliament, and Capitoulds of Toulouse, to which they return'd me answer, that the few goods of the Hugonots which had been found in their City had long ago been fold, and the money dispos'd of for the charge they had been at in several occasions. Upon this answer I went forthwith to Bordeaux to try if I could persuade the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats there to furnish me with some money for the Enterprise, but could never prevail with them to advance one Denier, they telling me, that they would reserve the Stock they had employ'd for the defence of their City, if occasion should be, and not lay it out upon Rochelle, which was no member of their Jurisdiction. I then dispatch't away to their Majesties to give them an account of the answers I had receiv'd; but notwithstanding did not, for all that forbear to march into Xaintonge, beseeching them to fend me other more certain assignments, or that otherwife I could not engage my self before Rochelle, without losing their Majesties reputation, and my own, and peradventure the whole Army; for to besiege a place of that importance without paying the Soldiers to keep them in their Trenches, were to force them abroad to pillage, and to leave my Artillery in the mean time engag'd; neither was I to learn in those affairs. I wr't moreover to his Majesty that he would please to command the Governor of Nantes to send me the Artillery with all possible speed, and cause it to be brought to Bordeaux, hoping that I should soon gain the Iles. Having sent away this dispatch, I return'd into Agenois to march away twelve or thirteen Ensigns, as also to take the Gentlemen of the Country along with me, when being come to St. Macaire, I there found Monsieur de Lauzun, and the Muster-Masters, who was mustering his Company, whom I enquired that immediately after the Muster he would send away Monsieur de Madaillan, who carried his Ensign directly to Xaintes to which Sieur de Madaillan I gave a Corner of Argoulets belonging to the Sieur de Verdune Seneschal of Bazadois my Kinman, together with the Companies of Malvain, Thodias, and la Morte Monguyse, giving him in charge to make extreme haste without staying till he came to Xaintes, and that in case the Marenais should beat St. Seurin, so soon as ever he had bated his men, he should immediately go to fight them, and if they got the victory be sure to ply their hands, for they were only a pack of Rascals, and when the others should hear of the defeat of their Companions, they would take such a fright at the News, that they would never make head again, and that the fear would run so far as Rochelle: but that he must above all things be sure to make a great slaughter and strike a terror into the whole Party. I writ also to Monsieur de Pons an account of the whole design, ordering him to fend some of his Forces to Xaintes, to the end they might jointly fall upon this execution. I had already sent to the Ensigns that they should move towards Agenois, and to the Gentry also, and the said Seneschal of Bazadois took upon him the Charge of our Marechal de Camp of Gens d'armes. I had no more, but the Company of Monsieur de Lauzun, my own, and that of Monsieur de Merville, Grand Seneschal of Guieu, for of that of Monsieur de Farnac, which the King had appointed to come to me, the fourth part was not to be found, most of them being with the Prince of Condé: notwithstanding which
Book VI. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

which, I laid three days only at Agen: but returned straight into Bourdeaux with the few Forces I could get together, giving the Command of the Fort to my Nephew the Sieur de Leberon. In my second days march from Agen I received letters from Monfieur de Medaillen, wherein he gave me to understand, that he had made no good halt, as that the third night after I departed from them they arrived at Xaintes, where having intelligence that there were three Ensigns of Foot at St. Scarin, who had there I dagitt and fortified themselves, they had fallen upon them, and brought away three Colours. Five or six days after I came to Marenes, where I found Monfieur de Pons, to whom his Majesty had written, as also to Monfieur de Farnes, to come to me to the Siege of Rochelle. Soon after I received a letter from the Governor of Nantes, wherein he sent me word, that I was not to wait in expectation of his Artillery, for that he had one piece of Cannon only mounted upon an old rotten Carriage, and that all the rest were on ground, without possibility of being made ready in less than three months time. See how our Frontier Cities and places of importance were provided and fortified! Rochelle was not so. I then fell to spinning out the time about St. Jean and Xaintes, in expectation of an answer from their Majesties, and money to bring the Artillery from Bourdeaux, very sorry that I had advanced so far. Day by day I sent new dispatches to them to that effect; but could never obtain any answer. The lift I sent to Court was Dragon, who had returned himself to Monfieur de Pons, and in the mean time Monfieur de Lude came near unto St. Jean, where at a privat Gentlemans house we had some conference. He there showed me the letters the King had writ to him, wherein his Majesty commanded him to join with me in the Enterprize of Rochelle, telling me that he would as cheerfully obey me as the proper person of the King himself, as being the oldest Captain in France, that he would bring me six or seven Ensigns of Foot, and three or four hundred Horse. It did not then stick at me, nor at those Gentlemen the King had commanded to assist me, neither at the Forces of Foot or Horse; but only at the want of means to bring up the Artillery, and a little money to pay the Foot, that this Siege of Rochelle did not succeed, I will not lay I should have carried it, but I should have frightened them at the least, and perhaps have done them no good.

The taking of the Ills.

In this interval Monfieur de Pons had reduc'd the Ills of Oleron and Alvot; for they are for the most part his own, and Captain Gombaudiere was in them, having his house there, and commanded as well in Alvot as Oleron. There then only remain'd the Ill of Re, where they had erected a Fort near unto a Church, and several others at the places of landing. I caufed five hundred Harquebuzers to be chosen out of all our Companies, with all the Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, the one half of Monsieur the elders Company excepted, who flaid adroe to command those that were left behind, making Monfieur de Leberon with the said five hundred to embark at the Port of Enbray. Gillet, the Kings receiver in those parts took great pains to victual and prepare the Veflcls, whom the Queen of Navarre put to death in the late troubles, but I could never learn for what, I ever knew him to be a good servante of the Kings, and believe his diligence upon this occasion of our mens putting to sea did him more harm than good, and perhaps might be the cause of his death, for the Queen of Navarre did by no means love those people. My said Nephew was a day and a night hindered by foul weather from landing, as all the Enemy defended the landing places from the Forts they had made: but in the end he unbethought him in the night to fend away all the lefter boats he had brought along with him full of Soldiers to land amongst the Rocks on the back of the Illand, where the Enemy kept no Guard, who so soon as part of them were got on shore, the Enemy discovering the stratagem, ran to that part, and fought them; but ours remain'd Matters of the place. My Nephew who was one that was engag'd in the fight, thereupon presently dispatched a Skiff to the Captains and Soldiers who were aboard the greater Veflcls, to bid them come away, which being suddenly done, so soon as they were all landed, they marched directly to the great Fort by the Church, a long league and a half from thence, which they assaulted on two or three sides at once; so that they carried the place, putting all they found within it to the sword, whilf't the reft who guarded the landings put themselves into little boats, and fled away towards Rochelle. We imagin'd them to be the people inhabitants of the Illand, who clape'd away, and that our people had gotten the victory; and two days after my said Nephew sent me an account of the whole action, which sooner he could not do, the wind being so contrary that they could not possibly get to Marenes, where the aforesaid Sieur and I lay: upon which news we call'd back my said Nephew, leaving two Foot Companies in the Ill. I then left Monfieur de Pont at Marenes, and went away to St. Jean, where Monfieur de Farnes came to me, to take order for all things necessary for me in order to the Siege. I caufed great provision of vi-
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaise, Book VI.

Provinet for the Siege of Rochelle.

In the mean time I still expected to hear from the King, but could never obtain the favour of one syllable, neither did any of my Ministers ever return; and in truth there was very great danger by the way, the Enemy being posset of all the great Roads, by which they were to return into Xaintonge. The first that came was Dragon, who brought news that the Peace was as good as concluded, and that the King would suddenly send me word, that I was to do. I think that having been the Prince and the Admiral with their Forces at the Gates of Paris, ready to fight a Battle, and afterwards at liberty to overrun all France, they were more thought of than that they confide'd the affairs of Guienne. This was the success of my expedition into Xaintonge; and seeing I have been reproach'd, that for three years I had done nothing considerable, I could wish that such as propose Enterprizes to the King would be as prompt to provide things necessary for such designs, as they are ready to give assurances that signify nothing, like those they sent me, and then perhaps some good might be done: but as they order is, a man must be a God to work miracles.

The short Peace, 194.

On the happy time that these men have who are about the Kings person, and never come within danger of a Battle! they cut out work, and very good cheap for others, that the King may think them wise and politic; but they never care to offer his Majesty, that if Mouluc or another shall refuse to go upon such an Enterprize, they themselves will undertake it. It is enough for them that they can talk well, and such perhaps there are, who propound a design which they would be glad should miscarry, for generally there is nothing but dissimulation, jealousy, and treachery amongst them, and this is to betray ones Mafter like a good Frenchman. I am confident by the cheerfulness I saw in the Gentlemen who were with me, and by the affonishment I difcover'd in the people we had to do withal, that had I been supplied with necessaries requisite for such an Enterprize, I should have fac hard to have carried this City, which has since fo forfified itself, that if the King permit them to take further footing, 'tis to be feared they will withdraw themselves from his obedience; but I was at this time so ill affilied, and his Majesty so ill serv'd, that I could do no more than I did.

A few days after the King sent me the Peace to cause it to be proclaimed at Bourdeaux, commanding me to disband the Foot, and to dismiss them every man to his own house, which I accordingly did, and sent the Proclamation to the Court of Parliament, and the Jarrats to cause it to be published; but for my own part I would not be present at it, knowing very well, that it was only a Truce to get breath, and a Peace to gain time to provide themselves better for a War to come, and not intended to be kept, for the King who had been taken unprovided I was confident would never put up the affront had been put upon him, who though he was very young, was notwithstanding a Prince of great spirit, and that bore this audacious Enterprize with very great impatience, as I have since been told by some who were then about him. He gave sufficient testimony of a generous courage, and truly worthy of a King, when he put himself in the head of the Swifts to escape to Paris; and do you think, Gentlemen, you who were the Leaders of those mutinous Troops, that he will ever forget that insolence? you would hardly endure it from your equal, what then would you do with a Servant? for my part I never saw, nor ever read of to strange a thing, which made me always think it would stick in the Kings stomack, The Prince and the Admiral commited a great oversight in this Peace; for they had by much the better of the Game, and might double our carry our Enterprizes, so that those who mediated, and procured this accommodation, perform'd a very signal service for the King and Kingdom.

This was all I did in the second Troubles, and me-thinks it was no contemptible service, to send the King a recruit of eleven or twelve hundred Foot, thirty Ensigns of Foot, and to preserve for him the Province of Guienne, conquer him the Isles, and not to be wanting on my part, that I did not try my fortune at Rochelle, and send him all the money the Rebels had amassed together in that part of his Kingdom. But I must do miracles too, those who are about the Kings person have ever done me one good office or another, and on my confidence would his Majesty hearken to them now, that I have nothing at all to do, they would find out one thing or another to lay to my charge; for the customs of the Court must not be left, which is to do all ill offices, and invent flanders against those who have a desire to do well. Was I near them I could quickly give some of them their answer, but the distance is too great between Guise and Paris; besides I have lost my Children, and an old Beast has no remorse.

This accommodation of the Second Troubles concluded at Cbarteufes continued but eight or nine months at most, and was therefore called the Short Peace. In this interval I went
Book VI. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

to Boudeaux in the beginning of May to see how all things went, where, by the news that was ordinarily brought from Court, by such as came from thence, I very well perceiv'd that this Peace would not long continue: For one while I was told, that the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral liv'd contentedly in their own houses; but for the most part was affur'd to the contrary, and also that the King had sent no order to disband his own Forces, as at the Peace of the former Troubles, and that those of the new Religion went and came to and fro from place to place, and frequently met at Conventicles. It was moreover bruited that Richelle would not surrender, nor Montauban, Milan, and other places, insomuch that it seem'd to be rather a Trace, than a Peace concluded. On the other side I was enticed into some jealousy of the Governor of Blaye call'd Des-Rois, wherefore I went to Blaye, taking the Attorney General of the Parliament, called Labert along with me, where being come, Des-Rois began to fall to a long discourse of the Court of Parliament, and the J urats of Boudeaux, complaining to me, that they had conceiv'd an unjust suspicion against him, which made them afraid to go into the City, To which I made answer, that this jealousy did not originally proceed from any disfavor that either the Court of Parliament, or the Jurats had to his person, but that himself was the cause he was suspect'd, forasmuch as all those of his Garrison were Hugonots, whom he protected and favour'd in the City, and who not far from thence had daf'd a Church in his own presence: but that if he did' t one should suspect or conferr him, he would do will to new-model his Garrison, and form (the greater part of it at least) of Cashisick Soldiers: That notwithstanding I very well knew the contrary, and thereupon like a true friend recommend'd to him, that he should call to mind from what Father he descended, and remember that in recompense of the good services he had performed for the Kings Francis and Henry, they had given him the Command of that place, and since continued it to him his Son, with several other Remonstrances, which I thought proper to weary him from an ill-conceiv'd opinion in case he should peradventure really have entertain'd any such thing in his fancy. I had formerly evermore taken his part, and having ever known him (as I thought at least) very affectionate to the King's service, had writ to his Majefty, that if it were to be responsible for any man, it should be for him, (see how a man may be deceiv'd in judging of men by their own fair speeches) but to soon as I was return'd to Boudeaux, and saw some signs that did not much please me, I had no more the same opinion of him that before, of which I also gave their Majefties present notice; but it was seven or eight days after I had parted from him. I heard since that a few days after I had been with him he had been at Eflautiers to confer with Monfieur Mirmibau, and the Baron de Pardaillan, where they had been five or fix hours shut up together in a Chamber, that they had another meeting three days after that, and I had further intelligence, that he was determin'd to go to Court, to prevent himself to the King, to give his Majefty more ample assurance of his faith. Whereupon I dispatched away to the King, giving him an account of all I had heard, and telling him that I had formerly given his Majefty assurance of the said Des-Rois, but that I would now revoke that engagement, and no more stand caution for him, considering the conference he had held at Eflautiers, and that if his Majefty would please to take my humble advice, he should remove him from his Government, flattering some one of his Majefty's own Religion, which if his Majefty should be pleas'd to think fit to do, it would then be convenient to detain the said Des-Rois till such time as I should have put in him whom his Majefty should appoint into his place, and chang'd the Garrison. Humbly believing his Majefty, that he would please to take my poor advice in this affair, or that otherwise himself would be the first that should repent it.

Des-Rois fail'd not to begin his Journey the same day that I sent away my dispatch to the King, which was upon a Monday, and being come to Court, as I was told, address'd himself to Monfieur de Lanfay, to whom I believe he made his complaint, persuading the said Sieur de Lanfay that all these jealousies proceeded from no other cause than the desire I had to preserve some Gentleman who was at my devotion, to the Command of that place, which how true it was God then knew, and time has since discover'd: but I conceive that the said Sieur de Lanfay, as well upon the account of neighbourhood, as out of consideration of the good repute of the Father and Family of the said Des-Rois, was willing to embrace his interest, and consequently spoke to his Majefty in his behalf, wherein he was himself first discover'd, and afterward aham'd of his mediation. It was however hard to judge a man who had never been blemish'd before, nor ever committed any fault, but rather behave'd himself well than ill, as this Gentleman had done. Men are not to be discover'd by the sight, like counterfeit money: and God alone can dive into the hearts of men. So it was, that he return'd back very well satisfied with the King, to whom, that he might be more affectionate to his service, his Majefty gave a thousand Crowns, where-
in his Majesty did not perhaps consider, that he was of an ill hair, of which there are very few good men; but, however it was, another might have been as well deceiv’d as he, for he had a smooth tongue, and knew very well how to disguise the rancour of his heart.

See here how cautious a Prince ought to be, whether the King ought not to have taken more notice of this conference of one of his Governors with the Hugonots, and in a cafe of fulpition like this, to have enclined to the said counsellors. There are ways to satisfy such as we would rid our hands of, without driving them to despair, whereas we run a very great hazard in leaving a place of importance in the hands of a fulpited person, as his Majesty did in the power of De-Rois, and a very good place too. When a woman once hearckens to unlawful solicitation farewell venture, and also when a Governor of a Town enters into such secret Parties as these, there is some knavery a brewing, and in such a cafe the King or Prince ought to be as jealous as the Husband, that knows his Wife has an ear open to Courtship, if at the same time he who engages in such conferences, do not underhand give his Majesty or his Lieutenant notice of it; in which case there is still some danger, and it is hard to be sufficient enough for a Traitor.

Before I departed from Boudevaux I in the morning assembled the Attorney General, the General de Gorgues, Captain Verre, and my Nephew the Sieur de Leberron, to whom I would communicate what I had fancied with my self upon the news that daily came from Court of the difference and discontent the Prince of Condé was in, and what I should do if I were in his place. In which discourse they may remember I told them, that if the Prince could go, he would insensibly come into Xaintonge, having Rochelle, and almost all the Country at his devotion; that the Isles when they should see Forces in Xaintonge, and at Rochelle, and Monfieur de la Rochefoucault so near them, would presently revolt, and that then the fall Prince and the Hugonots would resolutely turn all their designs this way; for in France Roan was no longer theirs, which being gone, they had not one Port-Town at their devotion; and that it would be in a ridiculous and a senseless thing, to begin a third War, without first having a Sea-Port in their power. Now they could not possibly make choice of one of greater advantage to them, than that of Rochelle, on which depends that of Brouage, which is absolutely theirs, and the most commodious Haven in all the Kingdom; for being there they might have succours out of Germany, Flanders, England, Scotland, Brittany, and Normandy, all of them Countries abounding in people of their own Religion, so that in truth should the King give them their choice to Canton themselves in any Port of the Kingdom, they could not possibly choose a more advantageous nor a more commodious place. They all approve’d of my discourse as being near the truth, which I had fram’d in the Night as I lay considering the state of our affairs, for so I used to pass part of the time in bed; and this waking fancy of mine seem’d to prelajc almost as much dissater and misfortune, as the dreams I had dreamt of King Henry and King Charles.

Having entertain’d them with this discourse, I then proceeded to tell them, that it would be convenient to find out some fit remedies against the evil before it should arrive; for to communicate this consent to their Majesties, without proposing at the same time some way to frustrate the Enemies designs, were, I thought, to make them neglect my intelligence, and to slight my advice. We therefore fell to considering, that to prevent the mislajps which seem’d to threaten us, there was no other way, than by making Ports upon the sea, and betimes to secure the Ports, which with four Ships, and as many Shalops to lie at Chedebois, le Palais, and the mouth of the Harbour at Brouage, might sufficiently be provided for; and that the Ports being once our own, neither English, nor any other of their Parry, could or would attempt to come into their affiilance, knowing they were to land at places where they are almost always certain to meet with very tempestuous weather; and that Seamen will never venture out to sea to go to any place, unless they are first sure of a free and a secure Harbour to lie in; and on the other side, that our Ships lying about the Isles would suffice the Inhabitants, that they would never dare to revolt, and our men of War would to keep Rochelle, as it were besieged, that it must of necessity in a little time either wholly submit to the King’s devotion, or at least contain themselves quiet, without attempting anything of commotion. All which being remonstrated to them we unanimously concluded, that I ought to send an account thereof to the King and Queen.

Now the next thing we were to consider of, was, which way the money was to be raised to equip these Vessels, and to pay the men; and as to that we made account that with ten thousand Francs, and two thousand lacs of Corn, which I offer’d of my own for the making of Blicante, we should let them out to sea. General Gorgues would undertake also to cause Carter to be sent from the upper Country upon the account of his own credit, and all upon the confidence we had, that his Majesty would in time reimburse us; The
Jurats of Kings General, I was always fuch days to it, affairs would but backwards, alfo vigilant, who as doing good, would be fuppofe him to give credit to me once in her life only, which if she did not, fhe would I doubted report it, and that it would be too late to be remedied, when the misfortune fould be once arri’d: but all thefe renoncements signified nothing, and the fent me back my laid Nephew without any other answer but this, that the Kings Council had not approv’d of the thing. Which prov’d very ill; I believe he had her Majefty been pleafed to follow my counfel the Hugonots affairs would not have been in fo good a condition as they now are: but God dispers all things as he pleafes him. I know very well, that had I wrought every day a miracle, the Court would never have believed me to be a Sairt, especially thofe about the Kings perfon, who would be fure his Majefties should believe that any in the Nation fhould be fo vigilant, to intent upon the affairs of the Kingdom, or to wife as they, and yet I have often heard that thofe who prefume fo much upon their own widoms, are often the veriet fools of all.

Oh how vigilant ought a wife and prudent King to be, to difcover thefe Court Cears; I was too far off to difpute with them face to face, and letters have no reply; one Enemy alfo in the Kings Council is able to do a man more mischief, than thirty friends can do him good, of which I have had woful experience, and in the mean time all things go backwards, without any hopes of amendment, for any thing we can do or fay. I may here aply enough bring in the story of Marco de Breffe an Italian, who had perfom’d fome mental services for the Signior of Venier, for which having long folicitated a recompence, but full in vain; it hapned at laft that the Duke of Venier died, which fofoon as ever Signior Marco heard of, he prefently prefert’d a Petition to the Senate, wherein he entreated the Signior to choose him Duke for the reward of his service. The Senate equally attimes, andandal’d at the ridiculous, and yet the audacious prudence of this man, fent home of their Senators to him to check him for his infolence, and to renoncement to him the offence he had given to, and the affront he had put upon the Republique by his impudent demand; which being accordingly laid home to him; he returned this answer, *Pardon me, but have fto tuto the counfier, che to perfume che fealeti anchora quella, ma baffo for content. And to may we fay to those Genelemen that govern all, that we ought not to wonder at any thing they do, nor hope for any better from them. The Kingdom at the long run will find the effects of their doings. In the mean time I return to my Subject.

I then return’d towards Agenois, where upon my arrival at Agen, I foublated one of my leg’s, that it conftraint’d me three months to keep my bed, after which when I thought my felf cured, I was surpris’d with fo sharp and violent a Catharre, as I thought verily would have cut my throats, which had not ventured it fell at one of my ears, the Physicians told me would infallibly have done my business. Sofoon as I was a little recover’d I remov’d my felf to Catharine for change of air, which was about the end of July. I had three
there intelligence sent me out of Bern, that the Queen of Navarre was departed from Paris to go into Foix, to take some order about her affairs: soon after I received news that she had arrived at Vic Bigorre, and immediately after I had another advertisement, that on Wednesday night there was a Gentleman came to her from Monfieur de la Rochefoucauld, who had about four hours been that up with her in her Cabinet. What Peace force had been concluded I was over more at watch, and always maintained spies to give me an account of what they did in Bern, for I very well knew, that no goodnews was hatching there. I had further notice given me, that upon Thursday she was departed from Vic Bigorre in all haste, and was gone towards Nerac, as it was true, for the arrival there upon Sunday morning.

Her arrival at this place filled with expectation of novelty, and possest the wiser for with an opinion that the Peace would not long continue. The next day I sent my Nephew de Ledern to wait upon her, by whom I did humbly beseech her, that her coming into these parts might turn to our advantage, and produce some good effects for the better establishment of the Peace concluded, offering her upon my honor, that I on my part would take such care, that it should not be violated on the Catholic's side: in answer whereunto the my send me word, that she was come to Nerac to no other end, but to see the Peace involvally observ'd, and to suppress any evil inclination that some of her Church might unavoidably nourish to the perturbation of the publick quiet, as very well knowing that there were some both of the one Persuasion and the other, who defied nothing but war; and that it was of so well disposed to the conservation of the publick quiet, I should join in that her desire and intention was the same; in concurrence to which common benefit I was only to communicate to her such things as I should hear, and that she would take order concerning all things that depended upon those of her Religion.

Two things oblig'd me to believe that this Queen spoke from her heart, although the Court was pleased to confirme me for that credulity, of which the first was, that the King had never given her occasion to act any thing against him, but on the contrary both formerly maintain'd her interest against the Pope, and more lately against her own Subjects of Bern, which I conceived ought in reason to oblige her: and the other is the great promises which both by Letters and express Messengers the ordinarily made to the King never to be against him, of which I do believe his Majesty has no less than a whole hundred to produce. All which consider'd, together with the near relation she has to the King, what must he have been, who must have manifested a fupplication against her. Had I done it she would have said, and have accused me to have been the caufe that she had altered the good inclination she had everhad to his Majesties service. Wherein the would have wanted no seconds at Court against me, to load me with the Pack instead of the Saddle. I am much better satisfied that she has perfecuted me as she has done without any caufe than that she had done it with any just pretence: but the weakest always goes to the wall. If the King or Queen had a mind to have had me done otherwise, why did they not order me to do it; I should then have fear'd nothing; but I must be a Prophet. I had evermore an eye to what they did in Bern, because it is a Country very much infected with the new Religion, that is crept in amongst them I know not how, nor I know not who will root it out. They had amongst them, 'tis true, a pack of Godly Ministers, who with all their seeming humility, and pretended sanctity, breath'd nothing in their Pulpits but War and Rebellion: but as to the Queen of Navarre, I could never have imagin'd that she would have committed such an error, and have hazarded her State, which the King had maintain'd her in, as the did. But I think those virtuous Ministers under shew of holiness inveigled her over to their party; for to that end they would omit nothing, and would promise wonders to whoever would hearken to them. The Queen departed from Nerac on Sunday morning, the very same day that my Wife intended to have gone thither to have killed her hand, and Monfieur de Salmers and my Sons were to have gone along with her, to run at the Ring, and to divert the Prince where they made account to have stayed eight or ten days. I sent my Wife thither on purpose to entertain the Queen with reiterated assurances of me and the Catholicks, that we would not offer so much as once to think of taking arms, but the same Sunday morning by break of day came a Comproller of hers, by whom the sent me word, that my Wife should not come thither, for that the thing going away to Caufelgelouex, upon some intelligence she had receiv'd, that certain incendiaries of her Religion had a mind to raise some commotion; but that she would not fail to prevent them. I then perciev'd that it was something else than to suppress those pretend Mutiniers that carried her away; for had that been all, she might have done the business at Nerac without going to Caufelgelouex: yet could I not penetrate into the bottom of her delugue. The next morning I went to Agen, from thence I dispatched away to Monfieur de Madailan, that he should in all secrecy gather together those of my Company on the other
other side the River Garonne, at la Sauvetat, where his own house was: I sent another dispatch also to the Chevalier my Son, who was a Colonel in Guienne, that he should give notice to all his Captains that day and night, in all diligence they should march to Port St. Marie with fifteen or twenty Harquebusiers on horseback each, without staying for any more. I likewise sent to Monseigneur de Fontenilles, who lay in Garrison at Monfieur to do the same, and to send to those of his Company who were not in the Garrison with him to follow after with all possible speed.

The Queen of Nature thus did two days only at Castelnaus, but took her way thence directly to Thonans and Aymett. Her departure was so sudden, that the Chevalier my Son fell four hours short of being able to join with Monseigneur de Madalitou, by reason of the passage over the River of Aquitain, where there were no more than two little Boats only, and yet when our people came to Aymett, it was not above three or four hours that they had been parted thence, and gone in all haste straight to Bergerac; where the Sieur de Piles with three or four score Horse was come out to meet her, and so she passed over the Dordogne. I had taken to extraordinary pains night and day to send away my dispatches to give notice to all the Captains and Gentlemen of the Country to break themselves to arms, that being not yet perfectly cur'd of my Catharine I relap's'd into an extreme and dangerous sickness. Every one concluded I could not possibly escape it, and I myself thought no less; for I now made my will, which before for any sickness I had had, or for any wounds I had receiv'd, I had never done. In all the sickn'es and wounds I had lain under before, I had never had other care than of my arms, and my horses; but at this time, believing I should certainly die, I thought of every thing, though that most afflicted me, was to leave my Prince and Country in so critical a time, and in so dangerous a condition. However during the time of my sickness I made the Knight my Son raise thirty Ensigns of Foot, wherein the Levy was so sudden, that the Captains could not get Soldiers to make up a third part of their Companies, by reason that almost all those that Monseigneur de Saint Filoux had carried to the King in the second troubles were left behind in France, and had lifted themselves into the old standing Regiments there, and also some of the Captains.

Being yet in the extremity of my sickness, Monseigneur de Joyeuse, who was about Montpelier, sent me word that the Provençals had pass'd the Rhone, and that Monseigneur d'Actor Joyeuse sent the Sieur de Montluc intelligence of the whether they were going to offer their services to the Prince, and the Admiral, who were already arriv'd in those parts. The Queen of Nature had also taken the same way, as to a place of the greatest safety, where they had so many advantages to prosecute the War, and the whole Country at their devotion. I had likewise news sent me from Cour, that the King had sent away Monseigneur de Monmoufier to come head the Forces of Guienne and Poitou; of which I was exceeding glad, being assured that if we were to serve under him, we should be sure to fight. The very day therefore that I first got out of my bed from my dangerous sickness I went towards Cahors, taking a Physician and a Letter along with me, of which I had more need than of a Spanish Horse, and after that manner made a shift to crawl as far as Castelnaus de Monmatre, within five leagues of Cahors, there to assemble our Forces together.

To this place came Monseigneur de Gondrin, de la Valette, de Saint Fil Columbe (who brought five and twenty men at Arms of the Monseigneur Company that were of this Country) the Lieutenant, and Ensign of Monseigneur de Montpasct (who had some of the Marquis de Villars his men) and Monseigneur de Messez with his own Company, and mine, which at that time consist of three-score men at Arms. I lay'd four or five days at Castelnaus, where I began to gather a little strength, and there received Letters from Monseigneur d'Escarl, that he was coming to join with me with his own Company, and a Company of Light-horse that he had newly rais'd, as also the Vicount de Limoz with his Company, and another of Light-horse, together with some Gentlemen of Lemosin and Perigord he had with him, the Catholic and I also had some. What bewitch the Forces that Monseigneur d'Escarl was to bring, and those of ours, we made account by the report of our Marches de Campeg, which was Monseigneur de la Chappelle Lonfieres, Lieutenant to Monseigneur de Birou, that we might be in all four hundred Light-horse, and as to the Foot in all the thirty Ensigns there was not good and bad above eighteen hundred fighting men; for my Son having taken a review of them at his passing over the Bridge at Cahors, had calculate'd three or four hundred that were good for nothing but to piller and rob the Country, so that in all his enigns he had no more remaining but eighteen hundred men. This he had daily some or other told coming.
coming in to him, for the Captains had left their Lieutenants behind, who every day pick
up some. With these then we marched directly to Cahors, where I lay twelve days, and
the Camp in the adjacent places, and there again receiv'd letters from Monfeur d'Escares,
who said for me about Souillac, and also from Monfeur de Joyeuse, wherein he adver-
tized me, that the Enemy still March'd on along the Mountain toward Rhodes, and so we
departed thence; and in two days came to Souillac.

At Souillac I receiv'd letters from the Bishop of Rodes, and from Mefieurs de l'Eftang
(elder Son of Monfeur de Cornaffon) and de Saint Benfa, all of one and the same tenor,
which was, that they had discover'd the Enemy, who were not other than five or six thou-
sand Rascals with their Wives and Children with them, exactly after the same manner that
Monfeur de Joyeuse had describ'd them before. Now seeing this account of the Enemy came
from men of honor, especially from Monfeur de Joyeuse, who sent me word he had caus'd
them to be discover'd by men of worth and understanding in these affairs, and that the
others had themselves view'd them in person, we all concluded it to be so. See here the
difference betwixt caus'd an Enemy to be discover'd, and discoverings a mans self in his
own person the poulter of an Enemy; for this advertisement had like to have been the
ruine of us all: and we were so near being all left, that it was the work of God, and not
men that prefer'd us; and yet we were all of us of one opinion, and could hardly let
it sink into our heads, that Mefieurs the Count de Tande, de Gordes, de Magiron, and
de Sance having all the Forces of Provence and Dauphiné with them (for they were all
joy'd together, as Monfeur de Joyeuse had writ me word) would have suffer'd so few
people in so evil equipage to pass the Rofe without fighting them; or the said Sieur de
Joyeuse himself, who had a Force sufficient in Languedoc to hinder them from passing
the River on his side: neither could I imagine that such a handful of men should be so hardy,
as to march thorough the Kingdom of France; which made me always cry, these are
brave bold Rascals, we must see them, if they be such as we are made to believe they are,
we shall have a good bargain of them. On the other side the desire we had to fight them
made us more apt to believe, that the intelligence had been sent us was true, for oftentimes
men are apt to deceive themselves, and enclin'd to believe what they desire. In this refo-
lution we made account to go and fight them so soon as ever they should approach the
River of Dordogne: to which purpose being remov'd to Gourdon, Monfeur de Monfals
arriv'd at our Camp, who brought me Letters from the King, and to Monfeur d'Escares
also, wherein his Majesty commanded us forthwith to repair to Monfeur de Montpensier
(who was above Poitou) to fight with the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral. He came
in a very great heat to make us instantly depart, which made us immediately enter into
Council upon the place, in which was Monfeur d'Escares, and de Boires, Sr. Genies the
elder, with two or three other Knights of the order, who were come with Monfeur
d'Escar, and on our side Mefieurs de Gondrain, de la Valtette, de Maffes, de Fontenille,
de Givroux, de Saint Columbe, de Cançon, de Braslac, de la Chapelle Lafféres, Caffanueil, and
my self, with some other Knights of the Order. I had sent back Monfeur de Saintlorens
toward Mousiac (forasmuch as I had been enformed that the Vicomptes were gathering to-
gether to go joyne with Monfeur d'Acier, and the Provençals) to the end that I might
have continual intelligence, making account to fight these fellows with so many of us as
we were together, seeing they were no more than five or six thousand pitiful Rascals, as
we had been made to believe. There was not one Captain, nor Knight of the Order, who
was present at the Council that did not concur in the same opinion, which was, 'that the
Prince of Condé and the Admiral were no such Novices in War, nor young Captains,
but that they very well knew how to avoid fighting, unless when themselves thought fit
to do it, wherein also they would find the less difficulty now, considering that they
had already a River in their favour, which was the Charante, and over that the Bridges
of Saintes and Conconç in their own hands: and on the other side they would never
venture to fight without Poor, which they had not, being come thinner naked, with no
more than thirty or forty Horse: but that doublets before they took the field to fight,
they would play for the Provençals which Monfeur d'Acier was bringing up to them,
who since they were coming upon us, it would be much better to fight them our selves,
than to go joyne with Monfeur de Montpensier, who was a great way off, and leave the
Provençals behind at full liberty to march in all security along the banks of the Dord-
gogne directly to Conconç, now that there remain'd no Forces in Guienne to oppose their
way. So then we all refolov'd, that it was necessary to stay and fight them, hoping in God
that the Victory would be our own, seeing they were so few, and so incomperable people.
It was moreover alledg'd in the Council, that the said Provençals, when they should see
themselves at large, would take their way towards the Vicomptes, for all the Rivers were
forda

The sieur de
Monfals dis-
couls touching
the coming of
the Proven-
caux.

Confutation
concerning
the Commillon
of
the sieur de
Monfals.
for larges, that the Prince and the Admiral would come and join with them about Libourne and Bordeaux, forsooth as at Bourdeaux there would be none to hinder them: and others said, that whilst we were meditating to defend the Cities of Tantonge, we should lose our own. In fine there was not one Captain, or Knight of the Order, that was of any other opinion, but that we ought to fight. Moniteur de Monfaules excepted, who was almost at his wits end, seeing he could not carry away the Saccours, as he promised to himself he should do; so that seeing our resolution to be otherwise he departed from us. Whether he went I am not able to say, but one thing I know, that he went away in very great wrath. He immediately dispatched away his Brother to the King, and, as I have since been told, laid my errand to their Majesties, saying, that I had persuaded all the Captains to return this answer, an answer that in truth went very much against his stomach; for he had a mighty ambition to have them the King and Queen what a wonderful authority he had in Guienne, that could carry in so considerable forces, and wherein were so many brave Captains; only to gain still more favour and esteem with their Majesties, to the end they might grant him his demands, which came so thick, that the King never fill'd him one hand, but that at the same time he put out the other to beg something more. And this I dare be bold to affirm, that never any King of France confer'd so many benefits upon any one Gentleman of Guienne as the King had bestowed upon him: for he gave him two Bishopricks, two Abbies, and above a hundred thousand francs in money at one time, and yet notwithstanding he was never content. And I will be bold to say another thing, that although upon this debate all the Captains had concluded to go to Moniteur de Montpensier, the Devil a one of them would have gone along with him, as they afterwards made it sufficiently appear, for nobody would follow him when he was with the Moniteur, but chose to follow Moniteur de la Vallette, who was not half so much a favourite as he; but he was by much a better Soldier. Yet will I not say but that the Sieur de Monfaules was a very brave Gentleman in his own person, but a man ought to take measure of his own abilities, to moderate his ambition and to wear a long while under his arms, before he take upon him to play the great Captain, and to Lord it in Command.

After this Conference held at Gourdon the said Sieur de Monfaules being departed from us, there came news from the Bishop of Cahors his Uncle, who sent us word, that the Provençals Camp was come within three or fours leagues of Cahors, and that therefore he conjur'd us for the honor of God to come speedily and relieve the City; for they expected the Enemy the next morning; and before we departed from Semillac there past by one whom I will forbear to name, lest should he be yet living, it might cause him to be kill'd, who brought a Letter from the Queen to Moniteur d'Eficars, wherein the writ to him to let the bearer pass with all the secrecy he could, for that she had sent him to the Provençals Camp to discover what number they might be. Moniteur d'Eficars thereupon came to acquaint me with the business, and carried me to his Lodging, and there into a Cabinet, where he had conceal'd this man, who, so soon as I came in to him acquainted me with the Command he had from the Queen, telling me, that if I would give him a man in whom I durst confide, and that was good at the numbering of men, he would undertake to shew him all the Army; for he himself was not to stand upon computing of men, he being to play another kind of person; but that he would nevertheles order it so, that the man I should send should view the whole Army at his ease. Whereupon I deliver'd a Soldier to him, whom I knew I might trust, who also was to counterfeit himself a Huguenot, and so they went away together.

Now to return to the advertisement we had from the Bishop of Cahors, upon his Letter we immediately turn'd that way to go fight with the Enemy. Moniteur de la Vallette went before with his own Company, and took Moniteur de Fontenilles along with him, who at that time was my Lieutenant, with the one half of mine. I every day expected an answer from the King, to a request I had made to him to give the one half of my Company to the said Moniteur de Fontenilles, and the other half to the Knight my Son, believing I should not live long, both by reason of the long sickness I had had, of which I was not yet recover'd, and also by reason of the violence wherewith I daily forced my self to do more than I was able.

Moniteur de la Vallette made so long a march to go to discover these people, that of two days we could not meet again, their horses being almost all unhod. He was as diffident a Captain as any I ever knew, but by this means he was constrain'd to play a day at Cahors to get his horses new shois, for the way they had gone was so fliny, as had left half his party barefoot; and Moniteur d'Eficars having heard that the Enemy took the way towards Limoges, would needs go to defend his own Government, but he was not long
long before he repent'd his so doing; for the Enemy marcht towards Acier and Gramat, which the said Sieur d'Escares having underfoot, and that they were got before him, he return'd back to us in all diligence, and we rallied at Guirdon, a Town belonging to Monseur de Saint Supplies. I then dispatch away in all haste to my Son, who was advance'd a great way towards Cosbars, that he should immediately face about towards us, and to Monseur de la Valette, to advance with all possible speed, and not fail to come the next day to Gramat, that we might fight that day; or however the next morning. Monseur d'Escares and I, Monseur de Condrin, Messieurs le Vicomte de Lemere; and du Mistet, so soon as ever we had bair'd, immediately departed, and marched straight towards Gramat, finding Monseur de Mistet, and the Vicomte de Lemere with the Company of Light-horse, and the Marechal de Camp before directly to Gramat; when being advance'd as far as the Gallow of Gramat, within betwixt three and four HarquebuzCThout of the Town, we there made a halt to stay for Monseur de la Valette and his Party, in which he had Monseur de Saint Colombé, and the rest before-nam'd, and also for our Foot. I divided our thirty Ensigns into three Regiments, although the Chevalier my Son command'd them all, of which Monseur de Lebren command'd ten, and Captain Sendat other ten, besides the third ten, which was immediately to be command'd by my Son himself. Which because the Country thereabout was very barren, we were constrain'd to quarter at some distance from one another, by which means, what by reason of the long way they had to return back, as also that the Quarters of the thirty Ensigns were separated, and that Monseur de la Valette could not come up to Gramat that day, we there staid till it was so late, that the Sun was almost going down, when fill from hour to hour Monseur du Mistet lent continually word that the Enemy full marcht towards the Dordogne, and intended to take up their Quarters in certain Villages betwixt Gramat and the Dordogne.

Monseur d'Acier very well knew whereabouts we lay, insomuch that it was put to the question, whether or no they should come to attack us, and their intelligence was so good, that they knew how many we were almost to fifty men. All his Captains were of opinion that he ought to do it; but he shew'd them a Letter from the Prince of Condé, wherein the Prince conjur'd him by no means to engage, if he could possibly avoid it, forasmuch as upon those Forces he had with him, he said, depend'd his good or evil fortune. Now as we thus flant'd in expectation of our own people to come up to us, Captain Pierre Moreau the Enemies Marechal de Camp happen'd to come to Gramat, to view the Quarters, not thinking that we were so near, where by three or four Light-horse belonging to the Vicomte de Lemere, he was taken, and brought prisoner to us, to the foremention'd Gallow's, where we all were. Immediately upon his being brought before us, being I was well acquainted with the said Captain Moreau, he having been formerly of my Company in Piedmont, Monseur d'Escares and I took him aside, where I bid him to tell the truth upon pain of death how many men they were; for you know Captain Morcet, said I, that I am not a man to be dallied withal, and you must not tell me a lie. To which he made answer, that he would forfeit his head if he did not tell the truth. We very well perceiv'd that he was damnably afraid, for at the very first he had defir'd me to remember, that he had once been of my Company, and had serv'd me upon several good occasions, wherein I had ever seen him behave himself like a man of honor. I then gave him assurance of his life; whereupon he told us, that they were betwixt fifteen and eighteen thousand Foot, and betwixt five and fix thousand Horfe, of which there might be three hundred Cuirassiers well arm'd, and well mounted; and the other two or three hundred HarquebuzCTs and Arquebuziers, of which they made no very great account. And as to the Foot, that there were fix thousand Harquebuziers old Soldiers all, of which he had never seen so great a number in any Army of the Kings', that they had other six thousand, of whom they did not make altogether so much reckoning as of the first, but that nevertheless there was good men amongst them, and such as he believ'd, under favour of the first six thousand, would fight tolerably well, and that the remainder to seventeen or eighteen thousand were for the most part Harquebuziers also, and the rest Halbersteers, and some Pikes. Monseur d'Escares and I lookt upon one another, very much astonish'd at the acctount that had been given us; whereupon Monseur d'Escares laid to him these words, Captain Morcet instead of saving your life you will throw it away, for you are oblig'd to speak the truth upon pain of hanging, and Monseur de Monsuc has very good intelligence, that you are not above five or six thousand, and of those the greater part are women, children, and servants. He then made answer, Sir, we know very well you have been told so, but let me die if I lie to you fifty men, but said I, we are advis'd by Monseur de Joyeuse, who has caus'd you to be discover'd to a man, that you are no more than five or six thousand, as also by several Gentlemen, who have
Book VI. de Montluc, Maréchal of France.

have all taken a view of you near unto Rodes; we know very well, saith he, that Monfieur Captain Made Joyeus, the Bishop of Rodes, and others have assured you of: but feeling we were far from the answer, fear, why did they not then intercept us, and hinder us from passing the Rolls? let me perch that if they ever gave us so much as one Alarm, judge you then how they could come to discover Monfieur de Montluc, my life lies at stake. I will not deceive you, and since you are pleased to secure it if I seek the truth, I will not forbear it by telling a lie; of which to give you further proof, see here the Major Roll of our whole Army, Regiment by Regiment, for unworthy at 1 am, they have made me their Maréchal de Camp. Monfieur d'Escars then took the Rolls, and read them before me, when seeing the Sun was about to go down, we were of advice not to quarter at Gras, but to retire from thence to the Quarters from whence we rose in the morning, and there to receive Monfieur de la Valette, and our Foot, and all of us together to deliberate what we had to do. We accordingly then began to put our felves upon our march, entrancing Monfieur de Caffaneuil to go draw off Monfieur du Maftel, and our Maréchal de Camp, for from Gras to the place where the Enemy were sitting down in their Quarters, was at the farthest not above a quarter of a league, and it was well for the Sieur du Maftel that we did so; for as he was industriously observing the order of their Camp to fee if he could muster their Forces, and disimmonished with two others only with him looking upon them against the Sun, which was then just upon setting, the said de Caffaneuil was aware of all their Cavalry coming full drive to intercept their retreat, which made him gallop upon the four to give them notice of their danger, who thereupon, as time was retic'd in all haste towards us. Thus then we began to retreat toward Guérand, when being about the mid way, the Queen's Spy overtook us, who knew nothing of the taking of Captain Moreau, and drawing Monfieur d'Escars, Monfieur de Guérand, and me apart, the Soldier there told us, that the said Spy had given him opportunity so fec, and to number all the Enemies Camp in the Plain of Figero, where they were all drawn up into Battalia to give an attault to the Town: but that the Inhabitants had sent Monfieur d'Aici a Prefent, which had qualified their fury, and prevailed with them to forbear. He told us that he had there counted a hundred, fifty, and two Empan of Foot, and being the Cavalry were a little at a distance, he could not so exactly number them, as he had done the Foot: but that he thought they might be betwixt six and seven hundred Horse, and that he had numbered the Foot to be betwixt three and four and eighteen thousand men. Monfieur d'Escars and I then took the Spy aside by himself, who gave us the same account that the Soldier had done; the Spy was in boldly fear left Captain Moreau should peradventure have discover'd him, for so soon as ever he saw him he flunk out of the Troop, and before we were felted every man in his quarters it was after midnight. The next day we all met together again, and all the Captains came to my lodging to consult what we had to do, having found that we had to deal with other kind of people than with five or six thousand foundrels with their wives and children. At night the aforelaid Captain Moreau told me in private, that in case we should attempt to fight them in the place where they were encamp, we should infallibly be defeated, were we four times as many Horse and Foot as we were, by reason that Monfieur d'Aici who was of this Country, had purposely chosen this place not to flie from thence of eight or ten days, but there to lie in expectation of the return of a Messenge he had sent to the Prince and the Admiral, to tell them, that he would go no farther; and that they all humbly entreated the Prince to come and make Guisnes the Scen of the War, which they were confidently affured they should make their own, before the King could draw sufficient Forces together to fight them: that to this end they would march before him towards Libourn, and would try to carry Bourdeaux, for they fear'd nothing but our Horse, and therefore it was that they had made choice of those Quarters, it being a floy Country, and the fones so sharp that they cut like Knives, informeth that a Horse darts not gallop, or indeed almost tread upon them, and moreover all the Country, and all High-wayses are enclosed with dry fones wallsof the height of a man, and the lowes as high as a man girdle, under favour of which they made account to enclose all their Harquebuzers, and the Horfe in their Rear, so that we could not possibly go to fight them, without exposing our felves to the mercy of their for.  

All these things considered, as also the situation of the place, and the number of men, made us maturely to deliberate of the condition we were in, and with the best discretion we had to provide against the odds against us, and to supply the weaknesses of our Forces with the best resolutions founded upon the best rules of War. Upon which confolation it was in the end agreed, that Monfieur d'Escars should send a Gens'-d'arme of his, an intelligent perfon, to found the Pafs of the Dordogne leading to Figero, whereon if the Foad should prove to be good, we should then encamp our felves there, and caufe our provisions...
provisions to be brought in to us from the said Figeac, for that there we should be out of the flones, where the Cavalry could not come to fight, and that finding the Foards such as we belieed they were, we might at any time pass over, either to fight the first that should attempt the Foard from the other side, or the last that were to pass, we being no more than a little league from one another. With this resolution we dispatch away the said Gen'd'arms to go found the Foard, and the Commentaries to make ready the provisions, concluding to depart the day following, and not before, because we would give the Commentaries time to prepare the provisions, and the Gentlemen leisure to found the Foard.

The next day about ten of the clock in the morning there arriv'd the Brother of Monsieur de Villagene (who had been no more than fix or seven days at most in posting too and again from Court) bringing a Letter from the King, wherein his Majesty commanded us, that whether we had already fought, or were upon the point of fighting, immediately upon sight thereof, leaving all things in order, or disorder as to the affairs of the place, we should march away to Monsieur de Montpensier. We very well understood by the style, that these Letters were of Monsieur de Monsaleus his contriving; forasmuch as he had told us at his coming to call us away, that the King and Queen did no care though Guene was left, provided we fought with the Prince of Conde; for he being once defeated, all the rest would be recover'd of course: at which time I remember there were some who in my presence reproach'd him, that he talk'd at his ease; for although his house should be burnt, he was very well aftr'd the King and Queen would give him three times as much as he could possibly lose, and that hitherto it had never been known, that ever the King had confer'd so many benefits upon all the Captains of Guene, put them all together, as upon him alone: and this was the thing that made us believe he had sent this Letter ready drawn to the King, that his Majesty might write to us after that manner. For in the Cabinets of Princes such tricks have been usuallly play'd, and such extraordinary favours granted, with much less difficulty than men of our trade can obtain the least justice. The above-named Captains who were present at the Confuilation are able to testify what a dispute there was amongst us, before we began to march, as seeing the apparent loss and ruine of the Country, should the Prince transfer the Seem of the War into Guene, as we did confidently believe he would, seeing these people refuse to advance any further, and also knowing Monsieur d'Acier to be of that opinion; and that the Queen of Navarre being with the Prince would eternally sollicite him to do so, if but to secure her own estate: for having once Guene at her devotion, she might very well allure the State of her Son, and moreover pretend to a great deal more.

But after all the disputes that have been concerning that affair, I call all the Captains to witness, whether I did not propound to obey the Kings pleasure, and to march away to Monsieur de Montpensier in what part soever he might be; telling them withal, that indeed by reason of my indifposicion I could not engage my self in field service in the beginning of a turbulent winter, as being altogether afeels in an Armey: but that they might boldly proceed, without fearing their houses should be burnt: for that with the Gentlemen and the Common people who would be left in the Country, I did not doubt to secure them, or at least to cut out so much work for the Enemy, that they should pay dear for what they get. There was then a debate about marching the Infantry, all the Captains saying, that it was to send them to the slaughter they being no way able to match the Enemies Foot, and were therefore generally of opinion, that I ought to place them in Garrison towards St. Foy, Libonne, and Bergerac along the Rivers Dordogne, and that in the mean time they should see which way the Enemy would take; who should they march into Xaintonge, the Chevalier my Son might afterwards go thorough Limouzyn, and joyne himself with the King.

Thus then I return'd towards Cabors, and to Caffelnaud de Montarthes, expecting news of the Enemies march, where at the said Caffelnaud I was surpriz'd with a Diffentency, that put my Physician almost to the end of his lefson, and me of my life: and seeing there were some, who to do me a good office, have said, that I might have fought the Enemy if I would; and others, that seeing I would not fight them, I ought speedily to have fent away the Forces to Monsieur de Montpensier, I have here to a syllable fet down the truth of the story, from the beginning to the end, and all upon the testimony of the Captains who were present, excepting those who are since dead; and I think they are all, saving Monsieur du Molfetfeyr alive: so that if there was a fault any where, it ought to be charg'd upon the Governors, who first of all suffer'd them to assemble in their Governments, and afterwards to pass the Rivers without offering to oppose them; and truly as to them, if any one have a mind to accuse them, that they did not do well, I think they may do it with
with colour enough. But they must evermore lay the blame upon me, who would never depend upon the favour of any but the King and Queen alone; and because I had no Idol that I ador'd at Courts, (which I never had, nor never will have) to defend me from the charities of those vertuous Court-worms. It has not been my custom to avoid fighting, I have been too much bred to that from my childhood; neither was I ever in place where we were near the Enemy, that I was not evermore of opinion we ought to fight; and if I commanded in clients have ever fought, though almost always the weaker; and had I at this time had my own will, I had tried a better or a worse, and would have brought a-way a leg or a wing, either from Front or Rear; by which means we might have given Moniteur de Montenpeur time to have come and have joy'd with us: but these Letters of Monfaic his invention must carry it against what we saw with our own eyes was best to be done. To bear these men talk who are pleased to accuse me, a man would say I ought to kill all before me with my nails, and take Rochelle and Montauban with my teeth; but I am no such fool as to throw stones against the wind, and in a disadventagious Country with three thousand to fight with twenty thousand men, and by my overthow to draw after me the ruine of the Country. But I shall leave this discourse, as not willing to enter into excuses, for I was not in fault in the leaf, and shall not learn my Trade of those Mus-Cat's that prete by the fire-fide, far enough from blows, and the while we are engag'd in action, give the King (about whose person they have the honor to be) unprofitable counsels. But it is the busines of a Lieutenant of the King, to take his own way, and do as he himself best sees cause for it is not always necessary to do as the King commands, he is far off, and relies upon your conduct: it is therefore your part, if you have any discretion at all, to judge what is best to be done. No man living can deny but that had I fought a Battel, I had manifester expos'd the Province of Guerree to ruine, for I must have fought against the odds of ten to one; and had I done as the King, at the importunity of the Sieur de Monfaic, commanded me, I had left all the Country at the Enemies dispofe, as I refer to any indifferent person to judge.

I then return'd back to Agen, where I recover'd a little health, and upon that recovery immediately resolved to go seek out Moniteur de Montenpeur; which determination I signified accordingly to Moniteur de Terride, and to Moniteur de Gondrin, who was come back from Guerdon by reason of a fickness that had there seiz'd him; and we had enough to do to periwade him to return, for sick as he was he would have gone along with his Company, in case they were to go with me. We appointed to meet at Ville-neuf d'Agenois, to which place I brought ten Ensigns of Foot conducted by the Knight my Son, leaving the other two Terrias of his Regiment to be commanded by the aforesaid Captains, when, as we were all joy'd together ready to march, I receiv'd a Letter from Moniteur de Montenpeur, wherein he sent me word, that all affairs yet apart I should forthwith put my left into Bordeaux, if I was not already there; for he had intelligence that the Enemy had a design upon that City, and was afraid I could hardly come time enough to save it. At the same time also there came to me one of the Ulthers of the Court of Parliament of Bordeaux, by whom the Court desir'd me to make haste to their succour, and that they gave the City for lost, if I did not put my self immediately into it. It was strangely astonish'd when these enterprizes should proceed, and was constrain'd to send to Mejles Terride and de Gondrin to Castillon, to gather together the said Companies of Hores and Foot that came along with us, and there stay to expect my further orders, for I hop'd soon to provide against the present danger, and taking fifteen or twenty Gentle-men only along with me, went away in all diligence, causing our great horses and arms to follow after. Being come between Marmande, and la Roelle, I there met with Moniteur de Lignerelles returning from Spain, and Moniteur de Lanfaye the younger, who both of them entreated me to make all the haste I could for that they doubted the next day (being Wednesday) the City would be taken, which they had left so strangely divided. Divisions in that they did not confide in one another. The said Sieur de Lanfaye had receiv'd two Bordeaux Letters, by which it was evident enough that there was some conspiracy in the City it self. I scarce stay'd to embrace them, but went away to lie all night at Langon, and the next day by noon came to Bordeaux, having first sent away the Ulthar post before, to give the Parliament notice of my coming, to the end, that if there was really a design in hand that might hold them a little in tulpence: I was there constrain'd to stay five or fix days. The next morning I enter'd into the Court, where I made them a speech the best I could to assure them, and put them out of all doubt; which the Parliament took exceeding kindly from me, and return'd me their thanks. After dinner I went to the Town-house, where I made another to the Jurats, in conclusion whereof I gave them order the next day to put all the City into armes; which was accordingly done, and I found them to amount
amount to two thousand and four or five hundred men, well arm’d. I found also that
the two Companies of Monseur de Tilhades (who as yet was Governor) were there, and
three others. The next day I again went to the Court of Parliament, where I gave them
an account of the Forces I had found in the City, remonstrating to them the little occa-

sion they had to apprehend any danger, and the good disposition I had observ’d, as well in
the Citizens as the Soldiers, exhorting them to do their endeavour in the defence of their
City: after which having made them all hold up their hands to live and die together in
the defence of their City, and that if they should discover any one who should go aboard
to betray it they would all fall upon him, they all swore to me so to do, which greatly
rejoys’d the whole Assembly, to whom I further remonstrated, “That themselves also
ought to take up arms, if occasion should so require, and remember that the most vali-
dant Captains the Romans had were men of Letters, who had they not been qualified
with learning would have been looked upon as unworthy of great commands, and that
their knowledge ought by no means to hinder them from the use of arms, and from
fighting, but rather encourage them to do like the ancients Romans, being men as well
as they, who had no more than two arms, and one heart, as they had.” Gentlemen,
said I, I see by your countenances, that you are not men that will suffer your selves to
be beaten, those who have gray beards and heads shall be for the Council, but a good
number that I see here are fit to trail a pike, and how much think you will it encour-
ge the people, when they shall see those who have power over their lives and effects
take arms for their defence? Not a man will dare to murmur, and your Enemies will
tremble when they shall hear, that the Parliament it self is taking arms to suppress them,
by which they will understand you are in earnest; and moreover all the young men
whom I have seen enter this place, and who are more fit for a Corset than a Gown,
will then do the same. To this end I treated them to shu’ up the Palace for eight
days, that in those eight days time every one of them might be acquainted with the arms
he intended to make use of in time of need, and that they might divide themselves into
two and two, to stand at the Gates with their arms, that in so doing the whole City would
take example; and on the other side should there be any Treason in the said City, this
good order would be a means to put a stop to their proceeding, and put them out of hopes
of executing their design; wherefore seeing to great a good was to be expected from this
prudent order in affairs, as the preservation of their City, their lives and fortunes, they
ought to spare nothing to that end. After which I told them for the conclusion of all: Gentlemen, consider I beseech you what I have said to you, and I make you here a tender of
my own life, and the lives of these Gentlemen my friends to do you service, and to establish you in the peace and security your selves desire. The President Robignon, who at that time had the Chair (for Monseur de Leggebofion was retir’d, his service not being agreeable to this King) made answer in the behalf of the whole Court, giving me many thanks for the Remonstrance I had made to them, for which they would for ever be my servants, and telling me withal, that there was not a man amongst them young or old who would not take arms for his Majesties service in the defence of the City. In earnest the King owes a
great deal to this Society, as also to that of Tholozan, for if either the one or the other had
fail’d Guianne had had much to suffe; forasmuch as the los of one of these two Cities
carries a long train after it, to the ruin of the whole Province. In four days time
I had clear’d all the jealousie and apprehension that was before in the City.

You Gentlemen that are Governors, it is a fine thing to know the humour and com-
plexion of the Nation over which you command, and one thing I will say for this people,
that if their Governor have once gain’d a reputation amongst them, and can fo pertinently
deliver himself, as to demonstrate to them any kind of probability in the thing he would
perpetuate, he shall not only engage the Gentry, the Soldiery, and the Magistrates them-
selves, but also the Monks, Priests, Labourers, and even the very women to fight. For
they are a Nation that want no courage, but a good Chief, that knows how to command;
and you ought to believe, that seeing the Ancients made so much use of Orations before
all their Battles, and found so great a benefit to accrue thereby, that we in these times
should not lay aside that kind of encouragement. They found it of so considerable an-
advantage, that they have not thought fit to omit the several Orations in their Historics
and Records, and we likewise ought to believe that in using the same means, and in
following their example, we shall find as great advantage by it as they did, and I look upon
it as a great and necessary quality in a Captain to speak well. I was not brought up to
this, and yet have ever been so happy as in Soldierlike terms to express what I had to say
tolerably well, though with a vehemency a little relishing of the Country from whence I
came. I would therefore advice all persons of condition, who have the means to do it, and
and design to advance their Children by Arms, the rather to below some Learning upon them, for if they be called to Commands, they will often stand in need of it, and will find it of infinite use to them; and I believe a man who has read much, and receive'd what he has read, is much more capable of executing great and noble Enterprizes than another. Had I made the best out of my little reading, it had been much better for me; and yet I have naturally enough to persuade the Soldiers to fight.

The fifth day then I return'd, and being that Monsieur de Marsville, Grand Seneschal of Guienne, by reason of a late sickness, was not able to go carry his Company to the Army, we came together as far as St. Foy, where I receiv'd Letters from Monsieur de Montpenser, wherein he sent me order, that I should lie about the Dordogne, and above all things have an eye to Bourdeaux and Libourne, for that he was not yet able to guess, whether the Enemy would fall back again into Guienne, or continue on their march. Which was the reason that I lay'd about St. Foy, and Monsieur de Terride et Castillonnet, expecting what the Enemy would do, and also further orders from Monsieur de Montpenser, being certain that in two or three days march we should at any time be able to join with him from thence. Soon after we heard that he was gone in all haste towards Plessiers, to meet the Monsieur Brother to the King, and that the Enemy march'd along the River Loire towards Charité, there to meet and join with the Duke de Deuxponts: so that feeling it impossible to overtake the Army, that we might essay the Country along the Banks of the Dordogne, I left two Ensigns of Foot only as Castillonnet, and three at St. Foy, and sent away the Sieur de Saintlorens with his Company of Gens-d'armes into Libourne, and the Sieur de Leberron remain'd at St. Foy, having three Companies with him, with whom I left order that in case the Enemy should approach Guienne, he with the said three Foot Companies should go put himself into Libourne. The remainder of our Forces the Chevalier my Son kept together about Query and Agencie, and we others retir'd every one to his own Quarter. This was all that was done hitherto, from the beginning of these troubles in these parts of Guienne.

So soon as the Monsieur came up to the Army he spurn'd out the time for a certain space about Plessiers, and along the River Loire. In the mean time nothing further in our parts, for the Vicomtes keep about Coresses, Pay-Laurens, Millau, St. Antonin, and Montauban, making only some flight inroads to pilfer and steal, which I did not think considerable enough, that therefore I should let an Army on foot, for the little harm they were able to do; and besides I was willing to save money, for no other end but only to lend it to the Monsieur, which made me averse to all kind of unneccesary expense. The Captains of the Gens d'armes, and some Captains of foot belonging to the Royal Army came, or else sent their inferior Officers to raise men in our parts to fill up their Companies, and others only to refresh themselves, and immediately to return; when after a little space I receiv'd Letters from the Monsieur, wherein he commanded me to go into Rouergue to fight the Vicomtes, if possibly I could. Whereupon I went away for my Nephew de Leberron at St. Foy with his three Companies; and although I was certain before hand that I should do no good, immediately began to march. That which made me doubt my expedition would signify very little, was that I knew to soon as ever the Vicomtes should hear I had taken the field, they would certainly retire into the holds and lurking holes they held by the right of War, where they were so wise as to save themselves upon every rumour of an enemy; and the least place that was dispos'd to resist me had been sufficient to stop my progress, and for any hopes to find them in the field I had none: So that I knew I should do nothing but eat upon the Publick, and devour the people, should I stay long about Towns and Castles, to bolt them out of their Burrows; especially considering that I could take no Artillery along with me, which I could not do for want of money to defray the charge: neither indeed did I raise much, because I would have it all go to the Monsieurs Camp; for there it was that the main Game was to be play'd, and therefore it was reason that the main provision should be refer'd for that use, all the rest of the War being nothing but petty skirmishes in comparison of what was done, and was expected to be done theret. As I was preparing for my expedition there arrived Monseur de Pilles, and with him the Sieurs de Boncaul, de Monnans, and a great number of other Gentlemen, who were come from the Enemies Camp, either to levy men, or in reference to the design they had upon Libouren; which nevertheless they fail'd in; after which the said de Pilles put himself into St. Foy, which he made his place of Rendez-vous, forasmuch as I had drawn from thence my Nephew de Leberron with the three Companies, to take them along with me into Rouergue.

So soon as I came to Cahors I sent my said Nephew before with five Ensigns of Foot, and part of the Company of Gens-d'armes belonging to Monseur de Gramont, which
Captain *Majson* Quarter-master to the said Company commanded, and made him depart in all haste to surprize some of the Enemy that lay about *Ville-Pranche* de *Rois-Argus*, who accordingly made to good haste, that they march eight long leagues, and came to the place by one of the Clock in the night, thinking an hour before day in the morning to surprize them: but they were no sooner in the Town but that the Enemy had immediate intelligence sent them, and were all retir'd into their Forts. Neither is it to be thought strange; for I wonder that either the Monsieur him self, or any other who commanded the King's Armies, did any thing of moments, by reason the Ordnance and Edict his Majesty had made, that no one was to demand any thing of the Hugonots, provided they attainted from arms, and liv'd peaceably in their own houses. From whence preceded the mine of the King, of his Armies, and all his Affairs, and of the People also: for those furnish'd out money, and were the occasion that the women who had their husbands in the Prince of Conde's Army, by their means and intelligence could at all times furnish their Husbands or Sons with money, and so serv'd for Spies to the Enemy, that they needed not be at the charge of maintaining intelligence, nor trouble themselves to know what we did, those people giving them continual notice when and where any of our men were at any time to be surpriz'd and taken, and dividing the spoil when it was accordingly effect'd; which made me evermore maintain before the King, that that Edict alone was the cause his Majesty was not victorious, and that this new Religion was not totally rooted out. It had been a hundred times better, that they had all been with the Prince, than at home in their own houses; for being with him in his Army, they could have done no great matters that would have been of any significant advantage to them, your Town-bred people being men of no great performance in War, but on the contrary would soon have famish'd his Camp; and then we might have profecur'd the War without being spied, or without their being advertised of our designs; neither could they have been able to get money, or any other necessaries; nay we should have made our advantage of their Estates, by which means they must of necessity either have retir'd with the pardon the King was pleas'd to grant them, or have been starv'd for want of bread. I am sure that in this Province of Guienne there would not one of them have been left alive, unless they had abjur'd this New Religion, as they did in the first Troubles; for I knew very well how to handle them, and seeing I had found the way to do it cheap, as with two yards of Match in the first troubles, I should not have been much to seek in these last. But by means of this virtuous Edict no one durst speak to them, but we were oblig'd to endure them amongst us. It is not therefore (as I said) to be wondered at, if they have perform'd so many notable exploits, considering that at all hours they were continually advertis'd of what we did, and design'd to do, to very well known that an Army can do no great matters without good Spies; for it is upon their reports that a Council of War is to determine what they have to do; but we had none amongst those people, for there was not a Catholic, let him be other wise as brave as brave could be, that durst venture his person amongst them, it being to throw away himself, no man escaping that fell into their hands; thorough which defect we could know nothing of their affairs, and they were enform'd of all ours. O poor King how have you been gull'd and abus'd, and are yet daily impos'd upon in the Edicts that you have, and do publish in these mean favours? I will not deny but that in some occasions you have not been so well serv'd by your Soldiers and Captains as you ought to have been: but whoever will look narrowly into it, will find that the Edicts and Ordnances you have been made to sign, have been more the cause of your Majesties and our misfortunes, than any defect in your Soldiers or Governors. Believe me (Sir) believe me, with this clemency and moderation you will never reclaim these people. The best man amongst them would be glad to kifs you dead, and yet you forbid us doing them any harm. It is better then to be of their party than of yours; for being in their houses, let what reports will be abroad they shall be secure at home. Sir, Sir, there are some about you, who corrupted by these people, persuade you to sign these Edicts in their favour. Severity makes them tremble. At the time when without the Ceremony of Tryal, or Indictment I brought them upon every Tree in the high-ways, and trust'd them up wherever I found them, not a man of them durst quitch. Consider then, Sir, I beseech you of what importance these fine Edicts are to your Majesties affairs; and yet they have moreover made you sign an Ordnance to send Commissioners throughout the whole Kingdom, to compel us to make restitution to the Hugonots of all whatever we have taken from them, and not to cause them to retort that they have pillir'd and purloin'd from us. Which, under correction, Sir, is a Law imprudently made, and without consideration of the mischief will enflue; or else by clandestine malice contriv'd to make you hated by us who are faithful to you, who acknowledge you for our lawful Sovereign.
raign, and have ever maintain'd your cause, to the end that when another War shall
hereafter break out, you may not find one Catholic who will take up arms in your quar-
rel. But had your Majesty and the Queen call'd to mind what I propounded to your
Majesties before your Council at Tholouse, you would never have conferred to send Com-
missoners to cause restitution to the Hugonors, till first you had sent others to do us right
all, for the plunders and raptures they have made upon your Catholic Subjects. They
have a great excuse. The Commissioners say, that we do not complain as the Hugonors do.

How should we complain, for in the first place they say, that those of theirs who were in
arms only, plundered us who were in arms also; but that we plunder'd those who never
fli'd from their own houses. A pretty presence, when there was not one Hugonor who went
into arms, that did not fi.'t secure his goods in the Houses of those who flayed at home.

And on the other side by the peace the King has granted them, he has given them an
Indemnity for whatsoever they have done, not only against himself, but against us also,
who have born arms for his Majesties service. Seeing then that his Majesty has been in gra-
cious to them as to pardon them all, is it not reasonable that the same Indemnity should
extend to us also? Notwithstanding it is quite contrary. What they have acted against
us is approv'd, and what we have done against them cannot be condemned, yes, and
moreover we are deliver'd up into the hands of justice. To counsell the King then to make
a Law for the one, and not for the other, I do say, and will affirm it whilst I live, that
it was barbarously done, and that it is the most unjust Law that ever Prince in the world
was advis'd to make,

All this was disputed at Tholouse, and the Commissioners, and Commissions, Ordon-
nances, and Edicts were all revok'd, and his Majesty pardon'd all in general, as knowing
very well that those Commissions would do no other good, but ruin both the one and
the other, to beget a perpetual hatred amongst us, which would prompt us eternally to
diftuff, and invade one another, from whence a new War would infallibly proceed.
His Majesty found the benefit of this prudent Act, for the Peace has continued five years
since. I know not whom to accuse for the cause that it is again renew'd; but I know
very well, that I am no wayガイ'of it. Of whom shall a man demand satisfaction for the
houes of Mmsfuir de Sarlabor, Monsieur de Saintlorn, the Captains Parren, Com-
pagnes, Luitigue, and an infinite number of others; all which have been burnt to
the ground, while they were abroad in the Kings service, and their Wives forc'd to retire into
the houses of their kindred and friends; and to this day neither they, nor their Husbands
have a house to put their heads in of their own, and when satisfaction is demanded, they
say the men are beggars, and worth nothing. They say true, for the rich men never flir'd
from their houses, and preferred them; and yet we must be call'd to an account, and
not they, because those who committed the outrage are beggars, and have nothing; but
if his Majesty would have approv'd our doing, those who continue of their Religion
should another time have taken heed how any of their Party had done any injury to any
of ours: But I return to my Subject.

I dispatch away another Courrier to Monfuir de Leberon, and to Monfuir de Gra-
mont Company, that they should return in as great diligence as they went, especially if
they ddef'd to be present at the fight. The Courrier found that they were rifen and de-
parted from their Quarters an hour before day, thinking yet to find the Enemy, and not
meeting with them for the aforesaid reasons, burnt all the Boats in which they had
passed the River, wherein they did a great mischief to the Country. So soon as ever they
receiv'd my letters, they turn'd immediately back, and made more haste in their return,
than when they went; for they came before St. Fy as soon as we; so that had Monfuir
de Savignes and his companions made half the haste they did, we had met Captain Pilier,
and not a man of them had escap'd. Monfuir de Chermont saw all the dispatches I writ.
I came with the five Companies that remain'd with the Knight my Son, my own Com-
pny, and some forty or fifty Gentlemen that rode under my Corset, in two dayes to
Montfannquin, where I receiv'd an answer from Monfuir de Tertire and de Beuyords cla-
ded at Moustie, wherein they advertis'd me of the difficulty they had found in pulling
the Rivers, and the ill ways the Infantry had met withal in their March, and that they
could not abandon their Foons, telling me withal, that I ought not to engage the Enemy till we
had all our Forces of Horse and Foot together; but that they would make all the haste
they possibly could. Immediately after my arrival at Montfannquin, which might be a-
bout two of the clock in the afternoon, I sent away three M'nings, one to Monfuir de
Lauzun, entreating him to send me word night and day where Monfuir de Pilier and his
Forces were; for that I was resolv'd to go and attacke him, I sent another to Monfuir de
Saintlorn, that he should not fail to be with me by Sun-rise at a Village call'd Monlabou,
belonging
belonging to Monfieur de Lauzun, and in the last place I went away the Sieur de Las the Kings Advocate at Agon, to hasten away the Sieurs de Bellegarde and de Terride, who were yet three leagues behind, and could not persuade their Foot to march till break of day; and being come to Ville-noufue, which was after one of the clock in the afternoon, could by no means prevail to go any further, by reason of the extraordinary founliness of the ways, wherein though there was I confefs some excuse, and that they had reason on their side, I did not nevertheless take it for current pay; for me thought every one ought to march as I would have them. After all these dispatches, having baird our horses, and the five Foot Enginns, I march'd directly towards the Village where I had appointed Monfieur de Saintlorens to meet me, and by the way found Monfieur de Fontenilles, and Captain Montluc my Son lodg'd in four or five hours they had met with there, where I told them they would do well to baird their horses (for they had made a very long march in the night to overtake me) and that I would go baird at the forementioned Village. I thought I should there find Monfieur de Saintlorens, and that they might follow after, and therefore commanded Monfieur de Madailan my Lieutenants, that he shou'd play and baird my Company with them, and after follow me to the Village: to which I went, but at my coming thither heard no newes either of Monfieur de Saintlorens, or of Monfieur de Lauzun for the Messengers I had sent to them, and who had been recommended to me by the Confuls of Montfauquin for the most trusty fellows they had in their Town, did not go away with my Letters by night as they had promised, so that it was past Noon before the said Sieurs de Saintlorens and de Lauzun receiv'd my Letters, as they told me after; and to mend the matter, fo soon as ever we were alight, thinking to baird, we had an Alarm that came fromwards Mirermont, which made us remount to horse, and advance a good quarter of a league upon the Road towards the said Mirermont, from whence the Alarm came, wherein I committed a great folly in advancing so far with so few men with me, I having no more than five and forty Gentlemen only in the Party, for my own Foot Company was not yet come up. I could not then learn any certain news, where either Monfieur de Pilles, or any of my Forces were, only I was told by the honest people that he was on the other side the River Lot towards St. Venja and Asverry, Marmanda and Torevin, and that they were all Horse. After I had rai'd about two hours upon the Road, Messieurs de Fontenilles, and de Madailan, and the young Montluc my Son came up to me, where I gave them order that Monfieur de Madailan shou'd go with my Company before, that Monfieur de Fontenilles and Captain Montluc shou'd follow after at a convenient distance to be ready to second them, and that I with my Gentlemen would sustine them; and that after this manner they should march till they came within half a league of Mirermont, where they should send out Scouts to enquire where the Enemy was, which should happen to be in Mirermont, that then they shou'd give the word back from Party to Party, for I would immediately put my self upon the Trot to come up to them, which they accordingly did. Now I had caus'd my Foot to march without beat of Drum to avoid being discover'd, who after that silent manner arriv'd at Monbahut, where my Son finding me departed thence, march after, and Monfieur de Madailan being advance'd within half a league of Mirermont made a halt according to the order he had receiv'd, and sent out to discover, where it was told him, that the Enemy were all on the other side of the Lot, and that there was not any one at Mirermont, of which he gave notice to Monfieur de Fontenilles, desiring him to acquaint me with it, that he might know what I would further command him to do. Monfieur de Fontenilles accordingly dispatch away an Archer to me, by whom hearing there was no Enemy on this side the Lot, I sent back word, that Monfieur de Madailan shou'd further advance as far as Mirermont, to enform himself more certainly of the place where the Enemy was, to the end that the next morning Messieurs de Terride, de Bellegarde, and I being united together might go to attaque them, and that in the mean time I would fall back to Monbahut, where we had left our Baggage to baird and refresh my men. I accordingly did so, having first plac'd my Son and his five Companies in five or six hours near unto the place from whence I retreated, landing an account of all to Monfieur de Fontenilles, to the end that they should receive an unexpected charge from the Enemy, they might know where our Foot lay. So soon as I alighted from my horse, and before I entred into my Lodging, I dispatch away to Messieurs de Terride and de Bellegarde, entreating them not to fail to be with the Cavalry at Monbahut by midnight; for that Monfieur de Pilles had nothing but Horse, of which there were not above three hundred that were good, the rest to the number of fifteen or sixteen hundred, being all mounted upon pitiful Jades that were worth nothing. The Messenger was with them within an hour and a half after day-light, for it is no more than two leagues from Monbahut to Ville-noufue, by whom they return'd me answer, and assur'd me that by break of day
day they would not fail to be with me. But I must return to Monfieurs de Fontenilles and de Madaillan, and Captain Montine, and must here in the first place let down Monfieur de Pilles his design. Immediately upon my arrival at Monslanguin, which might be about two of the clock in the afternoon, the Husagons of the said Monslanguin advertised Monfieur de Pilles, who was newly departed from Caubas, that the next day I was determined to draw nearer to him, expecting in the mean time Monfieurs de Terride and de Bellegarde to come up to me, which notwithstanding they could not do yet these two days, and that I had not above fifty or therefore good Horse with me in all. Upon this intelligence the said Sieur de Pilles dispatched away all night to fix Cornets he had about Montronda and Toninins, that they should not fail to be the next day (which was the same that I arrived at St. Paejon) at a place the name whereof I have forgot, and that he would come and bring the rest of his Forces to joyn with them, before I could be rallied with Monfieurs de Terride and de Bellegarde. They who had sent him this intelligence believed that I would stay the next day at Monslanguin, or at least if I departed thence, I would not march above a league or two at most. Monfieur de Pilles had appointed his General Rendezvoz at a convenient distance from their Quarters, and immediately the six Cornets departed one after the other, by reason they were quarter’d in several places, and the Rendezvoz for thole six was appointed to be at Miremont, there to refresh themselves till midnight only, and after to go to the other Rendezvoz to Monfieur de Pilles.

In the mean time Monfieur de Madaillan went directly to Miremont, when being come within view of the entrance into the Village where there was no wall, he was aware of a great number of white Catlicks going to and fro in the great street: whereupon he immediately dispatched away to Monfieur de Fontenilles, and my Son Captain Montine, that they should with all speed advance, for that he was too engag’d he must of necessity fight, and that they should give me speedy notice of it all. It is a good league from Miremont to Monblon, and the Sieur de Fontenilles sent me word with all imaginable diligence. There were at Miremont two Cornets, who were first come, and already aught, and their horses in the Stables, and the other two which were yet on horseback were but just arriv’d, and seeking for accommodation to bait and refresh themselves. Monfieur de Madaillan, who saw himself discover’d, charg’d these two Cornets that were on horseback, and beat them out of the Village in rout and confusion, so that they fled with might and main towards la Sauveterre, the other two that were already leg’d, hereupon run to their horses, and just as they were mounting, Monfieur de Fontenilles and Captain Montine arriv’d, and charg’d them, and they fled as many as ship’d towards Ayjem. In less than half a quarter of an hour arriv’d the other two Cornets, who seeing their fellows defeat’d about towards Poneus from whence they came. It was ill luck; for had not Monfieur de Madaillan sent me word that he could hear no news of the Enemy, I had still marcht on in the same order we began, and had not turn’d back again to bait. I came up at the same time that the last two Cornets did arrive, where I thought to have had as good a prize of them, as the rest of our people had had of the other four; but when I came up to our Foor, an Archer came to tell me they had fought, and pursued the Enemy half a league, and that some Prisoners they had taken affur’d them, that Pillers and all his Forces were at St. Benet and Ayjem, nor above a league and a half from thence: wherefore they were retreating towards me, not being strong enough to withstand the Enemies Forces should they come upon them. This is the truth of what passed in this Engagement. They brought me two Cornets, but in running away they had turn’d off the Colours. Could we thus keep spies amongst them, as they do amongst us of such as the King has given liberty to live quietly in their own houses, our affairs would prosper better than they do; and if I had been advis’d by some friends of ours, as they were by theirs of Monfieur de Pilles his retreat, I had easily defeated him; for Monfieur de Saintlorens had been joyn’d with me, who was coming very well accompanied to seek me out on the very same day the Enemy fled, when seeing night coming upon him he drew into Monslanguin, to expect further intelligence which way I was gone, and in pursuing them by night I had means to send a man or two to him to give him an account of all that had pass’d. We lay upon our Guard, and kept very strict watch, suspecting left the said de Pilles should come upon us for his revenge: but he was quite otherwise dispos’d, for he marched all the night as fast as ever he could directly to St. Foy, where he arriv’d, as we were enform’d by break of day, though it be the worst way imaginable, for the Country is marvellously dirty, and the night was so dark, that men could not discern a yard from another. Thus we see how the affairs of War do oft miscarry for want of good intelligence, for Monfieur de Saintlorens his answer came not to our hands till the next day, nor
not that of Monfieur de Lauzun; and the Messengers they sent to me had like to have fallen in amongst the Enemy, which put them into such a fright, that they hid themselves till the day appeared. In the morning the Sun-rise Messieurs de Terride and de Belegarde came up to us, who, when they heard of the Engagement had paid, were ready to tear their own flesh, cursing the Foot to all the Devils of Hell, and the hour that ever they came from about Tholeuse; for they might easily have been at Monbadus as soon as we, had it not been for the Foot, the playing for them being the only reason they came up so late, and the belief they had we would not offer to fight till we were first join'd all together, had made them careful not to leave the Foot behind them, and I heard Monfieur de Belegarde say a notable thing upon that occasion, That he now perceived it was not always good to proceed with too much dilation in matters of war. He said very true; for who ever will always confine himself to the ordinary Rules of war, oft-times loses more than he gets.

We march straight to Miremont, and by the way met with one of Monfieur de Madaillan's Archers, who came to bring us news of the disorder of Monfieur de Pillers his people, that the news of their defeat had reach'd as far as his head Quarter, that thereupon the said Monfieur de Pillers, and the remainder of his Forces had taken their way directly to St. Foy; that twelve Soldiers Monfieur de Madaillan kept in his house near unto la Sauvetat, had kill'd two and twenty of them at the Gates of the said house being mounted upon pitiful Jades: that the Inhabitants of la Sauvetat had also fall'd out upon them, and had kill'd three or four, and taken their horses; and Monfieur de Saintlorenz flaid a quarter of an hour only in one place by which he pass'd, the moft of them had fall'n into his hands; which affair he knew not till the next day no more than I, and had then his share of vexation as well as the rest of us. But a man cannot prophecy things which makes the Italian say Fa me individuo! Ti dardo denari.

We were constrain'd to lodge at la Sauvetat, St. Venfu, and Aymer, from whence the Enemy were departed, by reason there were no Quarters to be had from la Sauvetat till one comes to St. Foy, and left Monfieur de Sanignac with his two Ensigns at Miremont, because there were no Quarters for him beyond it, for the Cavalry took up all; and at the said Miremont there were above twenty men found hid in the houses, whom they kill'd every Mothers Son, and got some fifteen or sixteen horses; for none of us ever flayed to alight, but pass'd on forwards. The next morning very early we march'd directly for St. Foy, and I dare be bold to say, that of a long time I had not seen such a Cavalry, for the number, as those we had with us; and when we came within sight of St. Foy, Messieurs de Fontenilles, de Madaillan, and Captain Montine with his six companies put themselves before, and march'd directly towards the Town. Monfieur de Terride with his own Company, and that of Monfieur de Negrepelice march'd after to succitan them; Monfieur de Belegarde, Monfieur de Saintlorenz, and I follow'd Monfieur de Terride; and there Monfieur de Gramont Company came up to us, and Monfieur de Leteron with his five Ensigns. I think the left Curlc in all our Troops could not have made more haste than they had done, for they were no more than two days only in coming betwixt Ville Franche de Restigne to St. Foy. Monfieur de Lauzun, and the Vicount his Son were come up to us in the morning with some Gentlemen only, for I think their Companies were in the Camp, and both of them assure'd us that Monfieur de Pillers had eighteen hundred Horse, three or four hundred of which were well mounted, and in very good equipage and order, the rest were Harquebuzers on Horse-back, and very ill horse. The Chevalier then alighted, and taking an hundred Harquebuzers, put himself right before the Town, the rest followed him, and Messieurs de Fontenilles de Madaillan, and Captain Montine after; when so soon as they approach'd the Gare, fifteen or twenty Harquebuzers fall'd out to skirmish, The Knight press'd still forwards notwithstanding, and those of the Enemy ret'd, and shut themselves again within the Town. Monfieur de Pillers had all night long been passing his men over the Dordogne in great hurry and disorder, and himself at Sun-rise passing over also had left these fifteen or twenty Harquebuzers in the Town to amuse us, and a great Boat, and a leafer to bring them over also, for there were no more but these left behind, who, so soon as they were retarded into the Town, ran presently to the Boats, and pass'd over in an instant; so that at the same time the Chevalier came to the Bank of the Rivers, (having pass'd thorough the Town, where he saw no body but women) they landed on the other side.

This is the truth of all that pass'd upon this occasion, wherein I have been necessitated to give so precise and particular an account of this action as may perhaps seem tedious to the Reader; forasmuch as I have been told that some reported to the King, the Queen, and the Monfieur, that it only fluck at me we did not fight with Pillers; but whoever will have the

A faying of Monfieur de Belegarde.

Monfieur de Pillers his Forces.

Why the Sieur de Montine is so particular and has writ an account at length of this Action.
the patience to read this Narration will see the truth of all as it passed, by the testimony of all the Captains who were present upon the place, of which two only namely Monsieurs de Terride and de Bellegarde are dead, and by that it will appear whether I was in fault or no; neither in truth can I fully tax, or lay the blame upon any one, but only the ill ways that Monsieur de Savignies Company met withal: for as to the said Sieurs de Terride and de Bellegarde, they govern'd themselves more by the rule of War, than that they were hundred by any want of good will they had to the cause, or any want of courage and defire they had to be at the fight. Monsieur de Cheverard who had brought me letters from the Moniteur was privy to all my dispatches; for he would make one, and to that end entreated me to furnish him with horse and arms, which I did, and of fifteen days never left me. I am confident that he always bear me witness, that every Tlde I have writ of this Action is literally true, and that he was as glad of the occasion of being there as any one of the Army whatever, hoping to have carried the Moniteur better news than he did. Such as are men of judgment in matters of War have often found by experience how hard a thing it is to stiffen a Battel upon a man that has no mind to fight, especially an old Soldier, and a circumspect Commander, as the Sieur de Pilles was, who I think was by much the best, none excepted the Hugonots had. He knew he should gain nothing by us but blows, which made him that he would not long abide in those parts.

Two days after we came into St. Fay, Monsieur de Terride received a Commission his Majesty sent him to go into Bear, and departed from me. A Command whereof he was highly pleased, as I also was out of the affection I bore unto him, and moreover I had an opinion that affairs would better succeed. Monsieur de Bellegarde left me also carrying away his own Company, and Monsieur de Savignies ten Ensigns along with him, as Monsieur de Terride carried away his, and that of Monsieur de Negrepolice. Monsieur de Saintlorenz and I remain'd behind. The Knight my Son went with his ten Ensigns straight into Limoufian, to joyn with the Moniteurs Army, and five days after the Moniteur won the Battel of Farmes, in which the Prince of Condé was slain. Many have thought that his death has prolong'd our Wars; but I for my part am of opinion that had he liv'd we should have seen our affairs in a far worse condition: For a Prince of the Blood as he was, having already so greatly a Party of the Hugonots, would have had much more credit and authority amongst them than the Admiral. This unfortunate Prince lov'd his Country, and had compulsion for the people, I was long conversant with him, which had like to have been my ruine, I ever found him an affable and a generous Prince: but he lost his life in Battel, maintaining a quarrel that was unjust in the fight of God and man. It was great pity, for had he been elsewhere employ'd, he might have been serviceable to the Kingdom. The unadvised Peace that some perfluced King Henry to make has been the caufe of all these mischiefs we have seen: for to have so many Princes of the Blood, and so many others of the same Nation, and to keep them unemployed in some foreign War, is very ill advis'd. We must either fight with others, or fall together by the ears amongst our felvves. Could we always continue in peace, so that every one would intend his own villlage, as the Romans did in their vacations from war, I do confefs it would be very well: but that cannot be. And therefore, Sir, I do say and affirm, that it is a very vain opinion, and fruitles, to think of making peace at home, if at the same time you do not meditate a War abroad. You are not to renew the War of the Holy Land, Monsieur's ad vice to the King.

The Sieur de

The Battel of Farmes, and the death of the Prince of Con-

de. The"
Negotiations than to War: he is not like his Father, in five or six years he will be old, and you in the flower of your age. He will leave his Children very young, and since the Father was not generous in his youth, it is not to be expected he should be so in his old Age. Besides if you know how to manage the Princes of Italy, you will find them all at your devotion, even the Duke of Florence himself, for something that I know, and some reasons that I could give, as having felt his pulle whilst I was the Kings Lieutenant in Tuscany. The Duke himself I am confident will not say the contrary, nor deny but that he is more French than Spaniard. England will not hinder you, for that has a Woman at the Helm, and Scotland a Child. To be short nothing ought to deter you: but I leave this discourse to another time. The death of the Prince of Condé was the occasion of my entering into it, for I am a Frenchman, and lament the death of those brave Princes slain by our own hands, who might elsewhere be servicable to us, and help to enlarge the French Dominions.

But to return to my Subject, I remain'd five or six weeks at the said St. Foy, having yet with me fix Ensigns of Foot, commanded by my Nephew de Lébereon. Of these I sent four together with my said Nephew himself to Bergerac to dismantle the Town, as the King and the Monseur had commanded me, but it was ill executed. Some days after the Monseur drew near, and came to Monmouth, where followed by a noble Train of Gentlemen of very good quality, I went to kiss his hand; and where his Highness receiv'd me with very great demonstrations of favour, commanding me not to depart from him, of which God knows if I was glad. I therefore went presently home for Waggons, Tents, and money, as also did all the rest of the Gentlemen that came along with me, making account we should no more depart from the Army, as also there was not in all Guiènne a man that durst so much as mutter, nor a place that stood for the Hugonots but Montauban only. The Monseur departed from Mont-maucon, and went to Villebois.

He had not been above five or six days there, all which time we spent in consultation about the means to carry on the War, when there came a Gentlemen sent from Monsieur de Monserran, Governor of Bourdeaux, to my said Lord the Monseur, to give him notice that a great part of the Admirals Army, both Foot and Horse were come into Medoc, and that two Foot Companies he had planted there had been constrained to quit the Pafs, and to escape away by night. The Monseur was not over-hasty to believe this news; for we discoursed about the Pafs, where I represented to him the vast breadth of the River at that place, which requir'd a whole Tide, and an infinite number of Boats to pass it: for an Army carried a mighty Train along with it: and that on the other side, it was not very likely that the Admiral who was a Soldier would engage himself in the Lands, a barren Country, and beyond Rivers, he could not well expect ever to repass. The night following there came a Courrier with like intelligence from the Court of Parliament, and the said Monseur de Monserran, in yet much greater heat than the former, and making the number of the Enemy much greater than before. It is true that he also wrote to my Lord the Monseur, that he was just taking Horse himself to go and discover them. And accordingly, as I have heard, he did go, but he had no Horse with him saving some few Harquebuzers on horseback only, and when he came within half a league of the Pafs, those he had sent before to discover, came back, and brought him word, that already a great number of the Horse were got over, and that the Foot began to follow after; so that being so flenderly accompanied, the said Sieur de Monserran was necessitated to retire: and on the other side the people all fled towards Bourdeaux. The said Sieur de Monserran dispatch'd away another Courrier to the Monseur, advising him that the intelligence was most certainly true, which was the reason that his Highness sent me back to my great misfortune, for since that time I have never had any thing but trouble and vexation, whereas had I still continued about his person, all the mischief that has since befell me had never come to pass: for I had either died in doing him some brave piece of service, or had never been wounded, as I am, to live in a perpetual languishing condition, without possibility of ever being cur'd. All which misfortune befell me for want of five and twenty good horse only, which had Monsieur de Monserran had with him he had himself discover'd the Enemy, for he wanted no courage, and had then discover'd that they were no other than three or four-score Bournais, and some others belonging to the Queen of Navarre, who were going over Bearn to help to defend the Country, whereof the one half were defeated by the way about Mont de Marsan. His Highness may please to remember, that standing by his Bed-side I told him, that upon my life and honour it was impossible this intelligence could any way be true, for I knew the Country, and it could be nothing but some small party going over into Bearn, or Chalais, for a great Part...
Book VI. de Montluc, Maréchal of France.

could not, nor dare not adventure to pass for they must pass over as it were in file. Whereupon The Monfeur his Highness said to me these very words, I perceive very well, my good man, that the desire words to the you have to be with me makes you to say this; but believe me in what part forever you shall be, Siur de Mont-
I will ever love you. The reason of war may perhaps draw me into Quiesence, and I should be glad to
find my Prentice-age in a good A School at yours. Whereupon I took my leave of his High-
ness. Behold of what importance it is to discover an Enemy very well, before a man takes the
Alarms.

Captains, my friends and companions, you must rather hazard your selves to be taken, and discover the truth, than rely upon the report of inferior fellows, for their fear makes to flange an impression upon them, that they take Bufhes for Squadrons, and will swear it; you may trust to them if you will. Tis just the same as when they see a hundred Crowns they think them to be a thousand; lend always some bold Soldier, some fellow that has not his heart in his Breeches, and let him venture his Care to bring you a true account: but if you will do better, go your selves; I have always done so, and found an advantage by it.

So soon as I came to St. Foy I was advertis'd of the truth of the businesfs, and sent my
fand Lord the Monfeur an immediate account of it, very angry at the said Siur de Monferran, and being there was nothing at prent to do, I still continued at St. Foy, to be near my Lord the Monfeur, to the end that when he should please to fend for me, I might in two or three days be with him. I have heard since that one of the principal persons about his Highness should tell him, that he had done well to rid his hands of me, for that I was crofs-grain'd and wilful, and would evermore command in all places whereby I came. His Highness himself told me the story at the Siege of Rochelle, I have never been so obstinate, but that I would always submit to reason; but to speak the truth, I have ever found my own counsel better than that of any other. It is reasonable then that those Monfeurs, who are only petty fellows at running the King, should learn of those who have studied under the greatest Doctors of Europe: but they will still be prating, no body must controul them, and they will govern all.

Having nothing to do, but lying idle at St. Foy, I went thence to Agen, where Monfieur de Monferran sent me word, that the Siur de la Rochefechalais, and Captam Cheze-
treye were in la Roche, with a hundred or fixscore Hugonot Soldiers, that over ran all the Country, committing innumerable outrages, infomuch that no one could pass from Xaintonge to Bourdeaux, and that if I would go to la Roche, we should be now to do the work; he sent me word likewise that Monfieur de la Vaughton was about Montpont, and Muffidan with Monfieur de Sarlabus his Regiment, and three Companies of Gens-d'arms, to whom if I would fend to invite him, he would willingly be of the party. Upon this intelligence I went immediately to Bourdeaux; and by an expres Meffinger a Gentleman gave Monfieur de la Vaughton private notice of the delige, who presently return'd me an-
swer, that he would willingly joy in the Enterprize, and that I should therefore fend him word what day I would have him to march, and appoint him the rendezvous, to which he should come. I therefore fend to entreat him to be at Libourne the third day after (which was upon a Saturday) in the morning, where Monfieur de Monferran and I would meet him, to determine upon that we had to do, which he accordingly obser'd, and I allo, The said Siur de Monferran lald to take order about the Artillery, for we were to carry it by water as far as Coutras. We were in difpute which way to go to work, for Monfieur de la Roche was about St. Aviron, a Territory belonging to the Siur de Jarnac, and lay between the two Rivers with twelve Ensigns of Poors, and four or five hundred Horfe, who on Monfieur being an old Soldier, and a valiant man as any that ever was in France, would never suffer de la Roche to be left, without attempting to relieve it, to do which he had only the River of St. Aviron to pafs, which in many places was to be feared by the Horfe, and which the Poors also would boat over in four hours time; and to the River that was under de la Roche, they had the Bridge of Person in their own poiffeifion, Town and all, and had a Garfion in it; wherefore we muft either resolve to attack both the one and the other; or not to make any attempt at all. In the end we concluded to attack de la Roche, and to fight Monfieur de la Roche in cafe he should offer to relieve it, all of us who were present at the deliberation taking an oath nor to discover the deligne. Monfieur de Monferran then play'd with Commissary Fredeville to see the two pieces of Canon embark'd, and I departed the Saturday morning very early, and came to Libourne, where I found Monfieur de la Vaughton, who was come thither upon the Friday night.

Now whilst we were at Bourdeaux about this Enterprize upon la Roche, I plotted another of as great importance as that of la Roche, which was this. A Hugonot Captain had leiz'd upon the Caffe of Lezignan appertaining to Monfieur la Marquis de Trans, T 1 2 and
and had three or fourscore Soldiers within it, had there enclosed the Streets of the Bourg, which is a large one, with Rampiers of earth, and in the night all retir’d into the Caffle; which was the very place where Piles had surpriz’d la Motte Morgauntz the elder, kill’d him, and defeated almost all his whole Company. Monfieur de Madailain had come a-long with me to Bourdeaux, my Company lying at Clerys and Thimens; and was present at the deliberation about the Enterprize of la Roche, whom I made to return in all diligence, writing to Monfieur de Lebouren, that they two should join together with four Companies of Foot, and make so long a march, that in one night they should shut them in, at what price ever should take the Caffle, and put them all to the sword; and that from thence in one night more they should present themselves before the Caffle of Bridoire, appertaining to Monfieur de la Motte Gondrin, where there were fourscore or a hundred Hugonots more, commanded by one Labaume, which was the place into which Geoffre that notorious Thief, who has committed so many villainies, used to retire himself. By the things this Villain has done, he gave poof of a great heart and courage, and manifested himself to be a man of execution. I gave them charge that they should begird and besiege the Caffle to close, that nothing could escape away: for that so soon as I had done at la Roche, I would turn with the Canon suddenly to them, but that in case Monfieur de la Nüe should come to fight us, they must then leave all, and march day and night to come up to the Battel.

These were the instructions I gave to Meflieurs de Lebouren, and de Madailain, who accordingly did carry the Caffle. The place was strong enough to refist any force of hand, so that they could that way do no good, and the Enemy defended themselves very well, as it stood them upon; for they knew they were to expect no quarter, by reason of the many insolvencies and great cruelties they had committed all about Levignac. Monfieur de Levignac therefore lent them a Culverine, with which they made a hole thorough the wall wide enough for two men to pass, which they had no sooner done, but they immediately fell on to the Affault, and storming at once by the breach, and giving a Scalado by Laddcrs at the same time to the Buff-Court, they carried the place. There was but three prisoners fay’d, all the rest were cut in pieces, and the night following those who had feiz’d the Caffle of Taillebat belonging to Monfieur de Mercvelle, Grand Seneschal of Guienne, hearing how those of Levignac had been handled, stole away in the dark, and our people march before the Caffle of Bridoire, where they found that those fellows also were upon the point of going to shift for themselves, and clapt close Siege to them. But by misfortune, and by reason of the haste they were in, our people having either forgot, or not been able to carry along provision wherewith to refresh the Soldiers, the Foot began in the night to disparch themselves to go seek out for victual, and the Horfe retir’d into a certain Village to bair their horfes till midnight; so that few being left before the Caffle, those within in seeing their opportunity made a desperate Sally in the night, and got away. Our people mounted to horfe to pursuie them, but so soon as ever they were out they separated like a Covey of flown Partridges, and by several paths retir’d every man to his own house. The night was exceeding dark, so much favour’d their flight, that not above three or four of them were slain. God knows when I heard it whether I was not ready to tear the hair off my head, and writ them word, that they very well manifested they had not retir’d what I had so often taught them.

Now as to our Enterprize upon la Roche-Chalais, Monfieur de Montferrau upon Sunday night came with the Artillery to Courtras, and I came thither also. Monfieur de la Vauguyon was to take his way directly to Parcon, where the Bridge was, to try if he could take the Town upon his first arrival, and make himself Master of the Bridge, which if he should do, he was then to send over some Horfe, who were to cut the Country towards St. Avere, to enquire after Monfieur de la Nüe, and to learn if he made any shew or preparation of coming towards us. Now from la Roche to the said Parcon it was no more than two leagues, so that we made account once in two hours to meet together again, the ways betwixt them being very good. When Monfieur de Vauguyon and I parted, upon the same Saturday he went to make his people immediately advance, marching night and day, and I came upon Monday morning very early to Courtras, where I found Monfieur de Gironde the Governor of Fronsac, who was also of the Enterprize and Council that I had held about it at Bourdeaux. Having there made ready as many Carriages as we flood in need of, Monfieur de Montferrau being come up Sunday in the Evening, I let him rest but three hours only, and sent him away all night that he might be before day at la Roche to shut them up, which he accordingly did, and Monfieur de Gironde and I stayed to see the Cattle yok’d to the Artillery, which so soon as ever I had done, and made them set forwards, I there left the said Sieur de Gironde with Fredeville, and about a hundred Pioneers.
Pioneers the said Sieur de Girande had lent me to take care for the rest. In the mean time, and about midnight I departed thence, and by break of day came within a quarter of a league of la Roche, where I found Monfieur de la Vauguyon, who was got thirteen by midnight, and had sent fifteen or sixteen of his Horse before the Castle. Thole Horse soon came back to the place where we were, and told us that they had found the Enemies Horse without, and had charg'd them, of which Chantecey refused to thrust himself within the Castle, but going along the Wall of the Bafe-Court recover'd the Pafs at the Mill, where putting himself into a Boat, under favour of ten or twelve Soldiers that made good the Mill, he pass'd the River, making his horses follow by the Bridles. Monfieur de la Roche did not take the same way, but with six or seven Horse return'd into the Castle, when seeing those Avant Courteurs of Monfieur de la Vauguyon gone away, and that Chantecey had forfaken him, he thought to fallly out, and make his escape; in order whereunto the moft of them were already come down into the Bafe-Court, but Monfieur de Montferrand came up just in the nick, and charg'd them, forcing them to retire into the Castle. In doing which he gain'd the Bafe-Court, and put a great many men into it: which being done he went to attack the Mill, which made a very stout resistance, but in the end he took them, and put all those within to the sword. He sent me present word of all just at the time when Monfieur de la Vauguyon and I were at Breakfaft, whereupon the said Sieur de la Vauguyon immediately went, and put himself in the head of his men to march directly to the Town, and I concluding together, that he should lend me three Companies of Monfieur de Serrabou's Regiment to assist me at the assault of the Castle; and fo he went to his Enterprise of Parceon, and I marche before la Roche, having already notice that the Artillery was already within half a league of us, which could not however arrive at la Roche till noon, by reason of the ill way they had met withal. Monfieur de la Vauguyon entered the Town, for the Enemy were all retir'd into the Mills upon the Bridge; his men forc'd and gain'd the Bridge, and so all was wonne, and in the night I made my approaches, and planted my Canon in Battery. At break of day Monfieur de la Roche deir'd to parley with Monfieur de Montferrand, who being he was his Kinman, and a young Gentleman, would not let him go in again, but demand'd him, and the others when they saw the Artillery ready to play began to cry out, that they would surrender, who seeing no one give ear to them, they cried out again, that they would surrender to our disfortion. The Governor of Fransac, and even the Hugonots themselves who were of Contras, and were come along with us, cried out, that we should by no means receive them to mercy, for such men they were Libertines, and men of no Religion, especially one of them call'd Brusquin who had kill'd above four score men with his own hands, the moft of them Labourers and Country men. It then came to the question of marching out, whereupon the said Sieur de la Roche enter'd me of a certain Laquay of his, his Valer de Chambres, and his Cook, which I granted him, and we call'd them out from the rest. Monfieur de Montferrand put himself into the Castle with ten or twelve men to prevet it from being rifi'd, and the men that came out of it I recommended to the Soldiers dispose, who were handled according to the life they had lead, for not one of them escap'd, excepting those I have mentioned before. That very Brusquin the Hugonots so exclain'd against to have him kill'd, caught hold of my leg, for I was on horse-back, having five or six upon him, and held me in such fort, that I had enough to do to disengage my self from him, and narrowly escap'd being hurt myself. They found in his pocket a Lift of a hundred and seventeen men that he had murthred, he having there writ them down, such a one Priest, such a one Labourer, such a Monks, such a one Merchante, setting down after that manner of what Trade or calling every one was, which was no sooner read, but that the Soldiers return'd to him, and gave him above two hundred cuts and thrusts, although he was already dead. Monfieur de la Vauguyon came in just upon the execution, where one of them endeavouring to fly away gave him and his horse so rude a shock, as almost turn'd him out of the way, but he was so false purblind, that he went not far. I was inform'd that these people were newly return'd from St. Juleys, and that they had spoken with Monfieur de larmace, who had told them, that Monfieur de la Nœux was retiring towards la Roche-Chalait; which was the reason that we concluded Monfieur de la Vauguyon should return to the place from whence he came, and that Monfieur de Montferrand and I would go carry the Artillery directly to Brussterre; but before we parted I told them, that although Monfieur de la Roche did properly belong to me, and of right was my particular prisoner, I being head of the Enterprise; I was nevertheless content that we should all three share in his Ransome, which we did, so that his Ransome being set at six thousand Crowns, the Dividend came to two thousand Crowns a piece.
The Commentaries of Meffire Blaise Book VI

Being come to Lilloone I sent the Artillery up the River; which went day and night, for we had a great many men to draw the rope of the Boat, which was no sooner come to Caillion, belonging to the Marquis de Villiers, but that there came a Messenger sent from Moneur de Midaillan to tell me, that the Enemy of Bridoire were escap'd away, and fled: at which I was as much troubled as at any news almost could have been brought me, for my purpose was to have deal'd no better with them, than I had done with the rett, and so we return'd the Artillery down the River directly to Bourdeaux, and leaving Captivan Mahon with three Companies to guard it, Moneur de Montferrand and I went before to the City. The next day after I came thither I went to the Palace to take my leave of the Court of Parliament, being resolv'd to return to my old Quarters, that I might be nearer to the Moniteur, in case he should be pleas'd to lend for me. There Moneur le President Rassignac in a short speech return'd thanks in the behalf of the whole Assembly for the service I had done, forasmuch as by this little war he said we had to succour the Rodes towards Saintonge, that every one might now safely come and go between France and Bourdeaux. That I had also succour'd them on that side towards the Dordogne, having reduc'd the Castle of Bridoire; and on that side towards the Garonne, by having taken Legveys, Taillecabat, and Pardillac, by reason that before neither provisions nor men could come by those ways to Bourdeaux, or by any other, laying out of Gascony.

There were the successe of these Enterprizes perform'd in five or six days, without putting the King to the expense of a Tiefon, and the Parliament left; and had these Moneurs of the City of Bourdeaux kept their words with me, I would have laid my head, that I had turn'd Bley top'y curvy: neither would I have ask any more than eight days time to do it in; provided I might have had the Baron de la Garde along with me to have attack'd them by sea, and would have engag'd to have paid them back the thirty thousand Francs I demanded of them wherewith to pay the Foot, and to defray the charge of the Artillery and Pioneers if I did not carry the place. Nay seeing they would not relieth that motion, I offer'd to lend them twelve thousand Francs for a year without interest, and Moneur de Varenne my Brother would lend them two thousand more: in short the Court of Parliament was very hot upon the Enterprize; but when they saw it was requir'd that every one should lay to his helping hand there was no more talk of the butifins. These men of the Long Robe are a dry hide-bound sort of people, and still pop up in the mouth with their Priviledges. I will maintain, and that by the testimony of the best and honestest men of Bourdeaux, that they were the cause this Enterprize was not executed: for when the Citizens saw they would part with no money, they would part with none rather, saying that the Court of Parliament had as much or more wealth than half the City besides, and twice they made me come to them, affur'ming me that so soon as ever they should see my face all things should be done; but when I came I still found them put me off with so many delays, that I was forc'd to return as wise as I came. I think they had a mind to have had me done it at my own expence, and that the advantage and the profit should only have accr'd to them; and in truth by the offers I made, any one might plainly see I was willing to advance something of my own; for I declar'd all the Gentlemen that did me the honor to go along with me at my own charge, without putting the City to the expence of a Hen. This in truth was the reason why the Enterprize upon Bley was not put into execution. I am very sure there was nothing in Guienne could have hindred me from effecting my design. At the time when Des Rois believ'd it I had taken an exact survey of the place, and it is no such choak-pear as they make it. Besides that time the Hugonots scarce shew'd their heads, and Guienne was quiet enough; for all those who were able to bear arms went into the main body to the Admiral, who after the death of the Prince de Condé caus'd himself to be declar'd Head of the Faction, the Prince serving him only for a shadow. It was that nevertheless that so much upheld the said Admiral and his Party, for a Prince of the Blood can do much, and the Son of the said Prince of Condé, though he was very young, was a great support to him also, for without them and their authority he had never been able to have main'tain'd the War so long.

The End of the Sixth Book.
The Commentaries of Mesure Blaise de Montluc, Marshal of France.

The Seventh Book.

Seeing I have taken in hand to pofterity an account of my life, and to give a true relation whether good or bad, of all that ever I have done in so many years that I have borne arms for the Kings my Masters; I am unwilling to omit any thing of action how little and inconsiderable soever; and although the last little Victories I gave an account of were neither the Conquests of Naples, norMilan; I have not however thought it fit to leave them wholly out, for (inconsiderable as they are) such may read them, as they may be useful to, and Captains and Soldiers may begin their Prentice age with such little feats of arms as those; it being by such that they first take Lessons: and even those who have the Government of Provinces committed to their charge, may by what I have performed take example of what was well, if there be any such thing, and avoid the evil.

I had to clip the wings of the Hugonists that they were capable of doing no great matters in Guienne, nor of attempting any other than very flight Enterprises; neither consequently was I in any capacity of performing any notable exploits; both because there was not much of that nature in the Province left to do, and also by reason I had on the other side, sent away most of the Forces to the Monseigneur Army, and did reserve all the money for his use. I have moreover another reason why I am thus particular in my writing; which is to the end, that if the King shall vouchsafe the pains to read my Book (and I think he reads some worse) his Majesty may then see how much they have spoken against the truth, who have said that I had now no other care, nor meditated on any other thing but how to live quietly and at ease in my own house. God knows these people understand me very ill. Had I had the means I desired, and that some might have supplied me withall, and that I might have had my own swinging, without being curst by those pernicious Edicts, I should have prevented the Hugonists from reigning in Guienne, and perhaps have rooted out the whole Race.

But to pursue the thread of my discourse, and give a true account of what has been the ruin of this poor Province, I shall proceed to tell you, that some time after the execution of those Enterprises, the Monseigneur sent me a Letter containing these words.

Monseigneur de Montance, Monseigneur the Marshal d'Anville has been here, and is going into his Government to put some designs he has there into execution, if therefore he shall find any need of any thing in your Government, let me entreat you to assist him the best you can, 

This letter was delivered to me at St. Foy, and with it there came another to Monseigneur de Saintloues, wherein he was commanded to come and bring his Company along with him to the Army; which was because his Highness had given Monseigneur de Fontenilles leave to return home to refresh himself, and to recruit his Company, his said Highness sending
ing me word not long after, that I should keep Monfieur de Fontenilles with me, without
suffering them to flir out of the Country; and that I should have a special regard to Bourde-
oux, affirning Monfieur de Terride with what I could in order to his Conquest of Beauf
and that as to himself he was going down into Poitou. This was heavy news to me, al-
though I was very glad of the coming of the Marefchal d'Antville, and may I perfir if I was
not really as glad of it, as if almost the Monfieur himfelf had come, for I fancied that the
Hugonots in Languedoc and Guienne would not be able to ftand two moneths before us.

The said Marefchal flaid fonie days by the way, and being arriv'd in Avergne, dis-
pacht a Courrier to me to give me notice he was come, and to tell me that he was glad of
his Commission to come to make war in thofe parts, as well for the fatisfaccion he should
have in feeing me, as out of the hope he had we should do fomething to the purpofe in
thefe Countries of Languedoc and Guienne, and that he was going through Albigences di-
rectly to Tholouz. I lent him back his messenger in all hafe, defiring him by no means
to go that way, but that he would come to Bbodes and into Quercy, and that I would
come to meet him at Cahors; for the Count de Montgomery was arriv'd about Caufes,
where he was drawing a Party together, fo that he could not pass that way but he muft be
in danger of falling into the midft of the Enemy. I had no anfwer from him till he came
to Tholouz, from whence he difpatched a Courrier to me to advertize me of his
arrival, fending me word that he had paft in the very beating of the Enemy; but that none of them had prefentd themselves to oppofe his way. I was very glad to hear of his safe arrival, and in his letter he entreated me that we might meet and see one
another, to the end that being together we might take a good resolution to do the King
fome signal piece of service, and that he would do nothing without my advice. I had at
that time a deflufion fall'n upon one of my pafs, fo that I was conftrain'd to have it launc'd
in two places, and to put in two tents, which made my breaf Io far that I was hardly
able to endure my fittr; but the fury of the dolor being a little fliaw'd, and the fever
occasion'd by it a little over, I put my felf upon my way, though it was able to ride no
more than three leagues a day at the moft, and that with intolerable pain.

Such as that paff to read my life may take notice with how many farts of maladies
I have been afflicted, and yet notwithstanding I have never been idle or reflry to the com-
mands of my Maffers, or negligent in my charge. 'Tis unbecoming a Soldier to lye grunt-
ing a Bed for a little ficknelf. Now you muft know that neither the King nor the Queen
had writ to me that I was to obey the Marefchal, neither did he in his own Letter take up-
on him to command me, neverthelefs out of respect of the friendship I bore unto him, and
the affection that of my own voluntary inclination I had vow'd to him all the days of
my life, I went of my own accord to offer my obedience to him, and to make him a
render of all the fervice lay in my power in reference to his own particular person. I found
him in a little feverish diftempers, and that'd two days with him at Tholouz, and there
I was at that time better accompanied than he; for I had no lefs than threefcore or three-
fcore and ten Gentlemen in my Train. We concluded together that I should return to
Agen, there to assemble the Eftates of the Province to feer how many men the Country
was able to furnifh out, and maintain for the protection of the War. Iaffur'd him that
Guienne would furnifh money to pay a thoufand or twelve hundred Harquebuzers; al-
ways provided that when he should have won a Town in Languedoc, he would come
to attack another in Guienne, which I also engage'd them in the Marefchal's behalf
that he should do, but I reckon'd without mine Help. I immediately however fet afoot
the Companies of a thoufand Harquebuzers, and made choice of the beft Captains that
were then in the Country to command them. The Eftates gave the charge of receiving
the money to de Noux, one of the Houfe of Nort of Agen, and we concluded to be ready
the first of Auguft to take the field.

Two or three moneths were paffed over in these transactions, during which Monfieur de
Terride was till at the Leaguer he had laid before Navarres, and for my part I gave the
Town for taken; for we had full news that no more provifion was enter'd into it, and
that they began to fuffer. On the other fide I confider'd, that all the Forces the
Count de Montgomery had brought with him were but threefcore and ten Harque,
and that he had no other Forces but only thofe of the Vicomtes, which I did not much ap-
prehend, forafmuch as with a very few men I had kept them in fuch aw, that they had
not dar'd to flir. In Quercy Monfieur de la Chappelle Laxieres made head againft them,
in Avergne Monfieur de Cornillon and his Sons, and Monfieur de St. Penfa did the fame,
as alfo Monfieur de Bellegarde on that fide towards Tholouz; in brief they were
held fo fhort as nothing more. I then confider'd that we had feveral Companies of
Gens-d'Arms in the Country; so that I never imagin'd Montgomery could gather toge-
ther
ther a power sufficient to relieve 
Norrreens; for he must of necessity cross the River at 
Verdon, where in two days I should be upon the Pals to oppose him: and I had to good 
Spies, that I was very sure to be immediately advised how he came to 
Montauban, or offer to pass where he did, which was at St. Gaudens. I again confider'd that in that 
Quarter there were seven or eight Companies of Geni d'arms, which were those of the 
two Bürgers, d'Armes, de Gramont, de Sarrabas, that of the Count de Candalle, and of 
Monfieur de Lunaan, and the ten Companies of Monfieur de Saviignan: so that all the 
Earth could never have made it sink into my head that the Count de Montgomery should 
come to relieve Bearn. Thus do men sometime deceive themselves with reasons; for I 
made account his coming into those parts had been only to defend those places they pef-
feld in the Provinces of 
Lingueac and 
Giuene; and also I heard the Vicomptes refi'd to obey one another, which made me rather think he came to moderate that affair, than 
for any thing of Bearn, and in truth there was greater likelihood in it; but the Hugu-
nots have ever had that quality to conceal their designs better than we. They are a people 
that very rarely discover their counsels, and that's the reason why their Enterprises 
from fail of taking effect. The Count de Montgomery alfo herein manifested himself to 
be a circumfpect and prudent Captain. It was he who was the occation of the grea-
teft mifhap that these five hundred years has befal'n this poor Kingdom, for he kill'd 
King Henry my good Mafter in the flower of his age, running against him in Lift; and 
this man was the mine of Giuene, by letting the Hugonots again on foot, as shall be 
declar'd in its due place.

You who are the Kings Lieutenants upon whose care the whole Province does rely, 
consider the overflight that I have committed, and not I alone, but some far better than I, 
upon this coming of the Count de Montgomery: look better about you when you shall 
happen to be in the like occasion, and ever fupfpect the worst; that you may provide better 
against such inconveniences than we did. The Marechal d'Auviile very well knows, that 
when we were together at Tholouse, we were generally of opinion that the Count was 
not come for the end that he afterwards discovered. We had very good arguments to ex-
cuse this error, especially I, as the following discourse will make appear to such as have 
a mind to be further satisfied in that particular: but this man, although a stranger, and in 
and a Country where he had never been before, made it feen that he had very good friends 
there, and perhaps amongst us our selves; the Hugonots have ever been more cautious 
and fubtle than we; I must confefs that of all the overflights have ever been committed 
in all our wars, this was the greatest; I know it has been variously defcanted upon, and 
that the Queen of 
Nature let people on to raife strange reports: but I know also that I 
was not in fault; and I am fure Monfieur d'Auville is so good a fervant to the Crown, 
that he can say as much for himfelf as I. 

At my departure from Tholouse I had some private conference with two of the principal 
Capitouls of the City, where I gave them many things in charge to deliver to the body 
of their Corporation concerning the carrying on of the War. Thofe men were very well 
dipof'd, but that is not all; and I muft here by the way infer a thing that I have ever 
said, and shall do fo long as I live, that the Gentrey are very much to blame fo much to 
difdain City Employments, principally of Capital Cities, such as Tholouse and Bourdeau-
ux. I am fure when I was a boy I have heard that both Gentlemen and Lords of very 
great birth and quality accepted of the charge of Capitouls at Tholouse, and of Jurats at 
Boudeaux; but especially at Tholouse; whereas now refusing thefe offices, or fuffering 
them to be confer'd upon others, the Citizens have got the power into their hands, fo 
that when we come we muft cap and cringe to them. It was ill advised of thofe who 
flift were the caufe. Would to God that as they do in Spain we had made our con-
stant abode in the good Towns, we then both had more riches and more authority. 
We have the keys of the Field, and they of the Towns, and in the mean time we muft 
pafs thorough their hands, and for the leaff affair trot up and down with great trouble 
from City to City to beg their favour and eftem. But to return to my two Cap-
itouls, had they been men who had rightly understood the informations I gave them, 
they might have given me reasonable notice. Neither is it in this thing only that I have 
obser't this fault, but in several other things also, and if the Catholick Gentlemen 
would introduce this custom of taking City Employments upon them, they would find 
avantage by it, and would in a short time fee all things in a much better pofure. But 
let us make an end of the businefs in hand. 

I had intelligence from that fide towards Tholouse, that the faid Count reinforced 
himfelf both with Horfe and Foot and that he made his Levies about lefts, and at 
Gaillac, but that did nothing alter my former opinion of his design: I contend that God
The Commentaries of Messire Blaize

Book VII.

Monseur de Terride to his Enemy.

I send you enclosed a Letter I receiv'd from my Lieutenant Monseur de Noe, by which you will see that the Count de Montgomery is already upon the Savoie, and that he takes the way toward St. Gaudens, where he makes account with his Army to pass the Garonne.

The said Sieur de Noe's Letter was this:

Monseur,

I give you notice that the Count de Montgomery has passed the Savoie, and the Riege, and dines to day at the house of the Vicount de Caumont my Brother-in-Law. In all these parts Monsieur presents himself to dispute with him his passage over the Garonne. I pray give Monseur de Montluc speedy notice of it.
I was never in my life so surpriz'd at any thing as at this unexpected news, and began
| to think with my self, that this was some misadventure that was defini'd against us,
| knowing as I did, the Marechal d'Antville, Mffieurs de Joyasie and de Bellegarde, who
| were hard by me, and several other Captains who wanted neither courage, experience,
| nor affection; wherefore we were to conclude that God would lay a misfortune upon
| Monfieur de Terride. I had the Company of Monfieur de Gandrin at Monfieur en Beaulois,
| the one half of my own at Narac, and the other at Montsaguain, and that of Monfieur
| de Fontenilles at Meiffac, which de Fontenilles ran in all haste to the said Must e, being
| very certain that I would speedily fend for him. I immediately then writ four dispatches,
| one to Monfieur de Terride, wherein I entreated him to rife from before Nantreion, and
| to retire towards Orthez, and St. Suer, for that the Enemy was upon him, entreating him
| in fudging to call to mind the diligence we had ferved times used when we were together
| in Piedmont; that I feared the Marechal's Forces were not yet ready suddenly to relieve
| him, and did alfo fear that the Enemy would be upon him before my Letter could come
to his hands; that therefore he ought not to engage himself to a precipitious Retreat, and
| much lefs in a Battel, confidering that his men were harra'd out with labour and watch-
| ing, and that the Enemy came fresh and in good plight to attack him. I sent another
to Monfieur de Fontenilles to bid him march, another to the Baron de Gandrin at Monfieur,
| and another to my Lieutenant Monfieur de Madaillan, that I was going before towards l'ife en
| Jordan, if the Enemy had not yet paffed the River; but in cafe they should already be
| paffed over, I would then take the way of Aire, and that he should follow after me day
| and night. It was almoft night when I received the news, and in the morning by break
| of day, fo soon as I had left away my Messengers I departed and went to Letjour; from
| whence I sent another dispatch to Monfieur le Marechal to give him notice that I was
| coming directly to him with five Ensigns of Foot: but that notwithstanding the
| Enemy already had paffed the River, I was of opinion we were to follow after them,
| and that then if I should find they were march't toward Bearn, I for my part would take my
| way directly to Aire, beseeching him not to stay for any one, for that fo soon as ever he
| should be out of the Gates of Tbolanze every one would follow after him, fo well was I
| acquainted with the nature of the Gentlemen of that Country. I had tried them oft
| enough, and am very confident it would have fall'n out fo: for many a time have I fet
| out with thirtie men only, and the next day have had all the Gentlemen of the Country
| about me. I stay'd but that day at Letjour, and as God shall help me, when I departed
| from Agen, I had but one old Gentlemen with me call'd Monfieur de Lioume, and my own
| Servants; but the next morning I had above thirty came in to me, with whom I march'd
| that night to Cause, and the next day went no further than to Nogaro to pay for the
| Companies of Gen's - arms and five Ensigns of Foot I had near unto me, and they were
| commanded by Captain Captella, by reason that I had lent my Nephew de Lebro was to Li-
| bouras; the King having writ to me to put my self into it, his Majefly having had intel-
| ligence that the Enemy had a design upon that place. Which Command I receive'd at the
| time when I fent the advertisiment to Monfieur de Terride, and would not my self go
to the said Lioume, that I might be near the Marechal to go relieve the faid Sieur de Ter-
| rides of fight Montgomery by the way. Being come to Aire we found that we were
| above fivetie Gentlemen, and the five Foor Companies came thither as soon as we.
| In the morning my whole Company came in on the one fide, and by the way of the Landes
| at the fame time came the Baron de Gandrin, who the day before had march'd nine leagues,
| and my Company feven, and at night came Monfieur de Fontenilles. As I was mounting
to hore to depart to Nogaro, the Messengers I had lent to the Marechal from Letjour
| return'd and brought me his answer, which was, that fince Montgomery was already
| paffed the Garonne, he conceiv'd it would be to no purpofe to follow him, and that he had
| given Monfieur de Terride notice from the time that the Count had firft made towards
| the Rivers, to look to himfelf, for that the faid Montgomery was coming to attack him;
| who had return'd him answer, that he was ftrong enough to fight Montgomery, and that
| he would not leave the Siege, which was the fame answer the faid Sieur de Terride had
| return'd me. The faid Marechal lent me further word that he was going to batter a Caflle
| near unto Lourac called Fribas, till the Foor who were coming out of Languedoc com-
| manded by the Sieur de St. Geran de la Guiche should come up to him.
| So soon as ever I alighted at Aire I dispatch'd away Captain Myaff (who had been
| Quarter-mater to Monfieur Garman's Company, and was lately come into mine) to the
| faid Marechal by whom I begg'd of him, that letting all other Enterprizes apart, he would
| pleafe to apply himfelf to the grand Concern; for having once fought Montgomery
| he would have no more to do either in Languedoc or Guienee, being that all the Forces of two
| Provinces
The Sieur de Montluc tended to the Marechal d'Arville.

* A River so called.

Provinces were united with the said Count, which being once defeated there would not be any one left to make head against us. I had at my coming to Nogaret sent away a dispatch to Moniteur de Terride, entreating him, that if he was not already retir'd he would speedily retire, and disincumber himself of his Artillery; and if he saw himself hard laid to, rather to throw them into the *Gavar, than engage in a Battle; for that I had sent to the Marechal from Lebours, hoping he would suddenly come away; and that thought he should lose his Canon, to soon as we should be drawn together we should presently recover it. In the mean time it ran in my head, that although Montgomery had a very considerable and frightful Army, he would hardly notwithstanding adventure to attack Moniteur de Terride, seeing we were coming up towards him: but I think he had intelligence that neither the Marechal nor I would enter the Country; and that we were not ready to joynt, which made him purifie his determination. The fame night that I came to Aire after I had sent away Captain Manfan came Captain Montant from Moniteur de Terride, by whom he sent me word that he was retir'd to Orthez, entreating me with all speed to come up to him; whereupon I immediately sent back the said Captain Montant to tell him, that I would not stir from Aire, or at least would advance no further than St. Sever, until the Marechal should first come, for I had but three Companies of Gn's d'arms, and five Ensigns of Foot; and the Captain. Montant had told me, that in eighteen Ensigns of Foot which he had with him there was not eighty hundred men; and on the other side, should I come to Orthez, and that we should before'd to fight, and should lose the Barte, the King might justly cut off my head for no staying for the Marechal, and the said Marechal himself might justly say, that I had precipitated the Barte that he might not be there, to engrofs to my self the reputation of a Victory; that therefore I would be cautious of entering into such a dispute either with his Majesty, or the Marechal, but that I entreated him to retire to St. Sever, leaving a sufficient Garrison in Orthez, and till the Marechal should come I would be drawing towards, which he had dispir'd, and that now he would have me repair that to great advantage at the hazard of my own honor, which I could by no means do. The said Captain Montant rid all night directly to Orthez, telling him all that I had given him in charge, to which he return'd me answer, that he could not stir from Orthez, and that he should go out of the Country of Bearn the Bearnois would take heart at it; entreating me therefore to come up to him, with which message he would again have return'd the said Captain Montant, who would by no means accept of the Commission, but frankly told him, that he was confident I would not enter into Bearn; and had given him so many reasons for that resolution, that not a man about me would offer to advise me to it, and accordingly I sent him word by his Meffenger that I would do no other but what I had told him by Captain Montant.

I communicated all the Letters I write whether to the Marechal or Moniteur de Terride, to Moniteur d'Aire Brother to Moniteur de Candalle, and to all the Knights of the Order, and evermore consulted their advice; for the occasion requir'd it. The Lieutenant of Caufet-Sarrizin, who was with Moniteur de Terride, has since told me, that he kept all the Letters I had writ to the said Sieur de Terride, and that he would have been permade by any of his Captains, he had retir'd to St. Sever according to my advice: but he chose rather to be govern'd by three or four Gentlemen of Bearn he had about him, than any of his own Officers and Servants, Moniteur de Bellegarde was within six leagues of Aire towards Rigorre, to whom I dispatch away a Meffenger, entreating him to come the next day to Prozan, a Howe belonging to the Baron de Compagnie, and to bring Captain Arne, and the Baron de Arbois, Lieutenant to Moniteur de Gramont, along with him, I having earnest butfines to communicate unto him, which accordingly they all three did. He had with him four Companies of Gn's d'arms, namely his own, and those of Meffieurs de Gramont, d'Arne, and de Saribow; and there I laid down before them all that I writ to Moniteur de Terride, with the answers he had return'd me back, and that he tempted me to come to Orthez, entreating them withal the foregoing reasons why I conciv'd I ought not to do it: which they all approv'd of, saying, that the Marechal would have just cause to raise it exceedingly ill if I should not stay for him; although they well enough understood by several Letters he had writ to them, that he had a mind to make war in Languedoc, and not in Guienne; for all those of his Council, and even they of Thoulouse, as they had been advis'd, advis'd him to do it, and that upon that condition they would supply him with money for the expense of war, persuading him to expend it in Languedoc, and not in Guienne; which was a thing safe enough to be beliv'd, for every one strives to draw the water to his own Mill. Moniteur de Bellegarde then told us, that he would
would write to the Marechal, and tell him he ought to march toward us, and after the Enemy: but that nevertheless he believed he would not do it, for the forenamed reasons, and also because those who were for his transferring the Saine of the war into Languedoc, would be sure to post him, that the reason why we invited him to come to us, was for the fear we were in of losing our own Houses. We concluded however that he should send a Gentleman to him to beseech him to come, and I promis'd Monfieur de Belle- legarde to acquaint him with what answer Captain Monfieur should bring me back: who was but three days in going and coming, and afterwards went to Monfieur de Belle-egarde, carrying him the Marechal's answer to my Letter; which was to this effect.

Monfieur de Montluc,

I have receiv'd yours, by which I perceive that Monfieur de Terride is retir'd to Orthez, who being now out of danger I should do no great feats in Berain, and am very unwilling to squander away my time: for in these parts I am constant I shall soon recover what is lost of my Government; at your instance nevertheless I am content to come with my Army as far as l'ille de Jordan, there to stay some few days to see if any occasion shall offer itself of fighting Montgomery in the Field; which in case I fail of, I am resolv'd to pursue my beginning, which is hopefully for I have taken Pescar where Captain Maulan has found me, and to morning morning I will march directly to the life, where in two days I hope to arrive.

These were the contents of the Letter which pleas'd us all exceedingly well, and immediately upon the receipt thereof I went to St. Sever with all the h'rit and foot I had; and from thence to fo as ever. I came therewith dispatcht away Captain Montaut, who from Orthez was but newly alighted there (for from St. Sever to the said Orthez is no more than four leagues and a half only) back to Monfieur de Terride, entreating him that he "would come in the morning to Agetmau, that we might conferre together an hour to resolve upon what we had to do. I made no manner of question but he would come," which made me tend to Monfieur de Gramont's people to provide us something for dinner, "for Agetmau is in right of his Daughter-in-Law d'Andais Countess of Guiene, and gave the Letter the Marechal had sent me by Captain Maulan to the said Captain Montaut, to shew him. I made this allegation purposely to remonstrate to him, that the Marechal would hardly be drawn so far as into Berain, by reason he was importunt'd by all the Effaires of Languedoc, and all the Lords of that Country to make war in Languedoc, and not in Guiene, which he must in the end be necessitated to do, or they would give him no money; that therefore he ought to retire to St. Sever, leaving a few men in the Castle of Orthez, and that when we should be all together we should "make up the body of an Army, entreating the Marechal to leave us Monfieur de Belle- legarde with the two Companys of Gen's-d'arms, which I hoped he would easily grant us, he having snow besides to be Master of the Field, and that in five or fix days I "should not but we should have a thousand Foot, or more to those we already had: "for Monfieur de Belle-egarde had two Companys with him, and that Captain Maulan "should go into Bigorre, from whence he hand his Brother would bring a considerable "number of men, and that the Count de Lubatet would do the same. This was what I had premitt'd to lay to him, not doubting but by those arguments to overcome his Council that hindered him from retiring; and besides I believ'd the Marechal would be very glad of this resolution, by which means he would be at full liberty to pursue his own designs. Yet did I not do this of my own head only, but communicated all to the Knights of the Order and the Captains who were with me. Now when I in the morning expec'ted he should come to Agetmau (it being but two leagues only from Orthez) to conclude of such things as should be more proper for his safety and honor, he sent me word that he could not come to Agetmau, his Council not conceiving it fit for him to go out of his Government, because Agetmau was not in Berain, but that I should come to him. See here the vanity of this world! a man weak, beaten, and upon the matter defeated, stands upon his puntellio's, and moreover with a man who came only to save his life, and who in regard to his own quality might challenge some respect.

For God's sake (fellow Captains) leave this pride behind your Beds-head, when necessity shall press upon you: for it is to be devolv'd of all sense and understanding, seeing that a man does miserably and ridiculously lose himself. Had he been of greater quality than I, he ought notwithstanding to have accepted my invitation, and to have come so far to confer and consult with me about an affair whereupon his own safety and that of his Army wholly depended. His evil Angel govern'd him. He neither knew before nor after which way to go.
go about either to escape, or defend himself. Yet was it not thorough any default of courage, for he had ever manifested himself to be brave enough; but God deprives us of our judgments when he is disposed to chastise us.

To return to our Embassies. I sent him word roundly, "That I would not bud a foot, and that I would not engage my self in a place where I should be enforced to fight till I should first see his Forces and mine together, to know if they were sufficient to match the Enemy: that I had seen too many caught in the Trap for that; that I would not buy a Pig in a Pea, but would see both without and within, that I was come thither to relieve him without any command from any person living; that it seemed he would upon his punctilio's of honor, but that it was not time to inflict upon such niceties; and that he appeared to me like a man who is in necessity, and yet thinks he does the person too much honor to borrow money of him from whom he defires it. All this I wrote to him in my anger, when I saw I could not make him come to a place where I had a mind to tell him by word of mouth what had been concluded, as well by Monfieur de Bellecourt and the Captains near unto him, as by those that I had with me; and when they saw that I was resolv'd not to go, they sent to me Messieurs d'Audaux, and de Damosan to persuade me to it.

The question was not whether I ought to carry the five Ensigns of Foot, and my three Companies of Gent-d'arms into Orchex, for they had not 3 days provision for themselves: but I must go as one neighbour goes to another's house when he makes a visit. I do not use to go after that manner in a time of War, especially when the Enemy is so near. The said Sieurs d'Audaux and de Damosan (par'd for no arguments to induce me to it, and I was not to seek for reasons (and such as were much more evident than theirs, as any child might discern) to excuse my self. In the end, seeing I would not go, they told me, either that Monfieur de Grammont had a pique to some of their Council, or else that they had a quarrel to him (I know not which it was, for I did not commit it to memory, forasmuch as it was not their animosities that had brought me thither) and that therefore Agemau was by no means a proper place for our meeting. Whereupon we concluded that the next day about Noon we should meet at a Gentleman's House, which was not in Monfieur de Grammont's Territories, though I told them withal, That all animosities ought to cease where a Lieutenant of the King is in place.

In the clofe of the Evening then they all mounted to horse to return to Orchex, when at their going away Monfieur de Madallan entreated leave of me to go along with him; and to stay two days there to try if he could not in that time find an opportunity to do something with forty Cuirassiers of my Company, whom I accordingly permitted to go, and so they departed altogether. About eleven of the clock at night as they were got a little beyond Agemau, they met with a Merchant of Orchex, of their acquaintance who was running away, and told them that they were all defeated, and that Monfieur de Ter-ride and some Captains with him were escap'd into the Cattle, which nevertheless they did not believe; for our people were eighteen Ensigns of Foot, and the Enemy were no more than two and twenty; which made it seem impossible, considering that ours had the advantage of the Town. For this therefore they did not forbear to go forward, and a quarter of a league further met with Captain Fleurdelis, who had also escap'd away, and told them the same thing that the Merchant had done before. Whereupon they made a halt to rally such as should be flying away from the defeat. The Merchant held on his way, and coming to St. Sever, found me in bed. His news was so unexpected, and so strange, that I could by no means give any credit to it, not being able to imagine that two and twenty Ensigns could take eighteen in a Town that was none of the weakest; but Captain Fleurdelis coming within a quarter of an hour after, and confirming the same, I was constrain'd to believe it, not without making above three times the sign of the Cross.

I have thought fit to give an account at large of the truth how all things passed in this busines, by reason that all the Kingdom cried out, that if Monfieur le Marechal d'Anville and Montacie had perform'd their duties Montgomerly had been defeated, and the Princes after the rout at Moncontour would not have known which way to turn them, having no other refuge but to throw themselves into the arms of the Count de Montgomerly, who was fresh, victorious and full of Crowns (all which was laid in our dills) and Guienne had not then been in mourning as it now is. And yet I think the Hugonots had not paid thorough Limosin and Perigot: for we should have gone out to meet them to bid them good-morrow: but the account that I have truly set down will discover who was in fault. In the mean time they who shall follow after us may learn that an oversight in War is irreparable. There are several persons of honor yet living, who will testify the truth of what I write, for I did not make any Dispatches in secret, but in the presence of all the Captains.
Book VII. de Montluc, Mareschal of France.

Captains and Knights of the Order who were with me. I do not write to accuse either the Mareschal or M. de Terride, I say nothing but the truth, to manifest my diligence to such as have said, that if I would I might have releaved M. de Terride. The few men I had, the daily adversetments I gave him, and the resolutions taken amongst us, are all evidences whether I was in fault or not. I must needs say that had he retir'd, that he had sooner believ'd my intelligence, and would have hearted to my advice, and not have been so overruled by his own Council, that then in eight days time we should have been gone enough to have fought Montgommery, and either to have driven him out of Bearne, or have put him up in Navarre, where they would not have receiv'd him neither, forasmuch as there had not been provision to have nourish'd his Army four days, by which means he must have been necessitated either to fight, or to turn back to the place from whence he came, which he would have found of a most great difficulty for him to do; for the very Peasants would have defated him, knowing us to be in his Rear. M. de Terride had yet all the other Towns, and had this Enterprize of his succeeded the Mareschal had not needed to have been troubled with our war, but had been left at liberty to pursue his own designs, provided he would have left us M. de Bellegarde, and the four Companies of Gens-d'armes, which I believe he would have done having himself no need of them. It is then M. de Terride's Council that is to be blam'd, and not I; and that all the world may see how unlikely a Mareschal's designs was to take effect, it is most certain, that he never had at the most above five and twenty hundred Foot, and between five and six hundred Horse, good and bad together; and when he went to meet the Prince, he had not above a hundred Horse, and but very few Foot, by the testimony of M. de Terride's Ensign and Guidon, and of M. de St. Felix, Lieutenant to M. de Neureliffes, and Captain St. Projet Ensigne, who were prisoners, and went every day at liberty upon their parole up and down their Camp; and since the Peace I have talked with above fifty of the Enemy who have all confirm'd the same; by which any one may judge if there was any reason to apprehend the said Count, or suspect the said M. de Terride (considering the Forces he had with him) should suffer himself to be surpriz'd, especially he being himself a good Soldier, and having good Officers about him; but they lost their understanding in a time of the greatest need.

This is the truth of the beginning and source of all the miseries of Guienne. Had not M. de Terride's, Forces, M. de Terride's, Counts de Avilas come into this Country, I am assured that most of the Lords and Gentlemen who went in to him would have done me the honor to have come to me, and I think we should have play'd our Game a little better. It was but reason they should pay that great respect to him, he being a great Lord, Son to a Connetable and Mareschal of France, and moreover a brave Cavalier in his own person, rather than to me, who am a poor Gentleman, old; a Cripple, and out of favour: but notwithstanding below'd both by the Gentry and the People.

You Gentlemen of Provinces who shall come after me, if peradventure my Memoires shall fall into your hands, make your advantage of this oversight of M. de Terride, to the end that you may not occasion the ruin of your Matters affairs. I will not blame nor accuse him either of cowardice or treachery, for he was an admirable good Field Officer: but other qualities are requir'd in a Lieutenant of a Province; upon your headpiece, your prudence and circumspection all the rest depend. Had he credit'd the adversetments we gave him of the Count de Montgommery's coming to suite the Siege, he had made a most honorable Retreat, and had fix'd his Canon, which had he not had leisure to draw off, he might have thrown them into the Gave, which is a River full of great precipices, so that it would not have been in the power of Montgommery to retrieve them; and we should have been with them in the time that such a work would have requir'd. But thinking this aside, having been routed in his Siege, and after that being retir'd into a Town sufficiently strong, he ought to have consider'd of the means, either of retreating further, or of fortifying himself there; and yet the last fault was worse than the first, which was, that their fear depriv'd them of their judgments; for he escap'd with a good number of Gentlemen into the Caflle, which is a very strong one, without having ever thought of putting provision into it whereby to sustain him; and in all these discharges The fault of to stand upon his puntizlo's of honour, without desiring to condescend so far as to come M. de three steps out of his Government to confer with a friend who came merely to do him service, and to preserve him, was a most insensible folly. Leave, leave these puntizlo's in a time of necessity, I have never done so; but oftentimes with ten Horse only have put my self into the Field. I am confident that had he come to speak with me he had not fall'n into the misfortune, which cost him both his honor and his life. For my part to often I have call'd this action to remembrance, I have ever looked upon it as a most Judgment of God
God. For to raise a Siege against equal Forces, to conquer, and force a Town, and to take the Kings Lieutenant in a sufficient place in three days time, as it were in the fight of a Marechal of France, and a Lieutenant of the Kings, as I was, and in short, in three days to conquer a whole Province seems to be a Dream. It must needs be confess'd that in all our Wars there was never perform'd a more notable exploit. But who (Fellow Captains) obtain'd this glory for the Count de Montgomery? truly no other but his own diligence, which was such as scarce gave leisure to Monsieur de Terride to look before him, and consider what he had to do. It is one of the best pieces in a Soldiers Harnes. And what left Monsieur de Terride? the little diligence he employ'd in his most pressing concern. For my part I did what I lay in me to do; for to enter further into a Country, without first knowing from him in what post it stood, and to fight a victorious Enemy without sufficient Forces, and with a baffled Army; I was not so ill advis'd as to shufle all things into confusion only to bear him company in his ruine. I had been too long possed of the honor of having never been defeated, to hazard my reputation for the relief of a man who would throw himself away in despite of all the world.

Let no one wonder that I suffit so long upon this subject: for I believe that from this one fault: (which many ill informed have indifferently and unjustly laid to my charge) the ruin not only of Guienne, but moreover of the whole Kingdom since has been deriv'd. I am afford'd that the affairs of the Hugenots had otherwise been reduc'd to such an extremity, that it had been impossible ever to have repair'd them again. For in the first place, had the Marechal and I follow'd him, there is no doubt but Montgomery had been defeied, and consequently all Bear reduc'd, which had been no contemptible thing, and I think the King would then have been better advis'd, than to have surrender'd it upon the accommodation, having enough besides wither wish to recom pense the Queen of Navarre within the Kingdom, to keep her more in his obedience. For a King ought always to cover those who are his Subjects, if they be great and powerful, should be in the heart, and not in the extremities of his Kingdom; for then they dare not shew their horns: And besides the King wanted no good title to Bear, for it is said that the Sovereignty of right belongs to him. I once heard Monsieur de Lagebois the first President of Bourdeaux lay open that title, who said he had seen the Evidences thereof in the Conflagracy of Bourdeaux; but I have nothing to do to revive that antiquated quarrel. He told us all at the time when they began to fortifie Navarres, the Court of Parliament sent to King Francis to remonstrate to him, how much it imported his Crown to hinder that Fortification: but the King sent them word, that he was not offended at it; which was ill advis'd of the King; for a Prince ought as much as in him lies to hinder neighbouring Fortresses; and had it not been for this all the whole Province had been his. But this done and past, and there is now no remedy. For to a done thing the Council is already taken. Besides all this had Montgomery been defeied, the Admiral who in the interim left the Battel of Monceantar would have been at his wits end, and not have known to what Saint to devote himself. I think he would have been wiser than to have engag'd himself in Guienne, where he easily might have been defeied, the reliefs of his Army being in a very poor and forlorn condition, without Baggage, their horses unfod, and without a penny of money. And it was well for him that he came to throw himself into the arms of the Count de Montgomery, who let him up again, supplying him with money that he had gain'd at the Sack of divers Cities, informagh the said Admiral had the commodity of traversing the whole Kingdom, whilst the King amuz'd himself at the Siege of St. Jean in the heart of Winter, which was very adavcibly done: but God opens and shews our eyes when it pleases him. Let us now return to our Subject. Peradventure there may be some who would have been glad I should have writ more at large after what manner Monsieur de Terride was defeied; which I would not do; for I have heard that Of ill flesh a man can never make good Pottage. I leave to those that were present at the business, and who gave me relation of it, and to the Historians who talk of all the world, and very often unaccountably, and from the purpose, like ignorant fellows in tears of Arms as they are.

These pollutions to and fro betwixt Monsieur de Terride and me continued three whole days, after which Montgomery came to attack him. After his defeat I remain'd at St. Sulpur, until such time as he was taken in the Castle of Orthes, and afterwards retir'd to Aire, where I slaid nine days after the taking of the said Sieur de Terride; lending the Marechal an account of all that had pass'd, and again soliciting him wishal to come up to us. To which by way of answer he demand'd of me to what end he should come, or what his coming would signify, Monsieur de Terride being defeated and taken. Which made me dispatch away Monsieur de Léberson to remonstrate to him, that in case he should pass
pafs the River towards Languedoc, Montgommery would infallibly fall inco ... the time, would happen
to be betwixt break of day and sunrise: chac io foon as wc (hould fee them approach us,
we scandal'd him, that he would lofe no more time than a months pay only, which the City of Tobiace
had given his Army, but would employ the remainder in reducing the places in his Gov-
ernment. Now to say the truth from the time of Monfieur de Terrils defeat, affairs
were in to strange a confusion, that a man had much ado to divine what coufe was best to
take, unless the Province of Languedoc would have been contented to have paid the
Marefchal's Army for the service of Guianes, which however perhaps he would not have
done, neither indeed had he any reafon to do it. During the nine days that I flayed at
Aire, we made a new appointment to meet at a Village, the name whereof I have forgot,
and there all thofe who were at Proien accordingly met, where we fell to debating of what
remedies might be found out (which was a matter of great difficulty for the foregoing
reafons) for the present evil, and in the end concluded together, that I should write un-
to the Marefchal to tel him, that if he would be pleas'd to come so far as Vignes, I would
there wait upon him, to resolve upon what he should think we were best to do for the
defence of Guianes. I accordingly wirt, and in answer therunto had word from him back
again, that upon a certain day, which he nam'd, he would not fail to be there, which
was two or three days after. I will here in the mean time give an account of what I did
at Aire within five leagues of the Enemy, and in an open Town, having no more but the
five Companies commanded by Captain Caffella, and one of Vicount de Lobants, who
was also come thither; which because it may be of use to some one in time to come I will
here set down, and perdadventure some Apprentice in our Trade may learn something out
of it, that hereafter may be of some advantage to him.

The three Companies of Gens-d'arms were in a Village on this side the Diu towards
Gafonny. I discover'd my design to Meflieurs de Gondrin, de Fontenilles and de Madaliam,
telling them that I would try my fortune, and fee if I could order it so as to fight Mont-
gommery at my own advantage with thofe few that we were; that to this end I would fend
away all the Gentlemens Bagage that we had with us to Nogarol, to that nothing should
be left behind but our Hufes and Arms; I would then that every night they should
come an hour after midnight with the three Companies before Aire, on that side the River
towards Gafency. I had, besides thofe, four Companies of Aargouers, which in all might
be about three hundred Harquebuzers, who in like manner were to come at the fame
time to Millia a Village on the brink of the River. Our fix Ensigns of Foot were quarter'd
at Mas-d'Aire, which lies above Aire on that side towards the Enemy, who were every
night at the fame hour to prefent themselves in Battle upon the Banks of the River
without the Village, and in caufe of an Alarm without Drum or Trumpet, were to retire
by Aire, and pas over the Bridge, at which time we who were quarter'd at the faid Aire
were to foard it (for the River was foardable) and that in the mean time twenty
Horse fhould every night go the Patrouille upon the three Highways by which the Enemy
could only come to us, which Horse fhould have intelligence one with another, to give one
another notice if they came, that to they might all at once retire to Aire, without giving any
Alarm, and might come and tell our Foot, and confederate us; and that the faid twenty
Horse fhould advance a long league, or a league and a half upon those Highways, to
the end, that we might not be conftrain'd to draw off our men in disorder, but might
have time to have made half a league towards our place of retreat, which was to Nogarol,
before the Enemy could be arriv'd at Aire. I then calculated the length of the night, for
I fear'd not their coming by day, by reason that I kept a Gentleman call'd Captain Bifous
in an enclosed Village, a league and a half distant from Aire towards Morlas, who kept
Scouts all the day upon all the ways by which the Enemy could come to us, and had three
or fourcore Soldiers with him, with twenty or five and twenty Aargouers. I also repre-
sented to them, that when the Enemy should have march'd five long leagues of that Country,
chiefly the Foot, and especially in the night, the Foot must of neceffity fly to eat and
drink at Aire's to which place also they could not come till almost day, when men are the
most inclin'd to sleep, effpecially Foot who have march'd all night, so that they would ne-
ver be able to get one Foot Soldier out of Town, and that the moft of the Harquebuzers
on horfeback would fly with them, and that then by the Rule of War the Horse would
pas on forwards after us, supposing that we retreated for fear, and that I defign'd our En-
counter to be half a league from Aire, which as I had computed the time, would happen
to be betwixt break of day and lunrife: that to soon as we should fee them approach us,
we should cover all our Foot with our Cavalry, and give them a twinging Charge, and that in so doing I made no doubt but we should defeat them. They all approv'd of my design, concluding with me that we should defeat and break them, for our horses would be fresh, and theirs weary, and our Foot coming up a good round trot after us, seeing the victory ours, and that their Foot were yet in Air sleeping or eating, would also fall in upon them, who seeing their Cavalry defeated, and put to rout, there was no question to be made, but that every one would shift for himself the best he could, and endeavour to escape without offering to fight. Thus are we to represent things to our selves when we are to undertake an Enterprise, and to hear one another's reasons and opinions upon the fame.

We lay nine days at Air; in reference to this Stratagem, during which time we were every night in Battalia after this manner, expecting when the Enemy should fall into our Quarters thinking to surprize us, but I think had we stay'd till they had come we had been there till now. The tenth day having receiv'd an answer from the Marechal, that he would in three days be at Auch, we retir'd towards Marfia, to rally with Monfieur de Bellegarde, to whom I gave all the men I had, and with twenty horse only went away to Auch, marching nine long leagues that day (which are as much as twenty French leagues) the next morning being the time appointed by the Marechal for our meeting. In my life I was never so weary, for it was excessively hot, and I there found Monfieur de Negrepelie, who was come thither the day before, having heard that the Marechal would be there, as also to rally what was left of his Company, which had been with Monfieur de Terride. The next morning instead of coming himself the Marechal sent thither Monfieur de Joyeuse, and we held the Confultation at Monfieur de Negrepelie's house, he being ill of the Gout. There Monfieur de Joyeuse acquainted us with the Marechal's intention, which was, that he was going to repuls the Garonne, and to employ his time in his own Government, considering the charge the Country was at of defraying the expence of the War. We controverted this determination of his, arguing that the Enemy were in Guienne, and that he having the charge of Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, and Guienne, was equally obliged to preserve the one as well as the other; that we were all the KingsSubjects and Servants, and that the Country was the Kings, and that therefore he ought to go there where the Enemy was, and to endeavour to repair the great oversight we had committed. In answer whereunto Monfieur de Joyeuse laid before us, that the Country of Languedoc would not pay the Marechal's Army, unless they should fee that he employ'd their money in recovering the places of their own Province, and as I have already said, he had reason. But in the mean time we who were of Guienne expected no other but the total ruine of it, and consequently of all our houles; for which considerations we should have been very glad that the Marechal would have retir'd upon the defence of Guienne, and not to have return'd into Languedoc. In conclusion he told us that he must begone, for he was to be that night with the Marechal at the Ille, and that the next morning the said Seur would cross the Garonne towards Languedoc; at which we were very much confounded, as knowing very well that Montgomery could not long subsist in Bearn, and would therefore fall into the Kings Country; whereupon I told Monfieur de Joyeuse, that seeing I had no Forces left for the defence of Guienne, I had nothing left to do but to retire to Lilloone, where the King had commanded me to be, and so return'd to find out Monfieur de Bellegarde at Marfia, who was as much confounded as I, he being in no lefs fear of the ruine of his houles than I, and the rest of us whose Enfigns lay in those parts. I left the Vicount de Labatins with his two Companies in Marfia, leaving it to his own discretion to do as he saw cause, for Forces I had none to relieve him. Monfieur de Bellegarde also retir'd a little further towards Camaune, expecting Orders from the Marechal what he was to do, and the Baron de Gondrin went towards Eufe, there with his Company to do the best service he could. We were all like dyspeptic sheep. I with my Foot Companies went to pass the River Garonne, placing them at Port St. Mary and at Aguilhon, to see if I could yet raise any more men, and sifted out three or four Commissions to that effect. There only remain'd with me five and thirty Horse of Monfieur de Fontenilles his Company, and fourcore of my own, for Monfieur de Malbaillan, who was gone to bury his Wife, had taken one part along with him: Of those who were his Neighbours, his Brother who carried my Ensign was also gone sick to his own houle, and had in like manner taken along with him some others that liv'd thereabouts, and my Guidon was gone to Tholouse to a Tryal he had depending in that Court, which was the reason that I was thus left alone. It is true that I was affur'd they would be back with me again in eight days. As for the Gentlemen of Armagnac they were all retir'd to their own houles, to take order about the removing of their Goods into Lilloone, thinking no
Book VII. de Montluc, Marshal of France.

let but that the same scourge of God was amongst us; for every one thought of saving his Goods, and not of defending himself, nor of making head against the Enemy, by which you may see the fruities of our evil intelligence amongst our selves.

I had not been four days at Agen before I was assured that Monsieur de Marchas-
sel (the name who at this present is the Lord de Peyre) came to Thomins with three hundred Horse, amongst which there might be therefore that were very good, the rest were Harquebusiers on horseback ill mounted; with which he was going over into Bears; to join with the Count de Montgomery; whereupon I departed and went to Aquillon. Of my five Foot Companies I had sent two to quarter at Ville-mellus to eafe the Country; and in the other three that remain'd, and that lay at Port St. Mary and Aquillon, if there were a hundred men in a Company that was all; for every one was gone to his own house, as well as the Horse, and even the Captains themselves. I had given two Commissions to Captain Plex, and Captain Pommes, two Gentlemen of Condottieri, to raise each of them a Foot Company, to whom I sent that they should advance towards Buset, for that I would try to pass the River Caronne, and in case they should hear that the Enemy offer'd to hinder my passage, they should then give them Alarms behind. The said Sieur de Peyre made no stay at Thomins, but crost the River advancing towards Marchas, Thomins, and Damasfan. The same night that I arrived at Aquillon, I made shew as if I would pass the River, whereupon they preferred themselves to oppose me; but there was nothing done but some few Harquebusiers shot fir'd a-thwart the River. The next morning I caus'd two Boats to fall down towards Port St. Mary, in the one whereof three Horse might pass at once, and in the other two, and presented my self at the passage of Port de Paseau, sending over five and twenty Harquebusiers in the two Boats; and when I expected they should come to defend the Pals, they did quite contrary, for they quitted Damasfan, Thomins, and Marchas, and retreated towards la Gruere, and le May-d'Agenois, leaving me the passage free; so that I went to quarter at Damasfan, where I found the Captains de Plex and Pommes newly arrive'd, having but fourcore Foot only berwick them; for they had not had time to fill their Companies, and about fourcore Harquebusiers on horseback came with them also. Captain Lameau a Kinman of mine, who might have about fourcore Harquebusiers on horseback, came thither likewise about four a clock in the afternoon, by which time we were all got over the River.

At my coming to Damasfan there met me two men from Castel-gelonx, whom the Con-
fuls and Inhabitants of the Cities had sent to me to demand relief; for that Calonges had been before the Town to summon it, to whom they had return'd answer, that in case they heard no news of me by the next morning they would come up the Town. It was a strange thing that Cities, which were in no manner of danger of being forc'd, should so tremble for fear. They had condition'd that none but the Captains should enter, in consideration of a certain sum of money they were to give them; but that was but a juggle, for they were resolve'd to make themselves Masters of the Town, and to leave a Garrison there, the Captains being very well affur'd, that being once within, they, with the Hugone's of the place should be able to matter the Catholicks. I immediately hereupon order'd Captain Noc, and Captain Bengue the Lieutenant and Guidon of Montieur de Fontenelles his Company, that they should bat their horses, and Captain Plex and Pommes to bait their Harquebusiers on horseback; and that in the close of the Evening Montieur de Noc should depart with five Gens-d'arms, and the said de Plex and Pommes with their Harquebusiers on horseback with him, taking one of the Mennegiers in their Party, and the rest of the Light-horse, which might be about ten; and the fourteen of my Company should go with the said Captain Bengue and Captain Lameau with him, and shou'd lay at a place appointed within a quarter of a league of the Town: where if Montieur de Noc could enter in, he should give notice to Captain Bengue, if not he should retreat to him; and I with fourteen or fifteen Gentlemen who were with me, and some fourcore Harquebusiers on foot, would halt about half a quarter of a league short of the said Captain Bengue, as a Gentlemen house call'd Montieur de Ganet, where they were to send me intelligence of all that pass'd. I order'd it thus, to the end that in case the Enemy should come to hinder Montieur Noc from entering the Town, Captain Bengue and he might rally together, and I also would shew my self in the field to amuse the Enemy; and to make them think that we were three Parties in the field. I knew very well that they would soon have intelligence from those who played the good Subjects, by staying at home in their own houses, under the protection of the Kings Edict: and therefore caus'd all the three Parties to go away by nights, to defeat those Intelligencers of the knowledge of how few men we were. Montieur de Noc came an hour after midnight to the Gates of Castel-gelonx, where
where there arose a great dispute amongst those of the Town, whether or no they should let him in; some said I, and some said no, insomuch that they made him wait two long hours before they could conclude, but in the end the Catholics ran to the Gate of the Town, and made themselves Matters of it, and offer'd it to him; who so soon as he was got in, admiriz'd Captain Bengue thereof, sending him word to retreat to me, as it had been order'd he should, which he accordingly did; and by this time it was fun-rise. About break of day two Hugonots, Towns-born Brats, came before Caffel-geloux, to enquire if their relief was at hand, and whether they were determin'd to let the Captains enter according to their Capitalitation, telling them that the said Sieur de Peyre was with his forces within a quarter of a league of the Town, where he had made a halt, and waited in expectation of their return. When as some of those within held them in discourse, some Horie fell out and took one of them, but the other made his escape, and carried news to Monsieur de Peyre, that his Companion was taken, and that they that took him were Gens-d'arms in yellow Catlocks. Monsieur de Peyre then perceiv'd that I was got up before him, and retreated to Châtes. Monsieur de Fontenilles was come in the night at the precise time appointed to Buffet, a quarter of a league from Damasfan, to which place I was retir'd after I had given order for them to march away by night, telling me by the way as we went, that the Marechal was not past over the River Garonne, to go over into Languedoc, as Monsieur de Jossse had affirm'd he would, but was marching towards Muret to eafe the Country; so that I receiv'd that night two great satisfactions, the first and the chiefest, that the Marechal had thought better of himself, and was not crost the River, by which means I hop'd we should be able to doe some good for the Kings Service, and for the defence of the Country; and the other, that I had receiv'd Caffel-geloux, which was of singular advantage to us, as well in Bourdeis as in Basadois. Which I thought fit to commit to writing, to shew that with the little power I had, I did all I was able to do, without lying idle at home, and suffering all things to go at random.

Captains, although these be no great Conquests, nor famous Battles, you may yet by them, as well as in other places of my Book learn what a great diligence can effect, (I am always touching upon this thing, and I cannot too often repeat it) and that it is good to run a hazard some times in a cafe of necessity. When I crost the River twenty men might have hindered my passage, had they played in the Houses of the Port de Pefseau; for I must of necessity land between the two great Houses: and if I would have flood to confult about the reason of my passage, not a man with me would have been of opinion, that I ought to adventure to pafs. By which you may note that the necessity of war will have it so, that a man must sometimes venture when the affair is of great importance, and not always go by the reason of war: but I must also tell you, that if you are long in designing, and tedious in making preparation for the execution of your design, you may then lose more in venturing, than you are likely to win: for a man that is resolv'd to hazard must keep his design very close, and his execution must be sudden, that the Enemy may have no inkling of what you intend to do, till you come just to the path: for if you give him time to discover your intention, or to prevent your design, you must imagine he has understanding and judgment as you have, and will so well provide for you, that instead of surprizing him, you your selves will be surpriz'd, and defeated. Do not always choose the easest way, but deceive your Enemy, making a shew to put your selves into one place, to get convenience of going into another. As to what concerns diligence, Monsieur de Nieflay'd not two hours to bait at Damasfan, but the night was upon him; nevertheless he departed at the first word without making any dispute of the buffets. How many Captains are there who would have given their Horie time to bait, and rest that night, at least till within an hour or two of day, considering that they had been all day on horse-back at the passage of the River in excessive heat? Which had I order'd it so here, Monsieur de Niefl would then have found the Enemy in the Town, as they did him, wherefore I would always advise you to remember the Morce of Alexander the Great. Leave not that till to-morrow, which you may do to day. After a long march you shall repose at your cafe and acquire honor. You must oft-times make your horses quail under their burden; you will get more horses snow, but your honor once lost is never to be regain'd. This a thing that is not to be found by the high-way, but to be acquire'd by valour, and for which you wear your swords by your sides.

So soon as I return'd back to Damasfan I presently retir'd to Buffet, a house belonging to the Signeur de Cauamont my Kinsman, and thence immediately mounted to horie, and with about thirty Gens-d'arms I had, and Captain Lawbs's Argoulets, went directly to Pench, belonging in part to the Queen of Navarre, and wherein I had also a property.
Book VII. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

The Sieur de Peyre was with all his people recö’d into Maa, which is a good league from Pouch, and when I came thither it was three a clock in the afternoon. The news was car’d to him that I was marching directly to Maa, which was the reason that he immediately departed thence, and march’d a night. Leaue to himself in pursuit of him, and he overtook him would have brought away either Fowl or Tenchery, for he is an adventurous Gentleman, and so were the two Captains who were with him; but he knew nothing of de Peyre’s retreat till the next morning at funerse, and would then have follow’d the track, but that the people told him he was already as far as Mont de Mafian. The next morning I drew off the Sieur de Néé and his Cavalry from the said Caselle-gevilx, and left the Captains du Pless and Pamnies in his room, who there perfected their Companies, which were always good, they having ordinarily fourscore Harquebuzers on horseback at last, keeping almost continually together, and oft-times going out as far as Mont de Mafian, where they had frequent skirmishes.

I then return’d back to Agens, where the same day that I arriv’d a Courrier came to me with letters from Monfieur le Marechal, wherein he write me word, that he had heard both by Monfieur de Joyeuse and others, that I was resolvd to go and put my self into Libourne, in order to a Command the King had sent me to that effect: but that at the time when the King write to me to go thither, his Majesty did not understand that the affairs of Guienne were in so ill a condition; that therefore he entreated me to consider well of it; for if I should abandon the open Country in so critical a time, neither the King nor the Monfieur would be satisfied with my doings. To which I write him answer back, that whatever I might have said, it had never been my intention to put my self up in Libourne, and that he might assure himself I was not a Champion to be taken at the first word: but that I was exceeding glad that he would yet continue some longer time in Guienne, to see what resolution the Enemy would take, (for to he had writ me word in his letters) and that if it pleas’d him, whilst his Army had nothing else to do, to march towards Nogaro, and le Monfieur de Mafian, to say if the Enemy would take courage to come out of Bearn to fight us; we might peradventure do some thing, and it was my opinion it would be of advantage to us, to the end that Montaignomy should dare to enter the King’s Territories, he might see that we were ready to fight him. He write word back again that he was content, and that in five days he should be at Auch, where he defi’d me to meet him. I would not suffer the five Ensigns commanded by my Nephew Liberon to ret to Libourne and St. Foy, though the two Companies that quarter’d at St. Foy were placed there upon no other account but only to have the Prisions of Libourne: but in case of a Siege they had Orders, that immediately upon Monfieur de Leberon’s bidding for them they should retire to Libourne, where the Chevalier Horlage commanded, who was casting up Trenches within, as if he daily expected a Siege. I took the five Ensigns that Captain Cassella commanded in the absence of the Chevalier and of my Nephew, my own Company, those of Meiliours de Gembrin, and de Fontenilles, and sent Poth to Monfieur de la Chapelle Lazurettes, (who lay at Cabors, and was every day in readiness to bring in the Gentlemen of Quincy) that he should march away in all diligence, and that the Marechal was upon his march to go directly into Chalosse, which he suddenly did, and brought threecore and ten Gentlemen under his Corlet. All those of Agenos went along with me, not a man being left at home, excepting Captain Paulie the elder, whom I made perforce to return back to Ville-mineus, of which he was Governor, as well to prevent the said Ville-mineus, as to assist Libourne with what he could, in case the Enemy should come and sit down before it. Monfieur de Caffennaul was Marechal de Camp to this party of ours, and lodg’d, according to his own Masters-Roll, an hundred thirty five Gentlemen under his Corlet, and threecore under that of Monfieur de la Chapelle Lazurettes the formentioned Companies of Gens-d’armes, and six Cornets of Harquebuzers on horseback; this was the Party that I had. Under the Marechal’s own Corlet were near upon three hundred Gentlemen (as the Marechal himself told me at Grenade in the presence of his Marechal de Camp Monfieur de la Croissete) what of Comt, and Languedoc. He had two and twenty Ensigns of Foot commanded by Monfieur the Marechal de St. Girou de la Gréle, and ten of Monfieur de Savignac. His Companies of Gens-d’armes, and those of Meiliours le Compte d’Eiètre, de Lanzan, de Terriade, de Negrepeitte, those of the two Beltartzis, the Father and Son of Gramont, those of the Marechal de la Foy, de Poufes, d’Aubogene, d’Aroz, de Sarlat, which, with the three that I had, made up the number of fifteen Cornets of Gens-d’armes, and his own which we reck’n’d for two, which in all made seventeen. We pay’d with him at Auch, and march’d thence to Nogaro, where the said Monfieur le Marechal stay’d two days. The Enemy had already paffed the Dou, and quarter’d at Mont de Mafian, Grenade, and Caizers. I commanded the vaunt-Guard.
The next day after the Camp came to Logueraol the Marefchal call'd a Council, where I mov'd that we should march away the same day, hoping that we might surprize those of Cazes and Grenade, but the Marefchal was by no means willing to it, it being objected by some, that to soon the Enemy should hear of our coming, they would immediately pass over the River Dou into Beam, being at that time very low and fordable in many places. The Marefchal then propounded in this Council, that seeing he had no great Artillery wherewith to batter Towns (having four Field-pieces only) he conceiv'd it was to no purpose to go any further, but to return into his own Government, there to fall in hand with the work he had to do, and to recover the places the Enemy had there in their possession: with several other Arguments he made use of to forfite this determination. This survey tune was always ringing in our ears; and although the reasons were good enough, I could notwithstanding by no means rellish them, forasmuch as I evidently forefaw that would happen in Guienne, which afterwards fell out, as also did all the rest who were interested in the welfare of that Province, as my self was; which made us grow to hot in dispute, that at last I could not forbear to tell the Marefchal, That he was responsible to the King for Guienne as well as for Languedoc, and that if he pleased to consult his Patents, he would find that he had taken upon him the Command of the four Provinces, which were Dauphiné, Provence, and Guienne, as well as Languedoc alone, though that was his particular Government, and that I entreated him to consider of it. To which he return'd me answer, That all the three Provinces had respective Governors of their own, and therefore let every one look to his own business, as he would do to his. I very well knew by this brisk reply, that he wasaured at what I had said to him; for these people expect their Will should be a Law, and are impatient of being contradicted; and yet what I told him was true, for he had undertaken all that; however seeing the Marefchal angry, and the Council irrefolute, I withdrew, having first entreated Meilleurs de Joyeuse and de Bellardero to lay things home to him, for I saw very well that I had displeas'd him, and therefore would give him no more trouble. Which they having promised me to do, I left a Gentleman with them to bring me an account of his determination. Presently after the said Steurs sent me word that he was resolv'd to go to Grenade, of which I was infinitely glad, and so were all the rest, and I thereupon immediately went to him, to know if I should go away in the night before, to try to shut up those who were in Grenade, and trap them; to which he return'd me answer, That he should be well pleas'd with it, and that he had already sent away Pfeffang de Cornuffon with his four Cornets of Cavalry, to put himself into Caizieres, which four were, that of the said l'Eftang, and those of St. Peurget, du Sendat, and Cleve.--I parted then in the beginning of the night with the Gentlemen, and my own Company of Gens d'arms, and had it not been for the rain that fell upon us in the night (the greatest of that I think I ever saw) I had made four or an hundred Horse at Grenade that were there, and who were my Neighbours at Tonens and Cleyvrac, which I had rather have met withal than three hundred others, and I think I should have handled them so, that there would hardly have been any more fear of them; for that is the very Den of R oughts. But one milchfeam comes alone, for the rain beat me into Gaube, belonging to my Brother Monfeur de Palence, which continued above three long hours, and yet had they not escap'd me, had it not been that so soon as ever Monfeur de l'Eftang came to Caizieres, he sent away Captain Purger's Ensign in the beginning of the night with twelve Gens d'arms to scour the Road as far as beyond Grenade towards Mont de Marfan, who pulling close by Grenade did not enter into it, neither did he think that any of the Enemy were there, and therefore would not discover himself, but went on above a league further towards Mont de Marfan, and seeing no sign of an Enemy, return'd back the same way he came, when being before the Gates of Grenade, he sent in his Guide to discover if there was any Body in the Town, who coming to the Gate saw Horfe going towards the Market-place, and up and down the streets, and thereupon return'd to the Ensign, telling him what he had seen; and that though the night was very dark, he thought they had white Caflocks. The Ensign then slighted and went all alone to the Gate, and enter'd into it although he very well saw the Horfe; but he had an opinion it was I; because he had heard that I was to be there by break of day, as I had been and two hours before, if the rain had not hindered me. He could not very well discover if they had white Caflocks or no, and therefore set four or five paces into the Town, which as he was doing, those who quarter'd near unto the Gate came out to mount to horse; the Ensign who saw them was so near, that he perceiv'd they had white Caflocks, and had then thought to have recover'd the Gate, but he was encloset behind, and taken, where they made him tell them all he knew, and mounting him behind one of their Troopers, carried him away a good round gallop. The Count de Mongommery who lay about Montaut and Nogren was soon adver-
for the Artillery by the way, abandoned by all, saving some thirty who were bolder than the rest, by the report of the bold people of the Country, and also by the confession of those who were taken prisoners. A little after sunrise the Marechal came to Granade's my Quarter with the Vaunt-guard was at St. Maurice, which appertains to Monsieur de Barfuc de Quercy, and the Marechal would that Monsieur de Savignac should also be of the Vaunt guard, with the Companies of Meffieurs de Gramont, d'Arbois, and Monsieur de la Chappelle Lainsiere, together with my three Companies of Gens-d'arms, and thus we came all to Granade within three leagues of Mont de Marsan. Two days after our arrival the Marechal was again talking of returning back, for that was evermore the burden of his song, asking me what I would that he should do in Bearn, seeing that all the Garri sons were dispersed, and that the King had neither Towns nor Castles there; that he should only lose so much time; that on the other side provisions would fail them, and that already the Soldiers cried out of hunger, and besides he had no Artillery to batter the Towns. He had in truth reason on his side for what concern'd Provisions, by reason that our Carriages were not yet come up; and yet I had taken such care, that as soon as ever he had lent me word he would march, I immediately lent to tax Condommains, Armesnacs, Effebes, Commenges, and Bigores, so that in two days we had as much victuals as we could with. In the end I perceived very well that his inclination would not be apt to continue him long in this service, neither were those of his Council any better enclin'd Division s than he; for my part I never was present at any consultation, but only that at Noguarc, for I was never call'd, and I never offer'd my self, because I knew they had a prejudice against me, for saying we ought to make war in Guienne the Enemy being there; and I knew also that all the consultations that should be call'd without me would never do Guienne any good so that we who were Guefons kept together by our selves. Seeing this humour of returning to continue, I entreated the Marechal to give me leave to go ataque Mont de Marsan, hoping I should carry the place; who theretoon demand ed of me how I could think to take a walled Town, a good one, and not only one, but three, all enclosed with exceeding good walls, which was very true to which nevertheless I made anwer, that I had taken others that had been stronger, and man'd with much better Soldiers than that was, by surprize (for I remember Piane, which was another kind of place than Mont de Marsan, though that was strong enough) I told him more over that Monsieur de Terride had been snap'd after the same manner at Orthez; and that therefore seeing our Enemies had done it, I doubted not but to do the same, and peradventure pay them in their own kind. At last after much importunity he told me he was content I should try my fortune; whereupon I entreated him to let me have Monsieur de Savignac with his ten Ensigns along with me, which he also granted. I could not go the next day, which was the 13th, for it rain'd all day long, and yet I would not withstanding go with forty or fifty Horles to view the Town, but could go but half a league, where in three or four hours I found Captain Arbois, and Monsieur de l'Arbois, Lieutenant to Monsieur de Gramont, who told me they had been there all night, (as also Monsieur de la Chappelle Lainsiere) where we discours'd a great while of the resolution the Marechal had taken to return, and how all those who adher'd to his opinion of returning to make war in Languedoc, and to abandon Guienne to the inroads of the Enemy, thought they were likely to meet with no great resistance in executing their designs in Languedoc, considering that the Enemies Forces were in Bearn, from whence I believe they conceiv'd they would hardly stir. But we of Guienne knew very well that Montgomery could not long furnish in Bearn, and that of necessity, although he should have no mind to do it, he must fall into the Kings Country, and upon our Houses. I moreover very well knew, that those who followed the Marechal's opinion, thought that in returning the Towns of Languedoc, they should do the King so considerable a service as would obtain great honor to themselves, and moreover put their own Houses in safety. I was not angry that those of Languedoc should be of this opinion, and should endeavour to draw the Marechal into Languedoc for these considerations, for I have ever heard that The Shirt is nearer than the Robe, and that Charity begins at Home, which is sufficient for their excuse, seeing there was no dishonour in the cafe, as there was not: but I was angry at those other who maintained the same opinion, and yet were of Guienne, because they only did it to carry favour with the Marechal, and hearty with the Enemy would burn their Houses, because they stood to flout for the relief of Languedoc where they had nothing to lose, and esteem'd to endeavour the ruin of their own Houses and Families. On the other side I know very well that I was told some of those of Guienne should petition the Marechal; that all
the importunity, and all the arguments I used to perfwade him to make war in Guienne, was for no other end, but that in case the said Marefchal should perform any brave action, the glory thereof might redound to me, and the successes be wholly attributed to my valour and conduct, as in the time of the first troubles, when Monfieur de Burie and I were together; but if I ever entertained any such thought, may God never have mercy on my soul, or other design or defire, but that he might do some great thing, and that I might be with him to lay to my helping hand in some brave Enterprize for his Majeflty's service, that the King might efteem and love him for ever, and that the Marefchal might be fo fensible of the service I had done him, as to take my Children into his protection, and to affift them in the obtaining fome advantages from the King; for as for my own part I was reliev'd, if I should live to fee an end of the War to return to my own house, feeling my self old and decay'd both in body and mind; and besides I blefs God I had acquir'd honour enough, without needing to deprive another: but it is impossible to eradicate malice out of the minds of men, when it has once taken root. They make us think what we never thought, and lay what we never faid: but I shall wave this difcourfe to return to my Enterprize upon Mont de Marsan.

The fame night being returned to St. Maurice, the Marefchal fent to remonftrate to me, that I ought by no means to go to Mont de Marsan; for should I be baffled in the Enterprize, it would be a great difpute to his Army, that I could expect to reap no other fruit but difgrace from the attempt, and that also he was reliev'd within two days to return. I was ready to buff my hoofs for pite when I heard this language. I then fent to him Meffieurs le Vicompte de Labatut, the Chevalier de Romegas, Monfieur de Savignac, who was one of his own Officers, d'Arblades, and la Mothe Godrin to remonftrate to, and in my behalf to entreat him not to be angry, and to have patience yet a few days; for as for provisions he faw he had more than they knew what to do withal, and besides he needed but to pafs over the Dore to five Hugonot houses that were within the Kings Pale, where we fhould find victuals fufficient to nourish our Camp a month about both the Hugonots and all the Catholicks of thofe parts having carried all their provisions in thither; that therefore he would only be pleafed to permit me to go to Mont de Marsan, and that in order to that Enterprize I would ask no more but two of his Field-pieces only, wherewith to batter the Centry-houses, and little Defences that ferved the Enemy for Flankers. They return'd back, and told me, that notwithstanding any thing they could fay to him he was relolute to return, but that he was content to lend me the two pieces. In the morning then fo soon as every one had got something into his belly, we began to march, Monfieur de Montefiranc being come with the two Guns, who had in Commiffion from the Marefchal to tell me, that he fhould be very glad I would alter my design, and return back to the Army. I think he did it that in cafe I should miscarry in thebufines, he might have that advantage of me, as to fay, I told him as much. Nevertheless we ftrengthened, I marching with the Cavalry, and a hundred or fixfcore Argoulets before, and the five Enfigns after me, and after all Monfieur de Savignac with the two Field-pieces. I met two Letters by the way, writ to me by a Gentlewoman of the Town, in the fift whereof the defir'd me by no means to come, for that the Enemy had intelligence of my design, and that Captaine Favares (who is of St. Maurice) was come thither with a hundred or fixfcore Horses, and another Captaine with fome Foot. The fecond letter met me within half a quarter of a League of the Town, wherein the fent me word, That the Enemy had made a review, and found themselves to be five hundred fighting men compleat, the Inhabitants of the Town compriz'd, fo that if I went I fould reap nothing but certain difgrace. All which notwithstanding, and that the Gentlewoman and her Husband were Catholicks, and my very good friends; yet being they were not themfelves in the City, I could not give credit to what they writ, but march'd on into the fight of the Town which is fccnted in a Bottom. Being there I cau'sd a hundred or fixfcore Argoulets to alight to go, and gain the houses that were near unto the Gate, bidding them withal to run on as fast as they could, that they might prevent the Enemy from fetting them on fire, which otherwife they had done, some of them being already fallyed out to that intent, and having already apply'd the fire, but being by our Argoulets contraint'd to retire into the Town, they began to play upon them from the Walls. In the mean time whilst we stayed for the coming up of our Foot and the Artillery, I went to pafs the River with a Troop of Horse below Mont de Marsan, on that fide towards Dax, and within Harquebuz shot of the Wall, to go discover the other fide of the Town, and to view the Ditch to fee if there were any water in it, that I might pafs over the Sieur de Savignae's Ensigns, and give a Scalado on both fides at once.
The River was deep almost to the Saddle-skirts, and we passed over, when being on the further side, we perceived four or five Horses, who were coming to put themselves into the fan discovered place; but they turned short, without it being in our power to take them. I therefore drew up all my Horse into Battle, which being done I slighted; and causing Captain Fieux, who was of Mirasculo only to alight with me, were directly up to the Ditch of the Town. The heat was excessive, and my arms were exceeding heavy; so that I was constrained to put my left into a little Ditch being able to go no further by reason of the weight of my Arms, and that I was to climb the Ditch, and therefore made Monseur de Tilly go on alone, who accordingly went all along by the Graffe of the Town, and in going found a woman squat down behind a little hedge close by the Graffe, whom he made to rise, still going on, for they shot furiously at him, as they did also at me; for from the place where I was it was not above ten paces to the Graffe. At first Captain Fieux returned to me, bringing the Woman along with him, who told us that there was water in the Graffe, a Pike deep, as Captain Fieux also assured me according to his judgment, by what he had been able to discover, and the Woman told us moreover that it was very deep of mud. I then left all hope of doing anything on that side, and knew that we were to fall on all at one place, and leaving Meffiers de Fontenilles and de Madailan there, returned with the Gentleman to repel the River; which as I wasப 팅 in the Town, and very near the Bridge, which on a sudden I lost sight of, and thought they were the Enemy. I had at my sitting out from St. Maurice entertained Monseur de Tillys that he would go speak to the Mareschal about what Monseur de Montafiruc had told me from him, and to assure him that we had good hopes of carrying the Town; and wished to try if he could persuade him to content that we should cross the River, and to make him alter his resolution of returning. The said Tillys accordingly went, and immediately returned to his own misfortune; for at his return he found me already gone to pass the River, and saw me upon the passage, and on the other side saw our Argoulets who were slighted, ducking and playing at Bo-peep behind the Houlies, which made him come down full speed to draw them from behind the Houlies, which he did, bringing them out into open view, and making them shoot at the Battlements, which as he was doing, and galloping along the side of the Ditch to encourage them to shoot; as he was returning back by the same way he had gone by the edge of the Graffe, the Enemy pour’d so violent a storm of shot upon him, that in the end one of them took him in the belly, so that his horse falling at the same time he got away on foot, and wounded as he was, above a hundred paces out of the reach of the Harquebuz shot. He did not at first feel himself wounded, but was afterwards carried into a House without the Town, where two days after he died of his wound. I had seen nothing of all this for I was at that time viewing the other side of the Town; in the mean time the Captains, Arco, the Baron d’Arbous, Egliage, with the four Companies of Light-horses, and Monseur de la Chappelle Lauchere were on the right hand up the River, within a Harquebuz shot of the Town.

I must now give an account how the Town was taken. Captain Castella with the five Companies which march’d after me, so soon as he came within sight of the Town, which is within Harquebuz shot, seeing that our Argoulets did not behave themselves very well, (for they were evermore creeping behind the houses,) he made five or fix Ladders which I had caus’d to be brought in a cart, to be taken off the Carriage, and to be carried by the Soldiers, when without playing for me, Monseur de Savignac, the Artillery, or any other Command, heran full drive directly up to the Wall; where though the Enemy play’d them very well with shot, they notwithstanding never stopp’d nor stay’d till they came up to the very foot of it, where being come they immediately clapt to three Ladders which were long enough to reach up to the top of the Wall, all the rest being too short, upon which the Captains without more ceremony, having Targets upon their arms, presently began to mount, and what rate of shot never the Enemy pour’d upon them never dettold mounting till they were got upon the said Wall, and then the Enemy fled. Our people pursu’d them by the same way they endeavoured to retire, and ran down after them, when as they thought to have recover’d the Gate of the other Town, to shut it after them, ours were in with them, and fell in pel-mel amongst them. The Enemy then made directly towards the Bridge, all along a great street where they had made a Barracado, which all of them could not recover, for a great many were cut off by the way. Now as they were making head at the Barracado, Monseur de Savignac and his people arriv’d, who at the same instant that the last of ours were got up by the Ladders, and up thither mounting by the same Ladders first come first serv’d, and to soon as they were got up, all ran directly towards the Bridge, where upon his arrival one of his Captains
call'd Escofeurs was slain, who was one of the bravest men I ever knew; for I had long been acquainted with him. In the end the Enemy abandoned the Barricado, and put themselves into the other Town by the Wicker, my five Ensigns followed them, and fail'd but very little of entring pel-mel amongst them: but the Enemy made shift to clap to the Wickets, by which means our five Ensigns were constrain'd to put themselves into a little house close adjoining to the Gate of the City, where one of the five Captains call'd Moffaron was slain. The Enemy shot very fast from the Tower of the Portal, and once also from the little house therev Fagors and Plancks before the Gate, and there it was that Captain Mofferson was slain, where for all the infinite number of flees, as well as Harquebuz that the Enemy shou'd upon them, they forbare not to set fire to the Gate of the said Town. I had (as I have said) seen these Ensigns as I was passing the River; but I thought they had been the Enemy, when I did no sooner got over, but an Harquebuzer on horseback came full speed to tell me, that our five Ensigns were in the Town, whereupon without staying to see whether Monsieur de Savignac would do, we set fires to our houses, and gallop immediately up to the Gate: (for it was not above four hundred paces) I there found Monsieur de Savignac's people, some within, and some without the Gate, who had already made a hole wide enough to pass one by one underneathe. We then all alighted and passed thorough this hole; I had brought with me some Peaules of St. Maurice, who came along with the Artillery, and falling to work upon the Gate, immediately forced it open, but we were all got in before. Our Camp-mater Monsieur de Caunaneul did not enter with me, for I found him at the end of the Bridge, in a street on the right hand, where he told me that he had been to discover a house or two that looked into the other Town. There was not a man that durst abide in the great street, for the Tower of the Gate commanded it, he carried me to the two Houses which were close by the water side, and where in one of them I mounted a pair of flairs into a Chamber that looked upon the River, and there caused seven or eight holes to be suddenly made thorough the Wall, on the other side of the Room that looked towards the Town, from whence the Enemy shot so fast; which being done I defended again into the street, and went into the other House adjoining to it, and of that into a low Parlour, which had a door out of it, thorough which by five or six flaps there was a passage down to the River. The Enemy shot at this door with great fury, and thorough the corner of a little Window I perceiv'd that they were filling some Barrels they had placed upon a Breach of the Wall. Monsieur de Savignac, Monsieur d'Andosille his Camp-mater, Captain St. Aubin, and another Captain of his (whose name I have forgot) were in the Parlour with me. Monsieur de Caunaneul was entred into another House, where he found a Tanner a very tall man, and brought him to me, who affirm'd me that the water was not above middle deep. I then offer'd this fellow ten Crowns, if he would lead the Soldiers the way over the River, telling him moreover that I would give him a Target of proof for his defence, which he undertook to do. I therefore deliver'd him a Target, but the Rascal presently threw it down, telling me that it was too heavy, and that though he was big and strong, he found himself encumbered with it, and therefore would venture to pass over without. Monsieur de Monsefranc who was Mafter of the Ordnance was also present with me. I saw we must make haste to pass over; for should the Enemy once have filled their Barrels, it would be a matter of great difficulty to enter by this Breach; which made me speak to Monsieur de Savignac to call in three or four of his Ensigns; whereupon Monsieur d'Andosille, St. Aubin, and the other Captain in the Street, and fetch in their Ensigns, for my five were in the little House by the Gate, and so soon as the three Ensigns were come into the Parlour, and a great many of their Soldiers who crow'ded in after them, I commanded the Ensigns boldly to follow this man, who would lead them the way, telling them that they were by no means to flop till they came to the other side of the River close up to the breach, lading at the same time to the Harquebuzers who were in the Chamber, that they should ply their shot, to favour the passage of our men; which being done, I suddenly threw open the door, and put out this Tanner, together with a good Soldier, who offered himself to go hand in hand with him, and after these two, the three Ensigns, and the three Captains followed after. I put out five or six Harquebuzers after thele, and my self also, with all the Gentlemen who were with me went out after them. We were to go down the formention'd five or six flaps, and the Enemy shot with great fury on that side, but my Harquebuzers in the Chamber held them so thore, that they durst not shew their heads. Still more Soldiers ran after down the flairs, and I stood upon the brink of the River, making them believe I would pass over with them, when Monsieur de Montaftruc seeing me in that posture, ran into the Street, crying out, O Soldiers, Monsieur de Monthuaj himself is passing the River; at which
which cry the Soldiers who were but:le about their plunder, and those who were in the Street left all, and entered in a crowd into the Parlour, where such as could not come to the Chevalier de
River, like as one forces in a flock of sheep, in so much that the River was so covered over with men from the one side to the other, that there was no water to be seen. I fell Repe in to the mid leg into the River, making at them as if I meant to pass it, as also did Monfieur de Terride, the Chevalier de Romeges, and the rest of the Gentlemen who were with me. Monfieur de Savignac was there also, and it was no good waiting for him, for the socalled Soldier was up to the armpits, and I believe had he gone in it would have taken him up to the chin: for every one knows that he was not of the stature of a Giant: and we were in danger to have lost a great many Soldiers who were little men: but I still cal'd out to them hq help one another, which they did; and I do verily believe, and have reason to believe so, that had I not unthoughtfully made it to make those loop-holes in the Chamber, and to have placed a good many Harquebusers there, as I had done, so that their shot continually railed without interruption, and that they had moreover open'd a window, through which two or three might fire at once, we had loft above a hundred men: far from the Walls, and from the Barrels, from whence they fir'd at us, it was not above fix paces to the Bank of the River, where our people landed. The Ensigns and Captains entered the Barrels, which so soon as I perceived, I immediately went to those in the Chamber to give over flooring, by reason they might as well kill our own people as the Enemy. To supply which our Harquebusers who followed the Ensigns shot at those within, as well as they at them, and being come up to the Barrels, our Captains laid hold on the brims of them, which were not half full of earth, the Enemy not having had time to fill them, and I pretend I saw them all rumbled down on our side, and the Ensigns and Captains leap into the Town, whenupon the Enemy were suddenly put to rout, and fled directly to the Castle. Our people pursued and kill'd a great number of them by the way, when so soon as I saw them enter'd I return'd into the Street, so keenly as in my life I never felt my heart in such a condition, by which I verily saw that I was no more to think of bearing arms, for I thought above ten times that I should have fainted, and fallen down in the street. There is no remedy, we cannot be twice. The Chevalier de Romeges and Captain Fabian my Son supported me by the arms to Jouen's House, where I found his Wife, who prefently made me a Bed ready and put me into it. I found that I had sweat through my Buff Collar, insomuch that my very arms were wet with it; we had brought no Baggage with us, but had left it at St. Maurice, forasmuch as I my self had no very great hopes of bringing about my design, neither had I any great reason to hope it; wherefore my servants were fain to dry my Shirt that I had on, and all my other cloaths, which were almost in as bad a pickle, and so soon as the Chevalier Romeges, my Son, and the other Gentleman had left me in the hands of my Servants, they departed to go fall upon the Castle; when at their going away I laid to this brave Chevalier, 'I have seen the time when for such a day's work as this I should not have quitèd either Cash or Collar, and had there been any appearance of danger, I might perhaps have posseted over the night in this Estate: but there is no remedy, you young men must do what we old men cannot.' Having been in bed about half an hour, and all my cloaths being dry, I got up again, and fell dressing my self, which as I was doing there came in Monsieur de Savignac, Captain Fabian, and some other Gentlemen with them, to tell me that those of the Castle would surrender, and to know if I would content, that they should upon the Capitulation receive them to Quarter. Perceiving therefore that Monsieur de Savignac and Captain Fabian had a great desire to save Ecosse, and to give him fair quarter, because he had the reputation of a good Soldier, and a gallant man; I told them they might grant them what conditions they should think fit; and that I would sign the Capitulation; though inwardly I had a mind to make a dispatch: which was the reason, that to soon as they were gone from me, I lent a Gentleman after to speak freely to the Soldiers, and some of the Captains, that during the Parly they should take their opportunity to enter in one side or another, and to kill them all: for that we must revenge the death of the Gentlemen who had been so barbarously massacred at Navarrensis, being that contrary to Article, and the publick faith they had flabo'd the Sieur de St. Colomb, and seven or eight others, who had surrendered upon conditions of Quarter at Orkhes, at the time when Monsieur de Terride was taken. The Enemy did this execution under pretext, that they were the Queen of Navarre's Subjects; but if the King offer to touch any one of her Subjects, they pretend to say he cannot do it; all things must be allowed to these people, and nothing to us; but I hope the time will come when the Die shall turn, that we may pay them in their own Coin.

Y 2
I could not have committed this execution to a better hand than to this Gentleman, he being Cousin-German to the Baron de Pordeau, who was one of those that were massacred; and he had no sooner spoken to two or three of the Captainis, and to the Soldiers, but that they presently ran to seek out for Ladders, which clapping to a Canton of the BA|e-Court on the left-hand by the Galleries, whilst the others were capitulating at the Gates, they there erected and kill'd all they found within, Captain Favas who was making conditions for them only excepted, whom Monsieur de Savigny and my Son Fabian, so soon as they saw the disorder pulled to them, which was well for him, who had otherwise infallibly gone to pot with the rest. Our Horse likewise who were on the right hand perceiving that our people were within the Town, galloped a little up the River, where they found a Foad, which though it was very deep they notwithstanding padd'd over, and ran directly to the Castle, on that side by the Religious, where coming up just at the time when five and twenty or thirty threw themselves out at the Windows, they fav'd those also, otherwise there had hardly been any one left to carry the news, but Captain Favas only. And thus the Town was taken; of which I immediately sent an account to the Marechal, and in the morning went my self to wait upon him, where he promised me to come up the next day with all the Army, and I presently return'd back to Mont de Marsan.

Accordingly in the morning the Marechal came at the time when I was taking the best order I could to preserve the Town from being further sack'd, but I could do little good in it; and as I was going out at one Gate to meet him, he entered by the other; for I had much ado to get out, by reason all his Army were got into the Streets, especially the Horse, by whom I was told that he was gone directly to the place where our people had entered, where having seen all, and heard how all things had paff'd, he said, Here was more of fortune then reason. Many there were also who made a show of rejoicing at our successes; that in their hearts would have been glad I had receiv'd a battle. At last with much ado I was no sooner got out, but that I was told he was already enter'd in; which made me return, where I was again above half an hour to enclofe amongst the Carriages, that I could not possibly get out, but in the end I made shift to get to his lodging. His Marechal de Camp quarter'd all the Cavalry in the Villages without the Town beyond the River, the Infantry in the Suburbs, and the Gentlemen in the Town. I thought this success would periwade both him, and his Council also, to pass the River, and enter into Bearn, which we had infallibly carried, and compel'd the Count either to fight, or to shut himself up in Natureuisse; but he positively told me, That he would return to look after his own businesse, in his own Government, and that he would not go to engage himself before Towns in Bearn, having no Artillery to batter withal; and that he would not that either the King or any other should reproach him, that he had spent his time in other Enterprizes than his own; that he had told the King at his departure what he intended to do, which he would also put in execution, considering that here he was only to fight with the Walls of the Towns of Bearn. I then recommission'd to him, that the Count would infallibly take one of these ways, either to hazard a Battel, which I thought he would was not dare to do, or to leave the Country so soon as he should hear of our coming, or else would shut up himself in his Fortresses; the last of which courses I conceiv'd he would not willingly take, but would rather choose to retire: and that also we might easily have Canon from Dagoits and Tholouze, and that this being done, the Province of Guienne would be at peace, that of Bearn reduc'd, and all those in Languedoc would tremble at the report of our arms: that if on the other side, we should follow in the said Montgomery's Rear, we should certainly trap him in one place or another, in case we should determine to pursue him where ever he should go to that effect. All this I reprehended to the said Marechal; but he, half angry, and importun'd by those Gentlemen about him, objected difficulty upon difficulty, and would by no means give ear to my advice. Now he had sent the Baron de l'Arsou towards Agen to enquire news of the Enemy, which Baron sent him word by a Gentleman call'd Reprofe of Monsieur de Grammont's Company, of the disorder in which the Count de Montgomery had retreated into Bearn, and how his Artillery had for almost two days together been abandoned upon the road to Orléans; and the Marechal himself was the first from whom I heard it, and afterwards from others, as I said before.

The day before he intended to depart in order to his return, I had notice given me that he had dispatched away the Sieur de Lusso towards the King, without paying a word to me, which Lusso was my Enemy, because I would not suffer him to be Governor of Languedoc. I thought it very strange that he would say nothing to me of it, and presently apprehended that he had not made choice of this person to report any good of me; for
for I knew he was not very well satisfied with me, forasmuch as he always held his Conclavations apart, calling no one to his Counsel but Monseur de Joyeuse, Monseur de Béloegarde, the Father and the Son, and Monseur de la Crossette his Marshal de Camp.

It is therefore to be wondered at if I took it very ill that I was not admitted to the Council, and that nothing was communicated to me, considering that I commanded the Vaunt-guard, and was the second person in the Army. But it was so carried, and I had reason to be highly offended at it, very well discerning that these Councils were held at our expense.

When I saw then that the resolution was taken to return, I went in the Evening to the Marshal's Lodging, where I gave him to understand in the gentleman terms I could, (for after that manner I was to proceed) "That I would lend my Son to surrender up the Government to the King; for that setting he away I very well saw, that all the affairs of the War would fall upon me, and that I had not forces to resist and hinder the Enemy from doing what he pleased in the King's Territories, by which means all the honor and reputation I had acquired in the preceding troubles, in preferring the Province of Guienne, would be lost and forfeited in this; that therefore I had much rather another should bear the blame than I, who never had other design than to end my days with honour, and nothing more. To which he returned me answer, "That I ought not to do it, neither ought I either to forsake any thing from the King, or to be angry with my self; and that I knew very well, that although the King had conferred upon him the Command of Guienne, as well as the other Provinces, he did not nevertheless meddle with it all, but permitted me to govern as before, and should be very unwilling to usurp upon my Authority. I made answer, That this was an effect of his own generosity, and good nature, but that his Patent was so large, as did manifestly derogate from mine, and that whenever he would he might command as pleased him, without leaving me the least power at all, no more than the poorest Cadet in Gascony.

To which he replied, That it was true, but that my valour and experience were so considerable, as would ever make me fight for and courted. From this light foundation it arose, that I quitted my Government because I would not obey him; and after this manner it was reported to the King by the fore-named Captain Lufian, or another that was sent to Court presently after him: and this is it that made the King so angry with me for quitting my Government, they having possest him, that it was only upon this account, which I no more thought of than of cutting my own throat: but I was born under a Planet to be evermore subject to calumny. I gave the Marshal an account to the contrary, when, as sick as I was, I went to him to Tholouse, so soon as I heard he was come thither, to make him a voluntary and free tender of all obedience, and that without any letter or command from the King, the Queen, or the Monseur.

By this is easy to judge whether the difference that grew betwixt us arose from hence. So it was that I suspected some foul play, forasmuch as a certain person had lent to Monseur de Noé Lieutenant to Monseur de Fontenilles, to come and speak with him about an affair that concerned my life. Whereupon the said Seur de Noé departed from Pamiers, or else from Nogaro, pestling away in all haste, without telling any one but Monseur de Fontenilles only; and at his return finding us in Mont de Marsan, told Monseur de Fontenilles and me, that a man who never went out of the Marshal's Chamber, and might have all that was spoken, had laid to a friend of his these words; Montreuil does nothing but eternally vex and importune the Marshal, but he will one day be laid dead upon the floor with a stab. Immediately hereupon this person came to the House of him who lent for Monseur de Noé, and told him, that he might acquittance me with it, which was the occasion that Monseur de Noé had been sent unto to go whereso he did. Monseur de Violence my Brother was at this time at Guerre, a place of his own within three leagues of Mont de Marsan, to whom I sent twice to beg of him by joyed hands that he would come to me; but he would by no means be entreated to it, what excuses he made I have now forgotten. My design was to have had him discourse this affair with the Marshal in private betwixt them two only, where I intended to have dealt faithfully to him, as to have nam'd the man who had spoken it, and that was one of his own people; but it remained there, for I would not intrust the letter to any other; and although I took no notice of it, yet it stuck damnable in my flamack, and I have since wondered how I could command my self, by which I learnt to know, that Age deprives a man of his heart: for in my younger days the greatest Prince upon earth could not have made me swallow such a pill. The older we grow, the more our blood deals from our hearts, and it appears that the nearer we approach to death, the more we fear it. It may be notwithstanding this that person might make this story of his own head, and that the Marshal never thought of any such thing.
The next morning I attended him at his rising. I had before day heard the Drums beat in the fields, by break of day they began to march, and to foon as the fun was up I went and knocked at his Chamber door, where a Valer de Chambre came out and told me he was not yet awake, though I had been told below, that Meflire de Joyeuse, the younger Bellogarde, and la Croiffette were all gone in before. Nevertheless I waited half an hour or more at the door, and in that time knocked three or four times, but no body would speak, though the Valer de Chambre, who came out to me, was gone in again and that I had intreated him if the Marefchal was awake to tell him that I was there. At last being ashamed to wait so long at his door, which never a Prince in Christendom would have suffered me to do, I was constrain'd to go walk in a little Garden of the Houfe, not so flenderly attended however, but that I had with me two hundred Gentlemen or more of the best Families of the Country, who were as sensible of the affront, or more than I, and said a great many passionate things to me; which though I knew very well to be spoken out of the affection and respect they bore to me, yet as I was the oldeft, I conceiv'd I ought to be the moft difcreet, and to confider that I should put many things in hazard, should I come to an absolute rupture with him. I waited above a long hour, what at his Chamber door, and in the Garden, and in the end came Meflire de Bellogarde, who seeing the Gentlemen asked where I was: They told him I was in the Garden thorough which he was to go to enter into the Hall; he then came to me, and asked me why I did not go into the Marefchal's Chamber, to which I made answer, That I had been there, and had knocked several times, but that no body would speak. He then told me, that Meflire de Joyeuse, his Son, and Captain Croiffette had been there above an hour; whereinupon I told him, That I did not understand why the Marefchal should make me dance attendance at his Chamber door, that I had never given him occasion to use me after that manner, and that I had the honor from the King, the Queen, and the Meflire all the while they play'd in Guinnes, that their Chamber doors were never refused me, that I was not of a condition to be so treat'd, but that since their Majesties service was interest'd in it I would make no breach. He was very much troubled at it, for he and I had been good companions, and friends, and there had never been the leaft division between us till death made the separation. He then went and knocked at the Chamber door, which was immediately open'd to him, and as suddenly clapt to again upon me, at which all the Gentlemen advis'd me to return to my Lodging, and to come up no more; but I was resolved to have patience, for which I have since a hundred times wonder'd at my self. The said Marefchal play'd yet above a quarter of an hour before he came out, after Meflire de Bellogarde went in, and at laft he came, where I forced my self to give him the good-morrow, and attend'd him to Mals, where by the way I intreated him to leave me one of the Companies of Meflire de Savigny's Regiment, or two hundred Harquebuizers, till such time as I had remov'd the grain that was in the Town, that the Enemy might not make their advantage of it, therewith to virtual Newarriuas, there being by computation of Meflire de Cumiers, and of those he had employ'd to examine it, twelve hundred Wagon loads of all sorts of grain in the Town, as also by the account of the Provizours, who had been joyn'd with his Officers to look into that affair. For this City serves as a Granary to all the Landers, and the Bulges Country, from whence, to the detriment of France, they transport their grain into Spain, and it is said to be one of the best Corn-Markets in the Kingdom. He then mounted to horse, and I went to wait upon him out of Town, and into doing found my self alone, not one of the Gentlemen that were with me once offering to mount, to pass that Complement upon him; but whether they did it because their Horses were not ready, or that they had no great mind to go, I know not, and so he depart'd. Immediately after his departur I dispatch'd away Captain Fabian my Son with letters to the King, to surrender the Government into his Majesties hands, but when he came to Bourg de Dien, he was taken by the Enemy, and there lost his Letters, which was the caufe that he could not deliver his Majestty the reasons that mov'd me to quit my Government, which made his Majestty exceedingly offended with me, thinking it was because I would not obey the Marefchal d'Anville, as Captain Laffaun had given him to understand. A thing that never entered into my thought; but I foresaw the Tempet, and would therefore retire to give others leave to do better.

The thing was evident enough by the report of several as well of the one as the other Religion, that had the Marefchal pass'd the River the Count de Montgomery had infallibly return'd from whence he came; for to have put his Army into Newarriuas he could not do it, by reason there was no provision, and in the other places of Bourg yet much less. For which reason it would necessarily have followed, that necessity and famine would have compell'd him to return headlong to the place from whence he came, and to abandon
Book VII. de Montluc, Marefchal of France.

... the Country to us; when it would have been a thing of no manner of difficulty for us to have defeated him either in front or rear, nay the very Peasants would have disdained him, who would have taken heart seeing us so near, and never have suffered him to pass the Rivers. And if he himself will confess the truth, as others who were with him have done, he ever gave himself for lost, till he heard that the Marechal retir'd: and to think of fighting a Battel he could never do it, considering the odds of Forces we had against him. He always said, that he had two great Mistakes at his breach, and that therefore it would be strange he should escape, but that he would fill his skin as dear as he could. On the other side, that I should imagine the Marechal retreated out of cowardice, no man living can say that; for to this hour that was never reported of him; he is of too brave a Race, and has ever given proof to the contrary, and I esteem him a great Captain, who is able to do a great deal of good, and a great deal of harm whenever he pleases, and although some have cenfur'd and asperped him, because he was so near the Admiral, I, for my part, had never any such opinion of him. I know not what he may do hereafter, I never knew him other than a faithful servant of the King; but he ought not to have used me after this manner. I had seen too much boy'd and roft in my time. It was not then fear that made him to retire, for his Forces were so much greater than those of the Enemy, that we had defeated the Count de Montgomery with our Cavalry alone, and our Argoulets, which we would have dismounted, without ever engaging our Foot in the buffins. For at the Battel of Ver Monfieur de Duras had thrice as many Foot as the Count de Montgomery, and a great many more Horfe, better men, and better Officers, and we were not so many Horfe by two thirds as we were there, and yet we defeated them and won the Battel. It cannot therefore be said that he did it out of fear of being beaten, considering he had so little reason: but it was our misfortune that it was fixt in the Marechal's fancy, and more in that of his Council, that he should ruine himself before the Towns of Bearn, and do no good, not knowing the ferility of the Country, as we did, and that Monfieur de Trride had so devour'd all the provisions of those parts, that there could be none left for the Count de Montgomery had he stayed there. Had it pleased God that the Marechal had not been so bent upon returning into Languedoc, to pursue his own designs in those parts, or that his Council had been of an opinion contrary to him, and that he had resolved to pass the River, it had been a happy thing, and of infinite advantage to us: and on the contrary turn'd very much to our prejudice; for he went and engag'd himself before Mazerolles, where he left a great number of the best Soldiers he had, The Siege of and almost ruin'd his Army, without being able to make any other attempt. By which means there was nothing done of any moment either in Languedoc or Guienne, but utterly undoing the people, our own Forces having in all parts done as much mischief, as the Enemy themselves. Neither was it possible to be avoided, by reason of the great number of Gent's arms, Light-horse, Argoulets, and Foot that we had, who muft all of necessity live upon free quarter. Thus did all the Marechalf's Forces, which were sufficient both to defeat Montgomery, and afterwards to make head against the Admiral, mournd away and vanish without performing any thing worthy to be repeated.

I have ever observ'd, that when Almighty God is not pleased that matters shall succeed as men desire, he infatuates their Counsellors, and cuts the will of the Chief, and of his Counsellors quite contrary to what they ought to do. His name is blesse for all, since it was his Divine pleasure to have things go as they did. There is no one, after the people, that smacks for it but I, because I incur'd the Marechal's disfavour by speaking the truth. He ought in reason to have lov'd me more than those that counsel'd him to do contrary to what I advis'd him; but 'tis the Law of Bearn, The beaten must bear the blame; for Law of Bearn. the King has approved, and ratified all that the Marechal did, and disallowed, and condemned all my doings, and indeed I declin'd towards my setting, and was no more a-dor'd like a rising Sun, and yet I am as innocent and unblameable of that fault (if fault there was) as I had never been born into the world, of which I define no other estimacy than the three Effates of Guienne, and Languedoc which is neighbour to it, who know how all things pass'd, and have smirched for the miseries of Guienne, and dare moreover stand to the depositions of all the Captains, three or four excepted, who were of the Council, for those were the canes of the evil. I am not the first who for well doing have been paid with this Coin, of which I have given Examples in this Book, and find it a good matter to be a great Lord; for a little Companion as I am must always bear the burthen, and is evermore subject to the formentioned Law of Bearn. The said Marechal had reason, I confess, to have a mind to employ his men and his money in Languedoc, and I had also reason to desire him in Guienne. If he was not able to undertake for them both, why did he caufe Guienne to be infected in his Patent? That which we might
might have done in fifteen dayes, to wit, the defeating or driving away Montgomery would have been of greater advantage, than the raking of three or four paltry Towns in Longueuse. But I have laid enough of this dispute, which ruin'd the Kings affairs in those parts; I shall therefore pursue my discourse to tell you what hapned after.

The departure of the said Marechal put our affairs into very great disorder, and very much encourag'd our Enemies. As for my own part, in five Companies that I had there was not left two hundred men, by reason they were flown away, with what booty they had got, every man to his own house. This is the inconvenience of making war with the people of the Country. They must go see Wife, they must go carry home their Baggage, and besides every one has a Cousin, a Brother, or a Friend with the Enemy, to whom he has a regard, and of whom he has care. And as to the Cavalry we had, they could not subsist in less than five or six leagues of the Town, by reason the Enemy had devoured one part of the provisions of the Country, and our own people the other, and the Country of it felt was barren. However I stayed four or five days after the Marechal's departure, casting three or four hundred Waggon loads of grain to be remov'd from thence, which I carried to Ense, and other adjacent places, that the Enemy might not therewith virtual their Towns in Bearne: but I must have carried away fifteen hundred load or more to have remov'd all; and had my five Ensigns been compleat, as at my coming thither, I would have engag'd my self in it, though I was certain not to be relev'd, for I have committed as great follies in my life as that, and histhero (blessed be God) never met with any misadventure; nor did his Majesties affairs ever suffer by those hazards. I then retir'd towards Agnol, leaving the Sear de Montesfpan, Son to the Baron de Gondrin, with his Father's Company of Gent-arms in Ense, together with another new Company of Foot, that was then rais'd in those parts, not to endure a Siege, for the Town was naught; but only a little to favour the Country, and that we might not seem totally to abandon it, though we knew very well that his stay there would signifie little or nothing. I lent Monfeur de Fontuelles also into the Country of Bigorre, to see if he could do any thing on that side to amuse the Enemy, but all this was no remedy for to great a diftace. I shall not here take upon me to give a particular account of the defeat of Captain Arne, and the Baron de l'Arou, for as much as I did not place them there, where they were defeated; but so it was, that I sent however to Captain Arne to tell him, That he was a Soldier, and must needs know that in the place where he was he could expect nothing but disfavour, and that therefore I conceived he would do well to retire to Auch, which was an enclosed Town; but he sent me word, that he was placed there, and was therefore resolved rather to dye than to stir a foot from thence.

Now soon after the Marechal being about Mazeres, and in Agnol, the Count de Montgomery did like the Wolves whom hunger forces out of the Woods, and came into Armagnac, by little and little moving towards Condominois. He had caufed three pieces of Canon to be brought, and two Culverines to carter Ense, knowing very well that there was no body in it but Monfeur de Montesfpan with his Father's Company of Gent-arms, and the new rais'd Company of Foot that I had lent him. So soon therefore as the Artillery was come to Nogaro, that he had sent to discover the Enemy, and that the Hugenot Kindred and Friends he had, had given him notice of the preparation against him, he sent me word of it. I had no body to fend to reinforce him, and I left power of my self to relieve him, neither was there any relief to be expected; for the Marechal was either lying before Mazeres, or else retir'd to Tolosan. I therefore sent him word, That I would not should follow the example of Captain Arne, and that it was enough we had left one brave and valiant Captain, and one Company of Gent-arms, without losing two; that therefore he should retire and take along with him all the Priests and Religious people of the Town, together with all the rich Catholic Merchants, and escape to LeCoute, which he accordingly did; for although I had sent to surrender my Government, I did not for all that forbear to do all that lay in my power for the service of my King and Country, but rais'd five or fix Companies about Ville-monteufne and Florence, leaving one old and two new Companies at the said Florence, and four (with that of the Governor Monfeur de Panjas) at LeCoute, which were now, by reason that all the Gentry of Armagnac with their Families were retir'd into that place, which made the Town so full that no more could lodg there; and these things being done I came to Agen, where I heartened the Inhabitants the bett I could, and stayed there for some dayes. The Count de Montgomery then
then came to Enfes, where so soon as he was arriv'd the Hugonots of Condé (who had liv'd at home under protection of the Kings Edict, having since more hypocritically profest not to take arms, relying upon his Marquis Royal word, and had been used with greater humanity than the Catholicks themselves) beseech'd themselves to arms, and went to seek out the Count de Montgomery at Enfes, who durst advance no further. nor had not done, had I but four Companies only to put into Condé. But they all affur'd him that I had no men, nor means to raise any to make head against him, and that therefore he might securely come, and so they assur'd him to Condé. These were the fine fruits of the fine Edict; they persuaded the King to make, that provided the Hugonots durst not from their Hues, no one should demand any thing of them. I have spoke of this sufficiently elsewhere; though, if I would, I have a great deal more to say, and of greater importance, but it would do no good, for the King would take no order in it, since those about him will have it as it is.

A few days after we heard news of the Victory God had given the King, thorough the valour and conduct of the Monfeur, Brother to the King, and the Captains he had a bout him, and that the Princes and the Admiral, with the remains of the Batall of Men contempt were moving towards Limofa; every one that came, telling us that they march'd directly to la Charité, which was the reason that I sent for Monfeur de Leboron at Li bourne, to come with four Companies he had there and at St. Foy, to port St. Maries and Aquitain. He had before sent me one, which I had left at St. Sever, before it was loft under Captain Espérand d'Avila, and I had also sent another to Dacqi under Captain Trèsfandre de Florance, and the said Espérand was constrain'd to retire to Dacqi, after the fine piece of work the Captain of the Castle had made, who would have charg'd himself upon Captain Montant, and was upheld by none about the Marechal, who were related to him. But I refer it to the truth, which tho' of the Town did no wayes conceal, and never after receive him. The City of Agen and the Clergy there, had set a foot a Company of two hundred Strangers at their own charge, commanded by one Captain Raphael an Italian, who was married in the Town.

The said Count de Montgomery remained six or seven weeks at Condé, wherein he committed an error; for had he followed his blow he had put a great many to their thumps: but who is it that is never mistaken? The Marechal's Camp was at Toulouse, Granado, and thereabouts; they had no great fancy to bite one another, for they never so much as gave one another an Alarm. The Marechal had put out Monfeur de Fontenilles from the place to which I had sent him, and taken from him the Command I had given him in those parts, and order'd me to be about Beaumont de Lomagne, openly usurping upon my Government, according to his Parent. He sent likewise to the Baron de Gondrin, Signieur de Montespun (who Fater lay sick at Léetoue) to come to him, giving orders every where that none should obey me in the least; for that I was no more the King's Lieutenant, but that he was the man. He wrote twice also to Monseur de Maullan, that he should not fail to bring his Company to him, who both times returned him answer, I but the Company was not, and none of his, and that it was not in his power to bring it to him; and all the affronts he could put upon me, he did. This nothing concern'd me in my own particular, for what I did was in order to his Majesties service, and for the conservation of the Country. Behold how particular animosities occasion a general ruin! notwithstanding I did not for all this forbear to act, as I had still been the King's Lieutenant; and it was requisite for the poor Country's interest, that I should not regard the injuries he put upon me; for my despit might have done a great deal of mischief. Being the Son of a Constable of France, and himself a Marechal, I did by no means disdain to be commanded by him, had he been pleased to command me, and that he would have done his duty. But to it was, that he as much as in him lay travers'd all my designs for the conservation of Guifiennes which flowed in much greater need than Lomagne. In the mean time news was brought us, that the Princes and the Admiral were in Perigord, and took the way of Quercy to retire to Montsalvan, by which I very well understood, that they came to take Montgomery along with them, to reinforce themselves with his power, without which it would be a matter of very great difficulty for them to march thorough so many leagues of the Country. I have since a hundred and a hundred times wondred, that so many great and prudent Leaders, as were in the Monseur's Army, should pitch upon such a resolution, as to fall to the beguiling of places, instead of purfuing the Princes, who were routed, and reduc'd to that extremity, that they had no possible means to set themselves up again, insomuch that had the people had Forces to pursue them, they had with great facility been all cut to pieces. 'Tis said that we our selves who bear arms, spin out wars in length, and stretch the thong to the utmost, as men of spin out a war.
the long Robe du Suits in Law at the Palace. Let the Devil take all such. I for my part had never any such intention, and can say with truth, that never a King Lieutenant in France has made more Hugonos pass the Knife and the Halter than I have done: which was not the way to prolong the war.

But to return to my subject, having heard which way the Princes took, without declaring my intention to any one, being in Monsieur de Gondrin’s Lodging at Lébouze, I sent for Monsieur de Panjas, the Chevalier de Romegas, and the Chevalier my Son, Monsieur de Gondrin was sick, and there told them That I was old, and not able to undergo the labour, in case we should be driven; that therefore to save my self, I would remit the care to govern the Town, as to the Civil Regiment thereof, to Monsieur de Panjas, and as to what concern’d the defence of it, and what should be necessary thereunto, I would transfer the Charge thereof to the said Chevalier de Romegas, and the Chevalier my Son, who had both been engag’d in the Siege of Malta, the most furious Siege that ever was since Artillery was first known in the world; by which they must needs better know what belonged to defence, and what was fit to be done than I my self; and being Companions and Brothers of the Order of St. John’s of Hierusalem, would also agree much the better together. That herein the Chevalier my Son should obey that of Romegas, both in regard he was the elder, and also by reason he had commanded at sea, in three or four Naval Engagements, where my Son had been with him (in truth he was a man of so much courage and bravery as any I ever knew) and that in the mean time I would go to Agen, to take the left Order I could for the defence of that City. They all approv’d of my determination, and the two Chevaliers would not make the Quarters but hand in hand together, beginning from the very instant to redouble the work of the Fortification, and Monsieur de Panjas as Governor provided them all things they requir’d. The next morning I went to Agen, Monsieur de Valence my Brother being retir’d into Lébouze. I had a day or two before fene my Wife and my two Daughters to Bordeaux, and when I came to Agen Monsieur de Caffanet to whom I had committed the Charge of Ville-nueve and the adjacent Country, (although I had confer’d the Government of it upon Captain Paulbac the elder, yet they agreed very well together) sent me word joyntly with Captain Paulbac, that the Princes were come to Montauban, and were resolv’d immediately to fall upon Ville-nueve. Whereupon I immediately sent les Perrux his Company and another, to two new Companies they had already within the place, with about a hundred Haquebuzers belonging to the said Captain Paulbac the Governor, and some thirty or forty Gentlemen of those parts, who were retir’d with them into the Town. I then return’d to Lébouze, where I did not stay above three or four days; for neither my age, nor my indigosition would permit me to stay long in a place; where news was brought me, that the City of Agen was entered into a sudden fear, and that every one began to truss up their Baggage to begin, so that the Town was in danger to be wholly abandoned. This news was brought me overnight, which communicated to all the Gentlemen in the Town, telling them that I would go in the morning, which they were all contented I should, provided I would return back to the said Lébouze; for to engage my self in Agen would, they said, be the greatest folly that was ever committed by man, it being plainly to be discern’d by every one, that the two Armies of the Enemy would infallibly attack that place. I then advis’d them, that I would not engage my self there: whereupon they asked me, if I thought it convenient that they should write a Letter to the Marechal in the behalf of all the Gentry of Armagnac, to entreat him to come with his whole Army to fight Montgomery at Condun, before the Armies should join, affuring him that the said Montgomery would never engage himself in the Town, which was not tenable, and to be entred in several places at pleasure, and to make him an offer every man to die with him for his Majesties service, and the refetlement of every one in his own house. To which I return’d them answer, that I did highly approve of it, and that they could do no less, than to send a Gentleman to him to implore his affiance; who therefore made choice of Monsieur de la Motte Gondrin for their Envoy, I would bate in the morning before I went, because it was five long leagues from thence to Agen, and the worst way in Winter in the world. Being we were at this time in fear, I had writ to Monseigneur de Montferrand of Agen, who liv’d out of Town, that he must needs make all the means he possibly could, to bring us four or five hundred Haquebuzers; to which he return’d me answer that in eight days he would bring a thousand before Agen, which made me, though I knew very well, that the Marechal took no delight in my Letters, however to write to him (for a man must wage a particular in a great concern) sending Monseigneur de Montferrand’s Letter enclosed within mine, and affuring him upon my honor to bring another thousand to bruith Montgomery, for I had a very good mind to be at him.

During
During these postings to and fro, the Princes joined in Country, as they had good need to do; for they had not a horse that was able to fit Montluc. One foot before another, as several who were with them have confessed to me since, having been constrained to leave above four hundred by the waves as they came, by reason they had no means to get them fluid. And just as I had din’d there came another Messenger to me from Agen, who had set out from thence at midnight, to give me notice that the Merchants began to talk of getting their wares out of Town, but that the Sieur de Lande and the Consuls would keep them from doing it, till such time as they should receive an answer to the Letter they had sent me, and as I was taking horse, some body, I cannot tell who, came and read me the Letter the Gentlemen had writ to the Marechal, which I did not much mind, my thoughts being wholly taken up with the concern of Agen: but I told them, That I thought it was well, but that nevertheless they should show it to Monseur de Valence, to see if there was nothing in it that might give the Mareschal offence; and so got on horseback, making all the haste I could to Agen. Being come thither I found every one in the greatest fear imaginable; the Church men, the Counsellors, all the President Court, and the Merchant’s sutties, packing up to be gone. I was no sooner alighted but that immediately the Sieurs de la Lande, de Nort, their Sons, and several others came and told me that all the whole City were at their wits end. I thereupon had them forthwith to repair to the Town Hall, and to call thither all the Chief men of the City, the Clergy, and Magistracy, and to give me notice so soon as ever they were met together, for I would go speak with them. They accordingly did so, neither did they need to use many entreaties, for rich and poor, every one ran to see me, to hear what I would advise them to do. When so soon as I came into the Hall (which was so full that five or six Gentlemen I had brought along with me had much ado to crowd in) I placed my self in the midst of them, to the end that every one might hear me, and spake to them to this effect.

Gentlemen,

You have twice in one day advertiz’d me, that the greatest part of the Inhabitants of this City are upon the point to forsale it, and to retire themselves to Bordeaux, Toulouse, and other places of safety; and in short, that your whole City was in fear. I see very well that this apprehension has seiz’d you upon a concert you have taken that I would abandon you in such a necessity, and that I had retir’d my self to Lettome, because it is a good place: which I have reason to take very unkindly at your hands, forasmuch as you have never heard that either in Italy, or in any other place I have ever done act which ought to render me suspect’d, that fear ever made me take my self to strong places; but, on the contrary, have ever engag’d my person in the weakest and least liable to make head against the Enemy. My renown is not so little in the World, nor confin’d to Guienne alone: I am reputed for such throughout all Italy, and through all France. And now that I am going down into the Grave, can you imagine my good friends that I would at one clap loose what I have with so much sweat, and blood been one and fifty years, that I have born arm’s, in gaining? You must revolve upon three things: Fiell, to throw away all apprehension that may have surpriz’d you, and tried it under foot, that it may never rise again: Secondly, to agree amongst your selves to be all of one mind and will, and not to spare your Estates in what I shall direct you, speedily and diligently to provide all that shall be necessary for the defence of your City: and thirdly, to pay an absolute obedience to fix or eight of your Corporation whom I shall chooze for you, or that you shall make choice of your selves, to take care as well for the fortifying, as furnishing provisions, and all things necessary for your defence. Which three things, if you shall think fit to grant me, I do swear to you by Almighty God, holding up my hand. That I will live and die with you; and moreover do engage (such is the hope and confidence I have in his Divine aid) that I will secure your Town from the Two Armies of the Enemy: for in my life, through Gods assistance, I have done greater miracles than this. As therefore you see my Countenance full of resolution to defend you: I desire all to be the same in yours, that I may know you will accomplish these three things I request at you hands. I know there will be some who will grumble at the charge and expense they must necessarily be ar; but let such consider what will become of them if the Enemy make themselves masters of the Town, as doubles they will if you put not to you utmost force and endeavours to prevent them. What will then become of your Goods, your Estates, your Houses, and your Wives and Children, when they once fall into their hands, who retain all that they subdue? All this will be turn’d toiper-unrvy’s tis for this you fight, and also and principally
for the honour of God, and the preservation of your Churches, which in the first 
Troubles were (crushed) only by these people your Enemies; but if they enter now, will 
be raz'd and (level'd with) the foundations, as you see they have done at Condom. Since 
I am with you, believe me Gentlemen, they will think on't thrice before they will come 
to attack us; and if they come, though this City be none of the strongest, I will make 
them know, that I know both how to assault, and to defend. Grant me then this 
that I request of you, which is in your power to do, and believe that I will lay down 
my life for your preservation. If you are not resolv'd to employ the wet and the dry, that 
is to say, to do what good Citizens ought to do, never engage your selves and me too, 
but rather let such as are afraid retire in good time, and let me deal it with the rest who 
are ready and willing to die for their Country.

The Inhabitants of Agen take heart.

The Sieurs de Blazimond, then, and de la Lande speaking for all the Clergy, told me in 
few words, That all the Clergy will lay down their lives and fortunes in the common defence, 
would serve me in what ever I would demand of them, and every one take arms and be ready 
for action as the Soldiers themselves. The Lawyers promis'd the same; after whom the 
good old man de Notre made in the behalf of the whole City, that they would do the same 
that the Clergy, and those of the Long Robe had engag'd to do; any more (for it was not 
fit for them to be at continual labour) but that all those of the City, both Rich and Poor, 
Women and Children, without exempting any one, should put their hands to the work. 
Now before I would suffer Messieurs de Blazimond, and de la Lande to speak, I entreated 
them, that all those who should answer, would speak so loud that every one might hear 
them; which they also did, and when all the three Orders had made an end of speaking, 
I strain'd my voice, and said, Have you all heard what these Gentlemen have propos'd who 
have spoken in the behalf of the whole City? to which they cried out that they had; 
whereupon as I had held up my hand, I made them hold up theirs, and take the same 
Oath I had taken; which being done, I desir'd them every one to withdraw to provide 
al the instruments, and that I would retire to my Lodging with the principal men 
of the City, to make election of the eight who were to govern over them; but being it 
was already almost night they entreated me, that seeing they were all together, I would 
give them leave to make election of the eight, that I would please in the mean time, to 
retire to warm my self, and to get my Boots off, and that the next morning they would bring 
me a List of their Burgers names, of them to make election which eight I should think 
fit. And so I withdrew to my Lodging, where after supper there came to me Messieurs 
de Blazimond and de la Lande, the good man de Notre and his Sons, with so great joy, 
as more could not be express; telling me that the Merchants who had pack'd up their Mer-
chandise, and a good many of them already loaded them in Wagons had unload'd all, 
and that they thought never City was overjoy'd as theirs was, and that so much as to 
the very Women and Children there was no other talk but of fighting, knowing the resolu-
tion that I had taken to carry amongst them.

Companions, you who shall take the pains to read my life, you may take fair exam-
iples by me. This people, who were all their wits end, and ready to over-run the City, 
immEDIATELY at my word only resi'dent such courage, that I will be bold to say with 
truth, no man ever after discover'd the least apprehension in them; though to say the truth 
they had no great reason to be so secure, the Town being of two great circuits well to be 
defended, commanded moreover by a Mountain, and too Armies ready to fall upon us 
at once. Believe me, Companions, when I tell you, that upon your resolution depends 
that of all the people, who take good care, as they fee you do. And how great a good 
shall you do, besides the honour you acquire to your selves, to save a poor City from the 
Sack? so many Families stand eternally oblig'd to you, and not only the City it self, but 
the whole Country als: for the taking of the Capital City of a Province ordinarily 
draws after it the loss of a whole Seneschall; I, but you will say, a man must then shun 
himself up in a place where he can acquire honour; and where will you have that to be, 
in a Cape ofmillen? it cannot be there; for there it is the strength of the walls that 
defends you; but it must be in a place that you fee to be of publick concern, let it be 
never so weak. A good heart is a good Fortres: I could have flayed at Lezouarn, and have 
hardned how the squares went. I had nothing to lose at Agen, and could justly have 
laid all the blame upon the Marechal, who had shoulders broad enough to bear it, but 
this good City being taken, I saw all the Country was lost. In a time of need and dan-
gretherethatyouhaveahearthedrivefearoutofothers, and in so doing you 
will always appear to be what you are; and assure your selves that the Enemy seeing 
such a man enag'd in a place, will think on't thrice before he will once come to 
attack
de Montluc, Mareschal of France.

Book VII.

I have (as you may have observe'd before) ever had that good fortune, the Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and French Huguenots have been afraid either to abide, or to attack me. Get then this privilege over you Enemy, as you will do in doing well, and giving testimony of a good heart, and an undaunted courage.

Three or four days after I write to the Gentlemen who had the charge of Letteure, and principally to the Chevalier de Romagas, and the Chevalier my Son, exhorting them to employ all they had learnt at the Siege of Maltes, and to do as well as they had done there; for that their honour would be without comparison much greater in serving their own Prince and Country, than in a foreign Soyl. I also conjur'd every one to obey them, considering that there was not a man in the Town that had ever been in a Siege but they two: for as for my part I was resolv'd not to stir from Agen, but would die in the defence thereof. They were very much affrighted when they read my Letter, which they communicated to one another, and immediately return'd me another back, buts yours'd by the Sieur de Gendrin, de Pansat, de la Malee Goodin, de Romagas, de Maigre, and the Chevalier my Son, wherein they writ me word, 'That they did all very much wonder that I would so far forget my self, as to engage my person in to weak a Town as Agen, and so command'd by Mountains as it was. That for certain the Artillery was set out from Nauureine, and that the five pieces which were at Nogarel had not th'end from thence, but had flayd for the coming of the rest;' that therefore they did beg of me to come to Letteure, and that the Chevalier de Romagas, and my Son would go put themselves into Agen, who being young and resolute, if they should miscarry, the loss would not be so great; and that on the other side, should I abandon the field, all the rest of the Country would be ruin'd and lost. I return'd them answer, That I gave them many thanks for the admonitions they had given me, which though I did acknowledge to be rational and true; yet I knew very well also that they gave them out of compassion and fear I should losr my self; but that I did assure them, before they should hear I was lost, the Enemy should have paid very dear for the taking of Agen. That if the Marechal would come to fight them, he would have a good match of it; that I was determin'd not to budg from thence, but let them do their duty in case the Enemy should fix'd down before them, for as for my part I was resolute to do mine, and never to let the Enemy enter but over my belly.

At the same time there arrived Monsieur de la Brille, Steward of the Marechal d'Arville's Household, whom the said Marechal sent to me to know if Monsieur de Montferran was come with the thousand Harquebuzers, as I had fent him words, and also with what Forces I on my part could affit him. I then reckoned to him, that what from Ville-nuefle, Letteure, Agen, and Florence, I could make a thousand Harquebuzers, and the thousand of Monsieur de Montferran, shewing him the Letters that the said Sieur de Montferran had fent me from St. Macaire. He could not find in his heart to lose so much time as to bair his horfes, before he return'd to carry back this news to the Marechal, when being juft about to take horfe to return, there came a letter from Monsieur de Montferran, dated from Marmande, containing these words. 'Monsieur, At this instant I am setting out with my Troops, which are a thousand Harquebuzers, and therefore Light-horfe, and shall this day pass part of my men over the River at Agullon, the rest must stay till to morrow morning, but to morrow night they (shall all be at Port St. Marie. The said de la Brille took a Copy of the Letter, saying to me these words, I am going to carry the Marechal the best news can possibly be brought him, and assure your self upon my life and honor, that so soon as ever I shall return'd he will begin to march; and to ran to his horfe. At the end of three days, the Troops being at Port St. Marie and Agullon, I had word fent me from Letteure, that the Marechal was return'd from Grona to Tho lombe, out of despit of the Letter the Gentlemen of Armagnac had written to him, which I have made mention of before; and that for one clause that was in it, which ran thus: That in case he should not peace to march to come to help to re-afli'd them in their houses, they should be confir'd to go apply themselves to the King in their own persons, humbly to beg assistance from him. This was the ground of all his discontent, and he declair'd his anger upon me, accuting me that I had cauf'd the said Letter to be writ: I will not deny but that the first draught was read to me as I was mounting to horfe; but, to God help me, I could not have repeated fix words of it, for my affl ection hurried me away to Agen, to take care that the Town should not be forfaken, and took horfe, that very minute it was read to me, as I have faid before. However I leave it to any man of understanding to judge if these words were of such importance, that the said Marechal ought reafonably to have taken fuch offence at them. It was at the King that he took offence, and not at us. He is the King's Subject as well as we. O! would I have taken pens after this manner, how many times have I had occasion given me to quall all! I have perhaps been but too partial.
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize

Book VII.

not as to what concern'd my self, but for the Country and the People, who have mistook me since I quitted my Government. Now when Monfienrs de Montferran, who flaid with me three days at Agen, his men in the mean time lying at Port St. Marie, heard that the Marechal was return'd in discontent to Tholouse, and that he would hardly be previal'd upon to come, he told me that he would return to Bourdeaux, forasmuch as he did not know but that the Princes might turn their desigms that way, hearing there was no body in it. Which he accordingly did, as there was good reason, by which means I was left naked, without hope of being relievd by any person whatsoever. Thus for the mis

construction of a word, for one insignificant picque, the whole Country ran a dangerous fortune.

You princes, Marechals, and Lieutenants of Provinces, who command Armies, never sacrifice the publick interest to a private diffafte. The Marechal ought to have consider'd, that these were Gaffons exild from their own houses, who writ in passion; he ought neither to have been offended at me, nor them; but to have excus'd their sensitivity, and not for such a trifle to have abandoned the Country. Our Proverb says, * Qui perd le fein, perd le fens. I have often ask advice of, and been my self affilling to thole that I knew had no great kindness for me. Never suffer your private picques, and particular animo

ties to endanger the publick concern. I have often obser'ved tome, and thole no little ones, who could have eaten one another, agree very well for their Matter's service, talk and confer together like Brothers, and after some handfome service, or good favours, open their hearts to one another, and become good friends. I have fince been told by some who had the good fortune to be there, that most of the Chiefs who were at the great Battel that was obtain'd over the Turk, were mortal enemies, but that they agreed out of respect to the common interest, and after the Battel became perfect friends. Would to God the Marechal would have left the animoity he had against me at Tholouse to have come and claw'd away Montgomery, he had acquird honour, and the Country a singular advance by it, whereas his peevifhnefs ruin'd all. I thought I had been the moft cholerick fellow in the world, but he has made it appear that he is more passionat than I. Nevertheles's had he been pleased to come, I would have ferv'd him as freely as the meanest Gentleman in the Army.

Having understood his resolution I went twice to Monfieur de Fontenilles to bring his Company, and come put himself into the Town with me; but he could very hardly ob

tain leave to come, though he came at laft. I had the four Companies my Nephew de Leberon had brought me from Libourn, three at Port St. Marie, and another at Aguilhon, which immediately upon the departure of Monfieur de Montferran by my order came in thither: and before Monfieur de Fontenilles arriv'd at Agen, a Gentleman called Monfieur de Montacut, came to entreat me to call away the Company that was at Aguilhon, and that he would undertake to defend the Town with the Inhabitants only. A promise that although I knew he was not able to make good, and that he only did it to spare the provisions of the Town. I nevertheless granted his request, fearing he would write to Monfieur le Marquis de Villiers, that I had made him to consume the fruits of his Eftate, and sent the Company to Vilemelfus. Wherein I committ'd a very great error, for this place had kept the Rivers of Lot and Garonne; but thole bawling fellows, who will spare their Maffers Houtes and Eftates, to appear good Stewards, oftentimes lose very considerable places. Therefore you, who have the honour to command, stop your ears against all complaints in such cafes, and so preffing necellicitles. I had done a great deal better, if upon this occasion I had prafis'd the Leffon that I now teach you.

Now you must know I drave on an Enterprize with Monfieur de Leberon, to go give a Scalado to the Captains Marechall and Chaffaudy, two errant Rogues who lay at Monbeurt. The said Sieur de Leberon was with eight or ten Harquebeuzers only at Aguilhon, that he might the better conceal his design. Viard, Muffler-Mafter to the Marechals Camp, came at this time to Agen, who was going to Court from the Marechal, and though I knew very well that the said Marechal was very much out with me, yet did I not forbear to fa

vour and pay all respect to all that came from him, being it was for his Maffiefs service. I therefore writ to Monfieur de Leberon, that he should fend a Convoy with him till he was past Fontenilts, whom he found at Aguilhon, in order to the Enterprize they were the next day at night to put into execution; for I was sending him five or six Boats full of Soldiers from Agen, and the three Companies that were at the Port were also to join in the business. But, as the fortune of war is sometimes very odd and extravagant, the well appear'd to be the day that the Muffler-Mafter Viard paffed that way; for the said Sieur de Leberon giving him a certain number of Harquebeuzers for his Convoy, and making account that in three hours time they would be back again, whilst he waited in expecta

* Who loses his substance lores his understanding.
tation of their return there arrived Meffieurs de La Caze, de La Loie, de Gentilinieres, de Mo
tains, and other Captains, with 7 or 8 Cornets of Horse, who were come from Lasbrete, which is nine miles longe, and had not halted above an hour at Heuze-fay; to be short they had made a Cavalry with the diligence of old Soldiers, and environ'd Aiguillon. Monfieur de Leboran seeing himself thus at ease with but very few Soldiers, and the In
habitants of the Town, was in a little perplexity what to do in his defence, when Monfieur de Montbrasc presently came and told him, that he was not able to defend the Town, and that he would not put it to the hazard of being ruin'd and sack'd; and accordingly without any more ado made some conditions, which was well for the said Leboran, for he fell into the hands of those four, who were all of them my very good friends, by reason that in former times I had done something for them. I was the first Captain that ever gave Captain Moussin any service, and made him a Soldier; and the rest were every one willing to acknowledge the several obligations they had to me; and let him go. There are Civilities amongst Soldiers: but my said Nephew play'd there the part of a Novice, not to refer to himself men now for a time of need: he thought the Enemy was too far off to trouble him. Captains, my Companions, this was a ridiculous security of his, he ought to have consider'd the importance of the place, situated upon two Rivers, and that the Enemy could not but cover so sweet the vicinity of Cleirac and Tones consider'd. But I play'd the fool as well as he, in drawing out the Giraffon, for fear of offending the Marquis.

So soon as ever I heard of his being taken, I drew my three Companies that were at the Port into Agen. Two days after the Princes Army came and encamped themselves, their quarters extending from Aiguillon, as far as within half a league of Ville-neufue, and up to the great Road, which leads to the said Ville-neufue, all along the valleys which are in that place, where there are very good Villages. Now, as I have already said, I had divided the City into eight parts, and over every division had set two good Chiefs of the Town. It was a delightful thing to see the men and women all work, who came to it constantly by break of day, and never gave over till the night took them off: they were never longer than an hour at dinner, and all the head Burgers of the City were eternally soliciting them to ply their labour, from which no one was exempt, not even the Religious women. One night a man came to tell me, that a Troop of Reiters were come up within a quarter of a League of us, to a Village close by Monbran, which is a Castle belonging to the Bishop of Agen. In the morning therefore I mounted to horse with my Company, and went close up to the Village, where, because two Country fellows told me, that three other Cornets of Reiters were quarter'd very near unto the first, I made the Argoulets that came out with me stay behind, affrighting my self that the Reiters would relieve their fellows, being so near, and that consequently we should be put to retreat in haste, where I should be in danger of losing the said Argoulets, by reason they were not very well mounted, and beside there was dirt up to the Horse Cambrils. Nevertheless some of the best mounted of them went along with Monfieur de Madaillan, whom I commanded to charge desperately quite through the Bourg. He did so, and some few were kill'd in the Streets as they pass'd, whereupon the Reiters put their selves into two or three houses where their Officers were quarter'd. The other three Cornets who were quarter'd close by, upon the Alarm were immediately on horse back, so that all we could do was to carry away six and thirty of their horses, and I believe had I suffer'd all the Argoulets to go they had not left them one; but Monfieur de Madaillan, seeing the three Cornets coming upon the Gallop to relieve their Companions, retreated to me; but they did not much pursue him, and so we retir'd into the Town.

Now Viard was soon back from Court, for he had both the Kings Pals and the Princes, and went to find out the Marechal. The next morning after we had taken the Horses Monfieur de Fontenelle arriv'd, by which means I had two Companies of Gens d'armes in the City, and three of Foot. I had from my first coming placed Monfieur de Langac Monfieur de

Peymiral with two Foot Companies, which were the Giraffon of the Port, St. Ma
tue and Monbran, who made very brave skirmishes, and though Monfieur de Langac was then sick of the diseale that so long has held him, he nevertheless kept the Soldiers night and day abroad, and was evermore making some attempt upon the Enemy. Our Horses went out very fast, but they fell found the Reiters to barrinco'd and bolted up in the Villages, that nothing was to be got of them but blows, and they were always mounted in a race. In truth those people whom they are like true men of war, it is very hard to surprise them: they are more careful than we, especially of their horses and arms, and are besides more terrible in war, for a man can see nothing but fire and steel, and not a Groom in their Troops but accouters and trains himself up to the fight, and so in time become Commendati

Book VII. de Monduc, Mareschal of France.
The Commentaries of Meffire Blaize  

Book VII.

become good Soldiers. I could not relieve our Cavalry with foot, by reason of the intolerable terrors of the ways, and also fearing a mishance, having to few men as I had in the City; which should any finer accident have fall'n out, might have struck such a terror into the Town, as might have drawn after it the loss of the place. I was only on the defensive part, and yet I kept them in awe, giving them to understand that I did not much fear them. The Princes and the Admiral lay five weeks or more where I have said, and Monfieur de Montgomery three or above at Condom, his quarters extending as far as la Plume des Brulles. We did nothing on either side, forasmuch as I had no men to attempt any thing withall, and they lay quiet, eating and drinking their fill, and making good cheer; for they had too sufficient of the defeat of Moncontour, as nothing could possibly be more; so that I think they had more mind to rest than to meddle with me. As for my part I night and day intended my Fortification. Being upon these terms, and in this posture on both sides, one night arriv'd Monfieur de la Valette, who came from the Monceurs Camp, and by fortune happen'd to be at Ville-neufve, at the time when the Princes sent a Trumpet to Monfieur de Caffaneni to summon the Town. The said Sieur de la Valette himself order'd the answer, which was, That the Town was the King's, and none of theirs; that therefore if either Trumpet or Drum should again come on such an errand they would kill him, and that there were too many men of honour in the Town to deliver it up. The said Sieur de la Valette hazarded himself in the night to pass the Enemies Camp in exceeding great danger, and came to me about nine of the clock. He found me in bed; for I was very much reliev'd by Meffieurs de Fontenilles, de Madalienne, de Leboran, and the other Captains, by which means I slept at peace; all things in the mean time going on in marvellous good order, as well by night as by day. Old age must be excus'd. The said Sieur de la Valette told me that I must presently send away a Chief to command over all those who were in Ville-neufve, or that otherwise the Town was about to be lost; yet would by no means tell me the reason, but only that I must make haste immediately to send away a Chief, always telling me, that if I was not likewise I should be the first would repent it, for that it was a place of importance, and a near Town of War. But he said enough to make me get out of bed, for I would not shew the advice of so good a headpiece as his; and therefore instantly dispatch'd away two men to the Chevalier my Son at Léchoure, that immediately upon the reading my letter he should mount to horse, and come away to me to Agen; thence to put himself into Ville-neufve, and that by the horse he should make I should know if he were my Son. I writ also to the Chevalier de Roncegus, enquiring him to perform alone what they two had joyfully undertaken before. It was day before the two Messengers got to Léchoure, whereupon the Chevalier my Son immediately took leave of all the Gentlemen that were there, and about three in the afternoon came to Agen. Four or five days before this Monfieur de Montgomery with all his Camp, both Horse and Foot came to give a Carmifado to Captain Codreils, Lieutenant to my Son Captain Fabian's Troop of Light-horfe, which I had put into Moyras, with five and twenty Lances, and five and twenty Harquebuzers. Now Moyras is a little Village enclosed with walls, the highest part whereof might be mounted with a Ladder of twelve Staves, and without Flankers, where he arriv'd an hour before day. Of this design news was brought me to Agen, at a time when I had newly taken a Gliffer, which I had yet in my belly; whereupon without any more ado I put on my arms, mounted to horse, and went to pass the River. The Gentlemen of my two Companies parke after one another as fast as they could. Monfieur de Fontenilles came not till the next day, and thence that came in the night follow'd after such a manner, that I found my self with no more but four horse only on the other side of the River towards Gasony, where Moyras is situated, and near unto Eflilles, which is mine. With these four horses I galloped full-drive directly to Moyras, it being a League betwixt that and the River; so that in truth had Monfieur de Montgomery sent out ten or twelve horse only upon the Road from Agen, to Moyras, I had certainly been kill'd or taken; but a man must sometimes play the Soldier, and tempt fortune. Your Enemy knows not what you do. And thus I arriv'd at Moyras, where I found that the said Montgomery was depart'd about half an hour before, and had left his ladders at the foot of the wall; where, though they had flayed two long hours, they never had the courage to set them up, which made me, though I had before no great opinion of their Foot, to think much worse of them now; and so I return'd back to Agen; where at my return the Physicians were fain to give me another Gliffer to bring away the fift, which by the pains I had taken was hindred from working, and made me so ill, that I two dazes kept my bed. So soon as the Chevalier my Son was come, I presently sent for Captain Codreils, lending five and twenty Harquebuzers in his room, to the end that he might go with my said Son to Ville-neufve. At this time Monfieur de St. Giron, brother
to Monseur de la Guise, Colonel of two and twenty Ensigns under the Marechal d'Anville, had caused himself to be brought sick to Agen, having been wounded at the Assault of Mareuds, either in a leg or in a thigh; and would retire himself to his own house for his cure. At one of the decks in the night I put out my Son, his Comrades, and two Guides, bidding them be there by the next morning by break of day at Ville-neufut. Every one was exceeding glad of his coming, and I believe their dispute was that they would not obey one another. I would have sent my young Son Captain Fabian thither, but that we gave him over for a dead man, after his return from the Camp; and at this time had no manner of hope of his recovery.

Now I had hourly intelligence that the Admiral was making a Bridge of Boats at Port St. Marie, and to that end had gathered together all the Boats upon the Lot, and the Garonne, as far as Marmande. I had also hourly intelligence that the Enemy had sent for great Artillery into Bearn. All which made me hasten the Trenches and Fortifications I was making at Agen, believing, as there was very good reason, that all this preparation was intended against me; for Agen was no small prize, as well for the Riches, as in respect to the defeating of so many men of condition, who had thus themselves up in it for my sake. I then call'd a Council in my Lodging, and in a little Cabinet there, where we were no more but eight or nine persons to consult, and contrive which way we might break this Bridge. Now there was a Free Mason of Tholouse in the Town, who had made the Marquis de Villars some Mills at Aguillon, and this fellow upon some discourse with some one or another had said, that if we turn'd one of those Water-mills, which lay anchored before the Town afloat, it would break the Bridge: for the River of Garonne was great, and very much out, and every day still rising, because it almost continually rain'd. There was not any one man of his opinion, that a Mill could break the Bridge, forasmuch as we had been assured, that the Admiral had cantted Cables as thick as a man's leg to be made at Thonontin and others of the like size to be brought from Montauban also, together with very great Chains; which was very true, for besides the great Cables, the Bridge was lock'd fast together with great and ponderous Chains.

To make short of my story, not one of us was of the Mafons opinion but Captain Thoet as our Engineer only, who said, that in case the Mill was loaded with great stones he thought it might do the business; but not without being laden; and so we concluded nothing. Two days after I had word sent me from Tholouse, that the Marechal d'Anville was equipping three Boats, which were to be conducted by Captain St. Projet, man'dd with three-score men, which in eight days would be ready, and that the said St. Projet within that time was to bring them down by night to break the Bridge. Concerning our design we had debated, that we could not load this Mill, but that the Admiral would have intelligence of it by those of the Religion who liv'd in Agen under the protection of that accursed Edict, (for I may, and ever shall term it) so that (I know not how) we remain'd confus'd in our design, without hope of any other remedy, but only in bravely defending our selves.

In the mean time Muller-Maffe Viard came again to Agen, being sent a second time from the Marechal to the King, and bringing along with him a Trumpet of the said Marechal's, arriv'd on Wednesday between nine and ten o'clock in the morning: where he acquainted me in private with the Marechal's Enterprise to break the Bridge; but that he was afraid the Admiral had intelligence of his design: for which reason he had brought one of the Marechals Trumpers to go with him as far as Port St. Marie, where if he should, when he came thither, find that the Enemy had any inkling of it, he would send back the Trumpeter to let me know so much, that I might stop the said St. Projet from going any further; to which end, and that he might not slip by, I was to keep constant watch upon the River day and night. And so he took his leave of me, and arriv'd about two in the afternoon at Port St. Marie, where he saw three Corners of Reiters pass over the Bridge, to come quarter on that side of the River towards Safoney. The Trumpet had very good leisure to view the Bridge, and to observe how strongly it was fasten'd; to be sure thole of Chl_MIC and Thonontin had spare'd for no cost nor labour, those good people thinking nothing too dear that was laid out to annoy and mischief their Neighbours, and against the King. About nine at night the Trumpeter return'd, by whom Viard sent me word, that I should have a care St. Projet proceeded no further to execute his design; for the Enemy had notice of it, and had planted seven or eight small pieces of Artillery at that end of the Bridge towards Safoney, and that the other end was guarded by a thousand or twelve hundred Harquebuzers: in short, that I must by no means suffer him to go, for not a man of those that went could possibly escape. So soon as the Trumpeter had deliver'd his Message he retir'd to his Lodging, and I, without making any more noise, sent privately for three persons of the Town to whom I had already discover'd my intention, which
which was to let adrift the Mill belonging to President Scowin, by reason the said President had abandoned the Town. I will not here name the three men, because the President would sue them, and the Commissioners, who are now in those parts, would easily give him what damages he would desire, as they do others against the Catholics. After, having a while conferred together, we concluded that they should send our six Soldiers who were Mariners, who should go, and under colour of watching upon the Bank of the River, that Captain St. Projet did not pass by, unloose the Mill. Thus then they all three departed from me, and were not slow in sending out the Soldiers, neither were they idle to unloose the Mill; one whereof was drown'd in looing the Chain, falling from the little Boat, as the flake broke to which the Chain was fastened. This might be about eleven of the clock at night, and I have been told since by some of the Enemy, the Mill came to the Bridge about one. Now the Enemy had placed Centinels more than half a league up the River, that they might give them the Alarm when Captain St. Projet should pass by, who no sooner heard the Noise of the Mill, but that they immediately gave the Alarm, and the Mill immediately after arrived at the Port. Every one upon the Alarm ran to the two ends of the Bridge, and began to let fly great volleys of HARPUEBUZE at the poor Mill, that said not a word, but gave such a shock that it carried away all the Bridges, Cables, Chains, and Boats, in such sort, that there was only one remaining that was chain'd to the Wall of the Prince of NEUVE's Lodgings. Two of the Boats went down as far as St. MASCARE, and I have been told, that there were some carried down as far as BORDEAUX. This brave Mill of the Presidents flot not here, but went still on to break another Hugonot Mill below THEVENINS, and at the left Bay'd at the Isles about MARMAND. The first who brought us any news of the Bridge being broken, were certain poor people who had been to buy salt at the end of the said Bridge of the Hugonot Soldiers, who had taken seven or eight Boats laden with it; and the Enemy had killed several of those poor people, accusing them for the cause that the Bridge was broken. Some of their Soldiers who had leapt upon the Bridge upon the Alarm were carried away by the Current; but it was not till next day and the next, that the Guards sent me word there were seven or eight of the people arrived, who were went to carry Salt, and said that the Bridge was broken. I then presently went out to talk with those people who had been at the Bridge with those the Enemy had kill'd, and escape thou the fields under fear of the night, who told me the whole story, as also did others who came from thence the Port, and that one or other was coming in who confirmed the news. I then sent out ten or a dozen Light-horse on that side towards GASCONY, who went as far as under SCUIGUES, where they took two prisoners, who gave me yet a more perfect account than those poor people had done. In the mean time I presently caused a little Boat with eight Oars to be made ready, and gave the Master of her 25 Crowns to go carry the news to BORDEAUX: by whom I write a Letter to MEFFUITRES de LANFAC, the Baron de la Garde, and the Bishop of VALENCE, the my Brother, wherein I gave them a Narrative how all things had passed, entreating them to communicate it to the Court of Parliament, and the Jurats, that they might all share in the good news. And good news it was; for this very much brake the Enemies designs, whom we might have had despicable, taking them thus separated as they were by the breaking of this Bridge, would the MARECHAL have pleased to have laid his anger aside. The said MARECHAL'S Trumper before he went away was wittiness to the joy the whole Town was in for this success, and so departed in all diligence to carry the news to his Master. This was executed upon Wednesday about midnight, and upon Thursday in the beginning of the night the Mariners set out from AGEN, who when they come to PORT ST. MARIE, near unto the place where the Bridge had been, they let the Boat slide down at the direction of the Current, themselves being all furl up in the Boat. The Enemy began to call out, but no body anwered, which made them think it was some Boat that had accidentally broken loose, and was adrift; but they were no sooner past them a Crossbow shot, when they all start up and fell a rowing, and then began to rate and call them after their eloquent manner, plying their Oars so well, that they were the next morning, which was Friday, by sun-rise at BORDEAUX, where the joy was such, that I think never Mariners that came from new-found lands brought news that invited to great a Crowd. And yet it seems'd so incredible a thing, that almost all the Gentlemen doubted the intelligence, and every one ran to Moniteur de LANFAC's Lodgings, and to those of the Baron de la Garde, and Moniteur de VALENCE, to be satisfied of the truth. Moniteur de VALENCE immediately dispatched away his Secretary called CHERRY to their Majesties to give the news, which was quite contrary to what Commissary Viard had brought them. The said Viard, as I was told, arrived in the morning, and very much troubled their Majesties, and the Moniteur, at the account of the Bridges being brought
Book VII. de Montluc, Marshal of France.

To perfection, with the description of its structure and strength, being such as great artillery might produce at pleasure, and the Horie three-breasted, as it was true, and the man did not like to them in a little: and his Majesty had good reason to be concerned, for the importance of this Bridge would have given the Enemy Leisure to have taken all before the time, and to have paffed over their Canon at pleasure. A night Chassparr arrived, who brought news that the Bridge was broken; so that if the one brought victory, the other brought joy, and for a few days I was the best man in the world, and a great soldier, but that good opinion lathed not long, for the Enemies I had at Court disguised all things to the King, who was at that time at St. Jean; so that in that end, let me desire be what they would. I neither did, nor had ever done any thing worth taking notice of, and the King believe it, or I think seem’d to believe it rather, to satisfy their humour. This is the story of the breaking of the Bridge, and the whole and exact truth of it.

I am now to tell you of what advantage the breaking of this Bridge was to us, and what the Admiral had determined in case the Bridge had stood. It was resolved and concluded upon in their Council, that they would pass over that part of Winter till harvest in the Quarter where their Camp then lay, and would cause great artillery to be brought from Navarins, wherewith to take all the Towns upon the River Garonne, to the very Gates of Bordeaux, that they would attack Agen, but that they would leave that work for the left, because they would fift take Castile-geline, Bazas, and all the other places on this side the Garonne, as far as Bordeaux, by which means, and by the communication of this Bridge, both the one Country and the other, which are of the richest of France, would be wholly at their convenience and command. And all this they made account to have taken in less than fifteen days, as they would really have done, for they were absolute Maffeters of the field. They intended also to attack Luxembourg, affuring themselves that in all the Cities they should find great store of provisions, by which means nothing could be convey’d into Bordeaux, neither by the Garonne, nor much less from the Landes, making account that to the City of Bordeaux, which in those three months be reduc’t to the left extremity. And for my part I do not think it would have held out so long; for already Corn was there at ten Rivers the Sack, and for a thing nothing could get in by reason of Blaye. The City is good and rich, and a strong Town of War, but situata in a barren Country; so that whoever should deprive it of the Garonne, and the Dordogne, it would presently be reduced to famine, the Inhabitants continually living from hand to mouth.

They had moreover determin’d to bring their Ships up the River to Blaye, which they had in their hands, to keep the Gallies either from coming out, or going in. The Vicomtes also had promised the Admiral to cause three score thousand Sacks of Corn to be brought upon the River Garonne, which they meant to take out of Comminges and Comminges, the most fertile Countries of all Guienne; and where the greatest store of grain is, there being no less than five hundred Merchants, and as many Gentlemen, who keep three or four years store always by them in expectation of a dear year, when their Corn may go off at greater rates; so that they might with great ease keep their word with the Admiral; and by that means were certain to bring the King to their own think; and to make such conditions as themselves should think fit; and had they once got Bordeaux into their clutches, I know not but that they might have kept it as well as Rochelle; at least having Rochelle and Bordeaux both in their possession, they might have boasted that they had the best and strongest Angle of the Kingdom, both by Land and Sea, commanding five navigable Rivers, comprising the Garonne. And they had once settled berewse the Rivers of its Dordogne, Lot, and Garonne, the King must have had four Armies at least to have compel’d them to fight; and I will be bold to say, they had the best Country, and two of the best and most capacious Havens of the Kingdom, which are those of Braye and Bordeaux.

I wonder any one should be so indiscreet, as to advise the King, that it would be his best way to coope up the Huguenots in Guienne. 'Tis a dangerous piece to be depriv’d of: and should the King once lose it, it would be a great while in recovering. But these good Counsellors do it for their own ends, and to remove the War far enough from their own doors; and yet we shall fell it them very dear before they have it, In truth the King ought to make more reckoning of this Province, to hinder the Enemy from getting footing there, and not to abandon the Country, suffering others to make merry at our miseries, to that degree, as to ask, if I may have beds to lie in. I cannot believe this word could come out of the Queens mouth, for she has ever had, and yet has a great many very good Servants there; and the Money of France, that is, for our &c. fortune, may have their share in time. The evil is not always at one door. Now this was the result of the Enemies Council; and it was very well design’d. My Brother Monseur de Tiscier will bear
The Commentaries of M. de Blaise

Book VII

The importance of breaking the Bridge.

This was the advantage that accrued by the breaking of the Bridge in the judgment of all both Friends and Enemies: and I will be bold to say, that of all the services I ever did for Guiteau this was the most remarkable exploit, which proceeded from no other things, but my resolution to go put my self into Agen; for otherwise the Town had been quitted, and the Admiral had come directly thither, and not to Port St. Marie; nor to Aguillon as he was constraint'd to do. For a confolation being held at Launfert, it was there concluded, that at their departure from thence, they should go to quarter at Castel Sagrat, Monpoy, St. Amour, and Ferassac, and the next day at Agen, making full account they should meet with no refistance. Which had it fall'n out, the Admiral would have had elbow-room enough; and between two great Rivers, not only have refreshed his Army at great ease, and in great security; but moreover have made the whole Country sure to him. I know very well that it was told the Admiral by two or three persons in his Army, that in case it was true that I was in Agen, they could never get me out but by bits, and that in my life I had committed greater follies than that. And there were who said that they had seen me engage my self in three or four places, the strongest of which was not so tenable as Agen, and had still come off with honour. These who said this, might well affirm it with truth, as having been with me in those places. But the Admiral full maintain'd, that he was confident I had not put my self into Agen with any intention to stay there, but that my determination was, so soon as I should hear of his coming to pass the Garonne, and go put my self into Le Lous, saying he was too old a beaten Soldier to engage himself in such a place. The others full affirm'd that they would pawn their lives I would not budg from thence; which made the Admiral in the end to adhere to their opinion, and to alter his course directly to Aguillon, extending his Quarters as far as Port St. Marie, where if they should see, that upon their approach I abandoned the Town, and retreated towards Le Lous, as they believe I would, they would then advance to Agen. He found in the end that they who maintain'd I would not stir from thence were better acquainted with my temper, than either he or they, who told him I would retire to Le Lous; and being it was cafe in my dith, that for three years I had done nothing to purpose, let every one judge by what I perform'd in these three years, without money, or either Horse or Foor; had I been suppos'd to have money only to pay the Soldiers, or had the King reliev'd me with the Foor, and Gen'sarmes I defir'd, whether or no I had not done my work. I think I should have kept the Admiral from wasting his horses at the Garonne, and his Reiters from drinking our Bordaux wine: for the Count de Montgommery would never have had leisure to have call'd them in; and I think I should have dealt pretty well with him.

The Admiral's opinion.

The Brid being broken the Admiral was four or five days in suspense, not knowing which way to turn him, nor what course to take: for besides the Count de Montgommery's Camp, he had moreover the Corners of Reiters engag'd on that side the River towards Gascony, which were those that had pass'd the River, and were quartered at Labardee, but he could not imagine which way to draw off from thence, by reason the Rivulet that runs by Parvion, a Monastery of Religious women, was swell'd to high, that not a man either on foot or horseback durst attempt to pass it; and the Count de Montgommery was yet at Condom, and about Nerac, and Brabe. The Admiral then caus'd a little Bridg upon two Boats to be made, upon which five or six horses could only pass at one time, the Boats being to hal'd by a rope after the Italian manner. So soon therefore as the water of the Rivulet began to abate, the Reiters began to pass over a fine Bridg there is in that place, and drew near to the passage of the Port, where they began to ferry over upon this Bridg of Boats by fix and fix, or seven and seven at a time at most. Which they found so troublesome, that with all the diligence the Passengers could use, the Boat was always an hour and a half in going to and again, with which great pains and difficulty they three Cornets pass'd, and were two days in passing over. The Count de Caddale, and Monseur
de la Valette lay at this time with eight or ten Cornets of Horse at Stafford, to the first of which, as soon as the Count de Montgommery began to move from Candon, to draw near the River, I write a Letter, That if his resolution was to fight Montgomery at the Pafs, 1, with my two Companies of Gent’-armes, and five hundred Harquebuzers, would not fail to be at the fight, not to command, but to obey him as much as the meanest Soldier three. He return’d me many thanks, sending me answer back, That if it came to that, both he, and all under his Command would obey me: but nevertheless said nothing of my coming to join with them: I understood well enough however by the Letter, that they would have been all glad to have had me with them: but la Croisette who was there, play’d the Dominus fue tumum, and govern’d all. I therefore sent again to tell them, That in case they had no mind to have me come in person, I would however, if they pleased, send over the two Companies, and the five hundred Harquebuzers to join with them. By which any one must difcern, that I had not left the Marechal because I would not obey him, since I offer’d to obey the Count, and Monfieur de la Valette, and even Captain Croisette himself, who was in the greatest authority amongst them.

I shall not here take upon me to give an account of what they did upon this occasion, by reason I was not there, neither have I much enquir’d into it, saying that I was told they charg’d some they met with at their marching out of Brabch, and beat them in again, and I have since heard that the Count de Montgommery was himself then in the Town. How true it was I am not able to say, but I believe they did all that lay in their power to do; for they are sufficiently known, and reputed all for very brave Gentlemen. The Count de Montgommery pass’d over first his Horse, and then his Foot, after the other. I sent threecrefe Light-horse pick out of my own Company, and that of Monfieur de Fontenille, over the River, with three hundred Harquebuzers, to make good their retreat, who march’d up to a little Village near unto the Ferry call’d la Rosée, where they kill’d fifteen or sixteen men, and took twelve or thirteen Horse, giving them to hot an Alarm, that I was since told, had our Horse push’d on to the Pafs it fell, they had caus’d three or four hundred to be drown’d, for five or six drown’d themselves upon this Alarm for haste. And on the Admiral’s side he could no way relieve them, for they could not repals above fix or seven horse at a time upon the Bridg of Boats, which made them five or fix days in ferrying over. This was the plunge and quandary the Admiral was in, to draw off the Count de Montgommery, and three Cornets of Reivers,

Monfieur de la Chappelle Vice-Senechal, and Monfieur de Bouiez had sent me word, that if I would grant a Pafs to a certain Hugonot, to whom at their entrance I had given assurance to live quietly in his house, he offer’d to go to Port St. Marie, and enquire out, and discover what way the Admiral intend’d to take, after the Count de Montgommery should be pass’d over the River, or whether or no he had any thoughts of making another Bridg; which Pafs I accordingly sent, and the same day that the Count made an end of ferrying over, this man return’d back to their house, telling and affuring them, that at the Enemies departure from Port St. Marie, which would be within two or three days after the Army should be got over the River, they would march towards Tholouse, and go to pass of Montluc, with a resolution to burn all the houses within four leagues round of Tholouse, and especially those of the Presidents and Councillors; and moreover told them that he had learnt from a Captain of Horse, they had particular given to the said Captain of Horse in charge near unto Tholouse call’d l’Espine, to burn it. To which the fornamed person making answer, that it was one of the most beautiful places in all that Country, the Admiral reply’d, That if the Master of that House had no such they would be himselfs. The said Sieur de Bouiez himself tell’d me all that this person had said to them; of which I immediately advis’d the premier President, for to have acquinued the Marechal with it had been to no purpose, and I was very certain he would have given no credit to any information of mine, which made me rather choose to advise the President, sending him word that he ought to call in Monfieur de la Valette, who was already return’d towards Tholouse, and Meileurs de Negrepelles and de Sarlois, and that they could not have too many good men in the City; for the Enemy talketh strange things, which nevertheless I would not repeat, by reason it was but the discourse of the Rabble of their Camp, to which no credit was to be given.

The Admiral’s design against the Tholouse, 

The retreat of the Army of the Prince,

The retreat of the Caffle of Brjoumont, in which was Monfieur de Darfure, Brother to the Sieur de Brjoumont that now is. I fill’d out with my two Companies of Gent’-armes, and few them all march by within less than a Harquebuz-shot of me, I having no more than eight or ten Horse in my Party, for I had left the Cavalry a little behind, but could not place them.
then to coverly, but that the Enemy saw them very plain; yet not so much as a man came out to discover what we were, but held on their march, and went to quarter that night about Pont de Caffes, and drawing towards St. Martin, quarter'd themselves about the said St. Martin, and the adjacent Villages, where they lay'd two or three days. Now being the said Sieur de Durfort had seen all their Army, both Horse and Foot pass by, and had had leisure to fixe to number them upon their march, I entertained him to take Pott, and to go acquaint his Majesty with the number of their Camp, who amongst other things told me he had discover'd a Troop of five or six hundred Horse, who pass'd by at a little further distance than the rest; the most of which had no Boots, and could therefore be no other than Grooms and Footmen they had mounted only to make a show. I did nothing that I did not first communicate to the Bishop of Agen, in whom I did at that time confide as much, or more, than in my own Brother, esteeming him for one of the best friends, and a man of as much integrity and virtue, as any Prelate in France. He is desended from the House of Fregia of Genoa. I gave instructions to the said Sieur de Durfort, and a Letter of Credence, which consisted of these heads, That I had sent to his Majesty the Sieur de Durfort, who had had the convenience exactly to number the Army of the Prince, to deliver a perfect account of all that he had number'd and seen. After which I acquainted his Majesty with the course they fleer'd, and the resolution they went withal, to burn all before them; of which I had allogen notice to the premier President of Toulouse, to acquaint therewith all those who had Houses near unto the City, that they might withdraw their goods, and that they would do well to call in Monseigneur de Negrepelée, if he was not already there, together with Mejieurs de la Valtete, and de la Sarbouss. In another clause of my Letter to the King I sent word, that the person (I do not here name) of the Religion, who had been in the Enemies Camp, had brought news to the Sieurs de La Chepelle and de Bouzet, that the Captain of Horse with whom he had confer'd, had told him that they had designs upon Montpellier, and Pont St. E프리, which were sure to effect, telling his Majesty that I was very well acquainted with the Governor of Montpellier, Monseigneur de Caffenou, for whom I would be responsible with my life, but that I knew not him of Pont St. E프리: but that if his Majesty would please to give a caution to the said Governors to have an eye to those places, it would be a means to awake their diligence, and to make them provide better for their safety and defence. I likewise gave his Majesty to understand, that the Bishop of Agen, who was lately come from an Abbey of his in Languedoc, near unto Narbonne, had told me that all the lower Languedoc, from Montpellier to Avignon, were in very great anxiety, having no one in those parts to command them; and had sent to the Marechal to entreat him to send them Monseigneur de Joyeuse; for provided they had a Chief to head them, they should be sure to defend the Country; and that therefore, if his Majesty thought fit, he might do well to send to the Marechal, to let Monseigneur de Joyeuse go into the lower Languedoc, he having now other great Captains about him; for as much as the said Sieur de Joyeuse would be there better accepted than any other, as the said Bishop had alfor'd me. I moreover acquainted his Majesty in my said Letter, that if he would please to command the Monseigneur to march with the one half of his Army only, we should be able to fight with greater Forces than those of the Princes; and let his Majesty look upon me as the beset fellow that ever bore arms, in case the Monseigneur would come but with the one half of his Army, provided he brought his Reiters along with him, if he did not defeat the Princes, and put an end to the War: that in case his Majesty should not think fit the Monseigneur should come, let him then command the Prince Delphin to march with the Army towards the Country of Rouergue, with whom I would join, and we would find means that the Marechal d'Avville should also join with us, and that then about Toulouse, or which way forever they should move, we would find an opportunity to fight them at our best advantage.

These were all the heads of my instructions; and to lay the truth not a man of them had ever return'd into France, unless they had hid their heads in their strong holds, and we had preferr'd the Country. Had they once been broken, or separated, they would have had much ado ever to have rally'd and piec'd again. This good Bishop of Agen had told me, that he gave Narbonne for loft, and that Monseigneur de Rieux the Governor was a Huguenot, that he had driven one of the principal Catholics, to whom all the rest of the Catholics ever address'd themselves out of the City; at which the Inhabitants were almost in despair, in much that the Catholic Citizens had writ to the Marechal, to beseech him to write to Monseigneur de Rieux to permit him to return into the Town; which said Sieur de Rieux had sent back many excuses, and that he could not do it, whereupon seeing the Marechal cold in their behalf, and that he did not enough interest himself in their concern, to cause the Gentleman to be readmitted, the Catholics had apply'd them-
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nition, onely defir'd
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selves con the Parliament, that the Parliament had thereupon remonstrated the Citizens
grievance to the Marechal, who again at their instance had writ to the said Sieur de Rieux; but
still to no effect, which had made the people to give themselves absolutely for lost. I
told all this to the Sieur de Dufart; not that I had included it in my instructions, and
much less that I gave him in Commiion to tell it to the King, because perhaps it might
not be true, but telling him, that to be more certain, he would do well to ask the Bishop
of it, and if he would give him leave from him to tell it to the King. He therefore accord-
ingly enquir'd of the Bishop touching that affair, who thereupon told him the whole story
after the very same manner he had related it to me, and moreover told him, that he would
himself write to the King, which he accordingly did; but the said Sieur de Dufart re-
fun'd to receive the I etter till first he had seen the Conten's, which he therefore shew'd
him, and then the said Sieur took it, telling me that he had seen what the Bishop had
write to the King, which was word for word as he had related it to me before. This
was all that was compriz'd in my instructions; for as to any letter of Credence, the said
Dufart carry'd no other from me but only what was contain'd in those instructions, he
telling me freely and plainly, that he would never carry other Letter of Credin, but only
Instructions sign'd and seal'd. And upon this foundation it was, that the Marechal
d'Auvile writ that defamatory Letter against me, and had I not been withheld by the
respect to those to whom he appertains, and the Rank he held in the Kingdom, I should
have tried to have taught him how he gave the Lye, without being first well enam'f'd
of the truth. I might justly have given it him, forasmuch as the testimon'y of the King
himself, and the Instructions themselves, would have manifested the truth: but it is suf-
ficient that the King and the Queene knew the contrary to what he had cou'd in his Let-
ter, and that my confidence is absolutely clear. We shall see hereafter whether he or I
shall do our Matter the best service. He is indeed two advantages over me, he is a great
Lord and young, and I am poor and old; I am nevertheless a Gentleman, and a Cava-
lion, who have never yet suffer'd an injury, nor ever will do while I wear a sword. I
am willing to believe, that the forenamed Bishop at that time knew nothing of the design
completed against me; but his wicked Brother came and stayd with him four or five
days, and during that time brought upon him to confess to this virtuous Conspiracy; of
which I shall say no more, for God has begun to shew his miraculous arm in my revenge,
and I have that confidence in him, that I hope he will not flay it there.

Now the Princes went the same way that I had advertiz'd the President they intended
to march, and executed the resolution of burning all the way they went. I could with
from my heart that my intelligence had not proved true; for I have been affur'd by seve-
ral of very good credit of Tholouze, that the Army of the Princes endamag'd them above
a million of Livres. I shall not here undertake to give an account of what they did in
Languedoc, for I do not pretend to meddle with other men's actions; neither how well
the Marechal perform'd his duty; but shall return to a Letter sent me by the King, that
I must go forthwith into Bearn.

His Majesty sent me a command, that I should gather together all the Forces I was able
to make, and that with all possible expedition; which being done, that I must take Ar-
tillery from Tholouze, Bayonne, and Bordeaux, and elsewhere where it was to be had, and
go to invade the Country of Bearn. He writ also to the Capitouls of Tholouze, to fur-
mith me with Artillery and Ammunition; but not a syllable of any money, either to pay
the Soldier, or to defray the Equipage of the Canon; and God knows whether in such
Enterprises any thing ought to be wanting. An Army resembles a Clock, if the least
wheel or spring be wanting, all the rest goes very falsely, or stand still. I therefore sent
Epalangnes a Bearnis to Court, with ample instructions of all that was wanting, and that
would be necessary for me to have before I could begin to march. I was constrain'd to
this, by reason that the Letters his Majesty had sent me about this Expedition were so
cold, that it seem'd he that com'd them, must either have no great mind to have me go
thither, or at least if I went, should be able to do nothing to purpose, or that he was
an absolute Ignoramus. However I took no notice of any thing at all to his Majesty, but
only desir'd him to write an Expres, and a preffing Letter, and Command to the Capi-
touls to lend me two pieces of Canon, and one great Culverine, with requisite Ammu-
nition, for which I would be responsible to them; for the Artillery and Ammunition are
properly their own. They had already sent me word, that they had no Artillery ready,
and much less Ammunition, by reason that Moniteur de Béligarde had spent most of their
flock at Carl's, and at Pau, and that the Marechal d'Auvil'e had the rest at Mou-
sters. I wrote also to his Majesty, that he would pleasure to command Moniteur de Vence
to caufe a little money to be deliver'd to me for one Mulfer, or at leaft for half a one for the
Foot
Foot to buy powder, for that of two years this War had lasted, all the Foot that I had rais'd in those parts had had but two Mufflers payd them, and the moft of them but one; and li[f]o that he would fend to Monfieur de Valence to fend a Trefurer along with me to defray the Artillery, and whilst I waited in expectation of Españoles return, I would take fo good and speedy order for the ref, that at his coming back he fhould find me ready to march.

There were all the demands I made to the King. His answer was, that he did very much wonder I should fo long deferre this Expedition, that he had thought I had been already in the Country; that if I would proceed no otherwise than hither I had done in that affair, he would appoint some other to undertake it, and that for three years past I had done nothing to purpofe. Thofe Letters were ready to break my heart, and withal put me into fuch a paffion, that I was once refolv'd not to go, but to write to the King to fend fome other, that had formerly ferv'd him better than I, and that might do his bu-fines, as Monfieur de Terride had done. Nevertheless I at laft thought better on't, and determined not to do it, knowing very well that thefe Letters proceeded not from his Majef-
ties nature, neither from the Queens, nor the Monfieurs, for they had all three write to me in the fame frite: I knew very well that this came from the counsel of my Enemies at Court, and that neither the King, the Queen, nor the Monfieur ever wrote to me, as thefe were, to the great Efemies they had. I fhewed them to none but Monfieur de Valence my Brother, for fear left by my Exemple every one fhould be frighted from their duty; for all of them generally, of what condition ever, very well knew the con-trary of what was laid to my charge; and that I had done very well with the little money I had left me. And then it was that I evidently perceiv'd they intended to lay all the miffcarriages that had happen'd in thofe parts at my door; having no friends at Court to take my part, or defend me.

I now fee that the greatest Error I committed in my whole life, was that I would have no dependence upon any other, after the deceafe of my old Mafter, but the King and the Queen; and find that a man in command is much more fecure in depending upon a Monfieur, a Madam, a Cardinal, or a Marechal of France, than either upon the King, the Queen, or the Monfieur; for they will evermore difguife affairs to their Majeflies, as they themselves are endeav'ld, or think fit, and fhall certainly be believ'd by them all; for they only hear and fee with others ears and eyes. 'Tis an ill thing, but it is impossible to help it, and he that has done beft shall by this means be left behind: for which rea-
son if I could return to my former Age, I would never care to depend upon the King or the Queen, but upon thofe who are in greatefl favour with them: for though I fhould behave my felf as ill as a man could do, they would cover and conceal my faults, feeing that I only depended upon them, for 'tis their chiefeft good, and principal honour, to have fervants about them whom they may call their Creatures. If the King would him-
self only distribute his benefs, he would pair their nails; but whoever has a mind to be taken notice of, and rewarded, let him address himfelf to Monfieur or Madam, for the King gives them all, and knows not others but by their report. I am sorry I cannot return to my vigorous age, for I fhould better know how to govern my felf than I have hither done, and fhould no more so much build my hopes upon the King, as others that are about him. But I am now grown old, and cannot be young again, and muft therefore be content to follow my old humour; for should I now go about to take up another, I fhould be to fee at which end to begin. 'Tis too late for me to mend, it may serve others though, that I leave behind me; but if the King would be truly a King, and confer no benefs but at the recommendation of his own judgment, oh, how many would be bor'd in their defigns, and frustrat'd in their expéciatian!

I alsocommitted another oversight, in not having one of my Sons always about the King; they were well enough born to be receiv'd, and well enough qualified to win their Majefties affent. But God took from me my Mark Anthony too soon, and since Cap-
tain Montluc, who was flain at the Medres, either of which would quickly have ftop'd the mouths of thofe that defir'd confenf'd or calamify'd my Actions. Their eyes fo far off could do me no harm; but we were within a Pikes length one of another, old as I am, I would make their hearts quake in their bellies. Neither did I keep my Sons about me to be idle, but to learn my trade; for the firft follow'd arms, wherein he bravely signaliz'd himfelf, and follow'd me in all my Voyages and Expeditions; the second had acquir'd fo great a reputation in Guionnes, that it was not my interêt to part with him during the War; the third, since his return from Malta, has follow'd me in thofe late Wars, and the youngest alsó. But I fhall leave this discourse, which puts me into pa-fion, to return to the Expedition of Bearn. Monfieur de Valence then went to Bordeaux,
to see if there was any money to be got out the Treasury there; from whence he sent me word, that not to much a single* List was to be had from thence; that nevertheless, he had prevailed so far as to take up fourteen thousand Livres, which he paid into a certain Commissary that was appointed to attend me, and that in ten days time he would procure me much more, but that I was not in any wise to expect a penny more; and that the Receiver had been false to borrow this. Monseur de Fontaines was also to Tholouse, with my Letter of Attorney, to bind us both to restore, and pay back the Ammunitions in case the King should refuse to do it; and upon these terms they lent me a Canon, a Calverine, and some Ammunition. I then dispatched away Meffeurs de Montfpan, and de Medallin with a hundred Horse call'd out of my own Company of Gent'armes, and that of Monseur de Gondrin, directly to Bayonne, to Convoy the Artillery that the Vicount d'Orthe was to send me from; and sent Monseur de Gondrin to Nogaro to begin to form the Army, and with him Monseur de Saintfons, to whom I had given the Command of Marshal de Camp: and I my self fryed four or five days behind to see forwards the Foor and Horse, and to give time to the Commissaries of provisions to go thorough the Provinces to execute the Orders I had given them, for the advance of virtual for the Army, to which end I delay'd the time but fix days only, after which I went in two days to Nogaro.

So soon as I came thither we immediately fell to Counsel to deliberate with what places we should first begin. In which Consultation some were of advice, that it would be best to begin with St. Sever, others said it would be the best course to march directly to Pam: but I was of opinion that I ought in the first place to fall upon Rabateins, and for these reasons. First, because that beginning with that, I should leave the best Country of Gasceny open and free behind me, from thence to be supply'd with virtual for the Army; and secondly, that Rabateins being the strongest Castle, the Queen of Navarre had in her possession, if I should take it by force (which I foresaw I must do, as being confident they would not easilier surrender) I would put all to the sword; affuring my self, that that proceeding would strike so great a terror into all the Inhabitants of Bear, that no place afterwards would dare to abide a Siege, Navarreins only excepted. And on the other side, that those of Tholouse hearing of this good beginning, would not spare to furnish me with any thing I should stand in need of, when they should see that things succeeded well with me; whereas on the contrary, should I begin with St. Sever, I should engage my self in the Landis, a Country only fruitful in lands, where my men would perish for want of bread, and could have no relief from Bordeaux, though I should take the place. That therefore it was much better to begin with the strongest first, and there suddenly to employ my Forces, than with the weakest, and daily to consume my men, and waffe my time to little or no effect. This was what I proposed, which in the end took place in the Council, and was approved by all. But I told them, that above all things, to strike a terror into the Enemy, we must kill all before us which made any opposition, which would make the Captains of Tholouse to furnish and supply us with all things necessary, seeing that it was Good hand, good hire.

This Council was held immediately upon my coming thither, and the next morning before day I took 25 or 30 Horse, and went in all diligence to Dauph. Monseur de Gondrin had sent me a Letter, that his Son Monseur de Montfpan had sent him from Bayonne, wherein he sent him word, that the Artillery was not so ready as we believed, but that the Vicount d'Orthe was exceedingly diligent to equip, and make them fit wherefore to sooon as I came to Dauph I despatched away two Gentlemen to Monseur de Montfpan, one in the heels of another, to quicken his haste; and went to the Vicount to entreat him to advance a day or two before, and to try if he could bring Meffeurs de Luxe and De Dauscan along with him, that we might consult together of what we were bent to do: which he accordingly did, bringing the said Sieur de Dauscan only in company with him, it being impossible for Monseur de Luxe to return so soon to Dauph; where I layd before the said Sieur de Dauscan what had been debated amongst us in the Council at Nogaro, and my opinion, which was there alfo allowed by all to be the best, and particular by Monseur de Dauscan; who told me, that should we march directly to St. Sever, it would be impossible to get one Bague out of the Provinces, by reason they would be necessitated to put the waters in the Enemy's Country; but if I went to begin there where I intended, I should no sooner be arriv'd at Nog, but all the Country of the Bagues, and the Valleys of Soude and Dauph would infallibly come in to me. I was very glad to find him of my opinion, but I was constrain'd to stay three days at Dauph before the Artillery came up to me. At my departure thence I left two pieces of Canon with the Vicount d'Orthe, with Ammunition proportionable, with which he was to march directly

* A Litard is a bract Coin containing 3 Deniers, the fourth part of a Livre.
to Pau, so soon as ever he could hear I had taken Rabafleins; it being further concluded, that at the same time I should begin to march, I should lend two Companies of Gent-
d'arms to meet him with two others of Foot that were at Mont de Marsan, to join with a thousand he had already with him, what of his own Tenants, and those of Labour. I left him also Monfieur d'Amou to be affisting to him, with some other Gentlemen of the Country about Dacqs, which being done, I set forward, marching with the Artillery day and night.

Monfieur de Montamant, the Queen of Navarre's Lieutenant in that Country, was put to a very great dilemma at this preparation, and could not possibly divine which way I would take, whether directly to Pau, or to Rabafleins; for as for St. Sever, he perceived very well by my motion, that I had no thoughts of going that way: but expected I should march either directly to the said Rabafleins, or else to Pau. I made so good haste, that in two days and two nights, with four pieces of Canon, a great Culverine, and two Batteries I arrived at Noguaro; where Messieurs de Gondrin and de Saintlorens joining with me, we marched directly to Rabafleins, and in three days with the greatest part of our Horse and Foot came before the Town. It continually rained, so much that all the Rivers were full, which was the reason that the Artillery could not come before Rabafleins so soon as the Army; but immediately upon my arrival I took Commissary Fredeville and the Sieur de Lef<e;on, who in the morning before day had been to discover the place, as Captain St. Colombe, Monfieur de Basillie, and other Gentlemen of the Country had also done, whom I found of contrary opinions, and in great dispute, touching the manner of the Siege, some of them saying that we must first take the Town, and from within to batter the Caflle; the others, and especially all those of Bearn maintain'd, that I ought to attack the Caflle from without, and Fredeville himself was of that opinion: but I would see it my self; for in such matters I would never trust to any one, and a good befier of places ought to proceed after that manner; and to that end, taking only the before-mentioned Fredeville and de Lef(on along with me, went my self to discover the place, where though they ply'd me lustfully with their floor, they did not hinder me nevertheless from viewing every part at my own leisure, till at last I withdrew my self out of the form of Harquebreze into a little thatch house close by the Caflle; and there I made de Fre-deville confess, that we were few to attack the Town, and from within, the Caflle; after which we return'd one after another running, for it was hot standing still, and went to conclude with Messieurs de Gondrin, de Basillie, de Savigne, de Saintlorens, de Monte-
span, de Maldallan, and Captain Panciella Colonel of the Infantry, to attack the Town.

The remainder of the day I employ'd in causing Gabions and Bavin's to be made, and by break of day the next morning had the Artillery planted in Battery before the Town, which in a very few volleys made a Break. The Enemy had no intention to keep the Town, for they had filled all the houses with straw and faggots, which so soon as they saw our people coming on to the Assaull, they gave fire to an instant, and ran away men, women, and children to put themselves into the Caflle. Our men did what they could to save the Town from being burn'd, but they shot so furiously from the Caflle, that it was impossible to hinder the greatest part of it from being consum'd to ashes. The night following I brought the Artillery into the Town, and began to batter some Lodgings on the left hand, as the end of which was a Torr<er that cover'd the Draw-brig and the Gate of the Caflle; and by Evening the said Buildings were opened, and the Torrer beaten down to the Ground. In the morrow by break of day we began to batter the great Tower where the Clock was, which whilft we were doing our Soldiers gain'd the Gate of the Town, which was within ten paces or lefs of that of the Caflle, and that look'd a little into their Salles-Brayes; but there was a great Terras a Pike height, and as much in thickness, made of Bavin's after the manner of a Rampiere that cover'd their Draw-brig, so that our people could not do them so much harm as they did us; to remedy which inconvenience we made a Blind of some barrels and planks in that place, which something Secure'd our men that lay before the said Portal. All day long our Artillery batter'd the face of the Tower, and in the end the said Tower was opened, after which I made them shoot from the other Battery, which play'd into the Caflle, till the next day, which was the third, at noon, but could see no issue of the business. At this time Monfieur de Fontenill<er and Captain Mar<er came with the piece of Canon, and the great Culverine from Tholouse; but they did us no service at all, for the Culverine burst in an hundred pieces, and the Can-
on was crack'd.

I then caused two pieces of Canon to be remov'd to the left hand close by the Wall of the Town that pointed upon the other Face of the Caflle upon the left; wherein my intention was, if I could, to make the Tower fall on our side, which if I could effect, it would
wouldchoakuptheDutchthatwasfullofwater,andfillthefalle-Brayesonthatside,
bywhichmeansworthewouldgoontotheAssaultovertheruin,whichImadeaccount
wouldinfaliblyfillthegrates,forthetowerwastooighth.AllthefourthdayIbar-
tedthefacedefthistowerwiththesetwopiecesofCanon,andintheendbeatitdown,
sothatnothingremainedstanding,bottherightside,andthecorners.Ithencauted
themto shootattheleftCornerwhichlookstowardstheArtilleryIhadfirstplaced
onthelefthand, andwithtwopiecesthatIwasallnightremoving,attheothercornerthat
lookstowardshtown. In ten ortwelve shots the coats wasbroken, and the tower
fell on our side, exactly in the place where I would have it: but how high, or
how thick forever the tower was, it didnot so wholly fillthegrates, butthatwewerede-
fendagreatway into it. Itisthat, theseutenhaddrunkupthewater, andfill'da
goodpartoftheDutch, butnotsothatwewerenotyettogoverylow. Thefifthday
atnight, the Sieur de Bajfalle, and the Baron de St. Loys, brought me fifty orthreecore
Pioneers, for all mine were, lost away, and fled; and they had raided these amongst
theirownTenants, upon their own Estates which lay hard by. I gave thesefellows
to Mon-
fieur de Lefevre, and Capt. Montaut his Brother-in-law, with thirty ortwentsoldiers
that the Captains l'Artigue and Solles madetakethemtotheofficeof Pioneers,
their Captains themselves assisting them at the work. Theservice they wereallobly'dabout
wastowatawaytheTerra's, that the Artillery might look into the Draw-bridge, and batter
theside of it, and that the Ball might pass all along by the Flank, and into the Courtain-
along the Breast with in. The Enemy had also made a Barricado in the Chambers above, fo
that a man could not possibly fee any thing on one of the sides. I gavethecharge
ofremovingthetwopiecesofCanon to the place where Monsieur de Lefevremadethemaway
theTerra's to the Vicount d'Uza, and myself went to take a little reposé, for this was the fifth
night that I had not had a whole hour of sleep. By break of day I heard the two Canons
play, but could not believe it possible that in that one night all the Terra's could be remov'd,
at least all that was in our way. Our Artillery began to play its fairs along all this Flank,
andcolleaguetoomanythat to break this Barricado, which did us infinite mischief, for
theyflordeesperately into our Canon, and I now made the Vicount d'Uza, Monfieur de Le-
fevre, and Captain Montaut to go to rels, and left Monfieur de Bajfalle to assist the Artillery.
After this we caughed a hole to be made in the Wall of the town close by our Artillery, that
we mightcome to it in security from without, for from within itwas impossible without
our being kill'd or wounded. The fourth day of our Siege I had given to Captain Babus
thecharge of causing Gabions to be made, which had accordingly taken great pains,
andbeenverydiligent in the execution of his Command; but he had caughed them to be made
so little, that the wind of the Canvas had entirely shaken them all to pieces, an error that
amanmust takecare to avoid.

Our Cavalry all this while was quarter'd in Villages a league and a half from the
Leagueto, where therewas accommodation of Hay and Oats for the Horse, with inftruction
and command to be every night all night long in the field, to prevent any relief from getting
in: for the very day that we came to Rebaffeins, we had taken a great Packet of Letters
sent by Monfieur de Montunat, to the Vicount de Caumont, Monfieur d'Andax, and
several other Gentlemen to the number of thirty or forty Letters; wherein he solicitted
them if ever they defir'd to do an opportune and signal service for the Queen ofNavarre,
and the Prince, to come succour the Country of Beasn; for that they were not strongenough
to defend the Country if they did not come in to their relief: that he had already
written to them twice or thrice, but had received no anwer, that therefore he should fend
him word when they should be ready, and he would in one night make so long a march
as to come and join with them, immediately to march altogether into Beasn; or that oth-
therwise his wife must be constrain'd to abandon the open Country, wanting Forces to make
head against us; and that he was not now to do with Monfieur de Terride. The
reading of which Letters made us to pitch upon the following resolution.

First, To tend to the Baron de Larbous, that he should bring Monfieur de Grumont's
Company of Gens'd'armes from the higher Comunge, to come and join with us, that in
doing, he should make a halt thereabouts where the relief was of necessity to pafs, and
that night and day he should keep his Horse upon the Avenues, to give us continual advi-
cement of the Enemies motion; and that he should not offer to hinder their passage, but
let them pafs by, and only put himself in their Rear. I then dispatched away Captain
Monjans, a Gentleman of my own Company, to go to the Valleys by which the Enemy
was to pafs, giving him order with the * Baron to raise all the people of the Valleys and
Villages, and join him order with the Baron de Larbous to fall into their Rear. Thus much
for the Recruits we expected to come in to us; now on our side, our Cavalry was every
night

A rude kind of
night on horseback, and we had Scouts out continually as far as Nay, for Monfieur de Montanant was of necessity to pass over the Bridge of the said Nay to go meet his relief, and in cafe we had not taken the Cattle before the said Montanant and his Succours should arrive, Monfieur de Gendrin with twenty Light-horse, and four Ensigns of Foot, was to stay with the Artillery, and I with the rest of the Camp, when the news of their approach was brought to us, was to march day and night to go and fight them. This was the Order we had concluded on, had any Forces come to relieve them, making account that in cafe we defeated their Succours, the whole Country of Bearns was our own. Which I have here set down, and conform'd my reader withal, that others may take example by it, when they shall be engaged upon the like occasion; the young Captains I mean, for the old Soldiers know well enough they are to proceed after this manner. My deliberation moreover was, the Cattle being taken, to dispatch away a Gentleman who should post it day and night to the King, to carry his Majesty news of the success, to the end that he might send some Gentleman to the Maréchal d'Anville, who was about Montpelier, following the trace of the Enemy, (where I have not heard of any great harm he did) to bid him write to those of Tholouse to send me eight pieces of Canon, of twelve of Narbonne, that were yet at the said Tholouse, and order him to direct his Letters to the Parliament and the Captains, to move them forthwith to defray the charge of conveying the said pieces of Canon to me. Which whil许 it was in doing we would go attack another Cattle within two little Leagues of Rabafleins, which was not very strong, and from thence we would go to pass the Gave at a Foard above Nay, very well known to the Bearne Gentlemen in our Camp, and take Nay, there to establish our Magazine of victual, and to receive Mefieurs de Luxat, and de Dumasson, the Vicomte de Chavet, and d'Almabarter, with the Bofques they were to bring in to us, and go to march before Pam, where the Vicomte d'Ode was to come with the two pieces of Canon, and the Culverine had been left in his hands at Daugi; being confident that all the Country, some for good will, and the rest for fear of their lives and estates, would immediately surrender to us. That having taken Pam, and the eight pieces of Canon being come to us from Tholouse, we would then march before Navesains, and whoever would have put me to my Oath, whether I should have taken it or no, I should rather have sworn I should than I should not, for we had with us Gentlemen of Bearns and Bigors, and principally Monfieur de Baffluc, who had commanded at the Siege of Navesains for Monfieur de Terville, who both then said, and have since affirmed, that we assaulted Navesains as briskly as we did Rabafleins, we should have carried that with less difficulty than the other; every one who knew them both concluding that Rabafleins was by much the stronger place.

But as men design, and God disposeth as he himself beft to him the Events of things, he was pleased to order it very much contrary to what we proposed to our selves for the fifth day of the Siege, the 25 of July, in the year 1562. upon a Sunday about two of the clock in the afternoon, I resolved to give an affault, the Order whereof was after the manner following. That Monfieur de Sainteiron Maréchal de Camp should lead the Companies one after the other up to the Breach, which that he might the better do without confusion, I ordered all the Companies to be drawn by four and four together out of the Town, which upon pain of death were not to flir from their places till Monfieur de Sainteiron should come to fetch them, who was to flay three quarters of an hour betwixt every leading up, and in that manner to conduct all the Companies one after another; and it was also ordered, that the two Captains who were upon the Guard by the Breach, which were l'Artigues, and Salies of Bearns should go on flir to the Assail. As I was setting down this Order one came in hafe to tell me, that the two Canons that bar'd the Flanc, and that had been remov'd in the night, were forfaken, and not a man dwelt them himself upon the Batteries by reason the Artillery it fel had ruin'd all the Gabions. I therefore left it to Mefieurs de Gendrin and de Sainteiron to conclude the Order of the Fight, that is to say, that the Companies should go on successively one after another, which was to be set down in writing, and my self ran on the outside to the whole of the wall, where I found only ten or twelve Pioneers feant with their belles close to the ground: for Thionville the Commandery of the Artillery, who had the charge of those two pieces of Canon, had been constrain'd to quit them, and even Monfieur de Baffluc himself, Seeing then this disorder, I unbethought my self of a great number of Bavin I had the day before caufed to be brought into the Town, and laid to the Gentlemen who were with me his words: I have heard, and always believe'd, that there is no labour nor danger, that Gentlemen will ever refuse; follow me therefore I beseech you, and do as you shall see me do? They did not fail to be enterd, and so we went in great haste directly to the Bavin's that were within the Town, and lay in the middle of a Street there where not a man dwelt abid,
abide, and there I took a Bavin and laid it upon my shoulder, as also every Gentleman took one, and there were a great many who carried two a piece; after which manner we return'd out of the Town by the same way we entred in, and thus I marcht before them till we came to the hole. By the way as we were going I had given order, that they should bring me four or five Halbardeers, which at my return I found already arr't at the hole, and made them enter into it. We threw them the Bavins into the hole, which they took with the points of their Halberts, and ran to throw them upon the Gabions to raise them. I dare be bold to affirm with truth that we were not above a quarter of an hour about this work, and so soon as ever the Canon was cover'd, Tihonville and the other Canoners return'd into the Battery, where they began to shoot with greater fury than of all the days before, every clap almost over-taking another, every one assailing them with great cheerfulness. If, Captain, you shall do the fame, and your felves flift put your hands to the work, you will make every one follow your example, very shame will punish and force them on: and when the service is hot in any place, if the Chief do not go in person, or at leaft some eminent man, the ret will go very lamely on, and murmur when a man fends them to slaughter. And if you cover honor, you muft sometimes empt the danger as much as the meaneft Soldier under your Command.

I will deprive no man of his due honor; for I think I have affifted at as many Batteries as any man this day alive, and muft needs fay this, that I never faw Commiffaries of the Artillery more diligent and adventurous than both Frederic and Tihonville themfelves during the whole five days that the Battery continued, in my whole life; for they themfelves both lefvid, and fird, though they had as good Canoners as ever I faw handle Linflock in my days; and I dare be bold to fay, that of a thoufand Canon fhot we made againft this piece not ten fail'd of their effect, or were spent in vain.

In the morning I fent for Monfieur de Gobas, who was at Vic-Bigerre, and the Captains who were left to have an eye to Montmat, and the Succours expected by him, writing to him to come away that he might be with me at the Affault, by reason that Captain Pauillac Colonel of the Infantry was dangerously wounded, that we had no hopes of his life. He receiv'd his fhot at the time when I went over-night to carry Miffieurs de la ftre shot.

Lebron and de Montaut to cut off the great Counterfcarp, which fhot went quite through his Body. My Son Fabian was alfo shot in the chin, and two Soldiers clofe by my fide. I there committ'd a very great error, for I went in the evening before it was dark, and I believe they were aware that we intended to cut the Counterfcarp, for all their Harque-buzers were run together to that place; and the reafon why I committ'd this error was, that having compar'd with my felf how many hours the night was long, I found that it was not above seven hours or thereabouts; and on the other fide I faw that in half an hour I fhould lofe all that I had don'd, if the Counterfcarp was not pull'd down by break of day, and in that cafe I fhould think fit to give an Affault that day, they would be fo strongly ramp'd and fortified, that with as many more Canon fhot as I had made againft the place, it would be a matter of very great difficulty to enter. This was the reafon why I made fo much fhole to go and begin the work, that I might have it perfected by break of day; where I recommended the care of it to Miffieurs Lebron and de Montaut, and the two Captains upon the Guard, by telling them that in their diligence our victory wholly confifted. And in truth they fleft not, as I have already faid, for by break of day the Affault began to play, and the Counterfcarp was wholly pull'd down.

O Camrades, you who fhall go to besiege places, you cannot but confefs, that both here and in feveral other places, my Enterprizes and Victories have succeded more from my vigilance and promp't execution than my valour, and I on my part am willing to confefs, that there was in the Camp braver men than I. But no one can be a Coward that has thefe three things; for from thefe three all the Combats and Victories proceed, and all valiant men choose to follow Captains that are provided with thefe three qualities. And on the other fide he cannot be call'd hardly, let his heart be never fo good, if he be tardy, backward, and flow in execution; for before he has fixt his resolution, he has been fo long deliberating about it, that the Enemy is adverfiz'd of what he intends to do, and consequently is provided to prevent his deign: but if he be quick he fhall even surprize himfelf. So that there is no great confidence to be repos'd in a Chief that is not enduid with thefe three qualities, vigilance, promp'titude, and valour. If a man examine all the great Warrours that have ever been, he will find that they had all thefe qualities. Alexander did not in vain bear the Device I have mention'd before. Examine Cefar's Commentaries, and all the Authors that have writ of him, you will find that in his life he fought two and fifty Battels without ever lofing any, faving that of Diracium; but within thirty days he had a sufficient revenge againft Pompey, for he won a great Battel,
and defeated him. You will not find that in these two and fifty Battels he ever fought three times in his own person, that is, with his own hand, though he was always present there; by which you will understand, that all his Victories were the effects of his conduct, for being diligent, vigilant, and a prompt execution of his designs. But for all this, these qualities are rarely found, and I believe we Guides are better provided of them than any other people of France, or perhaps of Europe, and many good and great Captains have gone out of it within these fifty years. I shall not compare my self to them, but this I will lay of my self, because it is true, that my Matter never lost any thing by my flight or refinements. The Enemy thought me a league off when I came to beat up his Quarters. And if diligence be requir'd in all exploits of war, it is much more in a Siege, for a very little thing will serve to overthrow a great design. If you pref your Enemy you redouble your fear, he will not know where he is, nor have leisure to recollect himセル. Be sure to wake whilst others sleep, and never leave your Enemy without something to do.

I shall now return to the Assault; our Order being let down, I went and placed my self at the Gate of the Town near unto the Breach, where I had all the Gentlemen with me, of which there might be six or seven score, and still more came up to us, for Monfieur de la Chappelle Lauziers, who came from Quercy, brought a great Troop of Gentlemen along with him. I shall here relate one thing of my own preface, which is perfectly true, That it was impossible for all the friends I had to dispoef me of an opinion I had, that I should in this Assault be kill'd or wounded by a shot in some part of my head; and out of that conceit was once half in a mind not to go to the Assault, knowing very well that my death would at this time be of ill consequence, if not to the Enterprize in hand, yet to the general design upon that Country; this fancy therefore still running in my head the morning before the Assault was to be given, I said to Monfieur de Las the Kings Advocate at Agen, who was of our Council, these words. Monfieur de Las, there are some who have exclaimed, and do yet cry out that I am very rich; you know all the money I have to a Denier, for by my Will, to which you are a witness, you are sufficiently for our Eftate. But seeing the world are not otherwise to be persuaded but I have a great deal of money, and that consequently, if by accident I should die in this Assault, they would demand of my Wife four times as much as I am worth, I have here brought a particular of all the money I have at this day in the whole world, as well abroad at Interest, as at home in the custody of my Wife. The account is of my Steward Barat's drawing, and sign'd by my own hand. You are my friend, I beseech you therefore if I dye, that you and the Councillor Monfieur de Norat will transfer your love and friendship to my Wife and my two Daughters, and that you will have a care of them, especially Charlotte Catherine, who had the honor to be Chrifi'd by the King and the Queen his Mother. Which having said, I deliver'd the Scrow into his hands, and very well perceiv'd that he had much ado to refrain weeping. By this you may judge if I had not the misfortune that befell me before my eyes, I have no familar spirit, but few misfortunes have befal'n me in the whole course of my life that my mind has not fift prefag'd. I still endeavour'd to put it out of my fancy, resigning all things to the good will of God, who dispoefs of us as seems beft to his own wisdom, neither did I ever do otherwise, what ever the Hugonots my Enemies have faid or written to the contrary against me.

So soon as two of the clock, the hour preffix for the assault, was come, I cauht eight or ten Bottles of wine, that Madam de Panjas had sent me, to be brought out, which I gave the Gentlemen, saying, Let us drink Comrades: for it must now foon be feen which of us has been nurfed with the beft milk. God grant that another day we may drink together; but if our fate be come, we cannot frustrate the decrees of fate. So soon as they had all drunk, and encourag'd one another, I made them a short Remonfrance in these words, saying, Friends and Companions, we are now ready to fall on to the Assault, and every man is to do the beft he can do. The men who are in this place, are of them who with the Count de Montgommery defoyed your Churches, and ruined your houfes: You must make them difgorge what they have swallowed of your Estates. If we carry the place, and put them all to the sword, you will have a good bargain of the rest of Bearn. Believe me they will never dare to stand against you. Go then in the name of God, and I will immediately follow. Which being faid I cauht the Assault to be founded, and the two Captains immediately fell on; whereof some of their Soldiers and Ensigns did not behave themselves very well. Seeing then that those were not likely to enter, Monfieur de Saintciers March'd up with four Ensigns more, and brought them up to the Breach, which did no better than the former, for they flopt four or five paces from the Counter-carp, by which means our Canon was nothing hindered from playing into the Breach, which made those within duck down behind it,
I then presently perceiv'd, that some body else, and other kind of men than the Foot must put their hands to the work; which made me presently forget the concert I had of being kill'd or wounded, and said to the Gentlemen these words. Camarades, no body knows how to fight but the Nobles, and we are to expect no vict'ry but by our own hands, let us go then, I will lead you the way, and let you see that a good horse will never be prov'd. Follow boldly, and go on without fear, for we cannot wish for a more honorable death. We deserve the time too long, let us fell on. I then took Monseur de Gobars by the hand, to whom I said, Monseur de Gohas, I will that you and I fight together, I pray therefore let us not part; and if I be kill'd or wounded, never take notice of me, but leave me there, and push forwards, that the Victory however may remain to the King; and so we went on as cheerfully as ever I saw men go on to an Affault in my life, and looking twice behind me, saw that the Gentlemen almost touch one another, they came up to close. There was a large Plain of an hundred and fifty paces over, or more, all open, over which we were to march to come up to the Breach, which we passed over, the Enemy fir'd with great fury upon us all the way, and I had six Gentlemen shot close by me. One of which was the Sieur de Befoard; his shot was in my arm, and to a great one, that he had like to have died of his wound; the Vicount de La-batut was another, and his was in his leg: I cannot tell the names of the rest, because I did not know them. Monseur de Gobars had brought seven or eight along with him, and amongst the rest Captain Saualian the elder, of which three were slain, and the sad Captain Seaulian wounded with a Harquebuzer shot quite through the face. There were also hurt one Captain du Ploy, another Captain la Besflide, both Kindmen of mine about Villemeufet, who had always serv'd under Monseur de Brilliez, one Captain Rantoy of Demasian, and Captain Sales of Bearm, who had before been wounded with the thrust of a Pike in the Eye. There were two little Chambers about a Pike height or more from the ground, which Chambers the Enemy to defended both above and below, that not a man of ours could put up his head without being seen; however our people began to assault them with a great shower of Stones, which they pour'd in upon them, and they also shot at us, but ours throwing downwards had the advantage of this kind of fight. Now I had caus'd three or four Ladders to be brought to the edge of the Grasse, and as turn'd about to call for two of them to be brought to me, a Harquebuzer-shot clapt into my face, from the corner of a Barricado joyning to the Tower, where I do not think there could be four Harquebuzers, for all the rest of the Barricado had been beaten down by our two Canons that played upon the Flanc. I was immediately all over blood, for it gush'd out at my mouth, nose, and eyes; whereupon Monseur de Gobars would have caus'd me in his arms, thinking I would fall, but I said, Let me alone, I shall not fall, follow your point. Upon this shot of mine almost all the Soldiers and the Gentlemen began to lose courage, and to retire, which made me cry to them, though I could scarce speak, by reason of the torrent of blood that paff'd out at my mouth and nose; Whither will you go? Gentlemen, whither will ye go? will ye be terrified for me? do not flinch nor forsake the fight, for I have no hurt, and let every one return to his place; in the mean time hiding the blood in the best manner I could; and to Monseur de Gobars I said, Monseur de Gobars, take care I beseech you that the Soldiers be not discourag'd, and renounce the Affault. I could no longer stay there, for I began to faint, and therefore said to the Gentlemen, I will go get my self drift, but if you love me, let no one follow, but revenge me: Which having said I took a Gentleman by the hand, I cannot tell his name, for I could scarce see him, and return'd by the same way I came, by the way I found a little Horie of a Soldiers, upon which by the Gentlemen's assent I mounted as well as I could, and after that manner was conducted to my Lodging; where I found a Chirurgeon of Monseur de Gobars, called Maistre Simon, who dress'd me, and with his fingers (to wide were the Orifices of the wound) pull'd out the bones from my two Cheeks, and cut away a great deal of flesh from my face, which was all bruiz'd and torn.

Monseur de Grumand was upon a little Eminence hard by, looking on at his ease, who being of this new Religion, though he had never born arms against the King, had no mind to meddle amongst us. He was aware how upon my hurt all the Soldiers were dishearten'd, and said to those who were with him, There is some eminent person fain, see how the Soldiers are discourag'd, I am afraid it is Monseur de Montluc, and therefore said to one of his Gentlemen call'd Monseur de Sors, Go and see who it is, and if it be he, and that he is not dead, tell him that I entreat him to give me leave to come and see him. The said Sieur de Sors is a Catholic, who accordingly came, and at his entering into the Town he heard that it was I that was hurt, and coming to my Lodging found my people weeping for me, and me tumble upon a Pallet upon the ground; where he told me that Monseur de Grumant begg'd leave that he might come to see me. To which I made answer,
That there was no unkindness betwixt Monsieur de Gramont and me, and that if he pleased to come, he would find that he had as many friends in our Camp, and peradventure more than in that of their Religion. He was no sooner gone from me, but Monsieur de Medalliam my Lieutenant, who had marcht on the one hand of me when I went on to the Allaulfs, as Monsieur de Gobias did on the other, came to see if I was dead, and said to me; Sir, cheer up your spirits, and rejoice, we have entred the Castle, and the Soldiers are laying about them, who put all to the sword; and assure your self we will revenge your wound. I then said to him, Praised be God that I see the Victory ours before I dye. I now care not for death. I beseech you return back, and at you have ever been my friend, so now do me that all of friendship not to suffer so much as one man to escape with life. Whereupon he immediately return'd, and all my servants went along with him, so that I had no body left with me but two Pages, Monsieur de Las, and the Chirurgeon. They would fain have faved the Miniffer, and the Governor, whose name was Captain Ladon, to have hang'd them before my Lodging, but the Soldiers took them from those who had them in their custody, whom they had also like to have kill'd for offering to fave them, and cut them in a thousand pieces. They made also fifty or therecife to leap from the high Tower into the Moat, which were there all drown'd. There were two only faved who were hied, and fuch there were who offered four thousand Crowns to fave their lives, but not a man of ours would hear en to any Ransom; and most of the women were kill'd, who alfo did us a great deal of mischief with throwing flones. There was found within a Spanifh Merchant whom the Enemy had keep'd prisoner there, and another Catholick Merchant alfo, who were both faved; and there were all that were left alive of the men that we found in the place, namely the two that fone one help't away, and the two Catholick Merchants. Do not think, you who shall read this Book, that I caufed this flaughter to be made too much out of revenge for the wound I had receiv'd, as to strike terror into the Country, that they might not dare to make head againft our Army. And in my opinion all Souldiers in the beginning of a Confett ought to proceed after that manner, with fuch as are fo impudent as to abide Canon, he must bar his ears to all Captivitation and Compositions, if he do not fee great difficulties in his Enterprize, and that his Enemy have put him to great trouble in making a Breach. And as severity (call it cruelty if you please) is require in cafe of a refolute oppofition, fo on the other fide mercy is very commendable, and fit, if you fee that they in good time surrender to your direction.

Monsieur de Gramont then came to visit me, and found me in a very ill condition, for I had much ado to speak to him, by reason of the great quantity of blood that issued from my mouth; Monsieur de Gobias alfo immediately after him came back from the fight to see me; saying, Take comfort Monsieur, and cheer up, upon my word we have sufficiently revenge you, for there is not one man left alive. He thereupon knew Monsieur de Gramont, and faluted him, who after they had embraced, entertained him to carry him to the Cafe, which he did, where Monsieur de Gramont found the taking of it exceeding strange, saying he could never have believ'd this place had been near so strong, and that had I attack'd Navarreins it would have been more easily taken. He would then need fee all the removes I had made of the Canon, which having feen, he faid, it had not been require that we should have omitted any thing of the Battery. About an hour after he return'd, where he offer'd me a Houfe of his hard by, and all other things in his power, and has fince told me, that at that time, and in the condition he then faw me, he never thought I could have liv'd till the next day, and believed he had taken his leave of me for ever. All that day, and all that night I blod continually, and the next morning fent to entreat all the Cap tains to come and see me, which they did, where having recover'd a little heart and being able to speak with greater ease than before, I made them the following short Oration.

"Gentlemen, my Companions and Friends, I am not so much concern'd at my own misfortune, nor the pain I endure, as I am to fee the King's affairs disorder'd by this accident, and my felf constrain'd to leave you. I did not conceal from you the design I had in this Execution, you all of you heard it. I beseech you therefore that for me you flop not the Career of your victory, but put your fortune still on, for the execution we have done upon these people will strike a terror into all the Country of Bearn; and I am confident you will meet with no refiiffance but at Navarreins. Lofe not then this oppor tunity that God has given you; for if you do, all the world will fay, that your Courage only depended upon mine, and that you can do nothingwithout me, which though it would be a singular commendation for me, yet I would be very sorry to have it said, out of the honour and friendship I bear to you; which makes me as jealous of your reputation as my own. Make then I beseech you no more account of me than if I was already"
already dead. At which word I obtayned most of the Company with tears in their eyes; and having pass'd a little to take breath, pursu'd my discourse in these words. "You are here a great many Captains as able to command as I, and you have good and valiant men, who will now redouble their courages to revenge their Chief. I assure my self there is none of you but will give place to Monfieur de Gondrin, as well out of deference to his Birth, as also to regard he is the eldest Captain amongst you. And seeing he is a little infirm, I entreat you Monfieur de Sainthorre, and you Meffieurs de Goua and de Medailan to be continually about him, that the Conduct of this Expedition may be order'd by your discretion; for he you see is old, and therefore you who are young must take the pains. And since you are all men of courage, and all aim at one common end, which is his Majesties service, and the advancement of his affairs, maintain, I beseech you a friendhipe and inviolable friendship with one another. My wound, if you perform brave exploits, will be the occasion of your acquiring honor for your selves; and for God's sake my beloved Friends, do not give over this Enterprise in the beginning, and at a time when you ought most to pursue it. Follow your blow in this afrontment of the Enemy, and make it manifest that it was not I alone, but every one of you also, who have an honourable share in the victory. Are you not content with the Election I have made for you of Monfieur de Gondrin? and are you not willing to accept him for your Chief? to which they all made answer that they were, and that it was all the reason in the world he should command. Which having all declar'd, I entreated them to fee me no more, that they might not encrease my Fever, but all retire themselves to him; and so they sorrowfully departed from me.

One thing (Lieutenants of Provinces) I can say, and that without bragging or lying, that never any man in my Command was better belov'd of the Nobles then I, and though I was of a peevish cholericke nature, yet fo it was that they bore with my imperfections, knowing that I did nothing out of malice. O 'tis an excellent quality that in a Chief! and believe me what great Lord forev'r you are, if you do not win the love of the Nobles, the Officers and Soldiers, you will never do any thing to purpose. And if your passion sometimes make you fay, or do any thing you should not do, (for we are all men) you must repair it. I would fain see any of those Meffieurs of France who cenjure our actions in governing the Nobles of Germany, undertake the Government, to see if they could so easily, and at all turns manage those Gentlemen as they pretend. There was yet another thing that has evermore preferv'd me the friendship not of the Gentlemen only, but of all those who serv'd under my command, which was that I never thought any thing too dear for my Captains and Soldiers. I have often when I was but Captain my self given away my arms and my cloaths when I law any one in need. For a Pike, a Halberd, a quality need-gray Hat and a Feather, I have gain'd the hearts of some to that degree that they would have run into the fire for me; neither was my Purle ever ty'd up in my Companions necessity, and yet they fay I am covetous! He that lays fo of me is nothing acquainted with my nature; and it is the vice, of all others, that I have the least been pollard withal. I dare fay that in this last War only I have given to the Lords and Gentlemen under my Command eleven Spanish Horse, and two Couriers. Which that no one may think to be a lye, I shall name the persona to whom I gave them; nor to reproach them with it nevertheless; for they did me honor in accepting them.

First, I gave a Courier to Monfieur de Braffac, who follow'd me in all these Wars as his own charge (a Gentleman of ten thousand Livers a year, but the Enemy ever kep't from him all the Eflace he had in Xaintonge and Chaloffe) for which Courier he would not now take 400 Crowns. I gave another Courier to Captain Coffee, who bare arms with me twenty years, and was Captain Cherrys Lieutenant, after he had first been my Ensign. I gave to Monfieur de Medailan, who was my Lieutenant; a Spanish Hore he would not part with for 400 Crowns, and another to his Brother he would not now sell for five. I presented the Chevalier de Rencourt with a Spanish Hore that cost me two hundred three score and fifteen Crowns. I gave also to Monsieur Sieur de Castelles 200 Crowns to buy him a Hore, because his own had been hurt at St. Foy. He is a poor Gentleman, but very valiant, as Monfieur de Sanjac will witnesse, who is one of the oldest, bravest, and most prudent Captains of this Kingdom. And because he had another Hore that unluckily died, I gave him a Spanish Hore, a tall and strong one to carry Barbos, which after the Peace he sold for 1600 Crowns. Captain de la Bafide had another Spanish Hore of me, and the younger Beaumelle my Brother-in-law another; by reason his had been kill'd under him in a Sally he had made upon the Enemy. I gave another to Cap't Mylan, a Gentleman of my own Company, by reason that in a Encounter he had near unto Roqufort, his had been kill'd between his legs, and himself, his Brother, and
Brother-in-law all wounded. I gave another to Captain Romain a man at Arms of my Company, a poor Gentleman, but a man of extraordinary valour. I gave another to Captain Fabian, he having lost his horse in his return from Court, for which I had often refused 500 Crowns. And yet another to Captain Mont, my Guidon, a poor Gentleman who had lain a whole year in prison at Montauban, which horse cost me three hundred and five and forty Crowns. Being sick in bed, and diffusing my Nephew de Balagary, who I hope will not shame the Family from whence he is descended, I gave him the Spanish Horse that I had ever kept for my own Saddle. Several others I have lost, and three in this last War, particularly one that I designed for the King, who being sweeted, founder'd under me as I was going to relieve Mont de Marsan, which I thought Monsieur de Montemat had been going to besiege and could I reckon all the horses I have given in my life, I think it would exceed my Estates. If you do the same, you Lords who are the Kings Lieutenants, you shall always be well follow'd, for the Soldier abhorres nothing so much as an avacious Captain.

To return to my Subject all these brave Gentlemen took their leaves of me, and the next morning, which was the third day after my hurt, my Nephew de Lébanon cau ted me to be carried to Marsan, which is two leagues from Loubajet, I was no sooner departed from the Camp, but that the affection all the Soldiers bore unto me did too soon appear, for all the Gentlemen Volunteers retir'd and most of the Foot, for which I was exceedingly sorry, and could have been rather content with all my heart they should have totally forgot me. How much (my Companions) did you there prejudice your King and Country? and how great a wrong did you to your own honor? Had you united and main tained a good intelligence one with another, as you promised me you would, all Beaux would have been your own.  'Tis an untoward thing this Emulation to command. The same day that I made the Remonstrance to the Nobles, they dispatch after Captain Montant to the King, "whom I entreated to present my most humble service to his Majesty, and in my behalf to befriend him, that he would be pleased to provide for my Governor, whether I should live or die, for that he was to expect no more service from me: that I had al ready done enough, and must now make room for others, and that I would now for the time to come feel what I had ever avoided before, which was the privacy and repospe of my own House. He found at his arrival at Court, that the King had already dispèc'd of my Government above a month before, which till this time never any King of France before had ever done; but I sought not to lay the blame upon him. When I heard the news I did not much concern my self at it, though it did a little trouble me I confess, to have such a trick put upon me; for though I had not been shot, I should never more have exercised that Command; and I think he that now has it, which is the Marquis de Pillars, would as little care to be diffirfed from it as I; for it is not a Bureau without Curès, to have to do with the Queen of Neuvres, and the Prince her Son, who is already grown up to a man, the principal Governor, and an Enemy to our Religion; who baring what he is cannot want courage, credit, or means, not onlily in Guétem, but even in the King's Cabinet. Out of which consideration I had before quitted the Government, had it not been that the King should reproach me, that I had abandon'd his service in a time of War, and the greatest necessity of his affairs.

That I may return to speak of my wound, which I do but too well remember, you that are Generals of Armies, and Lieutenants of Provinces, may here observe how much it imports you to preserve your own persons, and not to expose them to hazard, as I did mine in playing the Common Soldier, and the Pioneer. For this unlucky shot of mine was the caufe that the Army under my Command shou'd away to nothing. I do not however intend to say that you ought to be Cowards, and to hide your selves behind the Gabions, whilst others lie open to the Harquebus shot, but only that you may learn to be wise by my example, and go discreetly into danger: for upon your folly all the rest depends; as you know it befell that brave Gaston de Foix at the Battle of Ravenna. I know very well that a good heart, seeing his men misdemean themselves, cannot forbear leading them the way, and exposing himself to danger, as I did, seeing my Foot go untowardly to work. Which made me call to the Gentlemen, for I ever found by experience, that fifty Gentlemen will do more than two hundred Common Soldiers. We receive something of honor, which our Fathers have acquired for us, and which gives us a Title to that fair Epithet of Noble.

By the whole account of my life hitherto you have been able to judge whether or no the King had any reason to use me ill, considering that I never spair'd my life (which certainly is the thing most dear to us in this world next to our honors) for his service; and not only my own, but the lives of my Sons also: for of four that I had I have seen three fall in Battle.
in his Majesties service the fourth only remains, which is the Chevalier, whom though I had design'd for the Church, and the Bishoprick of Condons, yet did I always command him to shew himself a Montluc; and he had the honour to be entitled Chevalier by the late King Henry my good Master, who lent him to Malta, where he prov'd his Apprenticeship in arms under the Chevalier de Romegas; and from whence the Grand Master wrote me word, that immediately upon his arrival he had put him to the test, to try if he was of my race or no, and had found him right. He was afterward in the Siege the Grand Signor laid before Malta, which was the bravest that ever was since Artillery was first founded. But do not you who leave the King despaired of honor and reward by my example, and because I was not so well us'd, as perhaps I deserve to have been; for this does not proceed from the Kings own nature. You may perhaps be more fortunate, and may not have so many Enemies as I, who for disdaining to be any ones creature, had no Patron to defend me; and on the other side have been perhaps too liberal of my tongue, in speaking freely what I thought, 'Tis dangerous sometimes to speak truth, and I could never lie nor dissimble. Yet shall I not be to ingrate as not to acknowledge my self highly oblig'd to the Kings my Masters for the benefits and honours they have conferred upon me, who from the condition of a private Gentleman, have rais'd me to the greatest Employments in the Kingdom: but I can also say that I purchased those honours at the price of my blood. Now you must know that having recover'd a little, and finding my self something better of my wound, I write a Letter to the King, which I have thought fit to insert in this place, of which these were the Contents.

Sir,

I have thus long defer'd to prefer my Complaints, both by reason of the great indisposition upon me, and also because my friends were long before they would let me know of your Majesties unkindness in taking from me the Government of Guisnes. Had your Majesty pleased to have had but two months patience only, you would have found so soon as I had settled the Country in peace, I was resolv'd most humbly to beseech your Majesty to provide for that Government, by reason of my age, and the great wound I have receiv'd, and then without disgracing me, your Majesty had had sufficient argument to have deputed another in my place. But by the manner of doing it, your Majesty has evidently manifested to all the world, that you have fleipt me of it for some forfeiture of mine, either as to matter of arms, or for some foul play I have practis'd upon your Majesties Treasure, by which means my honour is like to be brought into dispute throughout the whole Kingdom, which I cannot think I have deliv'd, and therefore am very much at a stand, as many others will be, to guess from whence the great disfavour your Majestie declareth to have taken against me should proceed; unless (out of the little hopes I had to be for the future serviceable to you) for having often importun'd your Majestie to make choice of some other in my stead; and as to that, your Majestie has since commanded me to resume my former Authority, and to continue my administration. Neither can it be upon any just offence your Majestie can have entertain'd, that I have embroil'd your Majesties Treasure; for you would never have punish'd me for a crime whereof you could not as yet be assur'd that I was guilty, and I have that confidence in your Majestie's bounty and wisdom, that you would not easily have given credit to reports so remote from all probability; for in the time that I have been your Majesties Lieutenant in these parts, several Commissioners in Extraordinary, and several of your Receivers General, with other Officers of your Majesties Exchequer, have made their Accounts, and had I been found in any of their Papers, I have friends at Court that would not have fail'd to have set a mark upon such places, where my name was any way concern'd. But hitherto I have not been put to any difficult in proving their accounts, forasmuch as it cannot be found, that I have ever taken upon me to touch one penny of your Majesties money, not only in this your own Province, but also at St. Trinian's, and in Tuscany, where I had much greater convenience of doing it than I could have here. And your Majestie may particularly please to remember, that having done me the honor for three years last past, to order the pension of six thousand Livers a year I pay to the Cardinal of Guise, should be discharge'd out of the Exchequer, I was so far from meddling with your Majesties money without your leave, that I would never make use of that affliction. And of all this your Majestie may be fully satisfied at the return of the Commissioners you have sent into these parts, who I am very certain will not bring back my name in any of their accounts, or if they should, there would yet be nothing prov'd against me, and therefore it cannot be imagin'd that your Majestie should be dissatisfied with me upon that account.

Ccc 2
It peradventure your Majesties displeasure should proceed from a belief that I have
determined some fault in point of arms, this opinion would also be very contrary to that
your Majesty had of me, at the time when you were pleased three or four times to write
me word, that I was the Reformer of Guienne; and I assure my self your Majesty has not
forget the reasons why you were pleased to grace me with that honorable Title; but will,
I hope please to remember, that it was because in the first Commonations at Tholouse, the
City having been disputed for three dayes together, and in that dispute two thirds of the
City won by the Rebels was at my coming delivered, the Assailants at the sight of me only
put to rout, and many of them taken and punish'd according to their deferver, in somuch that
to this day, the Inhabitants of the said City look upon me as the Conserver of their
lives and estates, and the honor of their Wives. With like diligence and good fortune the
City of Bordeaux, to which I went in two dayes and two nights from Tholouse, and
where by the way I fought with, and routed the Forces that were gather'd together to hin-
der my passage, was by me immediately reliev'd. Having refuted Bordeaux from the fame
danger that I had before Tholouse, without staying longer than two dayes there, I crost
the River with fliclenc Horfe, believing that Monfieur de Barie would come up to me, as
indeed he did, but it was four hours after the fight, where he found that I had defeated
eight Ensigns of Foot, and seven Cornets of Horfe, commanded by Monfieur de Duras. And
after this victory the said Sieur de Barie and I went to besiege Montfegur, which was bat-
ted, and taken by assaulfe, as was also Penne of Agayon. I after this in two dayes took
Lethernur, by reafon that the late Captain Mountral had surpriz'd four hundred men of the
Garrison of the said City, whom he had put all of them to the word; and immediately
without resting day or night I purfued Monfieur de Duras to close, that I compel'd him
to fight, before our Foot could come up to us; nay, I scarcely gave leuirfe to Monfieur de
Barie to come time enough to be prefent at the Engagement, where we succeeded so well,
that a handful of men defeated three and twenty Ensigns of Foot, and thirteen Cornets of
Horfe. After which I sent your Majesty ten Companies of Spanisli Foot, of which we
made very little use; but that did good service at the Battel of Dreux, as also did
thirty Companies of Gesons, which I sent your Majesty by Captaine Chaurry, and your Pro-
vince of Guienne remain'd quiet, and clear from all troubles, nor a man daring to lift up
his head but for your Majesties service; so that with good and just cause your Majestie
confer'd upon me the Title of Conserver of Guienne.

As to the second Troubles, I had long before sufficiently advertis'd your Majesty, and
the Queen your Royal Mother, of what you afterwards saw come to pass, and though
by your command I had twice or thrice letters sent me, that I was very ill enferm'd ;
I did not for all that slack my vigilancie, nor neglect to stand upon my Guard, that I
might not be surpriz'd; but the same day that the Infreretion happen'd at Paris, without
other intelligence than my own, and upon Michelmas Eve, I put my felf into Lethernur, the
most important City of all Gesony, in fo opportune a feafon, that I frustrate the deign
of fix hundred men, which were to have been let in at the Postern, and after having pref-
ted the Town in your Majesties obedience, knowing you (food in need of relief, as your
Majesty afterwards sent me word, I made so good haste in raising of men, that in
29 dayes after the said Michelmas day I sent your Majesty twelve hundred Horfe, and
thirty Ensigns of Foot, which were conducted by me as far as Limoges, and from thence
by the Sieurs de Terride, de Gondrin, and de Monfaile; when though it seem'd to many,
that Guienn was to be left a prey to the Vicompts, who had very great Forces; nevertheless
lefs at my return I found them so much work to do, that they gain'd nothing either upon
me, or upon the Province: and with the few Forces I was able to gather together, I
went afterwards into Xainctonges, where at my arrival those who had taken arms at Muraun
were defeated by Madaillan, and the Sefectual of Baeuclou, who after meeting with Mon-
sieur de Poins, took Muraun, with the Isles of Oiron and Aer cet. With the like dillic-
tance was the Isle of Rbe recover'd by my Nephew de lecleron, whom I lent thither, and
had your Majesty been pleased to have furnish'd me with what you promis'd of money,
Artillery, and other Ammunition of War, I had put fair to have reduced Rocctis it fel
your Majesties obedience, before the Peace that was at that time concluded.

As to what concerns the last Troubles, it is true, that they broke out at a time when I
was sick, and scarce recovering from the danger of death, yet I did not nevertheless ffor
bear to put my felf into the field, and to get together all the Horfe and Foot I possibly
could, and hearing that the Forces of Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné were coming
to fall into our Country, I went our accompanied with Monfieur de la Valette and d'Eforus,
and some other Officers, to meet and fight them, and in fo doing approach them to near,
that had not their Comp'mater Captain Marenos been fortunately taken by us, we had all
Book VII. de Montluc, Marechal of France.

all been cut off, and I declared; for besides that the Encounter had been in a place where the Horse could not possibly have come to fight, they had moreover fought us at the advantage of six to one, we being no more than five and twenty hundred, and they about twenty thousand men; all which will be made good by the testimony of the said Sieur de la Valette, d'Escors, and other Captains, who were all of opinion, that the butt we could do was to retire; and when we were all resolved to coast the Enemy, to keep them a little in, and to try to get some advantage over them, the younger Monfables brought letters from your Majestie to all the Captains to march towards Monfieur de Montmorency, and to me that I must return, which I accordingly did, both out of regard to my own sickness, and also to preserve the Country, as I have done so long as the Forces were in my hands. Being afterwards at Cahors, to which place I went with an intenion to fight the Vicomte, I was advis'd that Pilles was about Agenos with a great number of Horse, whom thinking to surprize, I marched day and night to fight him, which had also to fall out, had it not been that Monfieur de Fontenilles, and Captain Montluc with some Light-horse met with five or six Corners of the said Pilles his Cavalry, whom they charg'd with so great fury that they put them to rout, which made the said Pilles the same night pass the River Dordogne, and retreat towards the Body of their Army.

As to the coming of the Count de Montmorency, it is very well known, that at my departure from Mont de Marsan, which in two hours time I had besieged, assailed, and taken, Monfieur d'Anville carried away all the Forces in order to some designs he had in Languedoc, leaving me no more but my own Company, with thofe of Meffieurs de Fontenilles and de Gondrin, and five Enfions of Foot, with which I was fain to make shift for the defence of Lebourn, Florence, Ville-nufus, and Agen; and although the said Marechal afterwards call'd from me the foremost two Companies, and that I was left alone with my own, yet did I not for all that forbear to put my felf into Agen, when the Army of the Princes drew near, without being relieved by any but the Sieur de Fontenilles only, who indeed came and brought his Company to my assistance. From which Town of Agen the Princes Army were very much accommodated; and whereas they had thrown a Bridge of Boats over the Garonne, with a design to pass into the Country, and of Condromois and Agenois, to make as it were a City; I broke their Bridge, and so hinder'd it to pieces, that they could never recover any more than two of the Boats, with which they repafted the River, but so leisurely withal, that had your Majestie been pleas'd to have sent me no fewer Forces, I could have kept them well enough from ever uniting again. And whereas during the time of the said Princes being in these parts, they had possessed themselves of certain Caftles in the Country of Agenos, I retook them, and reduced them all to your Majesties obedience.

Your Majestie has since commanded me to go make War in the Country of Bearn; wherein I so promptly obeyed your Command, that though it was very hard to raise men, by reason that every one took the Peace for concluded, notwithstanding in les than fourteen days I fett on foot five and forty Enfions of Infantry, and five hundred Light-horse, with which I resolv'd to invade the Country, either to force Montmorency to a Battle, or to suffer his Towns and Caftles to be taken one after another before his face, as any one may judge it must of necessity have fall'n out. For having begun with Robaffenus, as it was necfary I should, for the reasons I have before laid down, though it was one of the strongest places of all Quienne, I carried it in eight days time, playing at once in my own person the parts of Champion, Canonier, Soldier, and Captain. Where in making my approach I was like to have lost my yeoungf Son, who was fure close by my fide, as also was Captain Paullac; and when it came to an Assault, seeing the two firft Companies did not go on as I desire'd they should have done, I went my felf to the Breach, accompanied with the Sieurors de GOas, and the Vicomte d'USE, and followed by about a hundred or fixcore Gentlemen, of which two and forty were hurt, I my felf being one of the number of thofe that were wounded, and in fuch a part that I fhall carry the marks of it to my Grave. And although this action joy'd others of the like nature, that I have perform'd during the Reigns of the Kings your Father and Grandfather, make me hope for no other advantages than what was before in the prospect of my ambition, namely a gracious acception, and an honourable acknowledgment of my fervice from the said Kings my Masters; I had reason however to believe that your Majestie would have my performances in loiter little effeft. Moreover I reprefented in my person before your eyes an old Soldier of threfcore and ten years of age, your Majesties Lieutenent General in these parts, and one who only in giving the word of Command to others, without engaging in his own perfon, might have sufficiently perform'd the duty of his charge; but who nevertheless out of the zeal he had to render your Majestie Victorious in all your Enterprizes, put himself into the rank of the meanefl Foot-Soldiers, and in the greatest danger
danger of death, where several Gentlemen also ran the same fortune, effecting it a great honor and happiness to follow one of the eldest Soldiers, not to say Captains of France. I also thought your Majesty might have considered, that as in the first Tumults, the first Victories your Majesty obtain'd were by my hand, I had likewise in these last Commissions render'd you victorious in the last Enterprise of War that was perform'd in the Kingdom: But when I expected a Letter at least, such as your Majesty is accustomed to write to the meanest Captain in your Kingdom, all the fruits of my great labour, and long expectation, was only to hear that you had deprived me of my Government, and (which was worse) without sending me so much as one syllable to signify your Royal intention, in which I saw the man already come who was to succeed me, before I had any intimation of my being call'd from my Command. Nay, at the very same time, that by an universal Law throughout the whole Kingdom your Majesty has refund'd to their Estates and Employments all such as have been deprived of them, I may say that by a particular Law made for me alone, I am degraded from an Employment wherein I have, long maintain'd my self with my sword in my hand. But though I had been stript to my Doublet, I should yet remain clothed with a Robe of Honor, to wit, the Reputation of having borne arms from my Childhood for the Service of your Crown, with all the fidelity that the Kings my Masters could themselves desire. I am sure every one will frankly confess that I have been as many Combatants, Barrels, Rencounters, Enterprises both by day and night, Affaults, Takings, and Defences of Towns, as any man this day alive in Europe; and for such am known in Foreign Nations as well as at home, and yet I can say with truth (for which the Glory be ascribed to God, and the honor to the Kings my Masters, who were pleased to employ me) that whether it were through my good fortune the influence of their Majesties arms, or any other accidents conducing to it, I was never defeated in any Place, where I had the honor to command in Chief, nor never attack'd my Enemy but I beat him. Several persons of honor yet living will also bear witnesses of my behaviour at the Barrels of Pavie, the Bleugues, and Serizoules, where I had the Command of all the Harquebusiers, and also in what esteem the late Sieur de Lauzere had me, for having been me in his own personal fight between Bayonne and Fontarabie; as also for having serv'd under him in a Command of Foot in his Expedition into Lombardy, and the Kingdom of Naples, in which services I received no less than four Harquebusar shots. There are also several men of honor yet alive, who very well remember how I carried myself at the taking of the County of Oye, in the quality of Camp-Master to all the French Foot; and others are able to testify in what esteem I was with the Prince of Malpbo, and the late Marechal de Brissac, for having serv'd me in Piedmont, at all hours, and upon all occasions both night and day venture my life for the service of this Crown, as others can witness, that at the time when the disgrace befell our people in the Lower Bidas, I alone with a very small number of men maintain'd the fight, and at the time when your Majesties Royal Father, my good Master of blest memory, gave me for loft, I came out in despite of the English, and brought off with me two and twenty Colours of ours, that had been taken, insomuch that one only remain'd in the hands of the Enemy. If Monsieur de Guihe were now alive, he would not conceal what he saw me do at the taking of Thionville, no more than will Monsieur le Marechal de Ville nesiae, who can witness it if it was not I who took the Tower, from whence ensu'd the loss of the Town. All the Captains of Italy, Spain, and Germany will for ever honor me for what I did at the Siege of Siena, where I was the late King your Father's Lieutenant, as I was afterwards in Tuscany, where I lost nothing, but remain'd victorious over the Enemy, and had my services so highly accepted by your Royal Father; and besides that at my return from Siena, he confer'd upon me the Orders, which in those days was a mark of great and extraordinary service, he moreover gave me the County of Gaure for term of life, which since, and after the death of my said Royal Master, at the calling in of your Majesties Demeans was taken from me, without the least murmur or shew of discontent on my part at my being depriv'd.

All these things, Sir, I have thought fit to represent unto you, forasmuch as your Majesty may peradventure not have heard of them, and that in speaking of me in your Majesties presence I may by some have been otherwise represented, and have had other Characters given of me than I deserve. I know that sometimes they have made as if I were a Thief, and that otherwhiles, and for the most part have talk'd as if for three years last past I had done nothing of any moment. Wherein, Sir, they have abused your Majesty more than they did me; for all the ill tongues in the world cannot deprive me of the honor I have acquire'd, whereas by their importunity they may have induced you to do a thing that I fear may be of ill example to men of my Trade; forasmuch as those who have of late been call'd
That for the conclusion of my long and tedious Letter I must humbly befeech your Majesty to excuse me, if after such a blow of fortune I have been constraining to address my Complaint, and to fig out my grievance to you, and you alone; and have been oblig'd to do it, as well to make my self better known to your Majesty, than I have been in times past, as also most humbly to befeech you, that for the time to come, when your Majesty shall be important'd toufe either me, or any other of your good and faithful servants to unkindly, you will please to reserve evermore one ear for the acco'd, before you resolve upon doing anything that may wound or dilhonor them. As for what concerns my self, out of the desire I have ever had to see your Majesty prosper, I am very glad if in the late troubles you have been so well, and so successfully serv'd in all parts of your Kingdom by all those your Majesty has employed as by me, who on this side have prefer'd your Cities, and the Country committed to my charge, have beaten your Enemies as oft as I could get opportunity to fight them, and taken Towns by affault, with the extreme peril of my life. And though it has been said, that I have done nothing considerable, yet I befeech your Majesty to believe that no man has surpass'd me in good intention, and a hearty desire to serve you. After which (since such is your royal pleasure) I am willing to retire without other mark of all my labours, and the services of so many years, but the forrow for the los's of my Children sacrific'd to your Crown, and seven Harquebuzes shot, which will serve continually to put me in mind of the humble and affectionate devotion I have ever had to perform the best and most obedient service to your glorious Predecessors; which also I shall ever retain for your Sacred Majesty, to whom I pray Almighty God to give all prosperity, health, and happiness, &c.

This was my Letter, which more perplexed the Monarchs, who at that time govern'd the Court, to comment upon, than it did me to write it. And that unknown to me was afterwards printed and published; for my friends, and such as knew what I had done for the conservation of Guienne, were as much, or more offended, than I. And I would have it known, that both then and since, had I as disloyal a heart as they have, who after the first Communions reprefented me to the Queen for a Spaniard, I had yet means, and interest enough to have done a great deal of mischief: But I neither am, nor ever will be other than a good Frenchman, and a true Servant to the Crown. I also know very well that none of these doings proceeded from the King, who never withdrew his favour from me. But a young Prince involv'd in so many affairs has much ado to pleae all the world; to which may be added, that several who could hurt me no way but with their tongues, had a very great influence, not over his Majesty (who never lov'd the Hugonots, what ever he might pretend for his own repute) but with the Council. O that Kings and Princes ought to be very tender of disgracing a man, who has ever been loyal and faithful to them, and who is a man of spirit: for it might light upon such an one, as may put their affairs into very a ill posture, of which within these fifty years we have been too many examples, to the great loss and detriment of the King of France, as I have said before, when speaking of the traverfes and ill offices that several great Captains have receiv'd at Court. How many are there, that had they been us'd after this manner, would not only have quitted all, but perhaps have done a great deal worse: for a man that does his duty, and finds himself ill reward'd, it goes to his heart. I have heard that either King Francis, or Louis (I know not which of them it was) one day asking a Gentleman, a Gasccon, as I am, What would debarch him from his service? Nothing Sir, reply'd the other, unless to be a disfave. And it is also an old saying, that Out of spite a man would turn Turk. Notwithstanding, all this unknow'ds could never make me either Spaniard or Hugonot. I have ever lov'd my honor too well for that, and will go down to my Grave with that fair white Robe, without suffering the least ugly spot upon the name of Montluc; and every one that has any regard to his honor ought to do the same. If his King and Master will not make use of his service he may sit at home, and look on to see how others behave themselves. If he be a man of valour, fortune that cast him down, will raise him up again; she is not always angry. How many great Lords and valiant Captains have we seen cultivating their Gardens at home in a time of action, whom the King has been constrain'd to recall into his service, and could have wished he had never remov'd them from him?
The Commentaries of Meflire Blaize  

Book VII.

The miserable condition of such as revolt from their Princes.

The King having made many attempts to carry on his designs against France, and the Prince de Bourbon, who had been so much in league with the government of France, and had even been so far as to aid the conspirators in the late conspiracy, the King was determined to make some attempt to throw him into prison, and to seize his property. In order to effect this, the King sent a letter to the Prince, informing him that he intended to take him into custody, and that he was to be brought before the Council of State, where he would be tried for high treason. The Prince, however, was not to be so easily subdued, and he determined to take refuge in the city of La Rochelle, where he was well received by the inhabitants, and where he was able to raise a considerable force of volunteers.

The King was now determined to take the Prince by surprise, and to take possession of his property. He accordingly sent a large force of troops to La Rochelle, and proceeded to invest the city. The Prince, however, was determined to make a stand, and he ordered his troops to make a sortie. The two forces met in battle, and a severe conflict ensued. The Prince was eventually defeated, and was taken prisoner. He was sent to Paris, where he was tried and condemned to death. He was executed on the 11th of January, 1568.

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our Kings have too soon as they come out of their Page-ship, as one laid of Lewis the Eleventh; which makes me conclude, that the King ought to inflict a more severe punishment upon those who fle his people, than if they should not be from his own Exchequer. The Commissioners have given an account of all sorts of men who have rais'd money, let them look if they can find me in their Papers, and if any be come into my purse. I confess I have dispos'd of some Hugonots Éflasses, who pretended to fight still at home, but were worse than the others who were in arms: neither was it reasonable, that they should be better used than the poor Catholics, who were known to the very bones; and had I not done it, the Gentry would have taken it ill, and the common Soldier would have revolted: for where there is nothing to be got but blows men will hardly go volunteer to the Wars. Moreover they would have said I had held intelligence with the Enemy, by which means I should not have had a man to follow me; and I had rather have died than to have had such a repeate. Had the King's Officers seized of these men Éflasses, they would have extracted not less than a million of Francs: but there was juggling amongst them, and they held intelligence with one another. I have had my share; but it has ever been fair price, and only taken from such as carried Provisions and Merchandize to the Enemy; and yet I do believe all I made hold with being put all together, would not amount to above 3000 Crowns. Would to God that all the Chiefs of France had gone as roundly to work for the service of the King and Kingdom as I, and that by war they had depriv'd to establish peace; which if they had, not a man in the Kingdom would have dar'd to have professed himself a Hugonot. But I shall leave this unpleasing discourse.

A little while after the Peace was published, the articles of which were very much to the Enemies advantage. We had beaten, and beaten them over, and over again; but notwithstanding they had evermore such an interest in the King's Council, that all the Edicts continually ran very high in their favour. We got the better by arms, but they always over-reached us in those confounded writings. Ah, poor Prince, how wofully are you serv'd! how ruinously are you advis'd! If your majesty take not heed, your Kingdom from the most flourishing, will be made the most miserable that ever was; which though it was in the Reigns of your Grandfather and Royal Father, assailed with many and potent Enemies, and continually engag'd in war, wherein I have ever faithfully serv'd, yet matters still went on in excellent good order, and Commands were not profan'd, as in these days. I pass by the injury your Majesty does your self, in giving your Enemies so great advantages by these fine Edicts. I shall not meddle with the corruption of your Courts of Judicature, nor the abuses in your Treasure, I only beg leave to say something concerning the ordering of your Militia; for should I plunge my felt further into what has caus'd the ruine of your Kingdom, I should be forced to speak too loud, and that of no little ones.

I know, Sir, very well, that your Majesty will not do me the honor to read my Book; you have other employments, and your time is too precious to be lavished in reading the life of a Soldier, but perhaps some one that shall have read it, in discourse may give your Majesty some account of what it contains. For which reason I have assum'd the boldness to direct this short discourse, I am about to make to your Majesties observation, and I believe you take a little notice of it, forasmuch as therein are laid open the causes of those disasters I have been happen in our Kingdom within these fifty years; in the beginning of which I first took up arms in the Reign of your Grandfather, King Francis of blessed memory, during which Reign a Custom was introduced, which I conceive to be very prejudicial to your State. Your Majesty may alter it, and in so doing do a great right to your self and your Kingdom, as to the concern of arms. A young Prince, as you are, for birth the greatest and the first of Chriftendom ought evermore to learn of old Captains. Your Majesty is naturally martial, and have a generous heart, and therefore will not I hope disdain the advice of an old Soldier, your Subject, and Servant. I remember the time when your Majesty took a delight to talk with me in private, then when you went your Expedition to Bayern, and then very well perceived that your discourse exceeded the capacity of your age, and to such a degree that I dare be bold to say, might your Majesty have had your own way, all things had proceeded a great deal better: for though you had done nothing but only shewed your self, and have let your people see, that you was in person in your Army, you had at least gain'd the hearts of many, and afford'd the rest, and consequently had, without dispute been much better serv'd in this your Majesties mature Age. I do believe it was one of the greatest errors they made you commit (for it was not your Majesties fault that you was shut up when your Armies marcht.) The people of your Kingdom are a good and an affectionate people, and rejoice to see their King, so that your presence would have inspir'd a great many, and particularly of our Country of
Guilliene with wiser and more loyal Councils than some of them have since embrac'd. But I proceed to my discourse.

Sir, when your Majestie conferres the place of a President, a Chancellor, a Lieutenant Criminal, or any other Office of Judicature upon any one, it is evermore with this reservation, that they shall not execute any of these Charges till first they shall be examined by your Parliaments, which are full of wise and learned men: and oftentimes your Majestie gives order, that they shall first be examined by your Chancellor, before they present themselves before the Parliaments, which are to determine of their Capacities, and whether or no they be sufficiently read in the Law, not to be in danger of erring in the Articles and Judgments they are to make in their Administrations, that right may be done to those of your Subjects to whom it all duly appertains. This, Sir, is a good and an equitable way of proceeding, for you owe us Justice impartial, and according to the weight of the Ballance. 'Tis a right to which we are born, and the chief thing you owe indifferently to all; and therefore it is admirably well done, to make them pass those first and severe Inquisitions that are required in the Chambers of your Parliaments assembled. Yet can it not be ordered so, that Justice in all things is always duly executed.

You ought, Sir, to do the same in all other Offices and Commandes you confer in your Kingdom; and yet I see that the first that makes suit to your Majestie for the Government of a place, a Company of Gen's-arms, or of Foot, or the Office of a Camp-master, without considering what loss or detriment may thereby ensue, either to your own person, or your Kingdom, you easily grant it, perhaps at the recommendation of the first Lady that speaks for it, and that perhaps your Majestie has danced with over night at a Ball; for whatsoever affairs are on foot, the Ball must trot. Sir, these Ladies have too much credit in your Court. O how many mischiefs have, and do daily arise, from having so lightly confer'd these Commandes! And although your Majestie proceeding be prudent, and just in exposing your Officers of the long Robe to the utmost test, it is not however of so great importance to your State. For what loss can you sustain if they be ignorant? it falls not upon you; for he that gains the Tryal though contrary to Law and right, pays you the fame duties that he did who is non suet in his cause: by which means you lose nothing of your Revenue, it is still in the Kingdom; and what import is it to you whether John or Peter be Lord of such, or such a Manor, so long as you have your Farm rents still duly paid you? We are all your Subject: But the error and ignorance of Governors and Captains who obtain Places and Commandes with great ease, at the first word of the first that asks, is infinitely prejudicial to your Kingdom, and herein I am very confident all the great Captains and men of honor that are zealous for your service will be of my opinion.

If your Majestie give the Government of a Place to a man of no experience, and who has never been in such a Command before, see what will follow. First it is an old saying, that Where the eye sees what before it never saw, the heart thinks that which before is never thought. If therefore a Siege be clapt down before him, how is it to be expected that he should disengage himself? how is it possible he should understand and discover the designs of the Enemy, on what part they can or will assiile him? which there is a way to do without a Spy, as I have made it to appear by what I did at Sienna. How should he know how to fortifie and secure himself, and in thoro do a thousand, and a thousand things that will be necessary to be done, if he have never before been engaged in such affairs? such as have been ten times being'd are apt enough to be flexed at it, and oftentimes to almonish that they know not where they are. Now when your Majestie hears that your place is going to be beleaged'd, you will presently fall to raising an Army, as you have good reason to do, not daring to rely upon the small experience of this young Governor, and perhaps shall be constrain'd to go in haste in your own person, or at least to send one of my Lords your Brothers; where either the Town must be lost, or you must hazard a Batter, where your self, or one of your Brothers who shall command your Army may be slain, together with several Princes of you blood, and a great number of your best Captains. Consider then, I beseech you Sir, the mighty loss and misadventure that depends upon your ease conferring such a Command upon a man, without first knowing what he is able to do. For if he is a man of experience, and that he has manifested himself in all places where he has been under good Leaders, to be a man of courage and understanding; so soon as he shall enter into the place, he will presently fall to considering of the strength, and weakness of it, recollecting what he has seen done elsewhere, where he has been engag'd under another, and what he has seen done and such a Captain do upon the like occasion; and therefore will suddenly take order for the defects of the place, and begin to fortifie. He will also demand of you an Engineer, will enform you of
of the Ammunition both of Victory, Arms, and Artillerie that he has found there, and
will never cease soliciting till you have supplied him with all things necessarie, knowing
very well what an inconvenience the loss of the place would bring upon you. When so
soon as your Maestie shall have furnished him with all he desires, and that by his foresight
shall have provided against all the defects of the place, he may then know what he hasto truft to, and shall have leisure to consider what he has to do, without precipitation,
which I have ever obferve'd to be very dangerous in war, unless it be in an affair
that requires extreme haste and diligence.

And herein two things present themselves to your Maesties consideration; the first,
that when your Enemy shall have heard of the value of your Governor, and his great experience, together with the great foresight and diligence wherewith he has been careful
to remedie the defects of his place, and the good discipline he there maintains; is it to be
supposed, that he will venture to attack a man qualified with the forenamed virtues?
I do believe there is no Assailant in the world but would think of it twice before he would
once resolue to do it, and if he call a Council about it, he will find that hardly one old
Captain will advise him to go on to his own ruine; and if the Chief be a circumspect and
experienced man, the counsel of the young hot-headed fellows must not be prefered to
that of the old Soldiers, for they better understand the businesse of the world than the oth-
ders do; and are unwilling to hazard the honor they have got forso much as men look on-
ly upon the laft of our actions, without much regarding what they have perform'd be-
fore. So much concerning the first. Now the second thing that presents it self to your
Maesties consideration, is, that your Maestie reflecting upon the value of the person
you have entrenched with defence of your places his diligence, and experience, will be at
quiet within your self, knowing very well that such a man will do no unhandsome things,
but will be tender of his own honor, as well as careful of his trift: by which means you
shall have time to raise your Armie at leisure, and shall come to encamp your self in an
advantageous place, where if your Enemy come to assault you, he shall be defeated; and
on the other side, if he offer to assault the Town, you lye to close in his Rear, that let
the Breach be never so wide, he dares not go to the assault, forso much as whether he enter or
no he is certain to be defeated, for you lurfirize him in disorder; which will make him
very wary of attempting any thing, where his ruine is so manifest before him; and ei-
ther force him to raise his Siege, and take himself to some other Enterprize, or he come
to assault you in your Fort; which also he will have a care of doing, as was the Emperor
Charles at the Camp in Provence, at the time when your Maesties Grandfather was for-
tified in the plain field, and that the Enemie made a shew of attacking Mayfoilles. You
are evenmore to take heed of committing errors in the beginning of a War; for if your affairs have once a disrepute upon them in the beginning, your Maestie may be allure,
that your Soldiers will lose courage, and every one will seek an opportunity to run away,
infomuch that you are never to hope your Army shall do any thing to purpose after. Of
which I shall give your Maestie some Examples, that you may see of how great impor-
tance it is to have a good Governor in a Town of War. Of these Examples, the first shall
be Charles Duke of Burgundy, who after having left two Battelies against the Swiss at Mo-
te, came with his bafled Army to sit down before Nancy, which he thought to lurfirize,
René King of Sicily, and Duke of Loraine never dreaming that he would come to take
that place; by which means it was totally unsupplied, both of Victuals, Ammunition,
and Men. King René had with him five or six Gofen Gentlemen (for thfe Princes of
Lorraine have ever had a great kindnes for our Nation) namely Captain Gratian Da-
guere, a poor Gentleman of this Country call'd Pont, another call'd Guion, and another
whole name was Rugines; the others were plain during the Siege, where the brave
Gofen did so valiantly behave themselves, that with some of the Country people that
put themselves into the Town, and some Gentlemen of the said Country, they defended
the Town, and endur'd the left extremity of famine, by that means giving King René
leisure to go himself into Switzerland to fetch his relief. King Lewis the Eleventh of
France would not openly affail him, by reason of the League he had contraacted with the
Duke; but (as you Princes ordinarily do) he faw'd him underhand, and disbanded
four hundred men at arms, that were advance'd as far as Pont St. Vincent, within two
leagues of Nancy, so that when the Duke saw the Swiss coming upon him, he rai-
ised the Siege, and there left both the Battel and his life. Had John d'Alieri King of Na-
tarre, when he faw the Forces of Ferdinand coming to fall upon him, put one or two good
The lost of Captains into Pampelona, he had not to poorly left his Kingdom, as he did; for thfe Pampelines
wanted only a good man to have with the Carter of the Spaniards, the place was good en-
ough. But he left the Kingdom both for himself and his Pofterity; for it is in too good
D d 2
The Commentaries of Meflirr Blaize

Book VII

384

A hand ever to retrieve it. These are two Examples of Antiquity that I have received from the old Captains of that Age; and I have heard others related, which I could here set down; but I leave those to the Historians, who are able to give a better account of them than I, and will now present your Majesty with some of my own.

King Francis your Grandfather laid Siege to Pavia, where I was; he found within it three Ensigns of Italians, and three thousand German Foot. His Majesty held him above seven months besieged, in which time he had given several assaults, though the place was not very strong; but this Captain by his industrious and valour supply'd all other defects, and defended it so long, that he gave Monsieur de Bourbon time to go fetch relief out of Germany, and come and fight a Battel with the King, which he won, and took the King prisoner; and had the said Sieur de Bourbon in the heat of this victory turn'd his Forces towards France, I know not how matters would have gone; and all these successes befel the Emperor for having made choice of this old Warrior, who put a stop to our Kings fortune. Of recent memory the valiant Duke of Guise put a shameful battle upon the Emperor Charles at Metz, whom he constrain'd ignominiously to raise his Siege, whereupon his great Army vanish'd into nothing, through the sole virtue of the Chief that oppos'd him. And again in these late Comotions his Son, the Duke of Guise that now is, has pres'd Peilhers, a great City without a Fortrefs, which had it been taken by the Admiral, he had commanded all Poiſon and Xaintonge to the very Gates of Bordeaux, wherein the virtue of this young Prince very much relievd your Majesties affairs, and was signaliy serviceable to the whole Kingdom. In like manner your Majesties Victory at Moncontour was demerit'd by the choice your Enemies made of Captain Pillet left in St. Jean, where the value of this Chief, who very well understood how to defend his Poult, yet the Hugonoi affairs again on foot, who by that means had leisure to steal away, and to come to fall upon us in Guienne. I have been told, that he was well assist'd by a Captain, a very brave Soldier, call'd de Morte Poius; but had they let me alone at the Battel of Verv, I had taken order with him for ever making war against you more; for I had my sword at his throat, when some body, I know not who, pull'd him away from me, and faw'd him. If the Admiral was upon his confession, he would not deny but that his fole person hindered him from attaqqing Agen, which is no tenable place; doubt not then Sir, but that the value of one single man is able to give a stop to a torrent of successes.

Your Kingdom is the best peopled of any Kingdom in the world, and you are rich in great and faithful Captains, if you please to employ them, and not take in such as are incapable of command. Charles the Emperor, as I have oft been told, made his boast that he had better Commanders than the late King Francis; and in truth he had very good ones, but ours were nothing inferior to them. You have choice enough, Sir, to put into your Frontier places. Do but consider of how great moment was the loss of Fontarabie, through the little experience of Captain Frangues, and how dear the losses of Balleco sort your Father through the little experience of the Sieur de Verinis, who was Governor there. And on the contrary, you may, Sir, please to remember (for I am certain you have heard it) what honour and advantage accrue'd from the election your Royal Father, my good Master, made of that old Cavalier Monfieur de Sansac, who long suftain'd the Siege at Mirandolas, and the choice he was pleased to make of my poor person for the defence of Sienna, which was honourable to the French name. The security of a place, Sir, depends upon the Chief, who may make every one to fight, so much as the very Children, which will make an Enemy very unwilling to attack him. Behold then, Sir, how much it imports your State, your People, and your own Honour; for it will evermore be said, and recorded to posterity, that it was Charles the Ninth who left such and such a place; from which Fame God defend you. It shall live in history for ever, and all the good and evil that betals you in your Reign shall be recorded, and the evil rather than the good. Be then, Sir, circumspect, and consider of it three times before you deliver to any one the defence of a place, and do not think it sufficient that the man is valiant, he must also be a man of experience.

As to what concerns a Captain of Gens d'arms, you make no more of creating him at the request of the fift that recommends him to you, than you would do of a Sergeant of the Chaffeter of Paris, who afterwards coming to be present at a Battel you shall give him (such a Poit) to make good, where the poor man not knowing how to take his advantage, either through want of courage or conduct, shall make you lose this Poit, and by that means not only encourage the Enemy to evade the day, but shall moreover discourage your own people; for four running Cours are sufficient to draw all the rest after them, even
even the Leaders themselves. And although they be brave enough in their own persons, and would make head; yet, if they know not how to command, nor understand which way to play the beet of their Game, all will run into confusion; for that it at that moment depends wholly upon him, and not upon the General, who cannot have his eye in all places at once; and in the noise and confusion of a Battle, it is impossible he should provide for all things. He then who has the Charge of a Post, or the Command of a Wing, if he want experience, and have never before been engag’d in such affairs, how is it possible to be expected that he should either command, or execute? And here’s a Basket lost, and your own person, if you are there, either kill’d or taken; for I have never heard of any King of France that ever ran away. Neither is any better to be expected in any other Enterprise that shall be committed to the execution of such a man. Take heed then, Sir, to whom you give your Companies of Generals’ arms; ’twas for that the young ones should be Apprentices, and learn of the old. I know very well that Princes are to be excepted from this Rule, who have ordinarily brave Lieutenants, who in effect are the Chiefs, for the said young Princes in their own persons are not usually there.

Your Majesty has also Marechaux de Camp, and Camp-Masters both of Horse and Foot, both of them employments of great importance, for they are to discover all things, and in case the Armies lie near they are to make their discovery together, for the one can do nothing without the other, and together must bring you back an account of what is to be done for the ordering of the Battle, both Horse and Foot, after having viewed the situation of the place, and the Ground where the Horse is to be drawn up, and the Foot also; and being agreed together, are to bring you back a report of all; whereupon you shall in your Council conclude what you have to do: but you are of necessity to ground your resolution upon their intelligence, which if they be not men of experience, O Sir, how many Errors will they cause you to commit! It is therefore very necessary that the men who discharge these Offices should have three qualities; of which the first is a long experience; for if they be men long beaten to the practice of Arms, and that they have been eye-witnesses of some miscarriages in the Armies wherein they have serv’d, provided they retain it; that very observation will make them circumspect and careful of falling into the like error. The second quality requir’d in men that are entrusted with these Offices, is, that they be bold and adventurous (for your Marechaux and Maj- fters de Camp, of all others must not be Cowards) or at least if they are not more val- iant than ordinary, (for I do not desire they should be Rowlands) they must not be afraid of blows; for if these men be ravenous, you are not to expect that your Army should do any thing to purpose; by reason that they will evermore quarter your Army in fear and appre- hension, and consequently always encamp at a disadvantage; by which means if your Adversary General be a man of Judgment, and practis’d in such affairs, he will easily discern your Armie to be in fear, as I my self have often judg’d in exercising this Com- mand, by the mere observation of the Enemies manner of encamping, and have seldom been deceiv’d. Which is a thing of all others of the greatest danger, forasmuch as nothing so much encourages both the Officers and the Soldiers of an Armie, as to know that their Enemic marches and encamps in fear. The third quality requir’d in this sort of Officers, is, that they be circumspect and diligent; which three qualities will render them perfect and complete. They must not be men that love to sleep a la Francsise, nor flow dreaming people, that are long and tedious in resolving, they must have their feet, hands, and understandings prompt and quick, and their eye evermore at watch; for upon their vigilance and providence depends the safety of the whole Armie.

It is moreover necessary, that in the Election your Majesty or your Lieutenant shall make of such persons, you narrowly try and examine that there be no unkindness, or diff- simulation betwixt them; for where there is Enmity, there is evermore envy; and that being betwixt them, the one will never approve what the other shall do, and they will be eternally in dispute, from whence nothing but mischief can ensue. There is no Trade so full of jealousie and Juggling as this of ours, and be such men that do not love one another there is nothing but contradiction; whereas on the contrary, if they be good friends, the one will evermore supply the defects of the other, and they will argue what is fittest to be done, amiably, and without doing one another the least ill Officer; for they are by the Rule of Discipline, whether in quartering the Army, or in discovering the Enemy, to be evermore together. They are also before the Kings Lieutenant to dispute ab- out the Quarters, and to shew their reasons why they take them up in that place, and are likewise to appoint to what Post the Cavalrie is to retire in case of a Charge, whether to the Avant-Guard, or to the Barré, though it ought more properly to be to the Avant- Guard, by reason that the Cavalrie is a member belonging to it. It is also necessary that they
they judge well of the Enemies Avenues, and accordingly where to plant the Artillery, where to camp the Battel, and where the General shall take his place; and in case of an Alarm, where to plant the Guard, and where to place the Centinels; in short, all things pass through their care and conduct.

When these, together with him that commands the Army shall be perfect in all this, and shall have order'd all things as they ought to be, they can never be surpriz'd: forasmuch as they shall so well have provided for all things necessary, that not a man in the whole Army but will know what he has to do; which being granted, every one will confes that Army cannot possibly fall into any disorder: for all the losses that such bodies usually suffer proceed only from negligence and slipperiness. This good order in quartering ought evermore to be observ'd, whether far off or near to the Enemy, and also upon a March, which being done, the Army can never encounter any accident or novelty that can discompose it, when the Enemy shall be near at hand: but if they shall defer to do it till necessity requires, they will not find the Soldiers either so ready, or so well dispos'd; and besides it sometimes falls out, that they think the Enemy at a great distance, when he shall rise earlier than they, and come to beat up their Quarters. Moreover they ought in such a case to maintain a better intelligence between themselves than upon a March, and then the Master of the Ordinance is to be join'd with them, and indeed upon thee three persons next to the General the loss or gain of a Battel depends. You judge then, Sir, whether these Employments are to be dispos'd of with so great facility, since the loss and overthrow of your Armies proceed from their insufficiency or negligence. When ever your Majestie or your Lieutenants shall make Elecution of such persons, your hearts ought to tremble with fear at so unadvised a choice. And you ought to consider of it more than once.

You have, Sir, next your Captains of Foot, to whom you give Commissions at the fancy of a Monifter or a Madam, who recommend them out of a desire they have to preferre their own Relations and Creatures, and to oblige others. From these Commissions ill below'd, almost as many mischief may proceed as from the former; whether it be at the defence of a Breach, or in leading a Foot Company in a day of Battel, or in any other Employment of importance to your affairs: for if he who take upon him such a Command, is not such as he ought to be, he will be defrayed through his own fault, and all the men lost that are under his Command, where the damage and dishonor will be yours, and the boldness and courage of your Enemy will every day encrease. Of which your Majestie both has seen, and do now see the Experience. At the time when I first entered into arms, the Title of a Captain was a Title of honor, and Gentlemen of good Families were proud of it: But now-a-dates every Plow-boy and Carter that has command but in the quality of a Corporal takes upon him that Title. You will say, Sir, perhaps, that we who are your Majesties Lieutenants are in fault for this, but you must pardon us if you please: for it proceeds principally from you, who have begun to confere their Commands upon little people, so that now the Gentlemen disdain them. In your Grandfathers time the Foot Companies consisted of a thousand men, which was a noble Command, and that was no small case to your Treasure, there being not near so many foot Officers requird as I have said elsewhere: but now it is a very great disorder, and for which your Majestie would do well to find out some remedy, that so many Captains may return to be common Soldiers. And the same medly is at this day observ'd amongst your Knights of the Order, which is a very great confusion.

Now, Sir, what does all this mean? but that to determine of differences and Suits in Law your Majestie makes all your Judges to pass a strict Examination, though you yourself can loose nothing by the bentenace, let it go which way it will; whereas where it immediatly concerns your own life, and the lives of your Lords your Brothers, and of all the Princes and great Captains of your Armie, and consequently the ruine of your Kingdom, your Majestie without any manner of difficulty, or consideration, confers Commissions and Governments upon the first that make suit for them. Sir, there is an old saying

Si le Fol en conseil se donne,
Ne lui refus pour la personne.
If the Fool good advice deliver,
Slight not the counsel for the Giver.

Which I bring in here to excute the advice I intend humbly to offer to your Majestie, and which you ought to take in good part from me, who am at this day the oldest Captain in your Kingdom; and who from the passages I have been in my time, ought in reason to have gain'd some experience for the time to come. The Counsel that I will presume to give
give you, it, that your Majesty would take example by the Examination whereby the bodies of your Parliament are compos’d, where the several members are first to present themselves before your Chancellor, your President and Counsellors, to be examin’d of their sufficiency, who if they thereupon be found incapable, they are sent back to study till they be wiser, and have rendered themselves worthy of the Employments to which they pretend.

Before then, Sir, you dispose of any Command, upon which so many inconveniencies visibly depend, never conferre it at the importunity of any man alive, till first you have put the person upon his Examination, remanding him before your Doctors, which are the old Captains who have gain’d experience by a long practice in Arms. You may have some old ones, who have not much firm’d from their own Houses, I do not take such for old Captains, but worse than those the Chancellor sends back to study: for it is a saying, Too old to mend: but I mean that you should call to be affenting at your inquisition such as have ever follow’d the wars, and that are markt for such with a great many Paragraphe, that is to say, with Harquebuz short, or caws, and flashes with the sword upon his face and bodie; which are signs that he has not alwaies face idle by the fire side. To this end, Sir, ’tis for you should have a Chancellor; and Sir, it is most reasonable that that Chancellor be the Monfieur your Brother, although he be yet very young: for in three or four years that he has born Arms he has won two memorable Battels, so that with the good understanding and judgment he is Master of, and being defended of to good a Race, it is impossible but he must have retain’d a great deal: for he has heard great Doctors in our Facny dispute before him. Your Majesty must therefore have no other Chancellor of Arms but him; you shall still, Sir, be superior, for no one can take that from you, and ’tis you only that can confer honor upon others. As God has made you to be born a Prince to command to many millions of people he has also distinguished you by some particular Endowments from the rest of men. When then any one shall make suit to you for any of the foremention’d Commands, your Majesty would do well to assemble your Chancellor and your Doctors; and if you be there present in person, it would be better if your Majesty would take the pains your self to interrogate them if they know the person in question, where he has serv’d his Apprentiship, and under whom, (for oftentimes Like Master, like Man) and what act of honor has he perform’d? I doubt not but these old Commanders will frankly tell your Majesty the truth, as knowing very well of what importance it is to have a Captain a Fool, a Coward, or a Notice; and according to their characters and opinion you may conferre upon him the Command he pretends to: for he has then pass’d the inquisition. And that your Majesty may be deliver’d from importune, do Sir, as I did once at Alba in Piedmont. Every day my horses were borrowed of the Sieur of me (for we had a little kind of a Truce) This went me, and I knew not how to avoid it: but at last I commanded any Trumpet to go and make proclamation throughout the Town from the Governor, (which was my self) that I had made an Oath never any more to lend my horses, and that therefore I had caused it to be thus proclaimed, that no one might be ignorant of my vow. After which I was no more importuned. Do you, Sir, the same; some day in a great Company declare openly before all the Lords and Ladies of your Court, that you have taken an Oath never to dispose of any Command or Government, but by the advice of your old Commanders and Captains. This will pretty be spread abroad; for what you Kings and Princes lay and do disperses it self with marvellous swiftnes; and this will also produce another great effect, which is, that such as are freshmen in Arms, knowing they cannot get in at the Window, will endeavour to signalize and make themselves known to such as are to open them the door, and every one will contend who shall do best.

O if your Majesty will but please to do this, how many brave Captains will you have in a little space! you will have more valiant Leaders then are again to be found in all the Kingdoms of Europe. And this also will produce two things, which of all others you ought most to desire in your Militia; of which the first is, that when this Governor or Captain shall have been prented by the testimony of your old Commanders, given either to your Majesty, or to the Monfieur your Brother, he will look upon it for so great an honor, that he will determine within himself, if he have never to little courage, rather to lose a thousand lives, than be guilty of the least cowardice, or commit the least offence: for he will evermore think, that he should not misbehave himself, he should do an injury to those who nam’d him for the Employment he has obsev’d, and that your Majesty might justly reproach them with their oversight in that nomination: by which means they will endeavour to do the best they can that they may obtain honor, and that your Majesty may preferre them to a better Command; knowing that they must again pass the inquisition.
tion to arrive at it, and the examination of your old Captains, where if they shall have behav'd themselves amiss, they will evermore make a true report, and will be aham'd to advise your Majestie to create such a one Master, or Marshal de Camp, whom they have been mildemane himself in the quality of a simple Captain.

The second advantage that will derive it self from this strict way of examination, is, that you will hereby stop the mouths of those importunate Lords and Ladies, who upon so light foundations make fuit to you for Commands, upon which so many mishiefs depend, being affur'd before hand, that your Majestie will not grant them without the parties being well examin'd before your Chancellor and Doctors, but will refuse them, as you would do him that should ask of you the Office of a Councillor of the Parliament of Paris before he has paid the Telt; for the Court would not admit him. I have heard that formerly your Father hearing that they had ref ure'd to admit one, who by some Lady was recommended to them, should say, that one Air's might very well pass among so many Spanish horses: but they would not believe him. Sir, put thoe by whom you desire to be fers'ed to the Telt. I once saw a Gentleman (as I remember he was a Provengal) whose custom it was when any fervant came to make him a render of his service, he would prely put him to trial, and putting a fword into his hand, would command him to defend himself, without permitting him nevertheles to thrust at him, where if he found him a man firm, and resolute, he would pretly enterrein him; if otherwise, he would tell him he was not far his turn. By which means he had evermore brave and resolute men about him, for every one knew his custom, and no one would offer himself: but he was fould and hardy: for he was a rude Gameffer. This was an Examination practis'd by a Subject of yours, and a Law he establifh'd within himself, for every man is a King in his own Houfe; as your Grandfather was answer'd by the Collier. Establishing this severe inquisition of the merits of men, all Europe would pretly know it, and so many importunate Suitors will be affonisht at such a Law, and will think of nothing but how to learn, instead of courting Monfieur or Madam, and you will be rid of these imprudent men whom you send about their busines, and the other may go render themwelves worthy before they offer to pretend to Employments too big for them; and that till they have given a better account of themselves, they cannot honestly pretend to, because they do not deserve them.

There will also another convenience arise from this way of proceeding, which is, that thoe you chofe and honor with these Charges and Commands will hold them immediately from your self, or your Doctors, and not from the Ladies and the little Monfieurs of your Court, who better understand how to fix the finger of their Watches to the hour of the day, than to level a piece of Canon against a Tower, or so much as to discharge a Musket, and yet by their haughty carriage, and flately motion, a man would think that all should tremble before them. I once heard one of these pretty fellows talk at such a rate, as if he had almost himfelf alone carried away the honor of the Batel of Monfieur de Brin, and that Monfieur de Tavannes, nor even the Monfieur your Brother had done nothing comparable to him. Now, as I was faying, these Gentlemen who shall have the honor to hold their Commands immediately from your self after this manner, will think themselves much more highly honor'd; wherefore, Sir, in truth there are things you ought more to defer to see regulated, and to have a more especial regard unto, than all the rest that concerns military discipline, by how much all the Events of War, whether good or evil, under God, depends upon the choice you shall make of men of Command.

I shall not here speak of Generals of Horse, nor Colonels of Foot, by reason those are two Employments that are only to be conferr'd upon Princes, or men of very extraordinary quality, who though they be young and of little experience, it imports not much, provided the Camp-Mafter be an experimenated man. And pursuing this method, your Majesty will soon fee the confusion that is crept into your Armies vanish'd and gone; and the ancient splendor and beauty of your Companies of Geno'arm's retor'd. One thing I perceive, that we very much lofe the use of our Leaunces, either for want of good horses, whereof mithinks the Race visibly decays, or because we are not so dextrous in that kind of fight as our Predecessors were; for I fee we quit them for the German pistols, and instead fighting in grofs Battalions, these are much more ready than Leaunces are; for if they be not fought in file the Leauncers are apt to encumber one another; and also that open kind of fight is not so safe and certain as in close Bodies.

To return to my discourse; you may please to take notice, Sir, that all such as defer to advance themselves by Arms, will cover to be brought upon the Chequer of Examination. And in my opinion it would be well and prudently done of your Majestie to keep a Lift
of all the brave and qualified men you have in your several Provinces, to the end, that a vacancy of any Command falling, you may think of those persons, and worthily supply it: by which means such as know themselves to be in your Life will be highly encouraged, and endeavour with all the power they have to do you some notable piece of service: and such as are not in, will excuse themselves to a thousand dangers to be put into it. This Book you should call the Book of Honor, and when you hear any one highly applauded, after having examin’d the particularities of his Exploits, your Majestie would do well to give publick Order to have his name entered into your Life. I remember I have heard when I was very young, that Lewis the Twelfth did after this manner, especially by those of the long Robes, and that the Office of Chief Justice of Agenois (a place of great profit and honor) being vacant, he remembered himself of a good Lawyer, who had made him a very eloquent Oration at Orleans, whose name he had kept down in his Life, and in pure Gift gave him the place. He likewise did the same in all Employments; and I have seen the same way practis’d by that great Odet de Vaux, under whom I serv’d in the beginning of my Arms: he knew the names of all the Captains and remarkable persons; and when any one had perform’d any signal Exploit, he presently bookt him down.

But, Sir, wishal you must oft turn over this Book, and not content your self with taking the names of such persons only, but employ and advance them according to their quality and desert, and encourage them by some gracious expressions in their favour; or if he be a poor Gentleman give him money, which if you please to do with your own hand, five hundred Crowns will be better taken than two thousand from the hands of a Treasurer; for something will evermore tick to their fingers. One time King Henry your Royal Father, and my good Master (whom God abolve) had order’d me two thousand Crowns, and he that was to pay it, was not able to detaine five hundred: but he met with a Gascon that was not wont to be so serv’d, nor to pay such large Fees. He knew I would complain of him to the King, and was more overjoyed that he could persuade me to receive it, than I was of the receipt. If your Majestie would give with your own hand, these tricks would not be put upon men of desert. It was said in your Grandfathers time, that his Predecessor always did so, and had a Cheif full of Baggs flung with Crowns, in more, in some less, which he himself distributed according to the quality of the person, or of the service he had perform’d. I know some will tell you that this is too much below a King; but Sir, do not believe them, for these are the people that would have the moulding of all the Parts, and would that your liberty should pass through their hands, to the end that they might trim from your bounty. Only one thing give me leave to tell your Majestie you should not give all to one, nor to a few persons; I entreat you, Sir, pardon my plainness, you have given one Gentleman of Guise quite enough to have satisfied fifty pretenders. I will not say but that the man was brave and valiant, but there were who delier’d it as well, or better than he; and who notwithstanding had nothing at all. Your Majestie may plea to take what I say in good part: I have one foot in the Grave, and ’tis the affection I bear to your Crown, that prompts me to say what I do. I am Neighbour to the Spaniard, but he never had other than Flowers-de-Li from me. I could say a great deal more, if I durst, for in truth there is but too much to say, and but too many things to be reform’d. I must now speak a little with your Majesties permisson to the Monfsieur your Brother, your new Chancellor in arms.

’Tis to you then (my Lord) that I address my self, and I should be sorry this Book should go out of my hands without some honorable testimonie of your Grandeur. You are defend’d from the greatest Family in the world; there is no Record, but that these ten last defcts have ever been hardie and warlike; and but very few from the first Christian King have been otherwise, although Races have gone out, and that others have seiz’d upon the Crown, which is exceedingly admirable; for of four Generations of Gentlemen you shall hardly find two Defcents together valiant: Which ought to make us believe, that God has a particular providence over this Kingdom, seeing he has given so great Gifts and Graces to those who are his Viceregnents, as to the Kings your Grandfather and Father. And although you are no King, you nevertheless share in the bleisig that God has so liberally conferred upon your Royal Family. O (my Lord) you have great reason to thank, and to affure your self, that Almighty God has design’d you for great ends, as is already discern’d by the victories he has given you in your younger years, which are such as therein his Almighty arm has manifastely seen, and that you have obtin’d them more thorough his Divine Will, than any power of man. Every one must therefore of necelftie confess that this Kingdom is the Care of Heaven, that the
King your Brother is God's Lieutenant, and that You are his. Behold what fair and honourable Tides!

I must now take the boldness to talk a little to you. You are (my Lord) the prop upon whom he repose and relies; you are he who are to command the Arms which are to carry him into all hazards, perils, and fortunes. You are the Trumpet which is to give us the signal what we are to do. You are our refuge and our hope, by whose testimonies we are to expect from the King the recompence of all our services. 'Tis you who are to recommend us to his Majesty's knowledge, and who as a true Chancellor of the Sword are to make him a true Report of what we have done for his service; and who when we are dead and gone ought to present our Children to him, if we have behav'd our selves as men of honor ought to do. Finally you have all the eyes of France upon you, upon you (my Lord) who command Armies, and who have so often bang'd and bang'd against the Rebellious Hugonors. All Christendom knows that it is you, for the King is constrain'd, since his Council will have it so, to make war in his Cabinet. Since then you hold so high a place, upon which all other Offices and Commands that concern Arms depend, and that we are all to stand or fall by you for the Kings service, and your own, your Highness ought to repose your entire confidence, and to lay out your whole care upon us who follow Arms: for all other conditions of men participate nothing with yours, forasmuch as all the rest depend upon men of the long Robe. Of such there are a great many in the Kings Council; you have nothing to do with these people, neither indeed is it proper you should; for too many irons in the fire never do well, and it is an old saying, All covet, all lose.

If your Highness will please a little to reflect upon what I take the boldness to represent before you, you will find that it will be necessary, seeing you are in so high a Station, to weigh and consider what it is that may help to maintain and support you in so great and so honorable a Command, than which nothing can be greater. Shall it be from these young Captains that you are to expect it? no certainly; for in these kind of people there is no manner of experience, but rather levity and folly. Shall it be from men of the long Robe? You are yet less to expect it from them than from the other. They will talk like fresh-water Soldiers; they meddle too much that way, and upon the Green-Cloth will be prating of Arms, that they no more understand than the Carpet they pate upon. From whom then? It is from the old Captains who have been exercised in Arms, and have passed the rude trial of Battels, Combats, Skirmishes, Sieges, and Asfauls. They will have cause to remember what they have seen, and will no doubt be mindful enough of the losses they have sustaine'd, as also by what error and default the misfortune betell them. If they have been well beaten they will have cause to remember, and if they have been victorious they will hardly forget it. If you take advice of such men you cannot fail of keeping up your greatness, and of encreasing your reputation and renown: for of such you will learn to know how rightly to command, and shall retain from them what they shall represent before you, when giving an account of what they have seen. You cannot employ your time better than to learn prudence to such a degree, that Posture may triumph in your Name; and I know you are of too good a Race, not to covet that your renown should flourish after you are dead.

There may peradventure be some old Captains about you, who have neither done nor seen any great matters: for having lov'd their Houses and their Riches better than the exercise of Arms. Truly (my Lord) there are too many Gentlemen of this humour, and the King would do well to degrade such dunghill- bred Gentlemen from all Nobilitie, who can command nothing but their Hounds and Greyhounds, whilst others are seeking danger in the field, and think it sufficient that they can wind a Horn. There is also another sort of men, who for want of understanding cannot retain what they have seen. They can perhaps say I was at the Battels of Cerizilles and Dremes, Jarnac and Moncontour, but they are not able to give any account how Moniteur d' Augusien won the first, and how Moniteur de Guise fav'd the second; the Errors the Admiral committed in the two others, your Highness noble resolution, and finally all that passed, with the reasons both of the one and the other, nor any thing of all this; so that you would say they had never heard talk of it, no more than the most stupid loggerheaded Lancequenet that was there. These are not the men you are to rely upon. You are not nevertheless to reject these people, for you are to make use of all sorts of men, especially in matters of war.

The men you ought to have about your person, and of your Cabinet Council, should be such old Captains as have reputation to be men without fear, vigilant, and prompt of execution. Such a Captain there may be, as may have done one brave thing in his life; but who by his flowerets may have left a hundred fair opportunities, where honor and advantage
vantage might have been obtain'd. Yet will I not say that you ought absolutely to despise these people: I am not so imprudent as to intend any such thing; for to peradventure I may fling my own wings, though what I am you will see in my Book. I dare pretend to say, that at this time good and valiant Leaders do not grow by chulteries, nor are to be bold by the dozen. You should, Sir, do something for every one of what degree soever; not for all alike, but according to every man's merit and renown. I know some will tell you, that if you draw to many about you, they will put you upon making great demands of the King; (for Soldiers are bold beggars) and that peradventure his Majesty may take offence at it; but for this there is a remedy good enough in the old Rule.

Qui n'a de l'argent en poches,
Qu'il ait du Miel en Boches.

Who in his Pocket has no Money,
In his mouth must carry Honey.

By speaking them fair, and vouchsafing obliging language, you will encrease them in hopes that you do not forget them, but that when an opportunity presents it self, you will be ready to do them the best Offices in your power. A kind reception, a gracious smile, a friendly embrace, will keep them in breath. But if there be such a troublesome important fellow, that will not be satisfied with your gracious answers, you may conclude, that that man neither serves the King nor you heartily, or out of any great good will or affection to your person. Such people will never do you any good; and if the chance of war do not of it self free you from them, there are waxes enough to shake them off; and whosoever it is that serves his Prince more out of avarice than affection, is unfound at the heart: For an avaricious servant when he sees he cannot satisfy his appetite of getting will desire to change his Master, thinking to get more by another, and to that end will corrupt others by the complainis that he will daily make to the reft, of the ill usage they receive. Avoid then (my Lord) having to do with such kind of people, and before their venom have poison'd the reft: for such men do all they possibly can to make their Prince hated, to the end that they may cover their own private malice under the colour of a publick Odium, and such are easy to be known. Such I have known, and such you daily see, who although they bow under the burden of the Kings bounty never scale asking, nor ever will,

Mortoeve (my Lord) to nourish the good will, and cherish the affection of Gentlemen and Captains, you may do well some times to write to them, that they may be certain they are in your favor and remembrance; for this will make them believe that you have a desire to perform something more and greater than before, and that you intend to pursue your fortune. And from this I will tell you what will follow, they will show your Letters to their Relations and Friends, who loofon as they shall see them, and that you have such a one in so great esteem as to honor him with your Letters, they will lay out all they can wrap and wring to put themselves into equipage to follow him, by which means one servant will bring you twenty or thirty more, out of the hopes they shall conceive, that in doing you service, you will be as gracious to them. And this will coft you no great trouble, your Secretaries will cale you of that, and but wavying one hours recreation, you will sign more Dispatches than would serve the whole Kingdom. If it be to a man of very great quality, a word or two under your own hand in a Postscript will be no great trouble; but then it must not be too common, at the same time, nor in the same terms; a fault that I have evermore obferved in the Secretaries of Princes, and particularly those of our own Nation: for they communicate their Letters to one another, and finding them all run in the same file, make afterwards no great account of the favour.

If (my Lords) you shall not plase to do as I advise you, see what will follow. When the Captain sees that you make no account of him, nor have him not in your remembrance, he will think you are satisfied with the fortune God has already bellowed upon you, and that therefore he is no more to hope that you shall have any ambition to be greater than you are; but that every man must think of retiring to his own house, without caring any more for Arms. And after a Soldier, let him have never to lose a Competence to live upon, has once begun to relish the pleasure of his own House, his Wife, his Haws, or his Hounds, and that he is once suffred to take that bent, it is a very hard matter to draw him out of the Chimney-corner to go again to the Wars, and to perwade him to forsake his soft and warm feathers, to fly abroad upon the hard and cold Tund; and if you get him out with much ado, it will be with a very ill will, and he will be always
The Commentaries of Meflie Blaize

Book VII.

A Frank Archer in one of the Train-Band of a P. in, that seldom felt service but upon extraordinary occasion; and by bring upon the Lift iet exempted from all Taxes, hankering homewards to see his Wife and Children. He shall never hear the report of a Muster, but, like a Frank Archer, he will think himself slain. In all these things custom is all; Canon and Harquebuse-shot aloofish such as are not used to them, but after a man has once or twice heard them rattele about his ears, he cares not so much. There is nothing prejudicial to War, as to let Soldiers and Officers lye idle and rust. Hang up your Headpiece, or your Cuirass against a wall, and in a little space I will be all rust and obwebs: it is the same with men of war, if they be suffer'd to lye full and do nothing.

When your Highness ought to have a special care of this; for keeping your Captains waking with your Letters, and some little benefits from the King, you will hold every one in expectation, and ready to march fo soon as his Majesties Summons, or your Command shall be brought to them. To this end give your Secretaries order to put you in mind, for otherwise the Ladies, or the delights of the Court, will put it out of your head. You are young, and 'tis fit you should taste the pleasures of the world; it is but reasonable you should know what they are; we have done it before you, and those who are to follow after will do the same. But go loberly to work.

By this Alarm you shall give your Soldiers with your Letters, you will discover to all the world that you will not forget the faculaty that God has given you, nor suffer your Talent to lye idle; and every one who has an inclination to arms will resolve to attend you to the utmost stretch of your fortune. You will make it appear, that since God has already laid his hand upon your shoulder, you will trie if he will not lay it upon your head also; you ought to have an opinion that he will be pleased to do it, and to take the verse in the Psalm for your Motto. Calum Cali Domino: Terram autem dedit filius hominum: which is to say, that God has refer'd the Heavens for himself, and has left the Earth for us to conquer. This Verse was not made for such little Companions as I am, but for Kings and such Princes as you are: and yet give me leave to tell you, that although I am a poor Gentleman, and have not the spirit of a King, yet had God pleased to preferve my Sons, and have granted me a little better health, I should have thought, with the help of my friends, provided we had been at peace at home, to have got some corner of the world or another to my own share, and if I could not have got a great piece, I should at least have had a Goblet; or at the worst I should only have left my labour and my life, both which I should have thought well laid out for the purchase of honor. Had my Son liv'd I do verily believe he would have brought about the design, that the Admiral knows he had in his head, and that he may acquaint your Highness withal. You are young, your Brother has the great piece, you are to go feck your fortune elsewhere, and instead of being a Subject, make others Subjects to you. Since then such a poor fellow as I am have the courage to fear so high, and that the Sons of Labourers and Forge-men (as I have heard) have by their virtue arriv'd at Empire, what are you to hope for who are the Son and Brother to the greatest King in Europe? you ought to look for no less when occasion shall present it self, and that you shall see your time. A magnanimous Prince is never to reft contented, but full to push on his fortune; the world is so wide there is enough to conquer, and the King your Brother has power enough to affift you. You are in your age of undertak- ing, and you are fortunate. I am sorry that you have laid aside the great and brave name of *Alexander, who, if I mistake not, was the most valiant Warrior that ever bore arms, His Majestie will help to set some foreign Crown upon your head. If then God shall do you the grace to put an end to these miserable domelick Broils, set your designs on foot, and trie to immortalize your Name. Employ those many Servants you have in conquering somethings; and feizing my age, and the wounds I have receiv'd will not per- mit me to serve you in so brave an Enterprize, I shall at least humbly advise you never to stop the Career of your Arms, but full to attempt greater and more difficult undertakings, taking the device of the Emperor Charles, who cut out so much work for your famous Ancestors. In case you cannot arrive at the utmost aim of your Ambition, you shall at least advance the better half way to your desirers. I have no hopes, being a maim'd Valetudinary as I am, my felt to serve you in these honorable designs; but I leave you three little Morlucis, which I hope will not degenerate from their Grandfather and their Fathers. More I have not to trouble your Highness withal; and also it is time to put an end to my Book.

Behold here (fellow in Arms) you who shall read my life, the end of the Wars in which I have serv'd five and fifty years together that I had the honor to be in Command for the Kings my Masters. From which services, that I might not forget them, I brought away seven Harquebuse-shot for a Memorandum, and several other wounds besides, being not a limb in all my body that has escaped, my right arm only excepted. But I have by those wounds purchas'd a renown throughout Europe, and my name is known in the re-
mored Kingdoms, which I often more than all the riches in the world; and by the grace of God, who has ever been affiduous to me, I will carry this reputation along with me to my grave. This is a marvelous consideration to me when I think upon it, and call to mind how I am step by step arrived to this degree of honor, and thorough so many dangers I come to enjoy the short repose that remains to me in this world, in the calm and private of my own house, that I may have leisure to ask God forgiveness for the sins I have committed. Oh if his mercy was not infinitely great, in how dangerous a condition were all those that bear arms, especially that are in command; for the necessity of war forces us in despite of our own inclinations to commit a thousand mischiefs, and to make no more account of the lives of men than of a Chicken: to which the complaints and outcries of the people, whom we are constrain'd in despite of us every day to swallow up and devour, and the Widows and the Fatherless that we every day do make load us with all the curses and execrations, misery and affliction can help them to invent, which by importuning the Almighty, and daily imploiring the assistance of the Saints, 'tis to be feared they some of them have upon our heads. But doubly Kings shall yet have a ladder account to make to man; for they make us commit those evils (as I told the King in discourse at Toulouse) and there is no mischief whereas they are not the cause: for seeing they will make worres, they should at least pay those who venture their lives to execute their passions, that they may not commit so many mischiefs as they do. I think my self then exceedingly happy, in that God has given me leisure to think of the sins I have committed, or rather that the necessity of war has enforced me to commit. For I am not naturally addicted to mischief; above all I have ever been an enemy to the vice of impurity, and a sworn adversary to all dilatory and traiton. I know very well and confes, that my passion has made me say, and do things for which I now cry Messalinas; but 'tis now too late to redress them, and I have one that lies heavier upon my heart, than all the rest. But had I proceeded otherwise every one would have flurred me on the nose, and the least Conval of a Village would have clapt too his Gates against me, had I not always had the Canon at my heels; for every one had a mind to Lord it. God knows how fit I was to endure such afflictions; but all's done and past; my hand was ever as prompt as my tongue, and it was but a word and a blow. I could have wished, I could have persuaded my self to it, never to have worn a word by my side, but my nature was quite otherwise, which made me carry for my device, Des Ducs, Ferro Comite, One thing I can truly lay of my self, that never any Kings Lieutenant had more censuration of the ruin of the people than I, in all places where ever I came. But it is impossible to discharge those Commands without doing mischief, unless the King had his Coffers cram'd with Gold to pay his Armies; and yet it would be much to do. I know not if those that succeed me will do better; but I do not believe it. All the Catholicks of Guirene can witness, if I did not always spare the people, for I appeal from the Hugonots, I have done them too much mischief to give me any good testimonies; and yet I have not done them enough, nor so much as I would; my good will was not wanting. Neither do I care for their speaking ill of me, for they will lay as much or more of their Kings.

But before I put an end to this Book of mine, which my name will cause to be read by many, I shall desire all such as shall take the pains to read these Commentaries, not to think me to ingrate that I do not acknowledge, after God, to hold all I have of Eftate and Preferment of the Kings my Masters, especially of my good Master King Henry, whom God absole. And if I have in some places of my Book said, that wounds were the recompence of my service, it is not at all intended to reproach them with the blood I have left in their quarrels. On the contrary I think the blood of my Sons who died in their service very well employed. God gave them to me, and he took them from me. I have left three in their service; More Anthony my eldest, Bertrand (to whom I gave the name of Payzac (which is one of our Gascoun names) by reason that Bertrand did not please me) and Fabian Seigneur de Montefique, God gave me also three others. For of my second Son I had Blaise, and of my youngest Adrian and Blaise, whom God preferre, that they may be favorable to their Kings and Country, without dishonouring their Race; that they may well study my Book, and so imitate my life, that, if possible, they may surpasse their Grandfathers; and I beteach your Majestie to be mindful of them. I have left them, amongst my Papiers, the Letter your Majestie was pleased to write to me from Villiers dated the 3d, of December 1570, which contains these words. Assure your self, that I shall ever be mindful of your many and great services, for which you shall in your own person fully heart Letter to the King's, that you shall never forget the extent of your merits, which as also they are Siene de Montefique, and have so well behav'd themselves in my service, that they have of themselves very justly will deford my acknowledgments, and that I should do for them what I shall be very ready to do.
Sir, this is your Majesties promise, and a King should never say or promise any thing but he will perform.

I do not then by any means reproach my Masters; and I ought also to be satisfied, though I am not rich, that a poor Cader of Gascony is arriv'd at the highest Dignities of the Kingdom. I fee several at this day who murmur and repine at their Majesties; and for the most part those who have done little or nothing make the greatest complaints. In others who have really deferv'd something it is a little more pardonable: all that we have, of what degree soever we are, we hold it of the Kings our Masters. So many great Princes, Lords, Captains, and Soldiers, both living and dead, owe to the King the honors they have receiv'd; and their Names shall live by the Employments they have receiv'd from the Kings they serv'd, and were not only enter'd with those honorable Titles, but have moreover honor'd those who are defended of them, and mention will be made of their virtue whilst any Records of honor remain in the world. I have lifted a good number in my Book, and have my self had Soldiers under my Command, who have been no better in their Extraction, than the Sons of poor labouring men, who have liv'd and died in a reputation as great and high as they had been the Sons of Lords, through their own virtue, and the effect the Kings and their Lieutenants had of them. When my Son Marc Anthony was carried dead to Rome, the Pope and all the Cardinals, the Senate and all the People of Rome, pay'd as much honor to his Hearse as if he had been a Prince of the blood. And what was the cause of all this, but only his own Valour, my Reputation, and my King, who had made me what I was? So that the name of Marc Anthony is again to be found in the Roman Annals. When I first entred into Arms out of my Page-ship in the House of Lorrain, there was no other discourse but of the great Gonfalve, call'd the great Captain. How great an honor was it to him (which also will last for ever) to be crown'd with so many Victories? I have hear'd it told, that King Lewis and King Ferdinand being together, I know not at what place, but it was somewhere where they had appointed an Interview, these two great Princes being fat at Table together, our King entreated the King of Spaine to give leave that Gonfalve might dine with them; which he accordingly did, whilst men of far greater quality than he flood waiting by. So considerable had the King his Masters favour, and his own valour made him. This was the honor he receiv'd from the King of France, who in recompence for his having defend'd him of the Kingdom of Naples put a weighty Chain of Gold about his neck. I have heard Monfieur de Lannac say, that he never look'd so much delight in looking upon any man, as upon that fame. O how fair an Exemple is this to those who intend to advance themselves by Arms! When I went the second time into Italy as I pass'd through the Streets of Rome, every one run to the windows to see him that had defend'd Sienna, which was a greater satisfaction to me than all the Riches of the Earth. I could produce several Exemps of French men, of very mean Extraction, who have by Arms arriv'd at very great Preferments: but out of respect to their Posterity I shall forbear; but it was the bounty of their Kings that so advance'd them for the recompence of their brave services.

It is then just that we conflend, we could be nothing without their bountie and favour; if we serve them, 'tis out of obedience to the Commandement of God, and we ought not to try to obtain rewards by importunities and reproaches; and if any one be ill rewarded, the fault is not in our Kings, but in them who are about them, that do not acquaint them who have serv'd well, or ill; (for there are many of both sorts) to the end that his Majesties largess should be rightly placed. And there is nothing that goes so much to the heart of a brave and loyal Subject, as to see the King heap honors and rewards upon such as have serv'd him ill. I am sure it is that that has vexed me more than any disappointment of my own. I have often hear'd some men say, the King or the Queen have done this, and that for such a one, why should they not do as much for me? The King has pardoned such a one such an offence, why does he not also pardon me? I know also that their Majesties have said, They will no more commit such over-fights, we must wink at this one fault: but it was the next day to begin the fame again. However a man ought never to flame any thing from his Prince. The honor of such men lies in a very contemptible place, since they more value a reward or a benefit than their own reputation or renown, and are too ready to take snuff if they fail of their expectation. And moreover (as I have already said) they are commonly men that have never stroke three strokes with a sword, and yet will call what dangers they have pass'd, and what hardships they have endure'd. If a man should strip them naked, one might see many a proper fellow that has not so much as one fear in all his body. Such men, if they have born arms any while, are very fortunate, and at the day of Judgment if they go into Paradise, will carry all their blood along
along with them, without having left one dram of their own, or having shed one drop of any others here upon earth.

Others I have heard, and of all forts of men, even to the meanest, complain that they have ferv'd the King four, five, or six years, and notwithstanding have not been able to get above three or four thousand Livers yearly Rent: poor men they are for hurt. I speak not of the Soldiers only, but of all other conditions of men his Majestick makes use of. I have heard my Father, who was an old man, and others older than he, report that it was a common saying at Court, and throughout the whole Kingdom in the Reign of Lewis the Twelfth.

Chesillon, Bourdillon, Gallist, & Bonneval, Gouverneur le fang Royal.

and yet I dare be bold to say, that all these four Lords who govern'd two Kings, put them all together never got ten thousand Livers yearly Revenue. I have formerly laid as much to the Marechal de Bourdillon, who thereupon return'd me answer, that his Predecessor was fo far from getting 3000 Livers a year, that he told 1500, and left his Family very necessiuous. Should any one ask the Admiral to shew what his Predecessor, who govern'd all, got by his favour, I dont lay a good wager he could not produce 2000 Livers yearly Revenue. As for Gallist he liv'd a great while after the others, and he peradventure might in that long time rake together three or four thousand Livers a year. For what concerns Bonneval: Monfeur de Bonneval that now is, and Monfeur de Biron are his Heirs, and I believe they can boast of no great Estates. O happy Kings that had such Servants. 'Tis eafe to discern that these men ferv'd their Masters out of the love and affectiion they bore to their persons and the Crown, and not upon the account of reward: and I have heard that they evermore rather begg'd for the King's own Domestick Servants, than for themselves. They are gone down to their Graves with honor, and their Successors are not nevertheless in want.

Since I have spoken of others, I will now say something of myself. Some perhaps after I am dead will talk of me, as I talk of others. I confess that I am very much oblig'd to the King I have serv'd, especially to Henry my good Master, as I have often laid before, and I had now been no more than a private Gentleman, had it not been for their bounty, and the opportunities they gave me to acquire that reputation I have in the world; which I value above all the treasure the Earth contains, having immortaliz'd the name of Montluc. And although during the long time that I have bore arms, I have acquier'd but very little wealth, yet has no one ever heard me complain of the Kings my Masters: marry I have spoke at month of those about them, when in these late Troubles I was calumniated by them, as if I could have done all things with nothing. Believe me the wounds I have receiv'd have admimistered more comfort than affectiion to me; and one thing I am sure of, that when I am dead they can hardly say, that at the Resurrection I shall carry all the blood, bones and veins I brought with me into the world from my Mothers womb, along with me into Paradise. As for Riches I have enough. It is true, that had I been bred up in the School of the Baylif of Esperon, I should have had more; the story is not amiss, and therefore I shall infert it here.

Lewis the Twelfth going to Bayonne lay in a Village call'd Esperon, which is nearer to A pleasant floe Bayonne than two Boardours. Now upon the great Road betwixt these two places, the river of the Bayliff had built a very noble House. The King thought it very strange, that in a Country so bare and barren as that was, and amongst Downs and Sands that would bear nothing, this Bayliff should build to live a House, and at supper was speaking of it to the Chamberlain of his Household, who made answer, that the Bayliff was a rich man: which the King not knowing how to believe, considering the wretched Country his house was built in, he immediately sent for him, and laid to him these words. Come on Bayliff, and tell me why you did not build your fine House in some place where the Country was good and fertile? Sir, answer'd the Bayliff, I was born in this Country, and find it very good for me. Are you so rich, said the King, as they tell me you are? I am not poor, replid the other. I have (Blessed be God) wherein God to live. The King then askt him, how was possible he should grow so rich in so pittiful a barren Country. Why, very easily Sir, replid the Bayliff. Tell me then which way my Lord the King, Marry Sir, answer'd the other, because I have ever had more care to do my own busines, than that of my Master, or my Neighbours. The Detail refutes me, said the King (for that was always his Oath) thy reason is very good; for doing so, and rising better, thou couldst not choose but thrive. O how many Sons has this Bayliff left behind him to inherit this virtuous humour! I was never any of thefe.
I do really believe, that there is never a little Pedlar in the world, who, having trotted, run and may'd as I have done, but would have enrich'd himself to a Merchant. And there is never a Treasurer nor a Receiver (let him be as honest as he would) in the Kingdom, that had had so much money pass through his hands, as has done through mine, but more would have fluck to his fingers. I have been seven or eight times Captain of Foot, which is none of the worst Commands for getting of money; and I have known several Captains in my time, who have enrich'd themselves meeprily out of their Soldiers pay. I was not so ignorant, nor so raw a Soldier, neither did I want dexterity, but that I could have done the feat as well as they; neither was it any such hard matter to learn, for with a good Quarter-master, and some few other little helps the busines was done. I have since been three times Camp-master, in which Employment God knows I might have had Skip-jacks enow to have made Muster, and intelligence enough with the Commissaries. I could have discoverd when any thing was to be got, as soon or sooner than any man in the Army, I had nole good enough. I was after Governor of a place, where I could have had fourscore or a hundred men at my devotion to have passed Muster, as Meffieurs les Gouvernes know well how to do: by which means, having been so long in these Commands as I have been, and made so many Musters as I have done in my life, with a little good husbandry, Good God! what a Mountain of Gold might I have had! I never think of it but it makes me wonder at my own honesty, that could resist so many temptations. I was moreover the King's Lieutenant in Sienna, and another time at Montataf; where I had ways enow to have lin'd my pockers, as others in the like Commands have done: for it had been no more but to have had intelligence with three or four Merchants, who should have afford'd that the Corn of the Garrison had been bought by them, and taken up upon their Credit, and it had been done. God knows what profits are made of these Magazines. I could then have made demands upon the account of borrowing, and have depred some who would have been ready to have taken the Employment upon them, to have brought in a hundred or two hundred thousand Frank's in Debentures. But instead of this his Majesty ow'd us five payes when we came out of Sienna, whereof I found means to acquit him of three so soon as we came to Montataf. Afterwards the second time that I was sent thither, in the place of Moniteur de Soubise, I stay'd six weeks by the King's Command at Rome with the Pope, and his Majesties Ambassadors and Agents. It was at the time when the Duke of Alva made war with his Holines, and all the Sea-coast was ready to be abandon'd, and Greffette was not able any longer to subsist, having not a grain of Corn, no more than the other Garrisons. I found at Rome some Siennais Gentlemen, that marcht out of Sienna with me, who brought me acquainted with a Banquier call'd Iulio d'Albia, a Siennais also, who upon my own bare word lent me 600 (a) Muges of Corn, which are 300 Tuns or Barrels, at twelve (b) Muids the Barrel, conditionally that I should monthly pay him 600 Crowns at every Muster. This money I could no way raife but out of the deductions I receiv'd from the Musters, and instead of putting it into my own pocket, I accordingly paid him all, the left payment only excepted; for there was no more money, nor means to have any; to that we made no Muster. I might have made my advantage of this, for I furnish'd several places that flood in need, according to the authority I was invested with; and I had half the Corn, which I lent to the Country people, who were more defir'd for bread than the Soldiers. There it was that I began to play the Usurer; but it was at the expense of the King's Conscience; for, for every Muid that I lent them then, I receiv'd two at the Harvest; and indeed it was double worth at the time when I lent it, and yet a penny of this profit never came into my purse, for I left it all to the King. I stay'd yet leven months longer in these parts, without receiving so much as one Pay; during four months of which I made my men live of twenty ounces of bread a day out of the profits I made of the Corn, saving as much as in me lay my Musters money. The other three Months I paid the Soldiers with good words, and the liberality of my Bonnet, as I had done at Sienna. Some time after Don Francisco arriv'd, who found Corn yet in the Magazine. I moreover dealt with the Dutchels de Caстро, Wife to the Duke who was slain at Plessenc, who knew Moniteur de Valence my Brother, at the time when he was in the service of Pope Paulus Famels. Pope Paulus Caraffa had made a Prohibition, that no manner of Grain should be carried out of Romania; but this Dutchefunder hand permi'd certain Merchants to bring it by night into our Territories, where our merchants met, and bought it of them. I carried this practice very clofe, of which I could have made a very great advantage to my own private profit; but never so much as one Liard came into my purse.
I could have brought the King a Bill of two or three hundred thousand Francs debt, as did Signior Jourdan Carfi, and others whom I shall forbear to name, who were well paid. I was neither so simple, nor my opportunities were not so few, but that I could have done it as well as any of them. I have been his Majesty's Lieutenant in this Province of Guisnes, and have been much up and down abroad in the world, but never saw any Country equal to it, either in Riches or Convenience of Living, And having such an Employment, I could have had intelligence with the Receiver of the Province, (chose of Garse.)

And in many of the kind of men desire no better) and have stuffed my own CoFFers; for what upon Mullers, Garrisons, and Equipages of the Artillerie, I could have made infinite advantages. How many Impostions might I have laid upon the Country? for the King had given me power to do it, which would have turn'd to my particular benefit: for although his Majesty had made Commissions doubly let intended those Levies for his own service; I could, if I would have put the charge upon him, and have converted a great part of them to my own proper use. I could if I would have staid Towns, and have sent a Will with the whip up and down to the Towns and Villages to whisper the principal Inhabitants in the ear, that they must either give me money to free them, or that otherwise I would cause them to be undone, and some quarter Soldiers upon them, who should eat them to the very bones: for they know men of our Trade are seldom weary of ill doing. I could also have sent to tell the Hugonos, who liv'd at home under the protection of the Edict, that unless they gave me in the first, I would cause them all to be ruin'd and pull'd in pieces; and what would they now have given me to have secure'd their Lives and Estates? for they did not greatly confide in me, hearing how I had handled them before. But instead of making use of such Artifices to enrich my self, I let the Captains and Generals, and others who teas'd the King, and ask it of me, take all: referring very little or nothing to my own benefit. And even that which I had at Clarin I took by the King's permission. Let others therefore read content. If God would please to let me be once cured of this great Harquebeuz-thrott in my Face, I think yet, that should the War break out again, I should be one to mount to horse; and think it is not far off; for so long as there are these two Religions, France will evermore be in division and trouble. It cannot be otherwise, and the worst on't is, 'tis a War that will not be ended of a long time. Other quarrels are easily compos'd, but that for Religion has no end. And although the Military fort of men are not very devout, they however side, and being once engag'd stick to their Party. In the pollute that affairs now stand, I do not think we are at an end. However I have this satisfaction in my self, that I have to my utmost opposed it, and done my best endeavour to settle the peace of the Kingdom. Would to God that all those who have been in Command had conniv'd no more than I. But we must let God work his own will. After he has sufficiently scourg'd us for our sins he will burn the Rod.

And now, you Lords and Captains, who shall do me the honor to read my Book, let me beseech you not to read it with prejudice, but believe that I have deliver'd the truth, without depriving any one of his due and merited honor. I make no question but that some will bring some things that I have here related into dispute, to see if they can catch me tripping in point of truth; forasmuch as they will find that God has never more accompanied the fortune of any man, for the Employments I have gone through, than he did mine. But let me assure you, I have omitted an infinite number of passages and particularities, by reason that I never committed any thing to writing, nor ever kept any memorial, as never suspecting my self to become a Writer of Books. I ever thought my self unfit for that Employment, but in the time of my last hurt, and during my sickness I have dictated this that I leave you, to the end that my name may not be buried in oblivion; nor so many other gallant men, whom I have seen perform so many and so brave exploits; for the Historians write only of Kings and Princes. How many brave Gentlemen have I here let down, of whom these people make no mention, no more than if they had never been? He who has writ the Battel of Crisfollet, though he does name me, yet it is but lightly; and in transtum only; and yet I can honestly boast, that I had a good hand in that Victory; as also at Balaen and Trionville. Which they take no notice of at all, no more than of the valour and gallant behaviour of a great number of your Fathers and Kindred, whose names you will find here. Do not then think it strange if I have been so fortunate as I have written, for I never minded any thing but my Command, and have ever acknowledg'd that all my successes came from God, into whose hands I ever resigned my self and all my affairs; although the Hugonots were pleased to report me for an Atheist. They are my profect enemies, and you ought not to believe them. And although I have had my imperfections and my vices, and am no more a Saint than
than other men, (they had their thare too though they pretended holines and mortification) yet I have ever placed my hope in God, evermore acknowledging, that from him alone I was to expect my good or evil fortune, attributing to his bounty and affiance all the fucces of my life. Neither was I ever in any action whatever wherein I have not implaid his Divine affiance, and never passed over day of my life, since I arriv'd at the age of man, without calling upon his Name, and asking pardon for my sins. And many times I can say with truth, that upon fight of the Enemy I have found my felf so poffeft with fear, that I have felt my heart bear, and my limbs tremble (let us not make our felves braver than we are;) for every man upon earth apprehends death when he fees it before his eyes) but fo soon as I had made my prayer to God, I felt my fpirits and my strength return. The prayer which I continually used, from my lift entering into Arms, was in these very words. *My God, who haft created me, I most humbly befcrea thee to preserve my judgment entire, that this day I may not life it; for it is thou that gavest it me, and I hold it from no other but thee alone. If thou haft this day appointed me to die, grant that I may fall with the resignation of a man of honour, which I have fought for through fo many dangers. I ask thee not my life, for I defire nothing but what pleaseth thee. Thy will be done, I refign all things to thy divine wisdom and bounty.* After which having faid my little Latin prayers, I declare and protest in the presence of God and men, that I suddenly felt a heat creep over my heart and members, fo that I had no sooner made an end, but that I found my felf quite another man than when I began. I was no more afraid, and my understanding again return'd to perform its Office, fo that with promptitude and judgment I discerd what I had to do, without ever lofing it after in any Engagement wherein I have ever been.

How many are departed this life, who were they now living could witnes, if ever they saw me alonelie, or lofe my judgment in any action of war, whether at an Affault, or in any other Encounter or Battel. Meffieurs de Lanture, de l'Effent, de Barbezieux, de Monpezat, de Termes, de Bié, de Strozzy, de Bourdillon, de Briffac, d'Argenau, de Batieres, and de Guife could have given testimony of me; for they had all had me under their Command, and have all feen me in a thousand and a thousand dangers, without the leaft fign of fear or amazement. Who, could they again return to life, would be good witneses of the truth of what I have deliver'd; and yet they are not all dead, under whom, and by whom I had the honor to serve, and to be commanded, who although they were much younger Captains than I, it was nevertheless for I should obey them. Monfieur le Duc d'Amaile, and the Marechaux de Caffé, and de Vielle Ville are of this number; and I befeech you (my noble Lords if my Book peradventure fall into your hands) to do me right, and declare whether what I have here deliver'd be true, or false; for you have been eye-witneses of part of it; and I fancies that after my death you will be curious to fet what I have write. There are others also who are able to give me the eye, if I have faid ought but true; namely Signior Ludovico de Birago, and Monfieur le President de Birago, who never abandoned that brave Marechal de Briffac. Several others are yet living who have been my Companions in Arms, and many others who have serv'd under my Command; all which are able to affirm the truth of what I have faid, and whether whenever there was a debate about any Execution, I did not alwayes think no thing impossible; but on the contrary concluded things feafible, which others concluded impossible to be effected. I undertook it, and brought it about, having evermore that ftedfaft affiance in God, that he would not forsake me, but open the eyes of my understanding to fe what was to be done to make my Enterprize fucceed. I never thought any thing impossible but the taking of Tbiowville, of which the honor is to be attributed to Monfieur de Guife alone, and in truth there was more of fortune than reafon in that faccefs, though the faid Sieur de Guife was ever confident he fould carry it, and fo he did.

Fellows in arms, how many and how great things shall you perform if you put your whole trust in God, and let honor continually before your eyes? discoursing with your felves, that if it be determined you shall end your days in a Breach'tis to much purpose to stay behind in the Grafte. *Un bel mort,* (takes the Italian) *inti la vita honora.* *To die like a beaft for a man to leave no memory behind him. Never go about to deprave another man of his honor, nor ever let avarice and ambition in your profeet; for you will find that it will all come to nought, and end in misery and disgrace. I do not fay this that I have any mind to play the Preacher, but merely out of respect to truth. How many are there in the world, who are yet living, and whom I shall forbear to name, that have had the reputation of valiant men, and yet have been very unfortunate in their undertakings? Believe me the hand of God was in this, and though they might imrove his divine ayd, their devotion was not right, which made the Almighty adverce to them.
If therefore you would have God to be affisting to you, you must strip your selves of ambition, vices, and rancour, and be full of the love and loyalty we all owe to our Prince. And in so doing although his quarrel should not be just, God will not for all that withdraw his assistance from you for it is not for us to ask our Kings if his cause be good or evil, but only to obey him. And if you are not rewarded for the services you have performed, you will not shame your being neglected, by reason it was not your intention nor design to fight upon the score of ambition and greatness, nor out of a thirst of riches; but upon the account of fidelity, and duty that God has commanded you to bear to your Prince and Sovereign. You will rejoice to find your selves esteemed and beloved by all the world, which is the greatest Treasure a man of honor ought to covet. For great Estates and high Titles perish with the body, but a good Reputation and Renown are immortal as the Soul. I now fee my self drawing towards my end, and languishing in my bed towards my dissolution, and this great consolation to me, that in spite of Death my name shall live and flourish, not only in Gascence, but moreover in foreign Nations.

This then is the end of my Book, and of thus far of my life, which if God shall please longer to continue to me, some other may write the rest, if ever I shall again be in place, where I shall perform any thing worthy of my self; which nevertheless I do not hope for, finding my self so infinitely decayed, that I never again expect to be able to bear arms. I have however this obligation to the Harquebuzier, which has pierced through and shatter’d my face, that it has been the occasion of writing these Commentaries, which I have an opinion will continue when I am dead and gone. I entreat all those who shall read them, not to look upon them as proceeding from the Pen of an Historian, but of an old Soldier, and a Gascen, who has writ his own life truly, and in the rough style of a Soldier. All such as bear arms may take example by it, and acknowledge that from God alone proceed the successes or the misfortunes of men. And seeing we ought to have recourse to him alone, let us believe him to assist and advise us in all our afflictions, for in this world there is nothing else, of which the great ones have their share as well as the meanest of us all. Wherein he manifests his own greatness, in that neither King nor Prince are exempted from his correcting hand, and who stand not continually in need of him and his divine assistance.

Do not disdain, you who desire to follow arms, instead of reading Amadis de Gaule, and Leucinot de Lake, to spend sometimes an hour in reading what I have done, and in taking notice of what I have been, in this Treatise that I leave behind me. By which means you shall learn to know your selves, and betimes to form your selves to be Soldiers and Captains; for you must first learn to obey, that you may afterwards know how to command. This is not for silk-worms, and gusce Couriers to do; nor for those that are in love with their cæfe, but for such as by the ways of virtue, and at the price of their lives will endeavour to immortalize their names, as I hope, in spite of envy I have done that of Montluc.

Here the Signeur de Montluc had put an end to his Books but since, the short Supplement following was found amongst his Papers.

Here thought I had at once put an end both to my Writing, and my Life; never imagining that God would ever again have enabled me to get on horse-back to bear arms; but he was pleased to order it otherwise. For some time all France was happy in the enjoyment of Peace and repose, whilst I alone was afflicted with sickness, and tormented with my great wound, which together convin’d me for the most part to my bed: notwithstanding by little and little I recover’d my health, being more glad to be discharge’d of my Government, than if that heavy burden had still lain upon my shoulders.

The Marquis de Villars, who has now the charge upon him, will no doubt acquite himself of his trust, as an old Cavalier, and a great Captain ought to do.

Now I ever laid with my self, hearing news from Court (for I had yet some correspondence there) that the Huguenots were too much carre’d for, any good to come of it, and saw very well that there was some mischief a brewing. The King by his Letters: which I have yet by me, and also in discourse to several of my friends, was pleased to declare, that he was no way dissatistied with me, that he desire’d to manifest how much I was in his favour and esteem, and that my own indisposition had been the only reason of his putting the Marquis de Villars into my place. I was content to believe it to be so; for we must believe as our Kings will have us, or otherwise we offend them. Now although I was no more the King’s Lieutenant, notwithstanding all the Noblefs, and all the
The Exeprion upox St. Barthisoleum's Eve at Pariz.

A year or thereabout being passed over in this manner, news was brought of what had hapned upon St. Bartholomew's day at Paris, where the Admiral was so耽误ed as to engage his petition out of vanity to shew that he govern'd all. I wonder that so circumspect and to wise a man, and a man so well beaten to the affairs of the world should commit so gross an error. He paid dear for it, for it cost him his life, and many others. And indeed, to speak the truth, he had brought great troubles upon the Kingdom; for I know that all, or the one half of the mischief was not contriv'd by the Prince of Condé. The said Prince communicated but too much of his designs to me at Poissy, and I do believe, that would I have given ear to him, he would have told me all. I acquainted the Queen with every syllable of it; but the enjoy'd me silence. She did not then think that things would have come to that pafs, that they afterwards did. I knew very well, and it is very well known to all the world, that she was accused for the cause of the Comotions, that hapned in the first Troubles, and the Prince did her the wrong to send her Letters into Germany, to shew them, and cause them to be printed and published in all places: which nevertheless did not much advance his affairs. The said Lady the Queen being at Thouzon, did me the honor to talk with me above three hours upon that subject, and said a great many things to me, that I shall be so wise as to keep to my self. So it is, that it is a very eafe matter to reprehend, and find fault with those who have the management of the affairs of the world, especially affairs of so great importance as the had, having the King and his Brothers so young upon her hands, and all the Princes being bandied against one another; and afterwards this specious Cloak of Religion, which has equally serv'd both Parties to shadow and palliate their Revenge, and to make us devour one another. I pray what appearance could there be, that she should have any intelligence with the said Prince? what she has since done has sufficiently manifest'd the contrary. But I shall waive this discourse (for perhaps I say too much) and return to my former subject.

The Naval Army before Rochelle.

Every one was astonifh'd to hear what had hapned at Paris, especially the Hugonots, who could not find ground enough to fly over, the mift of them escaping into Bearn. The refk turn'd Catholicks, or at least seem'd to do fo. For my part I did them no harm on my fide; but they were every where used exceedingly ill. I then thought that our Naval Army, which at that time lay before Rochelle, was design'd for something else than to go into Portugal, and then founded the bottom of the Design: but I could not imagine why they had only wounded the Admiral at fift, having the design that I afterwards saw they had. For had all the Hugonots the next day refolv'd with the great ones of their Faction, it had been eafe for them to have retir'd from Paris, and to have put themselves into some place of safety: But they were blinded, and God depriv'd them of their understandings. I shall not here take upon me to determine whether this proceeding was good or evil; for there is a great deal to be said on both fides, and besides it were now to no purpofe, for it would do no good. Those that follow after us may speak to better effeét, and without fear. For the Writers of this Age dare not peak our, but mance the matter; for my part I had rather hold my peace, and fay nothing.

Though I had at this time no other Command than that of my own House and Family, yet was the Queen pleas'd to do me the honor to write to me, and to fend me word, that there was a dangerous Conspiracy discover'd againſt the King and his Crown, which had been the occasion of that which had hapned. I know very well what I thought: 'tis a dangerous thing to offend ones Master. The King never forget the time when the Admiral made him go faster than an ant between Meaux and Paris. We lose our understandings when we come to the pinch of affairs, and never consider that Kings have greater flomacks than we to retrench an injury, and that they are apter to forger fervices than offences. But let us talk of something else, this will be sufficiently canyed by others, who will be better able to undertake it than I.

All the King and Queens care was how to take Rochelle, the only refuge of the Hugonots. God knows whether I did not fend the Queen my advice touching this affair. At the Voyage of Bayonne, and afterwards at her coming into Saintonge, I had propos'd it to her, to make her self Maffifs of it, without noise, or breeding the leaft disturbance; and by what I gather'd from Monfieur de Farnce (to whom I discover'd my felf a little, and not too much) I think there would have been very little difficulty in the busines.
was evermore afraid of renewing the War; but for to deliberate a morcel one would not have been nice of breaking the Falt. It might have been done, and afterwards it had been to much purpose for them to have complaund. There would have been wayes now found out to have appeas’d the people; for what could any one have laid, if the King would have built a Citadel in his own City? But it is now too late to repent that oversight. This City has furnish’d the Hugonots with means to renew the Wars, and will still do it, if the King does not take it from them, to which end nothing should be omitted. For thorough the convenience of this City they manage the intelligenies they have in England and Germany, and take great prizes upon the Sea, with which they maintain the War. They moreover keep the Isles, from whence they extract a Mass of money, by reason of the Sale. The Queen shall pardon me if the peace, the then committ’d a very great error, and moreover another fence, not to fupplie us with means to execute Com- mand then when the fent us to believe it: For Rochelle at that time was not the fame that it is now, and I think I should have ftronged them.

And now behold all the world before Rochelle, and I also was invit’d to the Fealt amongst the rest: So God help me, when I took the resolution to go thither, I made full account thereto to end my days, and to lay my bones before the Town. Being come thither I was afflift’t to fee many men, to many minds; for they were strangely divided in their inclinations, and a great many there who would have been forry the Town should have been taken. The Siege was great and long, and many handicome actions were there perform’d, but well affaid’t, better defended. I shall not take up me to give the Narrative of the particularities of this Siege, for I was no more than a private perfon, and I will speak ill of no one. The Monfieur that commanded in chief at this Siege, and has since been King, knows very well, that having done me the honor to talk with me, and to ask my advice, I told him frankly what I thought. By this Leager all men who were prefent at is, and thofe who come after us, may judge, that place of such importance are either to be taken by famine, blocking them up, or foot by foot with time and patience. There was here a great fault committed, in hazarding fo many men in Afaults, and another greater in keeping fo ill watch, that supplies of powder came in by Sea, as they continually did: but to tell you my opinion, (which was alfo that of a great many others) they had been our own in SPIR of the bent they could have done for their defence, and must have come out to us with Ropes about their necks; for the Saccours the Count de Montgomery brought them were retir’d, and we were upon the point to grapple with them, for they were reduced to the laft necessity of all things. But at the fame time Monfieur de Valence my Brother was in Poland, to labour the Monfieurs election to that Kingdom, as he did. And I think the glory of that busines is due to him: but it was alfo the caufe that every one thought of entering into Capitulation with the Rochellors, as alfo they did. The Deputies of Poland there came to fale the Monfieur for their King, and every one retir’d to prepare himself to see the Solemnity of this new Crown; so that after having left a vaft number of men at this Siege, we left the Rochellors full in posfession of their City. It feem’d by fome words the Monfieur caft out at his departure, that he was not very well satisfied with this new Kingdom: for my part I think it was a great honor both to him, and to us all, that to remove a Kingdom should come to seek a King in ours. Monfieur de Valence my Brother got a great deal of honor in this Negotiation, and his Orations are very fine, I make no doubt but he will infer them in his History.

During these unhappy Wars, and this Siege, where I left several of my Kindred and Friends, the Admiral de Villars, who was the King Lieutenant in Guienne did in my opinion the beft he could; and in truth there was not much to do, for the Hugonors were squandered here and there like a Corey of fohn Partridge. But having taken a little heart by the length of this Siege, they made some attempts, which made me, for my left misfortune, to lofe my Son Felian Signeur de Montaignac, who in forcing a Baccaro at Noguier, Fabien de receiv’d a Harquebuze that whereof he died. Although he was my Son, I must needs Monfieur Saint, give him this testimony, that he was loyal and brave; and I verily believ’d that the forrow for his death would have ended my days, but God gave me courage to bear my los; not with that patience I should have done, but as well as I could.

In the mean time all France was full of Triumphs to honor the departure of the new King of Poland, whilst I remain’d at my own house, without other company than my own forrows, faving that sometimes I was visit’d by my friends, and the Gentlemen of the Country. The King about this time made a new removal, which was very prejudicial to the Province of Guienne. Thofe who follow after us will learn to be wise by the overights of others; and the error that his Majelfy here committed, was, that he divided the Government of Guienne into two parts, wherein he gave all on this fide the Girond towards Gascony.
Gasceny to Monsieur de la Valette, and that on the other side to Monseur de Loffe. This was a very great mistake in the Kings Council; and more especially in the Queen, who would again divide it into three parts, to give one to Monseur de Grumont. I was pity that so many wise head-pieces had not taken notice what inconveniences had already accrued by giving too much power to Monseur d'Amoille before, by reason of the little intelligence there had been betwixt him and me, of which I have elsewhere given an account; and seeing all the forces of the whole Province, under one head, had enough to do to cause the King to be obey'd, what was to be expected from them, when separated, and under several mens Commands? This fins jealousy and division amongst them, which in the end grows to absolute breach; and all at the expense of the King and his people. The effects soon discoverd themselves; for Monseur de Loffe undertook the Siege of Clerac, a paltry Town, that had never dar'd to flut her Gates against me; where Monseur de la Valette was also present, but it was only in the quality of a looker on; where in the end he did nothing worth speaking of; neither indeed am I at all concern'd in that affair; so that what I say is only to enforce the King, that to be well serv'd he ought never to divide a Government, but commit it entire to one Lieutenant only. His Kingdom is wide enough to satisfy the ambition of those who are greedy of Employments; and, with his Majesties pardon, they ought to stay their time, there will be enough for all.

Some time after we heard to many strange things, that me-thought I saw the Enterprizes of Amoille again on foot; for they talk of prodigious things, and such as I should never have believe'd, if all was true that was said; which whether it was or no, I leave to others to examine. A little while after, news came of the Kings being sick, and of several great persons at Court being committed to prison, which made me think my self happy that I was so far off; for a man is often tript when he least expects it, and when he knows no reason why. In the end of all, news came of the death of the King, which was in truth a very great blow to the Kingdom: for I dare be bold to say, that had he liv'd he would have done great things, and to his Neighbour's cost would have remov'd the Scene of War out of his own Kingdom. Wheresin the King of Poland would have joynd with him, and have set on foot the great Forces he had been able to have rais'd in his Kingdom; all would have bowed before them, and the Empire would again have been referr'd to the House of France. His death did very much alonish us, by reason of the great designs he had, as it was said, in the Kingdom, and I do believe the Queen never found her self in so great a perplexity since the death of the King her Husband my good Master.

Her Majesty did me the honor to write to me, and to entreat me to affist her in her great affliction, and to preserve the State till the coming of the King her Son. Wherefore to gratifie her Majesties desire, though I was overburnd with years and infirmity, as also to divert my own grief for the death of my Son, and especially to manifest to her the desire I had to keep the promise I had made to her at Orleans; I went to Paris to receive her Majesties Commands, and from thence attended her to Lyons, where I had the opportunity of discourting with her at large concerning several things which I have since seen discovered themselves nearer at hand, and which it will be a great work in her to redress.

The King being return'd, they made him commit a very great error, at his first footing in the Kingdom; for instead of composing all differences and disorders in the State, and establishing peace and tranquility amongst us, which at that time had been a very ease matter to do; they perswaid him to resolve upon a War. And they yet perswaid him to a greater inconvenienc, for they made him believe, that entering into Dauphiné all places would immediately surrender to him, whereas notwithstanding he found, that every paltry Garrison made head against him: but I have nothing to do to give an account of those transactions. At his coming he was pleased to be exceedingly gracious and kind to me; and yet he was not so to all; and indeed I observ'd him to be much alter'd in his humor, from what he was wont to be. There were there some publick Councils held, but there were also others that were privit, and very closely carri'd.

Now his Majesty calling to mind the services I had done for the Kings his Grandfather, Father, and Brother; some of which he had heard of, and others had himself also seen, he was resolv'd to honor me with the Eftate of Marechal of France, and to make me rich in honor, since he could not do it in matter of wealth and estate. Having therefore caus'd me to be call'd for, and being come, to kneel down before him, after I had taken the Oath, he put the Marechal's Staffe into my hand: Which having done, in returning my most humble thanks, I told him, That I had no other grief in this world, but that I had not ten good years in my belly, wherein to manifest how much I desir'd to be serviceable to his Majesty and Crown in that honorable Command. Having receiv'd his Commands, and those of the Queen, I return'd into Gasceny to make preparation for war, for all things tended that way:
Book VII. de Montluc, Mareschal of France.

way: but I very well perceiv'd by the redoubtful of my Journey, that I was rather to think of dyeing my self, than of killing others; for I was no more able to endure long Journeys, nor to undergo any great labour. And moreover I very well foresaw, that the fame would happen betwixt the Kings Lieutenants and me, that had hapned before betwixt me and the Mareschal d'Aurville.

Sometime after the Parliament of Bordeaux write me a Letter, that the Hugonots were playing pranks upon the River Dordogne, that some course must be taken with them, and that therefore they entreated me to draw a little nearer to them, that some order might be taken to prevent them from proceeding to greater mischief. I hereupon accordingly came to la Reille, where President Nogrand, to whom I was totally a stranger, Mefliers de Merville, de Montferran, and de Gourges came to meet me, and there propos'd to me a great many things. I was not to seek in my answer, neither did I want sufficient excuses, particularly that some promises that had been made me had not been made good; to which I alfo renonc'd to them my Age and indifpofition; and moreover the faid Sieurs de Merville and de Montferran coming to my bed-side, I shew'd them my wounds, acquainting them with the Oath I had made never more to bear arms; but in the end I could not deny them, and they made me break my Oath. They being then return'd to make preparation for the attacking of Genfau, I went thinner. Presently after Monfieur de Montferran brought a brave Troop of Gentlemen out of his Government, (as alfo fome others came in from other parts) together with a confiderable number of foot, so that we carried the Suburbs and the Barricado's at the very fift affault. Mefliers de Duras, de la Marquise, and de la Decefe, there went on in their Doubles only, with their Swords in their hands up to the very Gates of the City, which was very madly done of them for the Harquebus that flew very thick; but they did it in emulation of one another, and to fhew that they were men without fear: but (as ill fortune would have it) Monfieur de Monfieur de Montferran receiv'd a Harquebus that quafie through the body, of which he died; which was great pity, for he was a Gentleman of extraordinary valour, and mightily belov'd of the Country, which will find a great mis of him.

The Enemy feeing themselves coope in this manner, and the Canon ready to play, fent out a great Rogue, whom they call'd Captain * Tonnellier, but a very good Soldier, Or Cooper, as it was laid, who caputur'd and surrendred the place; in which Monfieur de Ransau, Brother to Monfieur de Duras, was placed Governor. I muft now give an account of an accident that befell me at this Siege, which had never hapned to me before. After the death of Monfieur de Monferran I thought fit to difpose of the Command he had in the Army to Monfieur de Duras, conceiving that he being a Gentleman of fo good a Family, as he was, he would be very well accept'd by all: but every one was not well pleas'd with my choice. From which another mifchief alfo arose; which was, I was told, that the The Gentle- Gentlemen who were come along with thefe Mefliers, to serve me upon this occasion, high-l_ly complain'd of some words which I had spoken of them, as fable as the Devil himself. The words were unhandsome and dirty, for which reason I will not blot my paper with them; but they were all in fo high a mutiny upon it, that they were ready to mount to horfe, and leave me engag'd with the Canon. I therefore fent to entreat them to do me the favour as to take the field betimes in the morning, where I had something to lay to them; which accordingly they did. I was fo early that I went by Torch lights, to impatient I was to cafe my heart; where the Gentlemen being all drawn round about me, with my hat in my hand, I spake to them in this effect.

Gentlemen,

'Tis now many years that many of you have known me, having born arms under my Command, both in our own domelick troubles of Guinée, as also abroad in foreign Countries; others also that are here prefent, make no question, have heard talk of me, of my chollerick disposition and hafty humour; but I flatter my felf not one of you, as many as you are, ever knew, or ever heard, that I was of a destructive or an in-jurious nature; and although I am not without my faults, yet have I never been guilty of that. How comes it then to pafs, that you have done me the wrong to believe that I should be fo indifferent as to fpeak of you with fuch contempt, as I am told has been reported to you? Believe me I am fo far from being guilty of fuch an injury to you who are Gentlemen, that I would not have spoken fuch a word of the meaneft Soldier in the Army. I have ever lovd and honour'd the Gentry, for under God it is they who have help't me to that honor and reputation I have acqui'd amongst men. You know very well, Gentlemen, that in the quality I now find I am out of Combat, and therefore shall not give the lye to any; but I do affure you it is nothing fo, and that I never un-
"ter'd such a syllable; neither would I have done it for the world. Methinks at this "age, and after having seen so much as I have done, I should know what it is to live in the "world, and be careful of offending so many persons of honor, and Gentlemen of good "and noble Families. Now (Gentlemen) I have understood the resolution you have ca-
ken to retire to your own houses, for which I am very sorry; as also that you dislike "the nomination I made of Moniteur de Duras. Wherein I shall go far comply "with your satisfaction, as not to impose him upon you contrary to your liking, and "seeing you are dissatisfied with my choice shall no more name him to you. His Majesty "shall appoint some other in the place of the late Moniteur de Montieran, whom I lament "from my soul. In the mean time, Gentlemen, do not deny me this one favour at least, "to convoy the Canon to some place of safety; which if you shall not think fit to do "for my sake, who have so many years been your Leader and Captain, yet do it for the "affection and service you owe to the King your Lord and Sovereign. As for my own "part, I will also go retire to my own house; for my age, my wounds, and other in-
firmities will no longer permit me to bear arms, nor to undergo the labours requir'd "in war. Love me always I beseech you, and remember your old Captain and fellow- "Soulier.

This Remonstrance of mine gave satisfaction to all, in so much that they all told me "with one voice, that in trut this story had given them very great offence, it being reported "to them by one that carried the name of a Gentleman: but they now believ'd nothing of it, "that they were my servants, and ready not only to convoy the Canon, but also to follow me "wherever I would pleafe to command them. I thought fit to commit this passage to writ-
mg, to the end that those who follow after may learn how to behave themselves upon "the like occasion. Had I upon the instant known the man that had raised this fine "report of me, I doubt I should have shew'd him a scurvy trick: but the Canon was car-
ried back, which they attended till they saw it lodg'd in safety, and so we took leave of "one another, and departed every man to his own house."

I had not been long at my own house before I had every day very strange news brought "me from Court, and of great designs that were laid by the greatest men of the Kingdom: "but when I heard that the King of Navarre made one amongst them, and was flown "away from Court without taking his leave, I from that time forward concluded that Gui-
enne was again to suffer many miseries; for that he being a great Prince, young, and who "gave visible hopes of being one day a great Captain, would easily gain the hearts of the "Nobles and the People, and would keep the rest in awe. So God help me a thousand "mischiefs were eternally before my eyes, so that I was often in mind to withdraw my self "to avoid the affliction of hearing so continual ill news, and of seeing the ruine of my na-
tive Country. To which end a certain Priory was evermore running in my head, that I "had formerly seen situated in the mountains, part in France, and part in Spain, call'd "Serracoli; to which place I had some thoughts of retiring my self out of the tumult of the world. I might there at once have seen both France and Spain; and if God lend me "life, I know not yet what I may do.

The End of the Seventh and last Book of the Commentaries of Messire Blaize de Montluc, Marechal of France.
Quæris qui siem? Montucius Nomini meo fatis est nomen.

Conjungi conjux.

P. C.


Avo, Patri Filiu, Nepo Blafius Montucius

P.

Erum humanarum victis quis non miretur? felicissimus Pater fatis, tardantibus Awas in calum receptus. Ille ferro, hic morbo. Ille in insulis Oceani Atlantici, hic in Gallia, hominibus exemptus. Ille me unicum, vix primas edentem vagatis superfitiem reliquit. Hic tres liberos Gallicam florem nobilitatis, tria Mariis pignora, vivens animi & elucuit. Utique bellum & litus fiantis. At juvenis patria sedatur, sentiunt avis praeserviit. Ex quo tamen eadem utrique gloria. Ores facundus, vorae catus, mues promptus, militibus pariter utrique gratus, militarem veterum denum adarem triumphalibus lauris utrique supergressus. Awas numquam ullos, pater etiam moriens bohiam viltur exitus. Advocatus filii & nepoti vestra virtutis egressam factam sanctissimam & fortissimam axim, invita avita pictas columna, e vestra content ad eumnum fliriis nominisque vestri decius inter rerum caligines, & errores flexus, itinere inoffensu percutitur.
Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Tombeau de Messire Blaise de Montluc.

C Est Marbrely (paffant) le grand Montluc enfere,
Ce tel hommage que luy, dedans son de terre
Ne peut eftre compris : ce tombeau laboure
Clot seulement son corps, dont il est honore.
Mais juge par sa mort, le dommage & la perte,
Que la Glaflongne a fait depuis veufte & deferte.
Et ce fang de passion, voy comme le laurier
Ceignant fort rentrent bonnet de ce guerrier.
Ce grand guerrier qui fut la garde de fon Prince,
Le soufisant & l'appuy de toute la province.
Ou lieutenant de Roy & en guerre & en paix
Temoin de fon vertu, il fit tant de bonheurs,
Qu'il a laifjé mourant ce beau dons à tout age
Quel des deux il efi plus vainqueur ou plus fage.
En bataille rangée, il defh par trois fois
L'ennemi de fon Roy, il remit tous les loix
La Gueulne reculee aux fions cautel.
Par force il emporta, & print cinquante villes,
Le premier à l'affant en temojignant la foy
Qu'il avoit à fon Dieu, qu'il avoit à fon Roy.
Par degrés, il acquit d'une honorable peine
Tous les titres d'honneur, de folem, captainats,
Colonel, Lieutenant, Vice-Roy, Marechal.
Et toujours commandant, à foy tefteurs efg-fi,
Dedans foy retenant fous égale balance.
La vaillance d'Aja, de Noeffor l'éloquence,
De l'homme plus corad il animoit le cœur
Et en plus courageux faisait sentir la fureur
A feule parole, à feule prefence.
Il fit chaud & dilif, remply de vigilance
En tout fes moraal, & par tout invaincu,
Et ne feoit une vanitaine que c'eft d'ètre vaincu,
On faif-ce par la force, ou par la courtofie,
Tant il avoit d'honneur, qu'elle aime faiuent.
Il accompliflait de tous fans défertion,
L'Italie le fit, ou de foy brave cœur.
Mainte marque il laifl, & comait & vainqueur.
Et le fiait, l'Angleterre, & la France & l'Espage,
Et cette nation, qu'on deuent la Rhin la guagne.
Brave s'il eft venu de l'invincible mort
Il leint encore peut-être longuer l'effort.
Mais voyant la vertu faire place à l'envie :
L'honneur à la faveur, il diffana la vie
Et defpe mortoir au monde viciens,
Pour aller immortel vivre dedans les cieux.
O vous, de qui l'amour l'ami ne varie
Plenez-les amis, vous mirant en fes faveurs.
Que vues laves enviens guidex d'un autre fort,
Plenez ensembline, & fes vie & fes mort.
Sa vie vous eft tout l'honneur & la gloire,
Et sa mort vous ravis èpoure de la vieillesse,
Ayant bien fiens vertus, & encore mieux mourir.
C'est à lay defformant à qui faut recouvrir
Pour le patron des deux, afin qu'on y contemple.
De bellece & mort un admirable exemple.
Heureux trois fiés Montluc, qui vivant fit longs jours,
Ai en pour compagnons, avecque tous toujours

Sur le Tombeau de fon coeur.

Icy de Montluc vainqueur
Est enclos le brave cœur.
On plufait afforner l'efé
Qu'il eft icy tout entier,
Car tous ce coeur grand guerrier
Ehbiit, & non autre chose.
Sitle Holpes, & perlege. Magnus ille Montlucius
hic facent & qui fequit mortuus, qui vivens nul-
quam quickere poterat. Hic tefte volebam,
quandoquidem illud postremum per me ut fæ-
res ipfem voluit, morienfque commendavat,
Abi, & bene precare.

Il, du Cbe Etofque de Condam

Epitaphe de Blaife de Montluc Ma-
refchal de France, & de M. An-
toine, Pierre, & Fabien fez enfans.

C Elsy fe plains en vain qui dit que notre vie,
(Théâtre infortunée de mainte Tragédie)
Est fière du defin : que le lafche & le fort
Pefle-mefle fans choft font ravis de la mort.
Ainoin que de Platon la chartrte tenbreufe
Va feulfeau devourant une aide generufe,
Ee celle qui moifit d'un languiifaif fiev
Dans fon corps inuile, & mangle en vain le jour,
Un jour du tems voue aux une longue vie
De ceuzy qui la paffe aux vices affezede
Un âfe valeremens l'emblémuus.
Du tableau de la vie, & luy fort d'ornement,
Orez qu'il fait tout feu, & ne point fait fà grace
Lors que la mort le vif de nos couleurs afface.
L'honneur plus qu'une ligne, un feuil trait.
Que le laure entier d'un vaillante pouvirait.
C'eft le fiait d'un grand maître à bien tirer fà vie
Et la rendre d'honneur de tout point accomplie.
L'avers artifial fait gardo fes lai fanis,
Sagrace, fa béaute, & fe proportioens.
Le temps ne definant point fot rauiiffant affift
Ains contre fes efforts il fe rend plus illumine.
De l'indolé tableau la borne & le mepris,
Et une obffer france en ef feul le pris.
C'eft un fait Atlante, être en dedé d'années.
Qui ne lef fait marcher d'honneur accompagnées.
L'honneur de la vieilliffe est l' efvanouissement,
C'eft fon fonds, & c'eft fon champ, & c'eft fon propre elemen.
Cet auge eft un tom eau fans la fûlie lumière,
De la fver, ce qui dois luy être familières.
Cehuy qui maiafit d'appetits éboue.
Se precipite au fein des sainsz voluntaires.
Et font l'eforce humaine une idolle monumauan.
Non bonne, ains feulement fa peinture vivante
Notre vie eft un songe, une ombre decevant.
C'eft un mage vain pouffé au gey du vent.

Une
Tomqueau de M. B. de Montluc.

Des feules d’Antoine à la première halte
Des Apologies que dois s’abstraire sur la plaine.
Que l’on fait donc d’honneur, non des enseignes
Que s’il nous faut donner de la face des cieux,
Il les faut soulever d’une vivante gloire,
Dont la Parque ne peut accorder la mémoire.
Comme a fait ce Montluc, Montluc ce grand guerrier,
Qui honneur sont loin d’un belliqueux Louis,
Et de Palme sa main, palme victorieuse.
Le signal voyant des armes glorieuses.
C’est ce Montluc, qui fut aux combats non paraît,
Le plus prompt à l’épée, le plus sage au conseil,
Capitaine invincible, ayant sous ses bannières
Rompent en ets font faire bandes guerrières.
Son bercer sat Gaspague, où les peuples arrondans
Naiscent, meurent soldats, & dépendent leurs ans.
Indomptables, hautes à l’honneur leurs Princes,
Et replanter les bords de leurs belles Provinces.
Il était defendu d’ayant bravés ets forts,
Pratiques en toute guerre, entrepris, accorts,
Esbanssez d’un beau sang & d’une noble cause
Et de vaincre aux combats, on d’y verber la vie.
Le los de ses ayants sa sœur cœur haissant,
Ainsi de la vertu de jure père se sent
Le iemne Lyonnesque, qui j’ai défai menace
Des feufes châbances des feufes terreuses l’audece.
L’aise à grand peine euisf de son lit materiel
Oze attaque des cesfs le peuple au pied fiel.
Il affait des dragons l’emprise venimeuse
Et échange sa vie en mort victorieuse,
Ainsi ce chevalier avant que la saison
Luy fesfui sur la iouce une creffe taison
Espoission d’honneur, il voit ouad aprendre
Fier de cuer & de mains en sa ienon tendre
Le meffier de Belfort, ayant devant fer yeux
De feu prens devencer les gensf glorieux.
Bien tôt on s’appercut que sa vertu cagneuse,
Sa vaillance aux dangers, sa prudence chesneuse
Aux affaires doublons voit doublant ses ans
Iust foldats ius vieux de fiers triomphants.
Comme l’on voit la maïa à la robe fbillaie
Qui n’a point sa clarté de nage voilee
Des cheveux journaliers afflubt les travaux
Et d’un profond repos admiurant leurs maux.
Armente effincler de mille flammes vives,
Que Thibys a levé dans le feu de ses eves,
Entre ronte blute un feu plus radieux
Horrible, terrifiant qui meffent les cieux,
Qui meffent la mer et la terre d’orage
Ainsi du grand Montluc le Martial courage
Terrible flamboyant entre tous les soldats.
Alif, labriens, vray champion de Mars.
La Tafette en trombeau, la supurée Italie,
Angletre, Flandres, Flandres, la Germanie,
Sa grand pieque en fa main guide des bataillons.
Eloit l’horreur, frayeur des peuples Bourguignons,
Sous les fens endeyans de l’aicter de sa targe.
Le Fran ais gras de cear ne crisaig ot la charge
De l’arrogante Espagne, ayant plus chernourir
Et voit son étonne d’un coup mortel ouvrir
Que receloir le frond d’une peur palissant,
Compable des honneurs d’une ame peu vaillance.

Son fief regard rendois le soldats si hantains
Qu’il sembloit ias tenir la vidiere en la main.
Il n y a point d’honneur ny titre militaire,
Dont ne l’aut entosty, non la fauer profere
De fortune, mais bien fa carestie valeur,
Qui a toujours saicurs des armes le mal-heur.
Ayant et cue plus grand non que Marschoufais,
Gouvernement, grandeur a la fonte entaffes,
Ains plus grand qu’un Empire, & ni pu commander
Depuis le fait Indias juff a l’Anglois mer,
Puis ests moy un Colofe au bas de la campagne.
Il et taillons grand ; un Nain sur la montagne
Elt tolouses petits ; ainsi l’indigite
D’un homme bas & vul monstre fa lascite
Quoy que brave d’honneur, & que la main royale
De bien & de grandeurs sey troy trop liberal.

Depuis quand le Françoi divise en deux parts
Fis florer contre foy ses propres offrandes,
Et que Mars tout sanglant, & la disorde irée
Traissoit cette couronner en pieces defchérées,
Grand Alide Gaulois il ramaffa le bris.
Mille fois la campagne il loncha d’ennemys,
Et vaingneul abbatis sous le fer des Lauce.
De l’heretique cest le outrages licence,
Hardy, destierne, indomte, valureux,
Et l’exemple immortell des faits chevaleresques.
Mais qui pourroit conto fes fauses terminer,
Escarmonches, affans, & bataillons donnés,
Mars prifs & defquids, celuy pourra nombrer
Les ghisltes des cieux, & les flots de la mer.
Luy seul ecria a pudeigne de celle glaire
De fes divers travaux une immortalite historique.
Luy un secon Cesar, le fesuant ecriauia
Des exploits acheus par sa vaillance main.
Non autrement qu’un chrestie orgueillieu de trophées
Ses armes reluisoient de largier etoiffes,
Ayant toujours fait voir par le glaise pointu
Qu’il eftoit impossible d’abattra sa vertu
Si bien que le Dieu Mars or il portoit ovale
Gros de rage & defpit auxgiefer de sa vie,
N’amaiti entresips dedans le feu sanglant.
Sur la poudre adoncer ce Tydide vaissant.
Don pointail de fercure & boutissant de colere,
A meuntry coup fer en coup en leur printanture.
Trois freres, ses trois fils, trois Achilles Franquois,
Trois Scipion nouveau flambois font les bornois,
Comme l’autre immane qui fuvoit de tempete.
Du martelat j’apréi à maupratger la tete.

Ces vieux Heroes de Grecce, & ses foudres Romains
N’euffent passe l’honneur des trois frères germaines,
Si leur fortigue aux armes si bien née
En leur tendre bourgeoyn n’est qu’aiff images.
Comme on voudroit beaux luis qui d’un luger pairil
Des bontemps leur robe auxroydes du four.
Ou trois beaus Hyacinth à la face termele,
Epanir les threisirs de leur vifsse merveile
Le ciel s’en refusit, & verié fes fleurs.
Les larmes dont l’autre argente leurs couleurs.
Mais le contre trenteans ot le geuexs orage
Les celebres honnetes de leur beuste sacrage.
Le defi nous monstre pus à saudain reppris
Ces trois frères a foy du ttegaie pers. 

Craigniez
Grâce à vous que vous avez la France, vous vous avez la victoire.
Fit player (b bans Diane) du monde la puissance ?
Celui qui fit broncher le Macédonien,
Qui fit pommier son char du long Emmanuel,
Vid d’un œil affûté, tant revêtue de gloire,
La mort de deux fils afflige sa solitude.
De même (o grand Montluc bientôt de un tel malheur
On ne te vit jamais faire dans le monde.
Ferne comme un rocher dédaigné
Lequel plus est beau plus se moque de l’ordre.
Tu différais encore les combats retenter
Quand la feue monte vint au lit te donner.
Tel est le sort des affaires humaines
Qui faillit puis deux fois toutes choses mondaines :
Nous mourons en nageant, & maints fois au bord
De ce plus frais vie en est pris de la mort :
Mais heureux qui a peu plein à honneurs & d’années
Attirée de pied eût les fers défendus,
Qui a un peu de fuy sans jamais s’embrasser
Puisseur, Royaute, Empires chancelier:
Qui a peu sans frayeur voir fuivre sa route
De grands éclats du ciel la branche tomble.
Tel fut ce Chevalier, auquel on coupa la tête
Par aucun accident ne fit tomber le cour,
Ayant heureusement vaincu Mars & l’envie
Qui voyait de travers la splendeur de sa vie :
Vouloc qui retourner deux fois guerrière Etoise.
Affailli, combattant de milles adversités,
Mai presse en fy-mêmes, il épuisait la fâcheuse
Dont le malheur pouvait à bon foi faire brefse.
Vouloc siils, honneurs, du pere & des enfants
Le Tombeau non de pleurs, mais de chiers triomphants
Gemifans sous le fes des d’espottées vaincues,
Piolets, couflets, pieuses, laucis, maffes,
Merious, gantlets, brasfier, cuifots percés,
Panaches tous fangois, cocccils enfans,
Thibres, tambours, guides fainfaires de trompettes.
Enfeignez, chansans, & lauriers corcins,
Marques de leur prouesses, & dignes monuments
De ces quatre guerriers, les premiers de leurs temps,
Léglis ore la bume de la toute dorée
Férons trembler à étois leurs falade timbrée
Fondroyus Encelade, & l’orqulç fericenx
Des Geans qui encore s’anrent contre les Cieux.

A L I U D.

Ignavi Pario quaran in marmore vitam,
Quis vita tantum spes jacet in tumulo :
Hec gellii ut mutoscit lacertam terre,
Praxiteles manus, fec Polyclite tuas.
Nec vatum scriptis mea bucla incita legantur,
Funditius extinctos hic tuenter honos.
Sic scripsit, ut poifinit vis dil addere, nobis
Etatum ingenio suppedantibus decus.
Sed ne forte meum longinquus ex ore profecto
Ut redate viro præterat tumulum
Extremi nomen sculptur margine fæxi
Hoc fatis eft : populis certera fama canet.
Sic olim qui Alpes, Italas qui frergerat arcis,
Scribi unum hoc juift, Amabilia hic fitus eft.
Paucis Godofridis Malvinius Regius, Burdigala
Senator, anno 1577.

Epitaphe de Messire Blaise de Montluc, Mareschal de France.

C’giit le grand Montluc, daquel la renommée
Par mille cors divers,
Embouchez hautement, a la gloire fémée
Au champ de l’univers.
Montluc, qui de son nom comme un foudre de guerre
Étoit mille fois
L’Italie, Le Piedmont, l’Espagne, & l’Angleterre
Et le muin François.
De ces peuples domptés ayant l’ame escharfée
D’un defir glorieux,
Diffeoil sur defpoifile, il deffra maint trophée
Tousjours victorieux.
Mais la mort, qui demain doit trancher notre vie
On peut être aujourd’hui,
Le triomph envant de son heureux vie
Triomph odes du.
He que c’est peu de cas que des choses mondaines
C’en est rien que du vent.
Car tout ainsi qu’ont vold qu’elles naiffant soudaines
S’en sont foudainement.
N’agueres ce Montluc fut l’honneur de son age
Vn Alcéide nouveau.
Aprés tant de travaux pour son dernier partage
Il n’a que ce tombeau.
Lieuteaances, fiefs, ordres, mareschauftees,
NyLots, ny dignitez,
Ny honneurs, ny grandeurs, l’une à l’autre entaftes,
Ny Lauriers meritez.
N’avoient rendu contenu fonfis pleas d’oeuvie
De plus oute tantes.
(Lamais ne brave cause cependant qu’il a vie
Ne se peut contenter.)
Ores il eft constant avec fix pieds de terre
Partage égal à tous :
Car autant en emporte son cheft heche-terre
Que le plus grand de nous.
Sa gloire seulement apres luy nom demeure
Gloire qui ne marre pas.
Car la vertu ilmamencenc que le corps morte
N’est subjette au trié.
Encor eft frayibo en nous d’Anmilba la memoire,
Encor vivent les fatis
Des Sepeions, Catons & Cefars, dont la gloire
Ne perira jamais.
Ainsi après cent ans de vie il ne nous reste
Rien exempt du defin
Que le felle vertu ; car tof quand le tarde
Est conduit à la fin.
Repose donc en paix à ame genereuse,
Homme de l’Univers
Cependant que pleurens fur ta tombe pondeuse
Le gravray ces vers.

Montluc combi d’honnameurs de grandeurs & d’an-
Et de gloire chargé

A I L I D.
Tumulo Blafii Monlucii.

Unicus Alides Manues prope & Infera ruptit:
Quid modo quadruplaci facient Alcide miselli?
Ecce tribus natis obieta Blafini Oro
Contuit arma parentis: Jam fictiles Orecipiti.

Les Manes de Meflire Blaife de Mont-
Luc, Mareschal de France.

Quand Cloeon file-vie, a qui les destines
Fons vover le fuzon de nos courtes annees,
Voulut du grand Montluc tramer les heureux jours,
Fons ne les trimar pas, comme elle fait toujours,
D'un fil simple commun, a l'ouvrage attentive
Sa geueuille chargea d'une filce vive:
En arma son cofte, & auec une main
Tire brin defius brin le bout d'un fil humain,
Faisant de l'autre main avec le fil laiffé
En l'air périssent la sitaue fuzée.
Le fil par le pezon jufqu'en terre allongé
Forsent l'aronde bien revors, bien doux
Et la Parque abcutant de tirer la filce
Par trois fois ces deux vers chansis d'une voix baffe,

Les Manes de Meflire Blaife de Mont-
Luc, Mareschal de France.
Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

L’attache cette vie avec vnh fi fort,
Qu’a peine sera-i dénoté par la mort.
Per le fureau griffi d’un grand nombre d’années
Au poids elle donne mauss des Délivrés,
Et j’appuis retaillant la part entre tes mains,
Depuis parce que tu montr les humains,
L’ayant fort repassé en fit une grand’ maif:
Un beau chef en forme inspiré d’une face.
Qui j’œuvrait bataillons, & lents fur un corps
Donc les membres éfient musclés, nervec, & forts,
Aussi en l’avoir tuant s’est à bonne pleine
Neuf fois s’efforçant deffin le vent de son baléine,
Vent brunuit, sous lequel avec mille dangers
Le grand nous de Montluc fiit tâche aux offandrers,
Vient, qui venant de Mars fioufier fur cette image,
Mais fiouf dans le cœur l’ardeur de son courage:
Alors dans son ame un fen de guerroyer,
Qui l’a fait entre nous tempeller, fouadreyer,
Faire, boulever mille fers murailleurs,
Tenter & retenter le hasard des batailles
Apprendre comme il faut une ville aborder,
Comme il faut l’affaillir, comme il la faut garder,
Ce qui fit qu’un Laurier marquant mainte défaites,
Faisait parfille parfille environnes sa tète
Mais là comme il n’est rien, qui si fôt qu’il n’est né,
Ne fôit d’un fort comune à la mort défité,
Ce Montluc pleia d’honneurs, de biens, & de vieilleries,
Sentit le trait mortel dans le qui nous blesse.
Or comme ses fôris déflagrois de son corps
Mercur en rencontre, Mercur, qui des morts
Tous les fôris attend, afin d’effet leur guide
Au chemin temebreux de l’onde Acrobrutie.
Ce Dieu le conduiffant de son double effort
Hesboit l’air qui fîssant bruyoit à l’environ;
Et l’esprit les parfâve par l’afniere voye
De l’effet pleine d’effroy sans frayer le convoye:
Aunque comme de loin il est montré le lieu
Dans le paffage infernal, Mercur dicait adieu.
L’esprit demeure fiue, pourfuir vos fiu voyage
Se rendit à la fin sur le bord du rivage,
Où plantant fermenter les pieds sur le gravoir
Appella le Nocher à bâte & rude voix
Mais fa maelle armée & de voile & de rames
Paffoit à l’autre bord un nombre infinim d’amers,
Il paffa par deux fois & au même batteau
Pour la tonner ruffer, tonner repasser l’eau.
L’esprit qui cependans attendant sur l’arène,
Contemplait ce Nocher qui ramait avec peine,
Au poil blanc, au teint noir, au regard égaré,
Couvert d’un veil habi à lambreux desfigué,
Plein de poix, qui meffie au tortis des filets
Avoir de son vaiffeau calfeur les croûfes,
Ses bras triovent la rame avec un tel effort,
Qu’en trois corps son batteau revint bâifer le port.
De mille endroits divers fuisant les avancements,
Afin de s’embarquer mille ames fuis venir,
Qui deça, qui déla fantaft de bord de l’eau.
L’une fiu l’autre entrouuient fonde à fonde au batteau,
Qui n’a deux douaire de françois, afféff de fa charge,
Qui la vieure Nocher vouloit pouffer au large,
Quand l’esprit à Montluc, à qui choffe de bord
Le Nocher commandoit d’attendre un second port,
S’estant dans l’espirit, qui ne vouloit le prendre :
Et dit, je pafferay, c’est trop fôi me faire attendre.
Si fôt qu’il eût gaigné le bord de ce vaiffeau,
Et charge & Nantonnier fe retourne à bout l’eau
Et le premier metfer qu’apprit cette belle ame
Dans ce Romaine noir, ce fut tifer la rame.
Et comme en fon vivant tamiis néceffité,
N’ayant reduit Montluc en telle extrémité,
Qu’il n’y trouva rendre; ainsi dans l’enfer miffne
Il trouva le rendre à fe paffer foy-miffne,
Charon qui cependant dedans l’eau grenouillit,
Pluton & fes effrits à fon aide appollis.
Et tout foudain qu’il eut d’angles crocher pris terre,
Commence à crier, nous fourmes à la guerre,
Alarme, alarme, alarmes & redoublant ces cri
Espruntant l’enfer, eﬀrays les effrits.
Pluton criant que quelqu’un par ferreter rapine
Vient encore de nouveau rvuer fa Prophésume.
Il ne faot, qu’il doit faire, il va de fôme cafse,
Rechercher dans l’enfer les soldats indécomps
Qui ont durant leur vie aveugles quelque gloire
Achété par leurs fang l’honneur d’une vidicte,
Hardis, afperts, vaillans, ardans de fang humain,
Et qui ont furieux porté la guerre en main.
Dix mille tels effrits font forts des lieues fombres,
Où logent dans l’enfer plus plaifables les ombres.
L’un d’un grand coup d’effre le chef aveulé,
L’autre de bras de tâme eﬀrits fcarfeté,
L’un porté dans le fing une bale cachée;
L’autre d’un coup d’effre une oreille trancheée.
Mais comme la pluspart de ces bravex soldats
Où se la fême à Montluc qui marchoit à grand pas
En l’air brasant fi main d’une horrible menace
Suivans à vanderon doux ils ont quité la place,
Presque tous les effrits à al arme venus
En voyant l’autre effre, fes fom fendant
Que eﬀrit ce Montluc, qui s’ouvrait sur la terre
Eﬀroit un second Mars, un fiandre de la guerre,
Et tous ceux qui vivant luy furent ennemis,
Comme s’il les cherboit, en fruite fent miis.
A chaque ame qui semblolos penfant être attrapée
Senti ence le fîl de fa sanglante effre,
La Tofcan, la Lombards, Napolitains, Anglais,
Allemans, Epagnolz & rebelles François
Pelle-melle fuyans d’une fuite preffe
Cel fiur teft tombant à jambe renverfe.
Tout l’enfer retentit, & les effrits peureux
Cercbent pour fe cachier leurs fpâbecles ombreux,
Ils veulent tous criers mais une créante molle
Dans leur bouche baccar amonliament la parole.
Pluton qui cependans cherboit par tout moyens
De raﬄuer le cœur de fa noire citoyens,
Et comme le hameau de l’emfante avenue,
Ne les voyans fuisir fors que d’une ame nue
Se bouffit de colere : il enrage de voir
Qu’vue ame aim peu l’enfer de frayer ennui;
Et raﬄant de bâte à grand pas il s’avanced
Vers l’esprit à Montluc qui ferme en contenance
Sans s’effayer de lay devers lay il s’avance.
Comme affez près de lay l’esprit il apperçoit,
Crommétant fon convos il sonnemente lay dire,
Vient ta jufpibe effre pour troubler mon empirie.

Arrête,
Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Arregle, arrege toy: sinon malgré le fort
Je te feray fon ir un seconde mort:
On me feray joindre à ton ombre coupable
L'impitoyable arreg de jugè inexorable.
Plus rigoureux toy ferai jon jugement,
Que du fer, que du feu, que du venin tonnant
Qui est tu? d'un vicier tu? de quelle enduite falle
Ozes tu faire Carson paffer dans sa gonde.
L'esprit ayant été l'hoîte d'un corps ânuqueur,
Duchaim jamais la peur n'avoir glace le coeur.
Ne s'esquon souiant au bruit de sa menace;
Ains lors contre-repond avec une humble audace:
Joy je ne viens pas, comme ont fait autresfois
Hercule tagueant, These, ou Pâris,
Pour trouble ton ofer: car cette ame enchantee
De glaie n'a jamais defiri de ce trophée,
Sans pense dondeque demeure en cet ubberries enfers,
D'enerf le chien porter aux trois gisiers oubverts
Et toy sans peur de moy, platton, garde ta fame.
La hot plus belle ence garde la flame
De son amour vers moy: mais si tu es le Roy
De Ce Rayanne noir pleins d'honneur & d'effroy,
Pour quy n'estabilir avec quelque justice,
Les favorables lois d'une douce police?
Et quoi? lay dis Platton, qu'as-tu ca bas trouvé,
Que par nooelle joy doive estre reproduit?
Après qu'on eut, dit-il, mis mon cors foin la lante
Voulant paffer son fleuve, ainsi que fait toute ame
D'une rame Carson me chaffia radement,
Bien que l'ennuy attendu fur le port longement,
Et qu'il eut ia paffe mainte ame en sa barque,
Qui avoient en congé depuis moy par la parque,
Moy qui aye le ceur grog & penfe meriter
Pour le cors, d'où je fors, de me voir mieux traiter,
Tout flambant de courroux l'entray dedans la naffe
En renveuant fis charge: & tout seaul me paffe.
Or Platton si tu veux avec un long difions
Entendre qui je suis, & quels furent mes jours,
Je n'aurais jamais fait costant ma vie entiere.
Le parler me faudroit ploufle que la matiere,
Platton, dont le courroux estoit defia flotté
Par ses propres diferts plou d'bumble gravité,
Luy dit, approche toy, ame genereuse
Viens ca bas pour parer ma grand chambre funeste,
D'où es-tu qui tues, & tes faulx conte moy.
L'ame sans sommer mat longuemem je tint oye:
Puis dit en s'élevant comme un, qui se réveille,
Si le nom de Montluc a frappé ton oreille,
Nom que la renommée embrouche en millie cors,
Je fus quand il visoit, l'hoîte de mon cors.
La France estoit mon pays, Gascogne estoit ma nourriss,
Qui blandiffis ses enfans en un guerrier exercice,
Qui arme leurs bercereaux de petits ethardis,
Et leurs mains de tambours, les vo eu au Dieu Mars.
La lignée de ceux, defusius le preud mifiance,
Est affixe par mon nom connue par la France,
Comme un Lyon jamais n'engendre un cor fomeur.
Succedant aux Montluc en leur coeur generaux
De guerre defiers se e tus mois d'attende
Qui n'ouloit vint malmenner jus ma ioin à épandre,
Puis la fleur du printemps, qui pointit fur notre teist
Car encore le n'avoir troiz fois six ans atteint,
Qu'estant hors de page au Duc de Lorraine s'happe,
N'important comme on dit que l'effye & la cape,
Comme un jeune pouvin qui branlant tète & col
A force a tacheté la boucle à son licol.
Lors que libre il sent en fuyant l'échaf.
Difport court par les champs, & cherche un prairie.
Où la terre grattant d'un jarret fouple & proprie
Il galoppa, il gambade, il fait en l'air le bond,
Defunt ses pieds viens en le long de sa carriere.
A l'air demeure epuisé d'une obscurie pouisseur
Son crisant flattant se met au gré du vent,
Sous seu vítée galop par accord se montant.
La terre retenti: mais quand fur un rivage
Il eut banie la poutre, ou le poulin l'anneau.
Une oreille dressant s'étant court arrêté
Effoute en quel endroit, puis court de ce côté.
Ainsi du tabarin, qui le fudat réveille,
L'ecoute quand le foin viendra à mon oreille:
Pour courir celle part. Alors cet Empereur,
Ce grand Charles, qui fut du monde la terreur
Defignissant de la France crier un trophée.
La guerre estoit par tout vifement espantée.
Là dontt l'accoussars, & sous Odet de Feix
L'aprit jeune landr à porter le harcsin.
Et oos en Esgagne & oos en Angleterre
Ienne je m'adrexay au mifrer de la guerre.
Je traversay les monts suivant l'effroy de tous,
Qui penseroient que Milan sovait garde par nous.
Mais comme bien savoient la fortune je mesque,
Nous fustins d'un malheur suivit à la Biquegne:
Là où comme picon, tout de poudre noircy
Il s'éleva combattre à pied le grand Mommorancy,
Qui s'allay condoyant au milieu du carnage,
Faisant sentir l'effort de mon jeune courage.
Après que notre camp defersera de voir
Par sa force Milan remis sans son pouvoir,
Reveno, sans long temps m'arrester en Gascogne.
La Navarre le vis, Picardie & Bourgogne.
Et bien que l'ennuy vien la main & main combatt,
Mon vol n'était plus haut, que le vol du fudat.
Mais lors un point d'honneur falarant ma peine
De fudat le recens fificate de capitaine.
Bien toft ic eu me trouvay plus chand en guerre epré,
Lors que Fonterable aux Esgagnos fus pri.
Dinvincible au travaill, apres Fonterable
Il va grand malheur, la route de Pavie,
Journée ou notre Roy demeure prifonnier,
Où presque se refay commençant le dernier:
Mais play dans le cors, à la teft, au viage,
Avec peine à la fin s'échappe ce carnage.
Puis avec ce Lantres sou qui ic m'avancé
Encore en Italie bordy le repasse:
Et suivant la Romaine & la Brusse & l'Apouille
Melpe nous demeura pour guerriere despoillée:
Où mes soldats Gifosins mi faisant d'un prin-fant
Furent vers les premiers sur la brefche à l'affant.
Naples fass quels afairs en affregeant se baillent:
Et quantefois du pied l'ay marquée mniuraile.
De ce voyage long d'un malheureux bonheur
Le revins tout chargé de louange & d'honneur,
Aux chargés, aux affaitis, rencontres, camifades,
Ayant fecté mon lor de quatre arquebusaides.
Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Me trouvant à Marseille on vît là de quel sang
Je fis la peur d'un siège affreux au breton.
D'où l'Empereur qui peut en faire encore le conte
Parti fut l'affranger avec sa courte honte.

Au siège contre lui il fut à Perpignan.
Le Piedmont s'es monvant Caflal & Carignan
Et Carminque & Quinci vont en cette guerre,
Combiné de chevaliers il rentre s'y par terre.

Encore que de bonnes fois il l'avoir dépré
De grand Maître de Camp le Roy m'est obéni
Alors que l'aigle joint aux armes Espagnoles
Entrepris d'affailler nos gens à Cerisole,
Je voulus bien qu'aux chefs ces traits furent défendus,
Garder les pas doucement de ses ennemis perdus.

Ce fut lors qu'en vainquant, le Français magnanime,
T'asfut maint ennemi pour sanglante victoire.
Ce fut lors qu'au bancher il empourprâ mit deux biens
Aux sang des Espagnols, des Lombards, des Germains.
Or l'Anglez cependant qui d'autre part guerroye
Pour la guerre d'armes dans la terre d'Oye
Pour ne voir guerre aucune où il n'ësse mai part.
De gloire d'achiever ie courons cette part.

La ie fis voir le cœur d'un guerrier de Gascongne.
Alors mon Roy me vida en la baie boufrage,
(Et cet alle je met pour mes gênes plus beaux.)
Sauver l'homme perdu de vingt deux drappaux :
Et malgré l'ennemi qui tiroit la défaisse.
Faire estourir de fang une brave vertu.
En Piedmont appelé pour quelque renommé
D'Albe & de Moncassier ie lus le gouvernement.

Sienne pour ne s'entrer defouvoir la tyrannie
Des voisins Florentins, dont elle est ennemie,
D'entre les mains defouvoir nos Roys avoit offé
Le fong qui captivait sa donné liberté,
Crazignan & l'Empereur & le Duc de Florence,
En ce temps mandia le fecours de la France.

Le Roy prêfut l'orille au priere des Siénois
M'entoua pour leur aye des moy de choisir.
La où repréfentans sa Majesté Royale
Il loua de haut lieutenant la charge générale,
Et gardant aux Siénois leur obtre liberté
La f'avoit le fanguent du la si bien plante.
Qu'encore aujourd'hui les bonners Francoisis
Dans les vans bourgeoiffent deffus les tours Siénois.
Si de Stooffey le camp, en pièces otiant mit
N'ont donné l'advantage aux vainqueurs ennemics.

Henry lors mon Roy, Henry mon second maître.
Aucul à ma vertu s'offrit faicto confider
Dans Sienne me fafactant lais secours affligé,
Bien toft pour me perdre envoy congo.
Mais moy brave & vaillant, à qui jamais la crainte
N'avait dedans le cœur donné la moindre attant.
Voulant voir les affaîlirs des camps ennemis,
D'attendre son secours deux mois ie lui promis.

Et comme le Nocher, qui au fort d'un orage
Est des flots & des ventes menah de naufrage,
Prévenu on depa, de là, fut par tout.
Depuis un banc de nefs, jufques à l'autre bout,
Pour voir si ma navire au ventre creu & large,
Cale trop defoun Feus, sous le poids de sa charge :
Si leurs fiers Aquilons le cordage ont lâché,
Si la barne est entière, ou le mast arraché :
Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

La tombe est défiee sans chef, mais en une majeure, 
De ses armes le lit pavement frivole, 
Au Sceptre que tenant en main ce jeune Prince 
Defia n'obéissit mais refusèe solennelle, 
Quand contre ces muses aux armes le courant: 
Bourdonnais, l'ont ouvert à temps le gouverneur: 
Lèvons le gai-gaie, & le fort du fort Pente, 
La où fut le tombeau de maitre grand capitaine.

Après (bien qu'fuyant de peu de cabinets, 
Dequlques il a von voix, pour belliqueux guerriers.) 
En suivant une fortune égale une gloire 
Le combat Duras, & gaignay la victoire: 
Sous mes coups de forme de force tranchez, 
Le mien temps les maitre errent parmes les champs, 
Des champs riches de Ver, d'on jep voit mille ombres pales: 
Vindrent sa bas huer ses tours insécuras.

Depuis, bien que l'hour de ma vieille faillit 
Enfui regle far mon chef, tout vieil & tout grisant, 
Défaisant de garder mien pays par ma perte, 
L'affesion Kabiflens la guerre était euss'outerre, 
La pour marquer mon bras par un exploit devaire, 
Le redelis foleil, le devient pionnier, 
Et plein de deftiuer, de dejant & de rage 
Voyant qu'en un affant, mes gens perdienan courage, 
Qui il braillant au retour, à la brecche batailars, 
Le marchay le premier, guidant leurs pas doutez: 
La borne de me voir marcher de telle audace, 
(Encor qu'un coup de balle à jour percat ma face.) 
Combatre opiniastre avec un tel effort, 
Cela leur donnant cear nous fit maitre du fort.

Au bout de quelques auquant la mort qui affomme 
Les Princes & les Roys,ainsi fit qu'un passeur homme, 
Enfui Charles maitre Ray mis defus le cercueil, 
Laissant la France en prie, & le Francois en deuil, 
Et que Henry pour France enfa Pontolue laissée, 
Le m'en vis honorer de la Marechande, 
Se sauvando mon Prince autrefois de m'avoir, 
A la guerre sans vue voyant faire mon devoir, 
Voulant par cet honorer, liberal reconnaistre, 
Mon siervice employé pour son fere mon maistre.

Ainsi aux grands estoits, dont je fus honorer
Je ne vins tant à corps, ains degré par degré,
Comme je ferai eulassant, qui dans le ciel flamboyer,
Qui pour suivant le cours de la eulite voie
Marche à pas mesure, & selon les faisions.

De degres en degres, void fes donez maitres.
Bien que je fufse fée, & côte d'un long age,
Je me saisis encore affen ver de corage,
Pour fuivre des deftins que j'avoir秉承eur,
Qui refuent connois tous mes gestes paffée,
Mais m'effant retiré, pour ne voir tant de brignes,
Pour ne voir les plus grands conteriver fuse leurs lignes,
Vieil le prit le chemain, qui a tous prendre il nous faut,
Marchant sous une lampe, où l'unique defgant.
Voilà donc ces Pontus, le déchirer de ma vie,
Qui sault & de grandeur, & de bon-bon fisaint,
Bon-bon que luy chercho, en guerroyant toujours
N'ayant jamais nyens en vain mange le jour.
Mais le coud mal bou, qui ne m'aisit attendre
Pour s'attaquer à moy, fur les monts s'dalla prendre:
Car ayant en cett bou, d'engendrer quarte enfants
Tous quarte enfants de Maitre, tous guerriers triomphants,

Le maitre contre moy brouillé d'une exarc:
Aux troix tranchez le fil de leur trop courte vie.
Mon brave Marc Antoine faisant le repart
Monent en Italie, où repoufent se fu.
Sur les rempays d'Espagn, où saind redoutable
La memaire laissée de maitre ault noble,
Peint dont le cear baste & plein d'amour,
Etois pour commander à quelque nation,
Faisant vole aux cours d'un Rayonue des Algie,
Fait tué dans une nature en la mer Atlantique,
Fabien, le François, comme te t'aycouté,
Etois contre joy-mefme en armes resolté,
Ayant d'un fort temps, forcé la batailde,
Sentiffit un coup mortel, par une arquebusade.

Ainsi veuf de ces trois que je plaidrait toujours,
Un fun joyois là baut de la clarté du jour,
Qui a dans la cité de chevaliers aurore
Par maint exploit vaillant planté sa renommé.
Qui les armes portant pour defendre sa loy,
Dans l'armée corsée a fait parler de joy.
Aux depeus des voisins: & qui bravo s'agreter,
Commandoit fur la mer aux Royales galeries,
Les seint pour le combat si bien faire ramener,
Qu'il demeurait vainequeur, le maistre de la mer:
Vainqueur en terre, en mer, deux fois braveux en terre,
Me vainequeut, qui n'aprs qu'a avancée sur la terre,
Lors qu'il executait estoit maitre Martial.
Itérois à la mort, aggressé de mon maitre:
Mais m'effant de cefauf la nouvelle annoncé,
Tout ray je loust sa force renforcé,
Par cet aefte dernier flauté si doucement,
Que je murluois après, plein de contentement,
En voyant après moy refre encore au monde,
Pour mef aire revivre, un fils qui se mceu,
Or donc Platon, content deplouy plus le neuf,
Et d'avoir mes trois fils avant sa mort rauy,
Garde au moins cela-là, & que la mort famille,
N'emporte des Montluc le fein de grand qui vefte.
Garde mon frere encore, lequel ambassadeur
Nos Roys ont donue foit chargé de leur grandeur:
Ont fait voir les Roamains, ont fait voir l'Allemagne,
Ont fait voir la Hongrie, & la ville que baigne.
La mer de tous feslie, l'Angle, & l'Ejfeens,
Deux fois voir le levant, deux fois le Poulgonnois,
Voyage par lequel ceste glaire luy donne
Qu'en chef de nostre Roy il a mis son con communicating.
Renommver les comptes de mainte nation,
Qui briguait la faveur de ceste effélin,
C'est ce doile Prat, qui pere d'éloquence,
Et baptisé du nom d'Ambassadeur de France:
Qui par le miet combattant de fa diftre voir,
A fait autant d'exploits, que moy par le bruit.
Or attendant qui icy soin obble le reveu,
Dont le terme fust long, fuy moy monftrant la roy,
Par ou le fai conduire au feon bien-heureux.
Où ilengent les afires des homm note generales.
L'ombre a peine avait dit, que le Roy qui s'abflait.
Pour honorer les grands, l'ombre, la carref,
Luy-meefme le guerroyant sans champs Eflauts,
Au quartier Martial des guerriers ancieux,
D'Alexandre, Hannibal, d'Eliéen de Livy,
D'Eut Catoins, Scipions, venir tofauts de l'effe.

111
La Charles, à la François, Henry, Montmorancy, Bourbon, Lantrey, Boyard, la Trimoitié, Stroff, Leu, Termes, Briffac, & ce grand Duc de Guise
Le ballear des François, le pilier de l'Eglise,
Luyfent des rayons à un autre plus beau jour
Où cette ame avec eux, fit son heureuse joie;
Et là tumant le temps, d'un guerrier exercice,
L'un de ces chevaliers elle appelle à la lice,
Elle couv une bague, & cherche les sabots,
Defquels le nie figure un nombre des combats.
Car mieux quand le corps est sous la fudpitude.
L'ame immene retient l'intiﬁie de sa nature.
Les ames de ceux-là, qu'amour a tourmentez,
S'asphirent, lamentant deus les moites mines,
Des pouvables neberes les ames marianieres,
Les bar dans un esuiq frequent les riveres.
Et quand le corps est mort les ames des guerriers
Combattent si jeunes sous l'ombre des hauiers.
Anstolz l'exercant cette ame bien heureuse
Venirse du corps eloncous la tombe poudreux,
Ame qui pleine d'huer ne doit point deﬁner,
L'honnors sa memoire ou aide lebauper
Ny un marbe image des figures antiques,
Ny de l'or cebruns sur des pilier Doriques,
Ny qu'une Pyramide effacée hauement
Preffe en terre ﬁs os ferant de monument :
Car jamais par leur mort, jamais ceux-là ne meurent,
De qui les braves fouts pour monuments demeurent :
Ce font les Brayss tombes & le temps ronge tout
Et sa rongearde dont en peut venir à bout.
Montluc donc ne monsera, & sa glorie immortelle
Ne verrat le temps auf penvoie par elle.
Montluc qui a laisse cette marque de joy,
D'avoir ﬁe six ans dix ans service à son Roy,
Et cinquante & biuit ans commandé par son Prince
Soit en la France, ou soit en efrange province,
De n'avez, quand luys seul en commande,
Atracte l'eneamy, qu'il n'ais heureusement,
Soit qu'il ﬁe faible au fort, emporté l'avantage,
De n'avoir combattant jamais tourné vajage.
D'avoir en cette glorie, avant voir son triomp,
Qu'autre homme plus qu'il n'avoir est de combats,
De battailles, aﬀants, rencontre, entreprises,
Plus de mures d'endouez, ny de plus belles preîes,
De n'avoir vez ses fils de luy degenerer,
O beuortes qu'il fe peut, comme luy bien-bener
Par une beuortes mors, par une beuortes vie,
D'une telle memoire apres la mort suivie.

Hinc belii aupsiciis melioribus usus honorum
Scandit ad excelsos, Marte juvante gradus.
Difcorde Gallos dum triﬁis turbat Erinny,
Civilis & rabie Gallia tota ruit,
Unus Aquitane praefectus regius ora;
Debella populares, magne Gerunna tuos.
Horrendum quoires hoﬁis, fentifque tremendum
Terrihum bellii tempe fulmen erat.
Sulict ut fuerant primis veneranda sub annis
Canices animi, confiiluiiique fagax:
Sic fuit extremo sub tempe vivida bello,
Virtus & corpus dexteritate vigens.
Cetera quid memor et noifre non indiqa laudis,
Quo foret immenius dinumerare labor?
Progeniem bellii egregiam, vel Martia fratrui
Pectora, quid titulis inferriufje juvat?
Vivit aducue frater nulli pictate fecundus,
Eloquio insignis, conhilalogue potens.
Filius unus aducue numerofo & prole suiperiles
Patris ad exemplum non nifi magna fapit.
In captis numquam fe deerit honoribus heres:
Clarefereque novis fabicis ifa domus.
Fortunata domus non quod divisa beauros
Efctiﬁont homines, omnia mixta tenet:
Ergo fenex inter tot tanque commoda vivens,
Emere recolt temporae militiae.
Inefﬁs tandem cum nil rationis in armis
Cernece & toties ferdera rupta dolis,
Annonum plenus magnorum plenus honorum
Expirat, placiço & funere letus obit.

ALIUD EX GRECO.

Hoc jacet in parvo tumulo Montlucius ingens,
Deﬁncti cines & brevis uma tegit.
Virutes laudeque viri, praclaraque facta
Nec rapti interitus, nec recipit tumulos:
Morte rapti celeri celebres Mars improbus, al hic
Evo maturus, laude decorus obit.

Montlucii Tribuni Militum Epiciedum.

Te triumphates Montluc ad funera tumae
Ita sub illius insigni victoria semper
Agrini, vofque adeo promptissima pectora belle
Valones exequiis longas indicite pompas.
Et fortiis si facta viros fortissime tanguit,
Si simulat virtus tanto subiubea ferceto,
Ne pigrat, non accesse animis armique potentti
Supremos unquam tumuli redditibus honor.
Splendidita porticus facris aulea premuntum,
Templetque pullato obtenu color ater innumer,
Perque vias pafﬁm triﬁi pro munere crines
Spargantur Cypraves tui, quos delphicaa lauris
Meettor, atque Apium ﬁolis intexat amaris.
Funerias exoæ faces lux emula noctis
Marcefat, picaque voman funalia mubem.
Atra procul lugubre fonent, & Lyda gementem
Flelibibus numeris aﬁpriet tibia cantum:
Sarda per armigeras acies ﬁnt tympana, nec fe
Indiciis maﬁeata fuis humentia tangat
Lumina, pas imis animi penetralibus erret.

In Tumulumillastrissimi viri D. Montlucii,

M

Agrainy herois non pulchrum carne feputul
Et vite & mortis noble dixce genue
Gentis Aquitane splendor Montlucius armis
Ingenis, fortna clarus, honore gravis,
Militiam intrepudius primis fecatur ab annis,
Atque ex militia præmia opinia referat.
Nam celer eximios explolet curitas honores,
Fit torquatus eques, qui modo miles erat,
Tombeau de M. B. de Montluc.

Hec tu Montluci, tu belli fulmen habeto,
Quaia perfolvi manes tibi debita poscunt
Emoti & multa praecedit temporaria lauro.

Jam tibi dixit & procedunt ordine turbae
Signorum comites, & Martia castra sequentum:
Figitur terrae vulgus, longitatem trahentur
Tum bellator equus nigro feralis amicu,
Officium ad mox tum lentius ductur habebis;
Quin ad certa tuum celebribat numina funus,
Multaque virulentur feralis fucula pomp
Partim hominum, partim manibus gestata deorum.

Mars framecum, Bellona decus thoracis aleni,
Et galeam Pallas, manicas furialis Euyo,
Denique & aligero prepes victoria curru,
Nunc stupa faciis, gravisque & sevo tace dolore
Bellerus feror exuvias, monumentaque laudis
Plurima, Romanis etiam spectanda triumphe.

Nec vero indicores illis ad grande generet
Gentis Aquitanian primiti, quorum inclita virtus
Militiae claris studiis, morientia juventu
Agmina, quos oculos aquis tum fortis pertereunt,
Mirataque viros, spicientiis ora furorem
Indomitum, tacito fugris corde loquetur.

Heu quantum imperiium, quod belligerantibus illis,
Ducor in externos ifet Montlucius hostes
Quae decus potuit tibi Gallica terrar parare,
Sive tuos longo pretendere limite fines,
Sive alii velles populis tua dicere iura?
Sed durum impediret leges, civica fatis,
Bella furunt, levoque agitantur Vejove Galli.

Eximium il quicquiam habuit vis impia Martis,
Et etiam ut morbi populatur & aggra fenectus.

Marmoreum tandem ad tumulum lifetur, & altum
Compositum corpus leco fragratis amoni,
Et pinguis caele & nardi lentore madebit,
Parva quidem tuerint magnis hae premia factis.

Quem ritum concella pio suprema dabuntur,
Cuncti tibi perpetuos Montlucii infaurat honores
Sama peregrinis longe tua nomin ad terris
Extento mildura evo: namely unde tepentem
Producens rubescendo diem Pelletias exit,
Et qua decedus mergitur sole quadragae
Principes, tuae cari canet, tibi milie parabit.

Linguas, mille annos & milie in carmina voce
Extremeque tua gente ad splendida rerum
Argumenta cienis, calidis memoratut ut annis
Nonobis generos a tuo sub pectore primum
Extenderit vivas nativo tomite flammas:
Utque animoque ruens horrendus miles in fatma,
Non fastis ampla tibi pomeria laudis aviae
Aprilus, festum animonis fatu.8.Et one quandam,
Thelface quem non capiens anguilla terre
Compitit ad Sydias ignotl Phalidis oras.

Hic superat Alpes, & vis inimica feretur
Eridani ingentiq efta tellure laboros.
Sed neque Senatorum dira obidionibus egertas
Et pluq par lutina fames, aut quam addita Poe
Conflito immanii placavit Ibera Saguntus,
Definit titulis: nec desperata fulisius
Spes producet dui letheas tenentur undas,
Scilicet acchie veéiatur gloria curru,

Semper & è duris molles fii caperat honores.
Prospera quis necfit bellorum praelia quoquoquon
Addita sunt tannis Francisci à temporae primi?
Infibres domini Allobrogis, pulliche Britannia,
Belgarum truces animi: damnum utaque fenit
Helpetia & rumidi comprefa feroci Rheni.

At quis in his etiam Montluci nomina necfit?
Undenis decetur bulis illis inclitus heros,
Et patriae murius, regunque fidele fucorum
Praditum, quos bellorum pertulit sui?
Quas rexit jamque actes faelicitas usus
Foriter auspiciis quem nuncum impune moratus
Hoffis, & avernum nuncum in certamine vidit:
Idque adae validis docuit non una cactrix
Artibus, & pulchro violate vulnere narens.

Nec tamen interea religia ornamenta latebunt
Virtutum, nec in hac lifet tua gloria parte,
Montluci dicitur honos Iphaceni Ilixei
Confiltis ceefe tuis, & Neforita illa
Mellea vox lingue patrie fermone dixere:
Et mememanda fides etiam sanctissima terris
Hoffibus, & concors animinis elementia magnis
Ingeniumque memori, vigilete in pectore curae,
Et faciles aditus, & blandisque effibus aures,
Mens quoq non avidus unquam temerara rapinis
Infanctoque manus, nec iniqua cede madentes.

Talibus exsurgit titulis Montlucius, utque
Sepulchris erant folidus modulio quondam
Thricea vita eft cithare comprefa tyges,
Et quecurus agitare vagas, & grandia famnis
Saxa movere jugis, sic vivida fana merenti
Nectarum et tantis concentum laudibus edet,
Manuricam huic rabiem multe, huic crudalem
Corda vel Armenium que gens usurpat Araxem.

Clara repercuiffe magnum ethera vocis imago
Pulfabit, plaudit Tanais, Ponti utrique plaudit
Littora: percipient externae nomine terrae,
Attonitique bibent oves, & ieta beatis
Umbr locis, manefque inter veneranda quietes
Elisias capiet fedes, ubi plura impetus
Millet odoratus frondos cumacum lucis.

Jo. Caianius.

Georgii Buchmanii Scotti, in obitum Marci
Antonii Montluci, qui Hoffia pro defenfione
Eccleiae oblit, Carmen.

Ontlucii armate regeres ut frena cohortis
Supra annos virtus confiliumque dedit.
Supra annos animi vis Martia perdidit aulun
Obvia fulmineo pectore terro globo.
Quam fuper adflantem maris prius horruit hoffi,
Hoffia, defuncti vindicis effa collit.
Habat licet tanto genetrix ut Gallia caufa
Plus genuifse referit, quam periiffi dolet.

In eodem Joachimi Biskii Andegavii

Littora Dardanie quandam ut contingere primus
Dum cupis, & primus, Proteflae, cadis:
Sic cupidus pungi Hoffia Montlucius hoffi
Dum prohibet primus, primus ab hoffe cadit.

Hoffi.
Hoftia prima fuit Montlucius, Hoftia nempe
Haud alia poterat conditionem capi.
At vos ne hanc decimun, Galli, vos duceat in annum
Hoftia, Montluciae pederà quìtique gerat.

Eiusdem in eundem.

Hofpes fìste gradum, régo, hic parumper:
Quemque praeterea locum video,
Hoc, hoc sub tumulo pâcet sepulitus:
Montluci illius (hoc fæt ex viator)
Natus optimus, optimi parentis,
Qui dum forte datum locum tuebat,
Pro feulis vigil excubatique primus,
Cæco vulnere primus ét peremptus.
Illam mediaecohors prius Tribunum
Mox celum ingernuere tota castra.

Pour Jean de Montluc Evesque de Valence.

C T repofe l'hoatore de France
Montluc Evesque de Valence.
C'est affaire, paffë viatœer,
A fon seul nom tu ftoit sa gloire
Il fero de trompette & d'histoire
Deca & dela l'Egusier.

Pour le Capitain Montluc Sieur de Caupene qui
mourut à Madere.

L'E Ciel qui seul te sembloit grand,
Montluc, en jeune âge te prend
Voyant que peu fero plus attendre,
Car le monde à ton appetit,
Enfi été toujours fi petit
Qu'il ne t'eft jamais peu comprendre.

Pour Fabien de Montluc Sieur de Montef-

quiue.

SONNET.

L'Amour de fon pays le brave Pelide
Conduifant à la mort, alors que pour venger
Le Gregoire Montels du Troyen efranger,
Sa vie s'achève par un trait homocide.
L'amour de Dieu du Roy, & du pays te guide
Montluc, à même pas miifrant ton danger,
Quand chaufiant le Briemou ardant de sacrer
On plomb dona dedans ta caffe d'armes tuide.
Magnanime guerrier tu mears avant ton temps,
Sic eût peu mourt qui encore jant d'ans
Par une brave mort cienl doube vie acquérre.
Et ore que tu et fai habitant des cieux,
Pent-être as tu pûtë de nos jours fœcours,
On te vint des affienn des auteurs de la guerre.

SONNET.

Sur le tombeau de Montluc le Commandeur de
Montluc.

Vant leur temps, la mort tes deux aïsiez atterre,
Montluc, & ton prÊné de même elle prend,

En Italie, Afrique, en la France elle estend
Morts de trois plombs fatales ces trois fondes de
Ton per qui fon chef de mille lauriers féro (guerre.
Chargé d'ans & d'honneur les fuit, après la longue
Marche ton once grand, de qui le nom s'effondre
Par tous les lieux cogneus de l'habitable terre.
Mais tos les survivant, morts ils ne semblèrent pas,
Voyant en tes difcours, entrepises, combats,
De tous tuivire en toy le cœur & l'eloquence.
Nous tos voyons en toy & combattre & parler:
Mais ovs tos mourant, ils remenèrent, & l'air
Emporte nos regrets, le Ciel nôtre espérance.

I. du C. E. de C.

Tumulo Blasii Montlucii,

D'Eifie mirare fta gens & fliper vironum,
Omnia si morfì lacræt mors digna maligno.
Heroum divina cohors huic fiudita legi eft
Tantalus eft têtis, Sarpelon, quique parente
Apro progeniti magnus domitorque ferarum.
Nunc quoqüe Montlucius divis praftantior illis,
Haud virtute sua valuit depellere lethum.
Quin moris extirpar tanto quotiturLeodmo.
Interia super affra volat, coliumque capellcit:
Et toto gefta viri flupet omnis turba deorum.

ALIUD.

Bellipotentis varios terræ pelagique labores
Qui domuit, tegit mortuos hoc tumulo
Nempe fuis iterum diffidentes Jupiter armis
Montluci Stygiis lumina merit aquis.

SONNET.

Sur la deuifé de Blaife de Montluc Marechal de
France.

DEO DUCE, FERRO COMITE.

C Rerature de Dieu, c'est Dieu toujours pour guide
Enfant de Mars le fui de fer accompagné
En cet age de fer où je fus désigné
Pour manier un fer inféme homocide
Guerroyer juftement, c'est alors que Dieu guide
Et le cœur & la main, soy cela teignoys,
Pour defendre nos Roys ne me feslant épargné.
Ny pour sauver la France au Françoys parâcide.
En cette mer Dieu fui mon œufle du Nord,
Le fer mon instrumant, pour maing guerrier effort,
Aux souf, pour leurs tombeau en hoiffer leur mémoire.
L'édifice élevant du fer de main martècan,
Et moy pour malräces des mains de la mort noire,
Avec le fer au paing s'y brise mon tombeau.

F I M.

P. DE BRACH.