



T H E
M E M O I R S
O F T H E
Marquis de HAUTEFORT,
Aid-de-Camp to Marechal TALLARD:
CONTAINING
An Account of the most Secret and Memorable Trans-
actions of the War in *Spain, Bavaria, and Flanders,*
from its Commencement in 1702, to the End of
the Campaign in 1707.
Interspersed with
Several CURIOUS PARTICULARS,
Relating to the
AUTHOR'S OWN LIFE,
And the AMOURS of the Late
DUKE REGENT of FRANCE,
The then ELECTOR of BAVARIA,
And other
Great PERSONAGES of the TIME.
With many other ANECDOTES:

L O N D O N :

Printed for the TRANSLATOR; and Sold by S. HOOPER,
at *Cæsar's Head,* the Corner of the *New Church* in
the *Strand.*

M DCC LXIII.

To his Grace the Duke of QUEENSBURY.

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Honourable, and Worthy Scho-
lars educated under the late Mr.
VASLET, at Hampstead ; the follow-
ing Translation, the Product of an
Education received under that Gen-
tleman,

ii DEDICATION.

tleman, at the same Time and Place;
with your Grace, your Lordship,
and you Gentlemen, it is with more
than the utmost Humility Inscribed
and Dedicated by,

May it please your Grace.

Your Lordships,

and Gentlemen,

your most dutiful,

most obedient, and

most humble Servant, and

(If I may dare to add)

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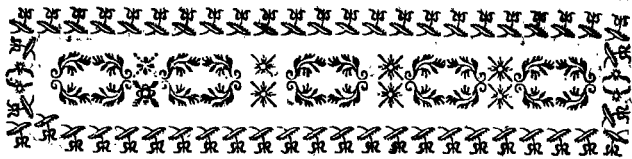
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T H E
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O F T H E

Marquis de HOUTEFORT.

THE fair copy of my Memoirs being destroyed by an accident of fire at Namure, as is related in its place, and the foul draught being very imperfect, determined me, contrary to my first design, to carry them no higher than the beginning of the year 1702; an ever memorable æra of time, when the Grand Alliance, as it was then called, declared war against the two crowns of France and Spain: I was then at the court of Madrid, negotiating an affair of great importance, when M. de Chamillard wrote to me to return to France without delay; I immediately took post for Versailles; and, on my arrival there, went directly to wait upon that minister, who received me very favourably;

B

and,

and, at his request, I gave him an account of the posture of affairs in Spain when I left that country. The many negotiations in which I had been employed in that kingdom, had given me an opportunity of thoroughly acquainting myself with the genius of the people ; and what I said to M. Chamillard on that subject seem'd very well received. We then fell into discourse of the other courts of Europe, which claimed the chief attention of the king and his ministers : there lay upon the table three declarations of war against the kings of France and Spain, all published the same day, and dated the 4th of May, 1702 ; they came from the emperor, the queen of England, and the States-general of the United Provinces.

It is not easy to express the surprize of our ministers at the receipt of these three declarations of war, all dated the same day. The marquis de Torcy carried them immediately to the king, who was walking in a great hall, where the marquis read them to him : his majesty seemed to take but little notice of that of the emperor, perhaps, as he had least to apprehend from him. He made several reflections on that of the queen of England ; in which the principal subject of complaint was, the acknowledgment of the pretended prince of Wales for king of England, which was an indignity offered to that nation, at a time when one would have thought it was more the interest of France to have
kept

kept measures than have provoked it. France had just then been amusing, or rather bubbling all Europe with the Partition Treaty; and, under pretence of a will, had taken possession of the whole Spanish monarchy at once; and by setting up the pretended prince of Wales for king of England, she proposed nothing less than to be sole arbiters of Europe, and to erect a universal monarchy to herself. This extremely exasperated as well as alarmed the English, who, seeing there was no trusting a prince, who made treaties and broke them at pleasure, resolved to declare war against him. The king and his ministers now saw what they had brought upon their hands, but there was no remedy but to prepare for war as well as they could. The king was highly offended at the manifesto of the States-general: his majesty could not comprehend how "these sage republicans, to whom he had given the law in former wars, should dare to write a detail of his conduct for above thirty years, or as may be said, to give a journal of the life of a monarch who had made them tremble in the war of 1672." As soon as the marquis had finished reading it, the king took the paper, and threw it in a transport of fury upon the table, saying, at the same time, that messieurs the Dutch merchants, meaning the States-general, who are, nevertheless, a very respectable body, should one day repent
B 2 their

their boldness, in daring to declare war against so great a monarch. The king's ministers, on reading this manifesto, which is one of the best written pieces that has appeared in the language of that country on behalf of the States-general, rightly judged, that they had not come to a resolution of that importance, without first concluding such alliances, and settling such funds, as would be sufficient for carrying on the war, to secure their liberties, and protect them from the resentment, as well as to obviate the designs of the two crowns; it was this last consideration that embarrassed our ministers most.

The emperor's troops had already began the war in Italy; they now did the same upon the Lower Rhine. At the beginning of this campaign, the prince of Nassau Saarlbrugh, being declared the emperor's *marechal de camp*; formed the siege of Keyferswaert on the 16th of April, with the troops of the States in quality of auxiliaries. General Doph, who was likewise made lieutenant-general by his imperial majesty, was ordered to invest the place. The *marechal de Boufflers* immediately dispatched a courier with advice of this expedition, who arrived at Versailles on the 18th of the same month. This beginning of hostilities, together with the bold declaration of war of the States, and the noble answer they had given to a memorial presented to them by *mons. Barr*, secretary to the count d'Avaux, after that minister

nister's departure confirmed the court in their opinion, that the States looked upon themselves as sure of carrying their point. The unexpected siege of Keyferswaert broke all the king's measures; which were to have opened the campaign with the siege of Juliers at the beginning of May. Upon the arrival of the courier from the marechal de Boufflers, the king held a great council of war, in which it was resolved, that the duke of Burgundy should depart on the 25th of April for the army of the marechal de Boufflers, to command it in quality of generalissimo of the king's forces in the Netherlands, and the electorate of Cologne, and in the mean time that Boufflers should hasten to the relief of Keyferswaert, with the troops designed for the expedition against Juliers. If the court of France was greatly disturbed at the motions of the allies in the electorate of Cologne, it was no less so, at the march of prince Lewis of Baden on the side of Landau, which he had in a manner besieged. To counter-balance these projects of the enemies of the two crowns, the court of France laid a scheme, which, if it had succeeded, would have been of fatal consequence to the United Provinces, and they would once more have seen the armies of France in the heart of their dominions, as in the year 1672. I mean the enterprize against Nimeguen, whither the duke of Burgundy was to go to dinner, as the king

himself had declared; but it may be said with great truth, that the young prince met with but indifferent entertainment that day; for besides that his army was ready to perish with hunger and thirst, after a long and tedious march, upon their arrival there, they found themselves moreover exposed to the whole artillery of the place, which was posted on the walls of the town: thus the king and his ministers found they were out in their account, as we shall see by and by.

I shall not give a circumstantial relation of the famous siege of Keyserwaerts, because it is to be met with elsewhere; I shall only take notice of the motions of the armies, and the most remarkable events that accompanied it. The troops of the king of Prussia, and those of the States-general, signalized themselves greatly; the marquis de Blainville the governor, behaved with great bravery, and sustained the siege two whole months.

It is true, the manœuvre of the count Tallard, was of great service to the besieged. The court had a mind to make use of the same means as they had done in the last war when they bombarded Bruffels, with design to oblige the king of England to raise the siege of Namur: in order to which, the count de Tallard threatened the elector palatine in a very haughty manner: he gave the elector to understand that he had the king's orders to demand a hundred thousand crowns contribution for the town
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of Duffeldorp, that otherwise he would demolish the redoubt that covers the bridge of boats which is before the town, and likewise break down the bridge itself: he required moreover of his electoral highness, that he should grant a passage for the king's troops into the country of Bergues; and added, in case of refusal, he would bombard Duffeldorp and reduce it to ashes. These menaces, instead of answering the end proposed by them, which was the raising the siege of Keyser-swaert, however, put the elector upon taking all the necessary precautions for the defence of the town, and to put himself in a capacity to despise Tallard's ridiculous airs. Tallard finding himself in no condition to put his threats in execution, quitted Duffeldorp, and went and posted himself with his flying camp before Keyser-swaert, where he erected several batteries of cannon, which played with such success, that they greatly annoyed the besiegers, even in their trenches, who had besides, the mortification to see the town daily supplied from the enemy's camp, with men, ammunition, and all sorts of provisions necessary to prolong the siege; and by this means it was drawn out to such a length. On another hand, the marechal de Boufflers made an unexpected movement at the head of twenty thousand men, by which he narrowly missed surprising the comte de Tilly, who was encamped with a small body of troops

at Zanten; but that general being well on his guard, had information of the design, and imitated the famous retreat of the prince de Vaudemont during the siege of Namur in the last war; for placing the baggage and artillery in his front, he decamped without beat of drum, giving the marechal de Boufflers the cruel mortification of having missed a stroke, which, if it had succeeded, would have greatly disconcerted the affairs of the allies.

I said before, that the duke of Burgundy was to go and take upon him the command in chief of Boufflers's army; accordingly, he set out from Versailles the 25th of April, and lay the same night at Peronne, the next at Mons, and the day following at Bruffels. When that prince, and the duc du Maine who accompanied him, made their entry into Bruffels, they were in great danger of their lives; for the populace were so enraged at the sight of the duc du Maine, to whose charge they laid the greatest part of the mischief done to their city by the last bombardment, insomuch, as they gathered about the princes, crying out aloud, "Duc du Maine, one four and twenty hours more for me:" the reason of which was, that, at the time of the former bombardment, the duc de Ville-roy beholding that fine city lying in ashes, and pitying the misery of its inhabitants, ordered the gunners to desist; the duc du Maine, who was present, gave orders to con-
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tinue firing one twenty-four hours more for him. This cruelty, in a young prince of his rank, who should have conciliated to himself the love of mankind, by generosity, clemency, and humanity, had rendered him so odious in the Low Countries, that the duke of Burgundy, as well as himself, was in great danger of becoming a victim to the rage of the people : upon this account the princes left Bruffels immediately, and repaired to the camp at Zanten, where the marechal de Boufflers expected them. The compte de Tilly, after his retreat from Zanten, went and encamped at Clarenbeck near Cleves ; there he was joined by the earl of Athlone with six thousand horse ; he was followed by eleven battalions of English, and some other troops who had been encamped at Rosendal ; making in the whole a body of about twenty or thirty thousand men. It was a sensible mortification to Boufflers, that he could not prevent the junction of all these troops : however, he without delay reinforced his army with all the detachments he had made, and the count de Tallard joined him with the greatest part of his flying camp. Two or three days before this, I arrived in the camp to make the campaign, and serve under the marechal de Boufflers in quality of aid de'camp, as I had done in the last war. I had used all the interest I had with monf. de Chamillard to be excused, but to no purpose, the orders of the court were absolute, and

and must be obeyed. The duke of Burgundy having taken upon him the command of the French army of sixty thousand men, set out upon the expedition against Nimeguen, with great expectation from the correspondence he held with some in the place, where all was in great confusion and disorder. This young general bent his march by the way of Gog, between Niers and the forest of Cleves, with intent to cut off the communication of the earl of Athlone with Grave and Nimeguen; the earl perceiving the young prince's design, decamped from Clarenbeck, and immediately detached six squadrons of horse, and two regiments of dragoons, under general Rhoo to possess themselves of the heights of Moock before us. He detached likewise the duke of Wirtemberg, commander in chief of the Danish troops, with a body of twelve squadrons, to sustain Rhoo; but the duke missing Rhoo, took possession himself of the heights of Moock. The earl of Athlone, with his horse, followed the duke of Wirtemberg, and ordered the foot to march with all speed by the nearest road to Nimeguen. The earl being on his march, received advice from the duke, that some of the enemy's squadrons appeared, upon which he advanced with the comte de Tilly to sustain the duke of Wirtemberg; who, perceiving twenty or thirty of our squadrons, he immediately quitted the heights of Moock, according to the earl's orders, and came to
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join that general, under favour of some slight skirmishes, which he had sustained with great bravery and intrepidity. The earl presently drew up his horse in order of battle, and retired in good order towards his foot; the French army followed him so close, that he resolved to pursue his march towards Nimeguen. The whole French cavalry being by this time come up, began to charge both the horse and foot of the earl's army very briskly, who defended themselves with great resolution. Our cannon, together with the infantry, being at length arrived, the earl threw himself into the works of Nimeguen; at that time his horse being exposed to the fire of our cannon, suffered extremely; but the burghers of the town having haled the cannon, and placed them on the ramparts, where, as I said before, all was in the utmost confusion, they themselves performed the offices of gunners, there not being at that time a single one in the place. As soon as the batteries were raised on the walls, and the cannon began to play on our army, the generals easily perceived that their intelligence had failed, and wisely began to think of a retreat, which was the only part they had to take, and in which they acted prudently; for our army being exposed to a continual fire from the town, could not remain long in that situation without extreme danger. As fast as we retired, we buried our dead to conceal our loss from the enemy.

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The miscarriage of the enterprize against Nimeguen, was principally owing to the good conduct of the earl of Athlone, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the comte de Tilly, who, without being in the least disconcerted, made a glorious retreat from before an army greatly superior to their own. It must be also acknowledged, that the zeal and courage shewed by the inhabitants did not a little contribute to their safety.

After the expedition against Nimeguen, which was not the least remarkable action of the war, the duke of Burgundy, extremely mortified at the ill success of his first enterprize, retired to Cleves, where he fixed his head quarters. His army being encamped between that city and Cranenburg. The next day the count de Tallard advanced towards Rhybergue in order to cover it. A few days after, another detachment took post between Keleker and Zanten. The earl of Athlone, on his part, passed the Whaal with all his cavalry, and encamped near Fort Schenk, where he was joined by some detachments, and posted his troops to such advantage along the Whaal and the Rhine, that it was absolutely impracticable for the French army to pass them. The miscarriage of the enterprize against Nimeguen, the loss of Keyserfwaert, and above all, the arrival of the duke of Marlborough with his auxiliary forces, gave quite a new face to affairs. The duke, the earl of Athlone,
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and the rest of the generals of the allies being assembled, formed the plan for the operations of the rest of the campaign; which being communicated to the States, and approved of by them, was sent back to the generals. The 3d of July, the French army, after ravaging the country, quitted Cleves, and encamped at Hassum near Genap and Gock, between the Niers and the Meuse. The confederate army formed a camp in the Mokerheyd near Nimeguen, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. The duke decamping, advanced with his whole army towards the castle of Grevenbrok, and made himself master of that important post. The 1st of August he encamped at Beugel, between Hamont and Peer, with intent to give the duke of Burgundy battle the next day; but that prince not judging himself strong enough, retired in the night. A few days afterwards he received several reinforcements, which were led by the count de Tallard, the count de Gassé, and the prince de Serclas Tilly, amounting in the whole to about eighteen or twenty thousand men; then indeed he was in a condition, if he had pleased, to have hazarded a battle to make amends for the ill success of the Nimeguen business; but that was not the intention of the court: in the mean time, apprehending the duke of Marlborough's design on the Spanish Guelderland, he made so many detachments from his army to reinforce those garrisons,

garrisons, as extremely weakened him, and facilitated the conquest of several places by the allies. The confederate army decamped the 12th, and posted themselves at Everberg to favour the siege of Venloo. The duke of Burgundy, with the French army, made a motion to get into the territory of Bois le duc for the conveniency of forage, there being great plenty in those parts, where there had not been an enemy's army for many years. In order to which he advanced within a league and a half of Eyndhoven, and took possession of it. On the part of the allies, general d'Obam was detached with a body of troops to invest Venloo, and another detachment marched to attack the little town of Weert; the 22d of August, the duke of Marlborough decamped from Everbeck, and came to Hochteren, where he found the French army seemingly disposed for a battle; but our generals had no such intention, they being secured by the situation of the ground on which they were posted, the duke of Marlborough put his army in order of battle, and marched in that posture. The duke of Burgundy, and the French generals did the same by ours, with this difference, that we were satisfied there would be no blows. The two armies were separated by morasses and impracticable defiles, so that it was, in a manner, impossible to get at each other: they remained in this disposition two days cannonading on both sides,
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and waiting to see which would begin the attack; but the French, who would run no hazards, decamped in silence during the night, and went and took post at Beringhen. The allies finding there was no bringing the duke of Burgundy to an action, contented themselves with taking towns, and extending their conquests in the enemy's absence. With this view, they encamped at Asch, to cover the siege of Venloo, which was invested the 29th of August by general d'Opdam on the side of Fort St. Michel, by the baron de Heyde, with the Prussian horse, on the other side of the Meuse: general Coehorne had the direction of the attacks, and the prince of Nassau Saarburch was appointed to command the siege.

On the 6th of September the duke of Burgundy left the army to return to court. Though the presence of that young prince in the army was but of small signification to the king's affairs, as may be seen by the little success of his enterprizes, things did not go much better on the side of the two crowns after his departure. During all the rest of the campaign, the allies made conquest after conquest; Maseyck and Stothem were taken, and we were obliged to abandon the little town of Erklens to throw ourselves into Ruremond; I received orders from the marechal de Boufflers to repair to Venloo before it was invested, to assist the count de Varc the governor. The province
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of Luxemburgh, part of Brabant, and all the country between the Sambre and the Meuse, sent deputies to the confederate camp to settle the contributions that were demanded, and nothing was to be seen on every side but the most entire submission to the victorious arms of the allies; as if the French had lost all heart, or quite forgot the art of war, which they had practised for near fifty years, that is, during the whole course of the king's reign, with so much glory and success. I shall, upon this occasion, mention one particular circumstance, which, as it was the cause of the immediate surrender of Venloo, and likewise shews the panic the French generals and their troops were in at that time.

Whilst the prince of Nassau Saarbrugh was carrying on the siege of Venloo, the Comte de l'Escherain brought him advice from the elector-palatine, that Landau was taken: that important place was besieged by prince Lewis of Baden, general of the empire, on the 19th of June, and he made himself master of it, notwithstanding the brave defence made by mons. de Melac the governor, and all the efforts of the experienced marechal de Catinat with his army for its relief. The prince of Nassau resolving to publish this news in his camp, and to make public rejoicings for that, as well as the other great successes of the confederate arms in the Spanish Guelderland, drew up his
army

army in order of battle, and fired a triple discharge of all his artillery upon the works of the town; and, as it fell out, he could not have employed his powder to a better purpose: for the count de Varo, the governor, mons. de Labadie, marechal de Camp, and myself, being on the spot, we were all so much surpris'd at the first discharge, thinking we were going to be taken by storm, as those in the fort had been, who were put to the sword, that we immediately beat the chamade; the prince of Nassau not expecting any such thing, did not observe it, but ordered a second discharge, that put us into a terrible consternation at the apprehension of the danger we imagin'd ourselves to be in from their not hearing us, which made the count de Varo send not only one drum, but several, to demand a capitulation, which was executed the 21st of September.

The allies, flush'd with their success of taking Venloo, resolv'd to pursue their blow; and for that purpose, the comte de Tilli, general of the Dutch cavalry, was order'd with twelve hundred horse to invest Ruremonde, Stevensweert was besieged at the same time; it was attack'd the 27th of September, and capitulated the 2d of October. The trenches were opened before Ruremonde the 2d of October, and it was surrender'd the 7th. I knew a general officer of the confederate army, who resid'd at

Ruremonde after the taking of the town, that was visited by the most part of the ladies of the place to beg his protection. As he was supposed to be a great admirer of the fair sex, his apartment was always crowded with fine ladies; those who had handsome daughters were the most welcome; as for the others, little notice was taken of them. A young lady of my acquaintance, to whom I had taken a great fancy, and who I saw at Ruremonde after the siege, told me, that her mother took her once to the general's quarters against her will; where she saw so much in that first visit, that she was resolved her mother should never get her thither again upon any account whatsoever, as she did not intend to procure herself a character she did not deserve. This general had found the secret of making love to the ladies at a small expence.

The marechal de Boufflers, whom we left in his camp at Beringhen, was so disturbed at all these successes of the allies, that he resolved to provide for the security of Liege, and to encamp with his army out of danger of an attack; he therefore decamped the 11th of September, and passing the Demer, detached six thousand men under the prince de Tserclaes for Liege; and advancing with his army to Tongres, he entrenched himself so strongly, as to put the duke of Marlborough out of all hopes of bringing him to an engagement: the duke, who fought
much

much distinguished himself, would have been extremely pleased to have crowned all the other successes of the allies with the gain of a battle; with that view he quitted his camp near Genek and Asch, and marched directly up to the marechal, whom he found posted in such a manner, that it was not practicable to attack him; it was then the duke, and the other generals of the allies, resolved upon the siege of Liege. The 12th of October, their whole army received orders to march in two columns between the Meuse and the Jecker: the next day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived within cannon shot of the citadel. Then the marechal de Boufflers decamped with the French army from Tongres, and posted himself behind the Mehaigne to cover Brabant on that side. The city of Liege making no resistance, capitulated the 14th, the French retiring into the citadel, and the Carthusian monastery held out longer. General Coehorne having finished his batteries on the 20th, made so terrible a fire on the citadel, and carried on his attacks with such vigour, that on the 23d, the duke resolved to make a general assault, which was executed about four o'clock in the afternoon of that day, by the generals Fagel and Somerfeldt, with a detachment of grenadiers, sustained by several battalions. These troops went to the attack, which was to have been made upon the counterescarp only, with so much ardour and intrepidity,

trepidity, that they pushed themselves sword in hand into the body of the place; where there was a terrible slaughter for near three quarters of an hour: the governor was one of the first that was taken upon the breach, upon which the rest threw down their arms, and called for quarter. What happened at this assault, was one of those unforeseen but common accidents that fall out in war; it was lucky for me that I was not there, I was in the number of those whom the marshal de Boufflers had ordered to throw themselves into the citadel at the beginning of the siege; I excused myself, as being just come from that of Venloo, and I thought it but reasonable that I should have some relaxation. There were found in the citadel thirty-six pieces of cannon, a large quantity of arms and ammunition of all kinds, twenty thousand crowns in money, and a service of plate belonging to the governor; all which was left to the pillage of the soldiers. What had passed at the citadel, put those in the Carthusians upon taking care of themselves, which they did by beating the chamade, and capitulating on the first fire from the batteries.

The confederate arms were no less successful in Flanders than they had been in the Spanish Guelderland. The marquis de Bedmar, in the Spanish Netherlands, having declared war in the name of king Philip against the emperor, the queen of England,
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and the States-general of the United Provinces, assembled a body of troops, and undertook an enterprize, which, if it had succeeded, would have redounded much to his honour, I mean the siege of Hulst. He began with attacking the four forts, and made himself master of them; but the Fort called the Grand Kykuyt, making more resistance, he bombarded and cannonaded it five days together to no purpose; and was at length forced to retire, after losing more than six hundred men: thus Hulst was saved, and the marquis abated a good deal of the haughtiness he shewed at his first setting out upon that expedition.

I shall here, by the bye, mention a particular circumstance that happened at the court of France, at the time that they received all these mortifying pieces of news one after another. Madam de Maintenon, who took particular care of the king's health, apprehending, with reason, that this sudden reverse of fortune might throw that monarch into some violent disorder, ordered that all the dispatches from the army should, for the future, be opened by herself only, that she might take her time to acquaint the king with their contents. If she received good news, she imparted it immediately to his majesty to please him: on the other hand, if they brought advice of the loss of a town, or any other advantage gained by the allies, she generally concealed it from
C 3 him

him some time; and when she did let him know it, she did it with great caution, at a time when the king was in good humour, and, like a woman of wit, she gilded the pill, giving every thing a turn, and representing all to the advantage of France.

Let us now see what the elector of Bavaria was doing; as it was from him alone that France met with any alleviation of her mortification, in seeing the confederate arms triumphing on every side of her. That prince, in order to perform the engagements he had entered into with the two crowns, and which I had concluded with the marquis de Bedmar, begun with the surprize of Ulm, under pretence, that the Circles of Franconia and Suabia had solicited him to enter into an association with them to remove the war from their frontiers: that the elector coming into it, had been at great expences in levying troops in pursuance of this treaty: that, after the Circles had engaged him in their cause, they had altered their treasures; and eluded the sincerity of his intentions: that hitherto he had made use of gentle means only to bring them back to their true interest; but all his endeavours for that end proving ineffectual, his highness looked upon himself as under an indispensable necessity of obliging the Circle of Suabia to do that by the force of his arms, which it had refused to the justice of his remonstrances; and, as Ulm was the place that covered Ba-
 varia,

varia, he thought proper to seize it, in order to secure the repose of his subjects, and the tranquility of his dominions.

The seizing of Ulm was brought about in the following manner, and was executed on the 8th of September. As it being absolutely necessary that the person employed in an expedition of such importance, should be one well versed in the art of war, as well as of unquestionable fidelity; Peckman, lieutenant-colonel of the elector's guards, was pitched upon for it; having reconnoitred the town, he observed a gate through which the peasants of the neighbourhood passed every morning into Ulm, and was called the Goose-Gate (or the Gate of the Geese, as the French author styles it.) This he thought the most proper place for such an attempt. Peckman, having well considered this post, made his report to the elector, and told him, that if they disguised a number of officers like peasants, and laid an ambuscade of troops about half a league from the place, they might certainly carry it. The elector approving the scheme, it was immediately carried into execution: Peckman having chosen out forty officers, whom he clothed like the neighbouring peasants; the youngest in women's apparel: these set out all together, some in veils, some with eggs, and others with baskets of fruit, and such kind of wares; with no other arms than pistols and bayonets, and each of them two grenadoes.

Some of these officers were to enter the town, and to be about the gate at an appointed time to favour the attempt. One of them was to come out with his hat placed on his head in a particular manner, as was agreed upon, which was to be the signal for beginning the enterprize. All being thus prepared, six hundred dragoons of the regiment of the count de Fels were placed in ambuscade near the place. The regiments of dragoons of the count de Monasterol, and the chevalier Santini, took post at a little distance. Besides these, there were two hundred grenadiers, with a like number of fusiliers to support them, and the signals were all agreed upon. This ambuscade was favoured by a very thick fog, which fell out very seasonably. The officer appearing out of the town, gave the signal with his hat that all was right: then Peckman ordered the supposed peasants to advance; these being come to the place appointed, Peckman there dropped a hatchet out of his hand, which was the signal to begin. They then fell upon the guard at the gate, and disarmed them; those disguised in women's cloaths, seized the centinels to prevent an alarm. They shut up the soldiers, to the number of twenty, in the guard-room, and killed one of them to terrify the rest. At the same time, the officers that were in the town, hastened to the gate to prevent any assistance; they took possession of a tower, in
which

which was a guard. The dragoons, upon the signal, appeared sword in hand, and made themselves masters of the rampart, the arsenal, and the five bastions; the garrison flew thither, but were presently dispersed. Eighteen companies of burghers, of two hundred men each, appeared with their colours, and the women ran about like furies, arming themselves with whatever came next to hand; but all to no purpose, for the Bavarians maintained their posts, till, by the arrival of fresh troops, they made themselves entirely masters of the place.

After this account of the surprize of Ulm, I shall give a copy of a letter written about that time, by mons. Ricoult, envoy of France in Bavaria, to mons. de Chamillard: as it gives a pretty just account of the affairs of that country, as they stood then in respect of France; and will likewise shew, that I have said nothing in regard to the negotiations, in which I was myself concerned, which is not strictly true.

LETTER.

*De monsieur de Ricoult, envoyé of France, to
monsieur de Chamillard.*

My LORD,

I Had the honour of your lordship's letter of the 29th of August, and have acted with exact conformity to the orders contained in it with regard to the elector. Every thing here is in as good a disposition as we can wish, I mean, as to the prince and his troops, I wish I could say as much of his ministers. I did myself the honour yesterday to give your lordship a short account of the surprize of Ulm, intending a fuller relation of it to-day; but his electoral highness employed me other ways, and, on one's first arrival, there are an hundred things to take up time. We have dispatched an express to the marechal de Catinat to acquaint him with our situation, and the count of Anco is marched with a thousand men towards Hunninghen to open that passage; which his electoral highness thinks will oblige the enemy to abandon Landau; and he doubts not, but the king of the Romans will endeavour to revenge himself on Bavaria, as he has ill will enough against that country; and that prince Lewis of Baden will do his utmost to prevent our junction, therefore the
elector

elector thought it would be best to be beforehand with him; and, when once we are joined, we shall find them so much business of consequence in this country, that they will hardly think the taking Landau of importance enough to detain them on the other side of the Rhine. The elector demands for this service thirty battalions and forty squadrons of the marechal de Catinat; I strove a little to lessen this demand, but could not prevail, and his reasons for it are so good, that I did not oppose it much, and the rather, as I think, the more we alarm the empire at first setting out the better. As to our subsistence, we intended at first, on the resistance made by the burghers at Ulm, to have lived at discretion amongst them as in an enemy's country; but we have since changed our measures, and think it best to make ourselves masters of the necessary posts, under pretence of securing the tranquility of Bavaria only; to remove the seat of the war from the banks of the Rhine, till the emperor and his allies shall give us cause to act otherwise. We shall buy the corn we have occasion for at the settled price, that is, one third cheaper than at the last year, as the harvest has been so plentiful. I shall take all the care imaginable of these affairs, till the arrival of those who are to have the charge of them, and who, I hope, your lordship will please to dispatch

MEMOIRS *of the*
patch hither as soon as possible, and I
am,

My Lord, &c.

Dated at Lichtemberg,
the 9th of Sept. 1702.

RICOULT.

After the surprize of Ulm, the French seized the little town of Neubourg, which occasioned a bloody battle between the Imperialists and the French at Fridlinghen. Prince Lewis of Baden, nettled at the taking of Neubourg by the French, made a motion with part of his army to cover Brisgau, and endeavour to retake Neubourg; he was before greatly weakened by a detachment he had sent towards Suabia, so that he had not above seven or eight thousand men in his camp at Fridlinghen: the marquis de Villaro, since marechal of France, who watched the motions of prince Lewis of Baden, on the 13th of October, caused the infantry of his army to pass into the island before Hunninghen; the next day he followed with all his cavalry, and passing the other branch of the Rhine, he drew up his army in order of battle, at the entrance of the plain of Fridlinghen: about twelve o'clock he marched up to the enemy's entrenchments, which he found they had abandoned, then advancing further into the plain to the place where their camp had been,
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he found that abandoned likewise ; at length he determined to enter the mountains on the side of Erlingen, where the Imperialists were posted, and there he attacked them : they made a brave resistance, being descended from the mountains into the plain, they charged the right wing of the French cavalry so briskly, that for near two hours there was hardly ever seen a more bloody and obstinate battle. The Imperialists being by far too weak, and besides, being apprehensive of the coming up of the marquis de Guiscard with the troops under his command, they thought proper to retire, and left Villars master of the field of battle, though he lost many more men than they. Soon after prince Lewis of Baden having reassembled all his troops at Slauffen, found himself in a condition to be even with Villars, and accordingly marched up to him in order to attack him ; the other, contented with the advantage he had gained, did not think fit to wait for him, but repassed the Rhine, complaining loudly of the elector of Bavaria for not seconding him.

Prince Lewis of Baden, finding that he could not bring the marquis de Villars to a second engagement upon equal terms, resolved to shew him at least that the action at Fridlinghen had no ways disconcerted his measures, for he made three detachments from his army, one towards the Black Forest

to shut up the passage of the Bavarians ; the other to attack Nieubourg, and the third to reinforce the prince of Saxe Meininghen, who observed the motions of the count de Tallard and the marquis de Lomaria, who, with an army of eighteen thousand men, had seized Tuves on the 25th of October, and advancing to Traerback, had besieged it on the 27th of the same month.

The court of France boasted much of the battle at Fridlinghen, the taking of Treves and Traerback, and the advantage gained by the forces of the two crowns in Italy at the battle of Santa Victoria ; and finally, of the victory which they pretended to have gained at the famous battle at Luzara : besides that, the allies disputed the most part of these victories with the two crowns, they were of very small consequence in comparison of the conquests made by the allies upon the Lower Rhine, the Spanish Guelderland, and in Flanders ; nor did they lessen the concern of the king of France, who is better informed than any body, to see his affairs take so ill a turn at the beginning of a war. To which we may add what passed in Spain to the disadvantage of the two crowns, with the account of which I shall finish this campaign.

The miscarriage of the expedition against Cadiz, was a peculiat happiness to the two crowns, for the allies could not have touched
Spain

Spain in a more sensible part, than by making themselves masters of that important place. I shall now relate the particulars of that enterprise, and the causes of its miscarriage.

The English and Dutch fleets, after all the delays by contrary winds, and the vast preparations that were to be made in order to put this design in execution, at length came before Cadiz on the 23d of August. The Spaniards presently imagined, that an army of twenty thousand men, with the archduke at their head, was come to invade the kingdom, all was horror and confusion; the inhabitants of Seville, though ten long leagues from Cadiz, retired further into the country. The cardinal de Portocarero ordered the priests and monks to mount their pulpits and preach to the people, That an army of Hereticks, ten times worse than the Moors who formerly over-run Spain, was ready to enter the kingdom, and put all to fire and sword. That if they did not all immediately take arms to oppose this invasion, they would be utterly undone; their churches profaned, their shrines and altars overthrown; the catholic religion expelled the kingdom for ever; the people carried away captive, and the whole country exposed to misery and desolation: that the Spaniards had always been the bulwarks of the holy Roman catholic faith, that now was the time to shew it by taking arms in its defence,

defence, men, women and children, from the biggest to the least, against these Hereticks, more to be dreaded than the Moors and Barbarians, from whom it had pleased God, in his great mercy, formerly to deliver them. Such things as these they put into the peoples heads, though they were all artifices of the cardinal de Portocarero and the court of France, to render the English and Dutch odious to the Spaniards. While they were sounding the coast in order to come to an anchor, the duke of Ormond, who commanded the land forces, dispatched an officer in a chaloupe with a white flag, with a letter to Don Scipio Brancaccio, governor of the place, the purport of which was, That the governor having formerly served bravely against the French in Flanders, the duke hoped he would now, with the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets, declare himself for the house of Austria, of whom he had formerly so well deserved. Don Brancaccio, like a true Spaniard, answered: That if the Duke had seen him serve the late king with honour in Flanders, he should now see him act with the same courage and fidelity for Philip the Vth, whom he acknowledged for the only lawful heir to the Spanish monarchy. The duke of Ormond finding by the answer, that nothing was to be expected from one so firmly attached to the new king, resolved to try the force of his arms, but
first

first he sent on shore, several copies of a kind of a manifesto, to inform the Spaniards of the motives and intent of his expedition. The substance of which was : that the queen of Great Britain having been pleased to appoint him to command the forces, which her majesty, in conjunction with the States-general, had sent to support the rights of the house of Austria, pursuant to their treaties of alliance with the emperor, he thought proper, before he made use of those forces, to declare, that he was not come thither with intent to take possession of any place of the Spanish dominions in the name of her majesty, or of the States-general of the United Provinces, nor to bring upon them any of the inseparable calamities of war, by way of conquest, but rather to defend the good and faithful subjects of that monarchy, and to assist them in shaking off the insupportable bondage they had long groaned under, from those evil minded persons who had sold them to France ; that the queen, and the States-general having no other view than to maintain and defend the rights of the house of Austria, he declares, that all the good Spaniards, who shall not oppose his troops, shall be protected in their persons, goods, privileges, and religion, &c. But if, on the contrary, they shall refuse to concur with her majesty and the States-general in their

good intentions, he calls to God to witness, that the hostilities committed by the troops under his command, were to be laid to the charge of those Spaniards, who having so fair an opportunity as now presents itself, of shewing their fidelity, and following their true interest, shall refuse to embrace it.

The 26th of August, they made a descent in the bay of Bulls, between Rotta and fort St. Catherines, near port St. Mary's; two hundred grenadiers commanded by the baron de Pallant, and my lord Donnegal (an Irish peer) landed first; a body of Spanish horse appeared upon the heights, without venturing to advance, being kept in awe by the continual fire from the cannon of some light frigates. An officer of distinction, who had a mind to shew his bravery, or rather his temerity, being at the head of the squadron of Spaniards, advanced with 30 horse, to attack a body of 50 English, who firing upon them, and bringing down the bold Spaniard, the others betook themselves to flight, with a resolution to return no more to the charge. The garrison of Cadiz at that time consisted of 2300 men, of which 600 only were regular troops. The fortifications were a hornwork and a crown. The troops that landed began with attacking of Rotta, and port St. Mary's, of which they soon made themselves masters, as well as of fort St. Catherines; but they

they could not so easily manage the fort of Matogorda, which is built upon two puntales on one side of port St. Mary's, thro' which they must open themselves a passage into the port to besiege Cadiz. The duke of Ormond commanded four thousand men, English and Dutch, to attack this fort; they raised their batteries; but the soil being extremely marshy, there was no foundation for them; so that they could not erect them to bear more than two field pieces and two mortars at most. The Spaniards made good use of this advantage, and kept such a continual fire from their artillery, and the guns of the gallies, as well as their small arms, that the English and Dutch were forced to retire with considerable loss. The duke of Ormond, and the admirals, seeing the impossibility of carrying on the siege of Cadiz with success, held a council of war, in which it was determined to re-embark the troops; which they did the 26th of September, without any molestation, notwithstanding they had reason to apprehend, that the Spaniards, encouraged by the ill success of the enterprise, would have fallen upon them in their retreat.

After the miscarriage of this famous expedition, which had drawn the eyes of all Europe upon it, and given such terrible alarms to the two crowns, they said publicly at the court of France, that the ge-

nerals who commanded the debarkation had transgressed against the rules of true policy, when they were come, as friends, into a country so entirely catholick as Spain, in not forbidding the soldiers, upon pain of death, from pillaging the people, much more the churches, as the English had done at port St. Mary's, and elsewhere, without any regard to those sacred places; which exasperated the Spaniards to the last degree, and was the reason of their making a defence which surpris'd every body, and was little expected from them, either at the court of Madrid, or at Versailles. However it was well known afterwards, that the generals were no ways to blame, they had done all that was in their power to prevent those disorders; it would have been next to an impossibility to restrain the licence of soldiers, in a country whither they had been drawn by the hopes of plunder, and where they expected to meet with all the riches of the Indies. I shall conclude this affair with two letters, which are well worth reading; one from the duke of Ormond to the marquis de Villadarias, and the marquis's answer.

L E T-

L E T T E R.

From the duke of Ormond to the marquis de Villadarias.

MONSIEUR,

THE ill reception that the troops under my command, for the service of the arckduke of Austria, have met with from you, and your countrymen, may cost you dear. His imperial majesty goes upon surer grounds, than he at first imagined, and you may perhaps be desirous to throw yourself at his feet, when it will be too late. It is not so yet, Sir, therefore study to rectify your mistake. I promise you, I will make your peace so well, that you shall be received with all possible marks of distinction at a court, where the antient Castilian liberty will flourish, when the rightful king shall be established on the throne. The queen of England, my sovereign, has entrusted me with credentials to confirm the treaties I shall enter into with you; once more, my dear Sir, think of aggrandizing yourself, and setting yourself and your countrymen free. I shall expect your answer by the lieutenant, whom this trumpet will conduct to you. I suppose you will com-

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municate this to your council. I am with
esteem, your most humble servant,

The duke of ORMOND.

L E T T E R.

*Of the marquis de Villadarias to the duke of
Ormond.*

My LORD,

COULD the king my master have foreseen, that his enemies would have ventured to come into this road, to seduce his subjects from their allegiance, his majesty would doubtless have instructed me to return an answer to the proposals of the emperor and the archduke, with a politeness worthy of the duke of Ormond, by whom they were made. I know the respect that is due to these princes, and have a proper regard for them; but I am proud to tell you, that I value their favour, as little as I fear their threats. Philip the Vth is my king, for him I have sworn to shed the last drop of my blood, and such ought to be the sentiments of all the subjects of a prince, who has learnt the art of government of a grandfather, whose reign has been the envy of all Europe. Undeceive
your-

yourself, my lord, of the ill thoughts you have entertained of me, and think better of me, whom you ought to esteem, or renew your attacks, if you would have any other answer from the council you desire me to consult; you will then see, whether we are disposed to do our duty like men, who dread nothing so much as the infamy of treason and rebellion. We have before us the glorious examples of our ancestors, who disdained to aggrandize themselves in the blood, or the ruin of their kings. *Mors pro patria*, that is my device. You may please to communicate this to the princess, who rules in England; and may you long enjoy her favour, and believe me to be, with all consideration,

Your Grace's most humble Servant,

The Marquis de VILLADARIAS.

As I was particularly acquainted with the marquis de Villadarias in Spain, I was not in the least surpris'd at the haughty answer he made to the duke of Ormond's letter. He was one of cardinal de Portocarrero's creatures, at whose palace I saw him every day whilst I was at Madrid, and was one of the most zealous adherents to the present government; he is besides one of those kind of courtiers, of which we have a number in

France, who deal their incense about by handfuls, to raise themselves to great employments. I come now to the expedition against Vigo, which was one of the most glorious and successful ones, which the confederate fleets made in the whole course of the war.

Sir George Rook, having received advice by a ship which he had dispatched for intelligence, that the plate fleet, commanded by monsieur de Chateau Renaud, was arrived in the bay of Vigo, resolved to make himself amends for the ill success of the siege of Cadiz, by an enterprize of no less consequence. He communicated his design to the Dutch admiral, who approved of it; and the next day they called a council of war, at which all the flag officers assisted. It was represented to them, what an honour, as well as advantage, it would be to England and Holland, if they could destroy the French fleet; and as it was the most glorious enterprize, they had yet undertaken, it was not to be delayed. To which all the officers consented, some in hopes of making their fortunes, and others for the glory they expected to acquire. The confederate fleet arrived at Vigo the 22d of October, and by the advantage of a thick fog, advanced unperceived within three or four miles of Redondello, where the French fleet and galleons lay in a narrow passage.

There

There was on one side a castle; and platforms on both sides the river, mounted with cannon to defend the entrance, besides a strong bomb across it, composed of old masts, chains, cables, and other such like materials. In such a situation, it might have been concluded they were in perfect security, and that it was the utmost degree of temerity to attack them. The confederate fleet being come to an anchor, a council of war was called, at which all the officers of the land forces, as well as those of the fleet, assisted; wherein it was resolved, that since they could not attack the galleons as they lay with the whole fleet, that 15 ships of war, made up of English and Dutch, sustained by all the fire-ships, should be detached to begin the attack; that the frigates and bomb vessels should compose the rear, and the great ships should follow after. That the troops should land the next morning, and attack the fort, which is in the middle of Redondello. To put this in execution, the duke of Ormond with two thousand men landed without opposition, on the south side of the river: my lord Shannon was ordered to put himself at the head of the grenadiers, and to march directly up to the fort, which defended the entrance of the port, where the bomb lay. This he performed with great resolution and bravery. While this was doing, 8000 Spaniards,

niards, commanded by the prince de Branbançon, appeared between the fort and the mountains; but these being only raw undisciplined men, got together in a hurry, fled at the first fire of the English grenadiers, who drove another party of Spaniards up to the fort, and made themselves masters of the lower battery. Upon this good success, general Churchill's regiment advanced to sustain the grenadiers. As soon as the English were masters of the battery, the French and Spaniards retired into an old castle, called the stone tower, where they defended themselves for some time; till, opening the gate to make a sally, the English and Dutch grenadiers laid hold of the opportunity, and rushing into the castle, took possession of it: there were in it 300 French seamen, 150 Spaniards, and 40 pieces of cannon. Soon after the landing of the forces, the English and Dutch fleet disposed themselves in order for the attack. The admiral made the signal to weigh anchor, the line was formed, and the whole squadron moved forwards towards the galleons; the advanced guard being got within cannon shot of the batteries, there fell a calm, which obliged them to cast anchor again; about two o'clock in the afternoon a fresh gale arising, the ships, which were nearest the French, cut their cables, and the rest weighed anchor, being
exposed

exposed to the fire of the whole French fleet till they came up to the bomb. Vice admiral Sir Thomas Hobson, in the *Torbay*, was the first who broke, and passed it with unparalleled bravery and courage. The other ships of the English division, and the Dutch squadron of vice-admiral Vander Goes, advancing in a line to attack the bomb with greater weight, found more resistance, and were obliged to cut it. Upon which ensued the most dreadful discharge of the artillery on both sides that ever was beheld, neither sky nor earth was to be seen, all was flame and smoke, and in less than half a quarter of an hour, the greatest part of the French ships were in flames. Monsieur de Chateau Renaud set the example, by firing his own ship; as did the rest of the French captains by theirs. Some blew up in the air, others run aground, and the remainder sunk to the bottom. There were thirty sail in the port, which were all taken or destroyed. The English took five ships of war, and four galleons; the Dutch took the *Bourbon* and five galleons. They got the silver out of the bottom of the galleons that were burned, besides an immense booty, consisting of the richest commodities of the Indies. There was only saved some little silver, which monsieur de Chateau Renaud had taken care to unload before the fight, and to send it up the country. After this
terrible

terrible misfortune, monsieur de Chateau Renaud retired to Compostella with the seamen and soldiers belonging to his own ship. As soon as he heard that Sir Cloudesly Shovel was departed, he returned to Vigo, with intent to gather together the shattered remains of his fleet; but found every thing either burnt, sunk, or carried off by the enemy, who took away with them 110 pieces of brass cannon, which had been ranged along the shore to prevent their landing. I can't leave this Vigo affair without mentioning, that not to say the general officers, and commanders in chief of the land and sea forces only, but there were many subaltern officers, even common soldiers and sailors, who found ways to enrich themselves, tho' they were strictly forbid plundering. There was a Dutch gunner whom I knew, that met with a very extraordinary adventure of this sort, by which he lost a very considerable sum, for such a man as he, partly by chance, and partly by his own imprudence. This gunner had got several chests of chocolate, which he proposed to change, with a person who had a parcel of rolls of tobacco to dispose of; the exchange being agreed upon, the gunner honestly delivered the chocolate, as did the other the tobacco. He that had the chocolate, opening one of the chests, in order to regale himself with a dish of this new merchandize, for which he had been dealing

dealing

dealing as a venture, and breaking some of the cakes of chocolate, was greatly surpris'd to find a quantity of ducats of gold made up in the chocolate; probably done to conceal so considerable a sum, with greater safety, and prevent it's being discovered in the strict search that is made in Spain for gold in the ships that come from the Indies. It was in vain for the gunner to complain, and curse his ill fortune, there was no remedy, the bargain was made, and he must abide by it. The man that had the chocolate put himself into a way of business that made his little fortune, and enabled him to quit the service upon his return to Holland. There were many affairs of this sort in the Vigo expedition, that enriched those to whom they happened.

The news of the destruction of their fleet was an afflicting stroke to the court of France. The king, who had been always victorious, was so struck with it, that he declared, that nothing in the whole course of his reign had so sensibly touched him. The campaign of 1702 being over, the generals, who had commanded the armies upon the upper and lower Rhine, in Italy, Brabant, and Flanders, returned to court. I attended the marechal de Boufflers, and staying a few days at Paris before I went to Versailles, I took that opportunity to visit my mistresses. I waited upon the two cousins

finz mesdemoifelles de Blois, and de Champré, who asked me how I had spent my time this campaign. As I could give but a poor account of the war, I answered, that old Nick sometimes is as busy among us in the field, as with them in the bed-chamber; to which I added, that he had bestirred himself stoutly amongst us the last campaign, or I should think our generals had been distracted. I was so chagrined at the ill success of the king's arms, and more at the railleries I met with on that score wherever I come, that I began to abhor the trade of war, as the worst of all trades; when a soldier returns from a successful campaign, he is in the clouds, he is welcome at court, caressed by his mistresses, and respected by his friends. He rolls in money, and pleasure, every body is fond of him, especially if he has had due regard to the king's glory, for that should be the principal care of a soldier in France, who would not spoil his own fortune, and pass for a poltroon: but on the contrary, if the king's troops have the worst, every body turns their backs upon you: you are degraded, and looked upon as unworthy the sword you wear, and become the scorn of the people, who load you with reproaches. From these ladies I waited upon the agreeable mademoiselle d'Entrague, who made me much the same compliment upon the events of the campaign,

as the others had done. My thoughts was so full of lost towns, and of ill concerted and worse executed projects, that I answered short, that if the world was turned upside down, it was because that women would be meddling with what they did not understand but recollecting myself a little, I told her, if she had any favours to bestow upon me, they would be very acceptable; and to entertain her, I gave her the history of my amour with the countess d'Escueva in Spain, who I address'd after the Spanish fashion, in imitation of Signor Castilleras, which had diverted her much before. We pass'd a very agreeable hour together in this manner; she in laughing heartily at the folly of the Spaniard, who compar'd his mistress to all the shining stars of the firmament; and I at the pleasant part I acted about the countess, to ridicule a coxcomb, who disturb'd me in my amour with her. Having left her, I went to Versailles, where I found all the generals extremely out of humour at the reproaches the king had made them, for the little care they had taken of his glory, and that of his grandson the duke of Burgundy, the last campaign. Catinat, they said at court, had forgot the art of war, which he had practis'd so long in Italy with so much glory and success, because he had not reliev'd Landau. They upbraided Boufflers with missing the opportunity of totally

totally routing Comte de Tilly at Zanten, and ill executing the king's orders at Nimeguen. Tallard was accused of imprudence, in not taking sufficient care of the king's interest, and neglecting to bombard Duffeldorp, which might have saved Keyferswaert. Tho' I was no general officer, I came in for my share of the reckoning; for going to pay my duty to madame de Maintenon, my patroness, I found her in a very ill humour, of which I soon felt the effects, by the severe reproaches she made me of my being surpris'd, as well as the count de Varo, into the capitulation of Venloo, by the discharge of the prince of Nassau's artillery and small arms for the taking Landau. If they were thoroughly mortified with their ill fortune at the court of France, there was nothing to be seen in Holland but rejoicing, for the advantages gained by the arms of the allies; and to raise in the minds of the people a just sense of these great events, which illustrated the triumphs and victory of the States over the king of France, who had fought their ruin. They represented at the Hague, before the palace of the States, the taking of the galeons, and the destruction of the French fleet at Vigo. And what was most remarkable in this shew was, that every ship of war and galeon was particularly shewn and marked with its proper name, as well to render this expedition
more

more famous and memorable, as to make it appear with greater splendor in the eyes of Strangers. The whole was concluded with a fire-work, which gave a very high idea of the conquests made upon the two kings in the course of the last campaign.

The progress the arms of the allies had made, greatly perplexed the court of France. The ministers, who had conceived great hopes from the attachment the elector of Bavaria had shewed to the king's interests, proposed to make his dominions the principal seat of the war. By that means they thought they should be able to shut the Germans out of Italy, and force prince Eugene back by the way that he came; and to raise such a storm in the empire, that the emperor should not know which way to turn himself. The court of Vienna, and the circles of Franconia and Suabia being the most exposed, and foreseeing the dangerous consequences of a war which was just kindled in the heart of Germany, made great preparations for their defence. The troops of the States of Franconia advanced at the beginning of January towards the frontiers of Bavaria: the elector took the alarm at the march of those troops, and demanded of the States of the Circles, the meaning of it, as he had offered them a neutrality. They answered, that his electoral highness having called an army of
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foreigners into his dominions, and fortified his frontiers, he must not be surpris'd, that they provided for their own security, especially as his own conduct to the circles of Suabia was the occasion of it.

The imperial generals, according to the emperor's orders, who looked upon the elector as the declared enemy of his country, began hostilities against him at the beginning of March; the comte de Schlick, with a body of troops on the side of Saltzburgh, and the comte de Stirum, with another body on the side of Nieuwmark. The approach of these troops put the country into a general consternation; count Stirum defeated a body of Bavarians, and besieg'd the little town of Dirfort, and made the garrison prisoners of war. Comte Schlick on his side made himself master of several little frontier places, and published every where the emperor's placarts, by which he discharged the magistrates and officers of the oath of fidelity they had sworn to the elector of Bavaria, and invited them to put themselves under his protection. These first motions alarmed all the country, and the electrice with her family retired for safety into Ingoldstadt. The elector of Bavaria, whose view was to amuse the States of Franconia with a suspension of arms, till the arrival of the succours which he expected from France, renewed his instances with them for
that

that purpose. He assured them of the sincerity of his intentions to live in peace with them, offering them to evacuate Ulm, and Memingen, if the emperor and the empire would accept of the proposals he had made to the diet of Ratisbon. In the mean time, the States of Franconia being informed of the progress made by the comte de Schlick and de Stirum, declared to the elector their resolution of adhering to their alliance. His electoral highness finding all his schemes ineffectual, thought it high time to oppose force with force. Accordingly, on the sixth of March, he assembled his army near Braunau, and to amuse the comte de Schlick he gave out that he intended to besiege Passau. The comte de Schlick, knowing the importance of the place, advanced with all his foot to secure it; leaving the rest of his troops with the artillery where he was posted before, an imprudence which cost him dear; for general Pless, having begun his march to follow comte Schlick according to his orders: the elector of Bavaria thought proper to attack that general, and hazard a battle the 10th of May. About five o'clock in the evening, the elector caused his troops to pass over the bridge of Charding; the next morning by break of day he advanced towards the village of Iseyburn, in which the regiments of Schlick and Hanover were posted. These he charged and put to flight;

they having joined the rest of the troops of their body, ranged themselves all in order of battle, waiting the elector's approach, who, knowing his superiority of numbers, returned to the charge, and after a stout resistance forced them to abandon the field of battle, with their baggage, waggons, tents, cannons and mortars; their horse being entirely routed, and their foot cut in pieces. After this victory, the elector enjoyed himself with his mistresses at Charding. The noise of arms, and military exploits, gave no interruption to his amours, which had been always his favourite amusement, as may be seen by the adventure I am going to relate. One of his mistresses, who was a dancer belonging to the opera at Bruffels, had followed him into Bavaria; where he had got himself another, who was a Franconian; she was a jolly, handsome good-natured girl, free and easy in her manner, as the German women generally are. The dancer was a cunning, designing jade, that knew the world, and understood the trade of intriguing to the bottom. As I had been acquainted with her at Bruffels, and saw her in Bavaria before the battle at Hochstet; it was from her I learned the following particulars. The elector had enough to do to manage these two creatures. As they had orders to attend the elector, as well when he went to the army,

as in his winter quarters. They each of them used their utmost endeavours to engross his favour all to herself, never did jealousy rage with greater force than in the hearts of these two rivals; so that it was their whole study to plague, and if possible to ruin one another: tho' they had each their separate apartments, the malicious dancer found means one day, to lay hold of a pair of stays belonging to the Franconian, which were bolstered, and carried them directly to the elector to shew him the device, which her rival made use of to hide the defect of her shape. The Franconian was a little awry, but when she was dressed it did not appear; she was then exactly well made. We have a great many ladies at Paris, who pass for first-rate beauties, who are not unacquainted with these arts. The fair sex refine upon every thing, and are ever studying how to adorn themselves, and gain admirers. This trick of the dancer's, was so far from putting the elector out of conceit with the German, that he became more passionately fond of her, and only laugh at the other for her pains. The spiteful Flemming, vexed at the disappointment, determined to play her rival a new trick; for which purpose she dressed up a puppet—like a beaux, in the nicest manner, a fair perriwig, hat and feather, an embroidered suit, sword by his side, and every thing complete. All being

in readiness, she watched an opportunity when the German was out, and having gained one of the elector's pages, she made him carry this puppet, and lay it upon her rival's bed; and then went and told the elector that the Franconian was false to him; and that he might convince himself with his own eyes, if his highness pleased to go to her chamber, where he would find a man laid upon her bed. The elector, who loved that girl to distraction, went directly to her chamber, in order to be satisfied in an affair that touched him so sensibly; and opening the door softly, verily thought he saw an unknown man lying upon his mistress's bed; that was the puppet. He shut the door again, and returned to his chamber like one distracted. The dancer, happy as a queen at the success of her project, sent the page immediately to fetch away the puppet, before her rival came home, as this secret lay between the Flemming and the page, the elector was highly enraged, and the Franconian in great distress. His highness transported with passion, treated her as false, and perfidious; said all that rage and jealousy could inspire, commanded her to be gone, and never to see him more. The poor girl, tho' entirely innocent, and who never had such a thought, burst into tears before the elector, and said all that was possible to convince him of her innocence, and

and clear herself of the imputation, as well as the cruel reproaches with which the elector loaded her : but all to no purpose, he would hear nothing, nor could any thing put out of his mind a thing he verily thought he had seen with his own eyes. The dancer hugged herself at the thoughts of her success, and her triumph over her rival. The German, almost in despair, could not conceive from whence the blow came, and did her utmost to discover it. She suspected the Flemming, but she did not know why : it was not long before the dancer and the page fell out ; she had promised him, he should enjoy the same favour as the elector did, but when her turn was served, she refused him ; he, out of spite, discovered to the Franconian the whole affair, which had been the cause of her disgrace. She resolved to be revenged to the full, and for a plain German girl she acted politickly enough. She applied herself to the count de Camartan, captain of dragoons, an officer in the French troops that were then in Bavaria. The count was one who would have gone through fire and water to serve a girl he liked. The Franconian gave him an account of her disgrace with the elector, occasioned by a trick of the Flemming's, and begged him to revenge her. He promised to do it ; upon which she put into his hands a purse of fifty Louis d'ors. Camartan went to the opera
girl,

girl, without taking notice of any thing, and pretending to be passionately in love with her, he offered her the purse of gold for the enjoyment of her favours, and promised to keep the secret so inviolably, that the elector should never entertain the least suspicion of it. The dancer, dazzled at the sight of the gold, gave Camartan a rendezvous. The German being informed of this, sent a billet to the elector in the following terms: Prince, I have been brought under your displeasure by unjust suspicions of infidelity; if you desire to have a real proof of my innocence, and the perfidy of her who has been the author of my ruin, and who boasts of the sole possession of your heart, please to go to a rendezvous at I can say no more, but take the advantage of the information.

Upon reading this billet, the elector disguised himself, and went directly to the place where Camartan and his mistress were to meet; and caught them in the fact. His highness was in a most furious rage with the dancer, and had liked to have run her through the body with his sword; but Camartan interposed, and prevented him. As the elector had a very particular regard for the count, who was a very good officer, he forbore coming to such terrible extremities, and the affair was hushed up; but the opera girl was ordered instantly to leave the court.

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The German was taken into favour again, and had the pleasure of seeing her rival fall a sacrifice to her revenge.

They boasted much in Bavaria, as well as in France, of the success of the elector's army at Scharding, tho' all the advantage he could be rightly said to have got by it, was taking the little town of Neubourg upon the Inn; whereas comte Stirum on his side besieged Nieuwmark, Friedstadt, and Neussaffel, and advanced with his army towards Amberg, the capital of the upper palatinate of Bavaria, in order to besiege it. The elector, who observed his motions, marched his army, as if he intended to prevent the siege of Amberg, but his real design was to make himself master of Ratisbon, as he actually did. Stirum upon that encamped between Nieuwmark and Amberg, with intent to give the elector battle, if possible. In the mean time the prince of Anspach, being detached with 8000 men to secure the passage of the Witz, charged the Bavarians, who were possessed of a very important post, which he obliged them to abandon; but pursuing them too far, he was attacked by the elector with 4000 men at Burglensfeldt, where, after making a most glorious defence, he received a wound with a musquet ball, of which he died the next day. The elector, having caused his troops to enter Ratisbon, which was al-

ways

ways his chief aim, on account of the diet of the empire that is held there, made a feint towards Passau; which obliged general Schlick to encamp under the cannon of that city to take care of it's safety; but his highness after several marches, and counter-marches, finding he could not engage the emperor's generals, who were posted to great advantage, turned his thoughts another way. He sent a detachment towards Willingen, and followed himself with the greatest part of his forces, in order to meet the marechal de Villars, who was advancing toward him with 66 squadrons, and 55 battalions of French troops. Villars having made an unsuccessful attempt on the side of Stolhotzen, resolved to try what was to be done by the valley of Kintzig. Accordingly he detached the Marquis de Blainville before him, with 20 battalions, and 30 squadrons, to clear the passages, and make way for the rest of the army: Blainville succeeded in his expedition, having forced the enemies posts, which, properly speaking, were guarded only by a kind of militia; the marechal de Villars arrived at length with his whole army in the plain of Willingen. The elector of Bavaria, impatient to see the French, whom he looked upon as his guardian angels, encamped the fifth of May at Riedlingen, and the French took post between Fridingen

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gen and Miskirken. The marechal de Villars, proud to see himself at the head of an army in the heart of Germany, paid the elector a visit in his camp, which the elector returned the next day, and was received by the marechal with all the honours imaginable. The first days were spent in joy and pleasures. The Bavarians were overjoyed to see the choicest troops of France come to their assistance: and the French, who are fond of all new things, were no less delighted to find themselves in the middle of Germany; these Germans, said they, are rare fellows, and its a fine country we are got into here. For to say the truth, both officers and soldiers looked for nothing less than to make every one his fortune, either at the expence of the prince, who had called them to his assistance, or of those other states of the empire, who were his enemies. The marechal de Villars their chief, who ever distinguished himself above all the French generals, by the high airs he gave himself, soon began to shew them in Bavaria. He told the elector, he had orders from court to demand Ulm, Ingoldstadt and Brunaw, as cautionary towns; that his highness must give up the chief command of the army to him; and that all the money raised, by way of contributions, must be brought into the French coffers. The elector was highly provoked at this compli-
ment,

ment, and rejected the proposal with indignation : and told the marechal de Villars plainly, if that was the price he was to pay for the king's assistance, his majesty might please to withdraw his troops, the sooner the better. The marechal, who had private instructions, pretended to send couriers to Versailles, who, however, went no further than Strasburg, and returned in about the time they might have been expected from the court of France. Villars then told the elector, that the king had thought of an expedient, which he hoped would be to his highness's satisfaction : which was to garrison the places with half French, and half Bavarians : they begun with Ulm, which had like to have been surprized, by means of a correspondence count Stirum held with some in the place.

In speaking of the elector's amours, I mentioned that one of his highness's pages had betrayed the opera girl to her rival the Franconian, and had informed her of the device, that had procured her disgrace ; this page, who was a very pretty well made young fellow, had by these means so ingratiated himself with her, that he partook of her favours with the elector his master ; the count de Camartan, in return for the service he had done that favourite, came in likewise for his part. Notwithstanding these intrigues were carried on with the utmost secrecy,

secrecy, and the dancer was absent from court, yet she found a way to discover them: there is nothing so sweet as revenge in a rivalry of this kind. The Flemming, who had lost the elector's favour, and with it her fortune, determined to sacrifice these two lovers, and their mistress, who was the cause of her disgrace. She knew that the page had given the Franconian the history of the mankin; that the count de Camartan had received from her rival the 50 Louis d'ors, which had drawn her to that unfortunate rendezvous, which had like to have cost her her life, and was otherways so fatal to her: the thoughts of all these things together drove her almost out of her wits, and made her resolve to be revenged cost what it would. For which purpose she got acquainted with the marquis de Touri, captain of horse in the French army, commanded by the marechal de Villars in Bavaria. She put into his hands a fine diamond ring, which the elector had given her at Brussels when he first took a fancy to her; and desired the marquis to try, if by means of this jewel, he could not obtain her rival's favours. The young marquis, who was a man of pleasure, was extremely pleased with this commission, and immediately waited upon the Franconian, to whom he made a most tender declaration of his passion; and to render it more effectual, he at
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the same time presented her with the ring. At sight of it, the reigning favourite forgot all her vows of constancy to the elector. The young marquis succeeded beyond expectation, of which he soon acquainted the dancer. The Franconian thinking she had received a fine present from a young lord just arrived from the court of France, had not the least notion that the elector could have any knowledge of it; she was fond of wearing it, as she had a fine hand, to which this was a new ornament: one day, as she was playing at cards with the elector, he happened to cast his eye upon it, and admiring its beauty, desired to look at it: she drew it from her finger, and presented it to the elector, who immediately knew it, and asked her how she came by it? the Franconian was greatly surpris'd at this unexpected question, was extremely embarrassed; the elector perceived there was some mystery in it; and as he very well remembered he had formerly given it to the dancer, he sent for her to clear up an affair, which seem'd to bode him no good. The dancer being come, revealed the whole business to the elector; and fully to convince him of the infidelity of her rival, she drew out of her purse a billet doux, which this last had written to the young marquis de Touri, full of the tenderest expressions of her love, and at the same time making
him

him an assignation; and to complete the ruin of her rival, she further acquainted the elector with the intrigue which the Franconian carried on with the count de Camartan, and one of his highness's pages. Upon hearing all this, the elector thought the devil was in his mistresses; and that nothing upon earth could be so base. The German girl was once more banished the court, and the Flemming took into favour again; who was beyond measure overjoyed at her victory over her rival; and being a girl of sense, resolved, for the future, to think of nothing but the establishment of her fortune, and enjoying the elector's favour in quiet.

To return now to the war in Bavaria, it is certain, that the succours which the marshal de Villars brought the elector, by no means answered his expectation. Villars spent the whole campaign in making movements to no purpose; and very probably he obeyed the orders of the court in so doing. Sometimes he bent his march towards Switzerland, to alarm the Cantons, or to draw prince Lewis of Baden that way, as if he intended to give him battle; and when that general quitted his lines at Stollhöfen, and came up to the marshal de Villars to offer him battle in his turn, then Villars entrenched himself to avoid it; the prince of Baden seeing that Villars declined an engagement,

gement, decamped and marched towards Bavaria. This motion saved Aufbourg, which was upon the point of being besieged by the count d'Arco, who commanded a separate body of Bavarians, he retired at the approach of the imperial army, and prince Lewis of Baden threw his troops into Aufbourg; after which he advanced towards Friedberg, and made himself master of it. General Auflas took the little town of Rotemberg. At length Villars quitted his camp, and coming up to the prince once more, offered him battle, who paid him in his own coin; and posting himself between the Lech and Werdam, entrenched himself there. It may be truly said, that the manner in which these two generals carried on the war, was as if they had been at play with each other, for when one seemed inclined to an action, the other industriously avoided it. The conduct of the other general officers, who commanded separate bodies, was very different, as appeared by the battle at Schwemmingen, where count Stirum was attacked by the elector of Bavaria, the marechal de Villars, and the marquis d'Usson; in this manner count Stirum quitted his camp at Haunshrem, the 19th of September, with intent to join prince Lewis of Baden on the other side of the Danube, and came to Schwemmingen, where he halted the next day

day for his artillery to come up. The 21st at four o'clock in the morning he received advice, that the marechal de Villars, and the elector of Bavaria, had passed the Danube with their army the night before, with intent to attack him without loss of time. He drew up his troops, consisting of 45 squadrons and 25 battalions, in order to receive them: count Stirum hearing a discharge of three cannon shot on the side of Donawaert, which the marquis d'Usson answered, by the discharge of six from the camp at Dillingen and Lawingen, which was the signal. He justly apprehended he should be overpowered by numbers, and thought it adviseable to fall upon the marquis d'Usson before the others came up; he ordered general Palfi to advance with a detachment of horse, who attacked the marquis d'Usson so briskly, that he defeated his foot and horse, six squadrons of which perished in a morass. The elector arriving with 30 battalions, and 50 squadrons, attacked comte Stirum in his turn, whose horse were forced to give way, and retired behind the second line, which maintained the fight with great bravery; but as the odds were too great, and comte Stirum, seeing himself in a manner surrounded, he retired under the cannon of Nordlingen. This was the only action of any signification that happened in Bavaria; the rest of the cam-

paign was spent in the ordinary stratagems of war ; they camped and decamped. The elector and the marechal de Villars made several movements in order to bring prince Lewis of Baden to a decisive action ; but he always avoided it. It is true, that at the opening of the campaign, the elector's troops made some progress in the Tiroleze, but he lost those conquests as fast as he had made them. The court of France attributing the little success of the Bavarian war to the misunderstanding between the elector and the marechal de Villars, the king resolved to recal him, and send the count de Marfin in his room ; and to prevent all differences for the future about the chief command of the army, his majesty declared the elector of Bavaria his generalissimo.

The king of France, who depended much upon the success of the war in Bavaria, which was an incredible expence to him, had sent the duke of Burgundy, at the head of a powerful army, to make a diversion upon the Upper Rhine by some enterprize of consequence : it was the siege of Landau that young prince was to undertake, by means of a correspondence he held in the town ; but that being discovered, the project came to nothing. However, as it did not become a prince of his high rank to leave the court of France, and put himself at the head of a great army for nothing,

it was therefore resolved to besiege Brisack, which was presently surrendered by the count d'Arco the governor, who had sold it to the French, for which being tried and condemned to lose his head, the sentence was executed the 19th of February following, on a plain on the banks of the lake of Constane; the head and body were put into a coffin, and conveyed in a coach and six by night to Brégentz, and buried in the cathedral there. The count de Marfigli, who was looked upon as his accomplice, was degraded from bearing arms, and had his sword broke by the common hangman. Such is the deserved state of those who are trusted by their sovereigns, and prove unfaithful to them. This correspondence proved more effectual to the duke of Burgundy's designs, than that at Nimeguen, which I mentioned before; after the taking of Brisack, the young prince returned to court, leaving the command of the army to the marechal de Tallard, who passed the Rhine, and besieged Landau, which produced a bloody battle, the particulars of which were as follows.

The allies considering of what importance it was to them, to save that fortress, made a detachment of 26 squadrons, and 12 battalions; the hereditary prince of Hesse* who commanded them, marched with such

* The late king of Sweden.

expedition, that he joined the prince of Nassau Weilbourg near Spires, on the 13th of November, there he found the Palatine troops. The 14th they were obliged to wait for the troops of some other princes of the empire, which were advancing to the relief of the place; this delay was fatal to them, and was the cause of the loss of the battle. On the 16th, they prepared to attack the French army before Landau: the 15th in the morning, monsieur de Pracontal joined the marechal de Tallard with a detachment. The generals of the allies having received advice of this, were greatly surpris'd at the haste that Pracontal had made; and more, to find that the French army was advancing towards them. The count de Nassau repaired with all speed to the left wing of the army, which he commanded; and the prince of Hesse to the right wing, and put them in order of battle. The count of Nassau begun the battle; and charged the troops that oppos'd him with great bravery and success: but the French rallying their great superiority of numbers, obliged him to give way, and his whole wing was totally routed: so that the prince of Hesse had all the French army to deal with. Notwithstanding, his troops, animated by the example of the young prince who commanded them with so much bravery, and was every where, maintained the fight

fight with so much resolution, that the French were several times repulsed. An officer giving the prince a blow upon his head with his sword, which struck off his hat, his highness killed him with his own hand. The marechal de Tallard, and Pracontal, were surpris'd at the resistance made by the prince; but the match was too unequal. The left wing being beat out of the field, the Prince thought proper to retreat, which he did, fighting across the field of battle towards Dudenhofen, where his troops repass'd the Spierback. Pracontal, lieutenant general, was killed, as was the marquis de Lavardin, whom I had accompanied in his famous embassy to Rome: monsieur d'Annac, and 16 colonels, were likewise killed: as the gaining of a battle was a new thing to the marechal de Tallard, he wrote a letter to the king, which shew'd how much he was elevated with it. It being a very curious piece, I shall give it at length.

L E T T E R.

S I R E,

I Am not yet to acquaint your majesty with the taking of Landau, but of a victory of much more consequence, than even

the reduction of that important place. The prince of Hesse Cassel advanced with an army of 30 thousand men to the Spierback; in order to oblige me to raise the siege; but when they expected to attack me, I came out of my lines. where I had been joined by monsieur de Pracontal, and by the inexpressible valour and bravery of your majesty's troops; the enemies army is totally defeated, and their left wing wholly cut off. There never was a more bloody battle, nor a more compleat victory. Your majesty will form a righter judgment, by perusing the inclosed particulars. I shall only add, that the enemy have lost more men than we have left them, and six times more than the siege has cost me hitherto: Besides their artillery, tents, ammunition and baggage, of which they have scarce saved any thing, we have taken more colours and standards, than your majesty has lost private men. The day after to-morrow I expect to be in Landau.

Sire,

Votre, &c.

TALLARD.

The king having received this account which the marechal de Tallard had sent, and at the same time that published by the
generals

generals of the allies, found, upon comparing them, that much of the glory the marechal had attributed to his arms, was to be abated. The horse and dragoons of the prince of Hesse's army took sixteen standards, four guidons, and three pair of kettle-drums, without losing one themselves. Besides, the king lost 3000 men killed on the spot, with many brave officers, who were greatly lamented. It must be nevertheless allowed to have been a great action; and made some amends for the little progress the French arms made in Bavaria; it distinguished the marechal de Tallard, and raised his reputation; in consequence of this victory, a few hours after the battle, the comte de Friesle demanded to capitulate, and the marechal de Tallard generously sent him back his son, who was made prisoner in the battle.

To avoid confusion in the account of such a variety of events, I thought it best to finish at once all that related to Bavaria. I come now to the movements made by the armies of France, and those of the allies, upon the Lower Rhine. Comte de Lottom, general of the Prussians, had blocked up Rhimberg, which surrendered, the capitulation being signed the 19th of February between the comte, and the marquis de Grammont, the governor, to whom our ministers had given the chimerical title of lieutenant

nant general of the circle of Burgundy. After the reduction of that place, comte de Lottom blocked up Gueldres. On the 19th of April, the duke of Marlborough, and the baron d'Obdam arrived at Cologne, to command in chief at the siege of Bonn, a place of great importance in the electorate of Cologne; as did general Coehorn, to direct the approaches. The siege of this place was a glorious opening of the campaign for the allies, and at the same time greatly embarrassed the king and his ministers. Monsieur Coehorn, according to his new method, carried on his attacks with such vigour, that monsieur d'Alegre was obliged to capitulate the 15th of May. The king, who had promised himself a great deal of success this campaign, for which he had made prodigious preparations, had a mind to take the opportunity of the greatest part of the troops of the allies being employed in the siege of Bonn, to strike a stroke of importance, which should make some amends for the loss of that place. In order to which the marechal de Villeroi received his majesty's commands to depart immediately, and to put himself at the head of the army; I was ordered to attend him in quality of first aid-de-camp. We arrived at Brussels the 24th of April; all the French troops that were to compose the army, assembled between Mons and Namure; 15000 pioneers,

pioneers, and 3000 waggons, were ordered to be in readiness against the 10th of May.

The orders of the court were to open the campaign with the expedition of Liege; which was a compliment the king could not well refuse, to the instances of the elector of Cologne for his restoration. The marechal de Villeroi having put his army in motion, we surpris'd the little town of Tongres, from whence we carried off two regiments of foot prisoners; I could never conceive how the generals of the allies came not to prevent it. Here we also got a considerable booty, consisting of the duke of Wirtemberg's service of plate, a good sum of ready money, designed for the payment of the Dutch forces, and came very opportunely to pay some of the regiments in the king's service, who had received no money of a long time. At the news of our march, monsieur d'Auverquerque, and the rest of the generals of the allies, held themselves in a readiness to oppose us.

Monsieur d'Alegre, for all his bravery, having given the duc de Villeroi to understand, that he could not possibly defend Bonn any longer than till the 12th of May, the duke did not think fit to undertake the siege of the town and castle of Liege, of which we had talked so much, and as the court had projected; apprehending, that
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if a junction should be formed of all the confederate troops, they would compose an army greatly superior to us, which would not have failed to force us to raise the siege, with the hazard of a battle, which we should certainly have lost. We contented ourselves with making a movement towards Maestricht, which was a mere gasconade. It is true, Villeroy pretended to surprize the confederate troops, which were beginning to assemble, as we had done the two regiments at Tongres, but we were prevented by the wise conduct of general d'Auverquerque, and we returned to our camp at Tongres the same way we went.

The arrival of the duke of Marlborough, with the troops which had formed the siege of Bonn, quite changed the state of affairs, and altered all our measures. The allies now having a very powerful army, made several movements to engage the *maréchal de Villeroy* in a battle, but he kept retiring. He encamped with the army of France near *Latremenge* and *Hiers*. And the duke of Marlborough with the troops of the allies near *Wihogne*. Besides these two armies, the French and the allies had each of them two encampments; the allies, one near *Santlivet*, and another in the neighbourhood of *l'Ecluse*, under the command of *baron Spar*; and the French had a flying camp, commanded by the *marquis de*

de Bedmar; and another about Bruges, commanded by the count de la Motte. The intent of those separate bodies on the part of the allies was to force our lines, which they performed effectually. General Coehorn, at the head of 2500 men, passed l'Escant: baron Spar, who was apprehensive of the count de la Motte, who observed his motions, to amuse him, made a very seasonable one towards Bruges, and returning immediately the same way, he marched directly up to the lines at Sleken, and forced them sword in hand, after a most bloody and stout opposition, that lasted three hours, a resistance which surprised us the more, as the court of France did not expect that these Brabanders, would have given such a proof of their fidelity to their new king. Baron Spar, in his Letter to the states on occasion of this action, acquaints them, that he had himself received a flight wound, and that his purse, with a single pistole in it, saved his thigh. Every grenadier had a gratuity of a pistole for his bravery, and every pioneer half a one.

I said before, that general Coehorn had passed l'Escant to attack our lines on another side; which he did at the point of Callo, and forced them with very little loss. The attack being over, he set fire to several houses, which was the signal agreed upon between him and the baron Spar. The
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body of troops commanded by the bāron d'Opdam decamped the same night, and posted themselves at Ekeren, to face our troops, that were in the lines of Antwerp, and prevent our sending any detachment into Flanders. This motion of monsieur d'Obdam's was the occasion of a bloody battle, in which I was present. The camp at Ekeren was extremely exposed, which inclined our generals to attack the small body of troops that composed it: to which the marechal de Villeroi, without any hesitation agreed, and the marechal de Boufflers, in a gaieté de cœur, took upon him the execution of it. Accordingly we arrived on the 29th of June with a large detachment from the grand army, and were joined by the troops that had been in the lines of Antwerp; making together a body of 32 squadrons, and 33 battalions. The camp of the allies was composed of only 13 battalions, and 26 squadrons, so that we were greatly superior in numbers. To form a right idea of this action, which was the most considerable that happened in the Netherlands, and to make a right judgment to which side the victory was to be ascribed, it would be necessary to read the letters of the generals on both sides; which are to be met with in the general histories of the war. I shall only remark, that to read only the king of France's letter to the cardinal de Noailles.

Noailles, one should, without scruple, ascribe the victory at Ekeren to the army of the two crowns. If the king did not give a true account of that bloody affair, it is in part the fault of his generals, and partly of the ministers and madam de Maintenon, who, as I said before, had ordered all the dispatches that came from the army to be brought to her apartment, before they were communicated to the king. When the news of the battle at Ekeren arrived at Versailles, besides that the marechal de Boufflers had made the most of it, madam de Maintenon, like a woman of wit, gave it a new turn, which made it appear to great advantage in the eyes of the prince, for whose health she was so anxious. Our generals had done nothing on that side for a long time; it seemed as if fortune had entirely deserted his majesty's arms; and the last campaign had been as unfortunate as possible to France. This affair of Ekeren came very seasonably, to comfort the king for the loss of so many towns; and to give this business all the marks of a complete victory, they did not scruple to add, that the enemy were superior in infantry, and posted to great advantage; that they were obliged to abandon the field of battle, with their wounded, tents, six pieces of cannon, 44 mortars, their ammunition of war, and provisions, 150 waggon load of arms, several

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ral colours and kettle-drums, with the loss of 4000 men killed upon the spot, and 500 prisoners, with abundance more such stuff. But as this is not the first time the court of France have disguised the truth to impose upon the people, I shall only say, to conclude this matter, that what the marechal de Boufflers did, was of very little signification, that we were obliged to abandon the field of battle to the enemy. I was posted at Houteren, where I was wounded in the arm with a musquet ball; it was there the main stress of the action lay, and from thence the enemy drove us with great bravery; of which I was an eye-witness, as well as an impartial judge. The marechal de Boufflers had more than 30 thousand men, most of them chosen troops, with many generals to assist him, and several young French lords, who accompanied him to distinguish themselves, and load themselves with honour. He had to deal with a body of 10,000 men only, at the most, whom we suffered to put themselves in order of battle, when we attacked them.

Had the marechal de Boufflers known how to make a right use of all his advantages, he need not have let a single man of the enemy escape: but his conduct throughout the whole action, was censured by every body that understood any thing of the art of war. I cannot help doing justice in this place to the confederate troops, and the
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general officers who commanded them, who fought with a resolution and courage, which gave us a very different idea of the Dutch, than we had before. The account which monsieur Slangenburg gave of this affair in his letter to the States, is must juster than what came from France, where more regard is had to the glory of the king, than to the truth of the fact. This general being retired to Lillo after the battle, and drawing up his troops, he thank'd them in the name, and by order of the States-general, in the following words. Their High Mightinesses the States-general, and their Noble Mightinesses the council of State, have commanded me, in their name, to thank all the officers, high and low, as well as the soldiers, for the bravery, courage, and zeal shewed by you all on the 30th of June, which is so well known to you. I am likewise ordered to acquaint you, that their High Mightinesses will omit no opportunities of testifying their acknowledgment of it.

Upon the report which had been made to the king of the battle at Ekeren, in which they had concealed all the advantages gained by the allies, he seemed so well satisfied, that he commanded his generals to run no further hazards this campaign. The allies being desirous of having satisfaction for the affair of Ekeren, joined all their
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three bodies of troops together, with a design to offer the marechal de Villeroi battle, who, on his part, called in all his detachments. The marechal, in a very lofty manner, made a bravado at the head of the army. We were then encamped at a place called St. Job. He drew us up in order of battle, and declared publickly, that he would expect the duke of Marlborough there. In this expectation, the duke and general Auverquerque marched their troops in several columns towards Hoogstraat, within half a league of our camp, where we prepared ourselves in good earnest for a battle, according to Villeroi's orders. General Slangenbourg, who had decamped from Lillo, and marched all night, arrived very early in the morning between Ekeren and Capelle, to attack us on that side. The duke of Marlborough and monsieur d'Auverquerque advanced with their army into a plain, facing our camp. The allies then fired four cannon shot, which was the signal for monsieur Slangenbourgh to begin the attack on his side; Villeroi, not thinking proper to hazard a battle, or rather following the orders of the court, set fire to his camp, and ordered the army of France to retire within their lines. This inglorious retreat of Villeroi covered him with shame, and exposed him to the contempt, as well as the raillery of the enemy's generals,

nerals, whom he had just before, as it were, defied in so haughty a manner. The confederates finding it impracticable to bring the marechal to a pitched battle, resolved to employ the rest of the campaign in the sieges of Huy and Limbourg, which surrendered upon articles. The town of Gueldres was bombarded, and likewise capitulated.

I shall finish the history of this campaign, with just mentioning two enterprises, which our generals formed upon two considerable places, in which they had found a means to settle a correspondence; these were Juliers and Graves. Monsieur de Chamillard wrote to me, to give my assistance, with those French officers who had undertaken for the success of these schemes. The marechals de Villeroi and de Boufflers were both very urgent with me upon the same subject. I answered monsieur de Chamillard, that I must beg to be excused, for the reasons I had formerly given for declining to be concerned in the affair of Grandval, and that with the duke of Berwick. And indeed it was well for me that I did so, for the whole was discovered, and the persons concerned fell the victims of their own imprudence.

The French army being retired within their lines, and the campaign almost at an end, I desired leave of the marechal de

to go take the waters at Aix la Chapelle; on account of the wound I had received at Ekeren, tho' I was almost well of it; the marechal gave me leave. Whilst I was at Aix, I was entertained with several diverting adventures, which made me pass my time very agreeably. And I am persuaded, the relation of some of them will not be disagreeable in this place. Among the rest, there was one remarkable affair between the count d'Asfeld, captain in the regiment of Dobblesstein, and his colonel, who were both in the service of the elector of Cologne. After the battle at Ekeren, colonel Dobblesstein complained to the elector of Cologne, his master, of d'Asfeld, and said publickly, that d'Asfeld, instead of being at the head of his company, had disappeared as soon as the battle begun. D'Asfeld, who, was a man of honour, provoked at the mortal blow that Dobblesstein had given his reputation, resolved to be revenged at the hazard of his life. Accordingly he quitted the service of the elector of Cologne, and went into that of the elector Palatine, who soon made him lieutenant colonel of a regiment; so that he lost nothing by the exchange. As d'Asfeld had left the service of a prince devoted to the interest of France, to enter into that of a prince who was an enemy to the two crowns; it was not long before he found an opportunity of calling his

his colonel to an account for the affront he had received from him. Soon after, d'Asfeld understanding that Dobbstein was taking the waters at Aix, he set out from Juliers, and went post to Aix: as soon as he alighted from off his horse, he went straitway in his boots to the place where they drink the waters, without any other arms but a good sword, and a switch in his hand. He walked about all alone a long hour, before the Wells, in a strange equipage for that place, impatiently expecting the appearance of Dobbstein, who used to come there about that hour. Several persons of quality who knew d'Asfeld, seeing him in that figure, and in such disorder, imagined that something more than ordinary was the matter; d'Asfeld was apprehensive, as Dobbstein did not appear, that somebody must have given him an item of his being there, but it was really accidental that he was not come, for he was then in conversation with the young comtesse de ... which had perhaps made him forget the hour of drinking the waters; whilst d'Asfeld was in this perplexity, he saw the Abbé de . . . come out of the comtesse's; he stept up to the Abbé, and asked him, if he knew any thing of Dobbstein? the Abbé answered, he had just left him with the young comtesse de . . . where he was entertaining several ladies. D'Asfeld inform-

ed his friend the Abbé with the business which brought him to Aix, and desired the favour of him to go from him to Dobblesstein, and let him know, that he was waiting in that place, in order to decide an affair of honour with him. The Abbé went, and made this compliment to the colonel; who answered haughtily, that he valued none of d'Asfeld's threats. This answer the Abbé brought to d'Asfeld, and soon after Dobblesstein himself appeared, who going a little aside, d'Asfeld stepped up to him with his sword in his hand, and taking him by the collar, bid him draw his sword; which Dobblesstein refusing, d'Asfeld threw him down in the dirt, and gave him an hundred blows with the flat of his sword, which tore his fine cloaths in several places: all this was done in the sight of many people of distinction, without any one's making the least offer to part them. At last, general de . . . coming by, was the only person who went up to them, and told them it was enough. D'Asfeld answered the general, that it was a great pleasure to him, that a person of his rank and quality was witness of the manner in which he treated a scoundrel, that had robbed him of his honour, and his bread; that he had several times bid him draw his sword, and defend himself like a man of honour; but that Dobblesstein was a rascal, that would rather be
treated

treated as he had seen. His fine embroidered cloaths were covered with mud, and the lace tore off in several places. Thus ended this affair as much to the satisfaction, and honour of the count d'Asfeld, as to the disgrace and mortification of Dobbstein, who, besides the rank he held in the elector of Cologne's troops, was looked upon also as one of his first favourites.

The medicinal quality ascribed to the waters of Aix, is not the only reason that brings so many persons of distinction together, as are to be met with in that place; love and galantry have the greatest share in it. It is the general rendezvous of all the persons of quality of France and Germany; to this delightful place resort all the officers, high and low, to relax themselves after the fatigues of a tedious campaign. Various are the pretences made use of by these gentlemen to obtain leave to repair thither. It is always some imaginary distemper, tho' the true cause is some love affair. This I know, that numbers of lady mothers, who have marriageable daughters, take that journey chiefly with a view of disposing of them. You always hear of madame the comtess de la marquise de la baronne de who are there with their daughters. Those that are handsome presently meet with lovers, and admirers, and are not long before they are either married in form, or

run away with. This place is a kind of a fair, where all sorts of goods go off at one rate or other: love's the broker that sets the price of beauty, or merit. There are other kind of creatures to be met with there, who come to make their markets. These are your playhouse girls and tradesmens daughters, and such like, who have been taught all the arts of intriguing from their cradles, and practised it their whole lives; it is their talent; they understand it to the bottom, and practise it in all its subtleties and niceties; in a word, they understand the world, and all its ways; such as these frequently are more successful than your greatest beauties of quality. Love is an unaccountable passion, it has its ebbs and flows like the waves of the sea; and mens tastes are so different about it, that there is no knowing what to say for it. Ask any one who has fixed his choice, and been engaged in a love affair many years, what first took his fancy; and they will freely own to you they can't tell. An agreeable girl of wit, with a small porportion of beauty, shall often engage a man to love her to distraction, and hold him to it as long as she pleases. This passion of love is often the cause of much affliction to mothers, whose daughters are grown up, by the spirit of disobedience it inspires them with when they are become marriageable; of this I
saw.

saw a remarkable instance when I was at Aix. The comtesse de . . . was then there with her daughter : the young comtesse de . . . , who was a celebrated beauty, and much admired by every body. Her house was the rendezvous of all the good company in the place : it may be said, with great truth, that it was in vain that the doctors of Aix danced attendance upon their patients to warn them of their gallantries ; what their prescriptions did on one hand, love undid on the other. Several of our officers, whom I saw at Aix, brought but one distemper along with them thither, but carried back others with them that were of worse consequence. Every body had their intrigue ; some with your profest ladies of pleasure, others with women of honour. These last, as they were the wisest, and had nothing to fear, were most conformable to the directions of their physicians. To return to the young comtesse . . . She had two lovers, who soon became terrible rivals ; the one demands her in marriage in form, the other strove to win the heart of the young beauty by his address, and to make himself agreeable in her eyes. The first was the comte de . . . who was prodigiously rich. The other the baron de . . . the former had on course the mother on his side, the latter was the girl's choice. All the men of quality at Aix gave balls in their

turns for the ladies; in which the young comtesse, as she had the greatest share of beauty, was generally the principal guest. It was very pleasant to those who observed it, to see on one side the constant assiduity and diligence of the count, to render himself agreeable to his mistress; and on the other hand, the artifices of the baron to defeat his rival. As the last had the mother against him, it obliged him in public to make love by signs only, after the Italian fashion; this was concerted between him and the young comtesse. Smiles and tender looks were the interpreters of their hearts. This way of making love being out of the common road, it has the most charms, and makes the greatest impression upon the heart of a young girl. Love delights in mystery and theft; a stolen kiss is of inestimable value. A lover of this kind would never have patience with the common forms, which makes so little out. The comte de . . . on his side, observed every punctilio with the utmost exactness. There was nothing to be seen about him but pomp and magnificence; grand entertainments, rich presents, and every thing, which one would have thought should have dazzled the eyes of the young comtesse; but it was quite otherwise. On the contrary, the baron de . . . was at little expence; all the advantages he had, were his personal quali-

fications, much wit, and a great deal of gaiety in his actions: with these accomplishments he soon found the way to make himself beloved, and the young comtesse was not long before she gave him convincing proofs of her inclination in his favour; for she consented to go off with him unknown to her mother. Our lovers having concerted their measures, went away to *Hamburgh*. The old comtesse, when she missed her, was inconsolable, and had like to have broke her heart. She had used all her endeavours to marry her daughter to the comte de . . . on account of his great riches, which was her chief inducement; and it was certainly, in regard to fortune, the most advantageous match for the young lady; but when once love gets into the head of a young girl, the world may sooner go to rack, than she can get it out, and the advices of a mother are of very little signification.

Soon after this I left *Aix* to repair to court; where all the generals of the king's forces were arrived before me, to assist at a council of war, which was to be held upon the operations of the ensuing campaign. The king, as well as madame de *Maintenon*, and our ministers, seemed pretty well satisfied with the progress of his arms, in the last campaign. The elector of *Bavaria*, and the *marechal de Villars*, had defeated
count

count de Stirum at Schwemmingen, the marechal de Tallard had gained the battle at Spireback, and taken Landau. Great elogiums were bestowed upon the marechal de Villeroy, tho' he had done nothing of any signification. They applauded him much for making such good use of his lines, and avoiding a general action with the duke of Marlborough, who had done his utmost to engage him in one. But as the king's prepossessions in favour of that general was so well known, nobody wondered at the praises he met with at court. The marechal de Boufflers passed for the hero of the Flanders campaign; to speak in the court language, he had performed wonders at Ekeren. Those good successes, in some measure, made the king amends for the loss of so many towns, which the allies had taken the preceding campaign; and above all, for the fatal destruction of the fleet, and galleons at Vigo. The affairs of France would have been in a tolerable good posture, if the king of Portugal, and the duke of Savoy, had not declared for the allies. This greatly embarrassed the court of France; they presently felt such effects from it, as gave much disturbance to the two crowns. On one side the admiral of Castile, who was retired to Portugal, wrote to the emperor, shewing him the necessity there was of sending the archduke Charles into that kingdom

mediately: these reasons, joined with the pressing instances of the queen of England, and the States-general, had such influence upon the court of Vienna, that they resolved to declare the archduke king of Spain, and that he should without delay set out for Portugal. Accordingly this new monarch arrived at the Hague the 1st of October, 1703.

He was received by the States, with all the honours due to a prince of his rank, and whose friendship might be of such value to them, in case he succeeded in Spain. From thence he passed over into England, where he was received by the queen at Windsor, with all imaginable marks of distinction*, and behaved with such affability and modesty, as charmed all that saw him. Having waited some time at Portsmouth for a wind, he at last embarked, and happily arrived in Portugal, where he was impatiently expected: on the other side, the duke of Savoy had wrote to the queen of England, and the States, to implore their assistance towards carrying on the war in Italy against the two crowns.

The enemies of France increasing on every side, put our ministers upon thinking on the means of supporting the immense charge of a war, which was become so burdensome. New armies must be formed, recruits raised to supply the losses sustained
in

* Bishop Burnet's history of his time.

in Italy, Bavaria, the Upper and Lower Rhine, in Flanders, and in Spain; not to mention the troubles in the Sevennes, which disturbed the king most, as he was apprehensive it might encourage insurrections in other parts of the kingdom. To make head against so many enemies, and carry on the war with success, he was resolved to raise 18 new regiments of horse, and 30 regiments of foot. Besides, the court published an edict, to oblige every parish of the province, and the several divisions of the kingdom, to furnish a body of recruits, consisting of 30,000 foot. By this edict they had ~~obtained~~ an exemption from taxes for five years, for all who should enter, and serve three years, and in case of refusal, they were to be sent to the galleys. This method of obliging people to take on in the king's service, or sending them to the galleys, appeared so new, and so strange, that it rendered the king extremely odious to the whole kingdom. But as this was not the first strange affair that had happened in this reign, the people were soon wonted to it, as they had been before to many other new methods of enslaving them. At the same time, they thought of sending fresh forces into Italy. The duke of Berwick was ordered into Spain, with 20 squadrons, and 25 battalions, in expectation that the English might be induced by his presence

to

to desert. The council looking upon the war in Bavaria, as a matter of the greatest importance, they resolved to support it to the utmost, and to send the marechal de Tallard thither with a formidable army. In order to put an end to the troubles in the Sevens, which gave our ministers the most uneasiness, and where the marechal de Montrevel had rendered himself completely odious by his cruelties, they proposed to send the marechal de Villars thither, with a new scheme, which was to breath nothing but gentleness and mercy from the king, and favours from the court; in short, he was to be another John Baptist, and preach the court gospel to a people, whom Montrevel could not convert; and above all things, he was to leave no stone unturned to gain over Cavalier, the head of the Sevenois, to the king's interest. And indeed they could not have pitched upon such another as Villars to act this farce, by which he got the name of the hypocrite and converter general.

Whilst the king and our ministers were busy in laying schemes for the operations of the campaign of 1704, I left Versailles to go to Paris, to pass the winter as agreeably as I could. At my arrival, I waited upon the dutchess de . . . and then paid my visits to mesdemoiselle de Blois, de Champre, and d'Entragues, my mistresses. They enquired

ed after the news of the campaign, as they did when I returned before. I had my right arm in a sling; I told them, the musquet balls at Ekeren had been merciful to me, purely that I might have the happiness, once more, of paying my respects to them; to which I added, that if they had now and then thought of me in my absence, and wished me well, I was obliged to them; as to the rest, it was no fault of the marechal de Boufflers, that I had not laid my bones in the field of battle at Ekeren, among many others of my brave friends and acquaintance; who were led to the slaughter, and sacrificed to the glory of the king, by the imprudence of that zealous general: that it was terribly mortifying, to see a handful of Dutch, scarce ten thousand, drive a parcel of miserable dogs of us fairly out of the field, we who were above 30,000: after this high flown conversation, I told them, I expected they should make much of me, now I was come, and entertain me with all the kindness and good-nature possible, whilst I stayed at Paris; which they promised me to do, and I continued to visit them constantly till the opening of the campaign.

At the end of the campaign of 1703, the king of France wrote to the elector of Bavaria, to compliment him upon the success of his arms, and at the same time to encourage

courage him to pursue his conquests. To animate this prince, who was instigated with an insatiable thirst of glory, and violently set upon ruining the empire, his majesty promised to send him an army of chosen troops early in the spring; and added, that his electoral highness might carry on the war in Bavaria all the winter, and take this advantage, while the Germans were enjoying themselves in their winter quarters, and would leave him at full liberty. The elector highly pleased, that the king approved of his conduct in the last campaign, was fired with a fresh ambition of raising himself yet higher in the esteem of a monarch, who had bestowed so many favours upon him. With the sole view, therefore of obliging the king, by following his advice, he marched his army towards Ausbourg, with a resolution to besiege it. He attacked the place the 6th of December, 1703, with a train of artillery, consisting of 130 pieces of cannon, and 45 mortars: but that which facilitated the reduction of it was, a letter to general Bibra who commanded there, which was intercepted; it was to acquaint him, that he must not expect to be relieved. His highness made a proper use of this letter to shorten the siege, and finish an expedition which he had long had in his head. He sent this letter to the governor by the person who brought it; and at the same time

time let him know, that if he did not immediately surrender, he would reduce the place to ashes with his bombs, and put the garrison to the sword: he capitulated the 14th, and the elector placed in the city a garrison of French troops, consisting of ten squadrons, and sixteen battalions, who were quartered upon the magistrates and burghers, where they committed such unheard of violences, as rendered the elector extremely odious, and made him looked upon as the scourge of Germany. The court of France having recalled the marechal de Villars out of Bavaria, and sent the count de Marfin in his room, thought fit to raise him to the dignity of a marechal of France, to give a greater lustre and influence to his command. Marfin, who looked for no such thing, was very much surpris'd when the elector gave him the king's letter, which stiled him my cousin, the marechal de Marfin. After the taking of Ausbourg, encouraged by the success of his arms, and desirous of extending his conquests, the elector marched his army to Passau, and caused the inhabitants to be told, that if they waited to be attacked, he would reduce their town to ashes. Upon these threats, cardinal Lamberg, bishop and prince of Passau, deputed four comtes to the elector's camp, and the capitulation was signed immediately. This was in the
beginning

beginning of January, and was followed by another expedition, in consequence of which the elector flattered himself he should lay the whole country under contributions ; with this view he marched his army along the Danube, as far as Ers in Austria ; but the peasants taking arms frustrated that design. The marechal de Marfin, on the other hand, made himself master of several little places between the Danube and the Neckar, and the Bavarians took the town of Niewmark. If the elector of Bavaria had so much reason to complain of the behaviour of the marechal de Villars, as to desire the king to recal him, he had no great cause to be better pleased with the conduct of the marechal de Marfin, who, instead of restraining the violences committed by the French in Bavaria, connived at them, if he did not encourage them ; but tho' the elector found himself little bettered by the change of the French generals, he determined to agree as well as he could with Marfin, in a full persuasion, that he acted according to the instructions of the court of France. The allies, seeing the progress of the elector's arms, did their utmost to oppose him : the States-general wrote to the princes of the empire, and made pressing instances in all the courts of Germany, to engage themselves to exert to the utmost against the common enemy of their

country. A council of war was held at Coblentz, at which the deputies of the electors, and others of the princes of the empire assisted. They repaired the fortifications of the places that were most exposed, and took all the necessary precautions to avert the storm. The elector, and the French generals on their part, made vast preparations; they fortified the isle over against Rhel, Hunningen and Nicubourg; they erected magazines at Landau and Fort Louis. The marechal de Tallard being arrived at Strasbourg, assembled the army designed for Bavaria. I had orders from court to make the campaign with this general; which was a sensible pleasure to me. As I had been particularly known to the marechal de Tallard, whilst the treaty of partition was on foot, I was mightily pleased that I was to serve under him; besides that, I had the honour to be much in his favour, his temper was more agreeable to mine than either that of the marechal de Villeroi, or the marechal de Boufflers, of both whom I was heartily tired the last campaign. The marechal de Tallard was a generous, good-natured, affable man; besides, I had some satisfaction in the thought of seeing the elector of Bavaria again, from whom I had received so many favours at Brussels, whilst I was managing his affairs with the court of France. But to come to our entry into Bavaria, I can truly

truly say, that since I had been in the service, I had never undergone so much fatigue as I did at that time. To amuse the emperor's generals, who possessed the passes with several bodies of troops, the marechal de Tallard made several feints; and to do him justice, the king had not in his service a more active and vigilant officer. He made several movements with his army, we were in a perpetual hurry, himself one way, and I another to carry his orders: sometimes we advanced towards Strasbourg, sometimes towards Hunningen, as if we intended to attempt our passage that way. During these marches and counter-marches, the elector, and the marechal de Marfin advanced with their army towards the sources of the Danube, and came to the lines which general Thungen had abandoned, who was retired to Rothweyl; the elector and the marechal de Marfin having passed these, encamped between Turlingen and Willingen, with a resolution to give Thungen battle; who being joined by the duke of Wirtemberg and comte Stirum, with their forces, put himself at the head of his troops, consisting of 117 squadrons, and 48 battalions, to attack the elector and Marfin, and by that means prevent the junction of our two armies. In the moment that the imperial generals were going to put this design in execution, they received orders from prince Lewis of Ba-

den, who was absent, to defer the battle till his arrival; this order was of very ill consequence, as by it they missed the opportunity of defeating the elector and Marfin, and likewise it facilitated the entrance of the French into Bavaria. In the meantime, the marechal de Tallard, without delay, passed his army over a bridge above Strasbourg, and marching by Hohlengraben, and the Kaltherburg, he came to Willingen, where we joined the elector of Bavaria on the 17th day of May, 1704. Upon our arrival, we could not but admire at the elector's good fortune, in not being attacked by the Imperialists before we joined him; for if the elector and Marfin had been defeated, the marechal de Tallard would have been in a terrible situation. Willingen being invested made a brave defence, and the prince of Baden arriving, resolved to march up to the elector, and give him battle, but it was too late, for his highness and our generals, not thinking fit to stay for him, decamped with precipitation, and came to Ulm. The duke of Marlborough, seeing that all the efforts of the Imperialists were ineffectual to prevent the junction of the French and Bavarians, determined to come to the assistance of the empire with an army of 50,000 men. This great man, who acquired so much glory and reputation in Bavaria, had laid
this

this scheme at the end of the former campaign. He saw that the marechals de Villeroi and de Boufflers kept themselves close within their lines in Brabant and Flanders, so that there was no bringing them to a battle; that France, by the powerful assistance she sent to the elector of Bavaria, would entirely ruin all Germany, and at last force the emperor to leave his capital; the duke, at his return, laid all these things before the court of England, which the emperor's minister supported with fresh instances to the Queen; he said, if they did not hasten to the relief of the empire, all the States that composed it would be reduced under the power of France: that the most christian king, and the king of Spain his grandson, made a tool of the elector of Bavaria, to force the emperor to renounce his pretensions to the crown of Spain, by ravaging his dominions, and by that means rendering him unable to carry on the war: that as the war was begun to support those pretensions, it was for the honour and interest of the allies to prevent the emperor being overwhelmed by the numerous armies that attacked him from without, as well as within the heart of the empire: that as long as the diversion made by the elector of Bavaria lasted, it was in vain to expect, that the armies of the allies could make any considerable progress: by that diversion,

the two kings gained their ends, of carrying the war out of their own dominions into those of their enemies: that if all the troops the emperor had in Bavaria were too little to curb the licence of a prince, who made war upon him with so much violence, what would be the condition of the imperial court, should the elector once join the Hungarian rebels. The queen of England and the States having approved of this scheme, it was managed with so much secrecy and address, that the king of France and his ministers had not the least intimation or suspicion of it till the duke of Marlborough was upon his march. They flattered themselves at Versailles, that the marshals de Villeroi and de Boufflers would employ all the forces of the allies in Flanders, in the same manner as they had done the last campaign, for which they had the same instructions from the king to regulate their conduct. But this step of the duke of Marlborough broke all their measures at once, and gave an entire new face to affairs. The elector of Bavaria, and the marshals de Tallard and de Marfin, who had conceived such vast hopes from the fine army the king had sent into Bavaria, did not know which way to turn themselves, when they heard of the march of so many foreign troops, which were pouring into the empire, and which were to compose several armies,

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and to be commanded by the ablest generals in Europe. Upon the news of this expedition, the king ordered the marechal de Villeroi to leave the Netherlands immediately, and follow the duke of Marlborough with a body of 20,000 men, either to go to the assistance of the elector of Bavaria, or to make a powerful diversion in his favour upon the Upper Rhine. The allies, to amuse our generals, gave out at the beginning of the campaign, that they intended to form an army to act upon the Moselle; in consequence of which some of the forces assembled about Ruremond and Venloo; another body encamped between Liege and Maestricht; the former were designed for the expedition into Bavaria, and the latter were to act in Brabant, under the command of Velt-marechal d'Auverquerque. The duke of Marlborough, having conferred with the generals of the allies, set out for Cologne, and all the troops that were to follow him were in motion. Having passed the Neckar at Heilbron, he encamped his army at Hep-pach: thither came prince Eugene, prince Lewis of Baben, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the other generals of the imperial forces, to meet and confer with him. Prince Eugene was mightily pleased to see the duke of Marlborough, for whom he had conceived a very particular esteem; and the duke, on his part, paid the prince all the

respect due to a great captain, who had commanded with so much glory and success in Italy; it was here that those two illustrious chiefs entered into that strict friendship which lasted with their lives, and which so greatly contributed to the progress of the allies in Bavaria. The success of an army, in a great measure, depends upon a good understanding and harmony among the generals; when that fails all goes wrong and on the side of the enemy. It was agreed among the generals of the allies, that the two armies should join, that the duke of Marlborough, and prince Lewis of Baden, should command alternately, each his day; and that prince Eugene should act with a separate body on the Rhine: the elector of Bavaria, and the marechal de Marfin, perceiving the enemies design, thought proper to encamp, so as to secure themselves from a general engagement. Accordingly they came with their army the 23d of June, and took post between Lauingen and Dillingen, leaving 2000 men at Gunsbourg, to oppose the passage of the allies over the Danube. The marechal de Marfin advised the elector to attack prince Lewis of Baden before he was joined by the duke of Marlborough, which could not have failed of success; but the elector would not hazard a decisive blow, before the return of the marechal de Tallard,

Tallard, who was to bring a considerable reinforcement.

Whilst the enemy's armies were making these motions, the marechal de Villeroi, who was arrived at Landau, conferred with the marechal de Tallard upon the properest methods of assisting the elector in the most effectual and expeditious manner, before he was surrounded and overwhelmed by such a number of foreign troops as were entered into his dominions. Those two marechals had an army of 60,000 men upon the Rhine, and the king's express commands to support the elector at all events. The generals of the allies, seeing the elector was retired into an inaccessible camp, and that it was impossible to force it. The duke of Marlborough, against the opinion of some of the Imperial generals, who were for hazarding nothing, thought it adviseable to march towards Donawaert, and force his passage that way into Bavaria. This was certainly the best, and perhaps the only step he had to take; and in the execution of it he shewed himself an accomplished general. The post of Schellenberg was well fortified with a strong entrenchment, and guarded by a considerable body of troops, commanded by the comte d'Arco. During the absence of the marechal de Tallard, I had remained with the elector, who desired me to go and assist the comte d'Arco, in
the

defence of Donawaert. I could not refuse his highness's request, as it was a real pleasure to me to obey his commands: accordingly I repaired thither, where we were briskly attacked; and we as stoutly defended ourselves; but were at last forced to yield to the bravery and resolution of the enemy's troops. Those who have a mind to see a more particular account of this engagement, which was the prelude to all the following misfortunes of the elector of Bavaria's arms, may find it in the letters of the duke of Marlborough and general Hompesch to the States-general, which are to be met with in all the general histories of the war. I shall only add, that I never saw a more bloody and obstinate battle. I had learned to know the Dutch at Ekeren, and I began to know the English here, who came on to the attack more like demons than men. The troops of both those nations suffered greatly, till the imperialists under prince Lewis of Baden attacked us likewise, then we were surrounded on all sides, and forced to abandon our entrenchments, and save ourselves by swimming over to the other side of the Danube. It was well for me, that I had learned to swim when I was young, it stood me in great stead now, and saved my life; for by that means I escaped the hands of the English, who for some time gave no quarter, as appeared by two regiments of
our

our French dragoons, whom they put to the sword. The comte d'Arco, myself, and some other officers, being returned to the camp at Lawingen, we found the elector inconsolable for the loss of the post of Schellenborg, as it was a very bad beginning of the war in Bavaria, and but an ill presage of its future success, as experience has since shewed. All along till now the elector had appeared cheerful, and in good humour; and was always the first to encourage his men. But being now no longer safe at Lawingen and Dillengen, he abandoned his camp, and retired under the cannon of Aulbourg; the garrison of Donawaert had orders to fire the place, and the magazines, and come and join the elector, but the victorious troops hastening up, extinguished the fire, and saved the magazines. The generals of the allies, after this good success, which raised their hopes, and gave them grounds to expect that their troops would make a quick dispatch, sent a detachment to take possession of the pass of Velde upon the Lech, which being abandoned, they came and encamped between Velde and Genderpine; here they resolved to attack the town of Rain, and to open a passage into Bavaria; the comte de Fugger advanced towards the castle of Dillengen to force it, and fill up the trenches where the elector had encamped, both which were per-

performed with little resistance: Rain capitulated, and the garrison in the castle of Dillengen where made prisoners of war. The allies, determined to follow their blow, and distress the elector in such a manner, as should make him curse the day he entered into such close engagements with the two crowns, and ruin so many countries, which he had sacrificed to an idol of greatness, with which the court of France had deceived him, and was like to leave him in the end no other recompence, than to see himself the shadow only of his former self. The 18th of July, the allies with their victorious army came and encamped at Aicha, where was a garrison of eight or nine hundred Bavarians, who refusing to submit, the town was forced, and part of the troops were put to the sword, the rest made prisoners of war, and the town pillaged. Nothing was to be seen throughout the whole country but a general desolation, where all the horrors of war appeared in their most dreadful shapes, and the soldiers regarding no discipline, gave themselves over to the utmost licentiousness, in hopes of making their fortunes, carried fire and sword wherever they came: fifty or threescore villages were burnt, and according to custom, nothing was left undone that might induce the elector to change sides. The electress herself was inconsolable, and did not think herself

herself save at Munich; she wrote a letter full of sorrow and affliction to the archbishop of Saltzbourg, to desire him to grant her an Asylum in his dominions: it was in the following words.

L E T T E R.

C O U S I N,

YOU see to what an extremity of misery the elector, my consort, has reduced his dominions; I have done all that was in my power, to preserve this fine country from the miseries of a war; and have used all my eadeavours to move the elector to abandon the interests of France, his attachment to which is the ruin of our electoral house, and our dear country, as well as the detested cause of all our other misfortunes; but the French generals, who are about the elector, inspire him with sentiments too contrary to the peace and safety of the country; that, notwithstanding all my prayers and tears, I must submit to see Bavaria in the utmost desolation; and myself, and the young princes my children, reduced to find a sanctuary elsewhere than in Munich; which I beg you will grant me in Saltzbourg, &c.

The

The duke of Marlborough and the prince of Baden, who commanded all these bodies of troops in chief, having considered the posture of affairs, thought it more adviseable to attack the elector in his camp, before he was joined by the marechal de Tallard, who was bringing him a fresh reinforcement, than to march directly to Munich, the capital of all Bavaria, as they at first propos'd. Accordingly they made a movement with their army towards Aufbourg, and came to reconnoitre the elector's camp, which was so well entrenched, and so advantageously situated, that it was not thought adviseable to attempt to force it: tho' the elector was under great apprehensions of it. I never saw that prince so uneasy as he seem'd to be at that time, and indeed it was not without reason.

The many private conversations I had had with the elector at Brussels, when I was negotiating the treaty between his highness and the court of France, had gained me much of his esteem and confidence. He spoke with more freedom to me, than to the marechal de Marfin; who minded only the glory of the king, and the interests of France, without any regard to the elector, whether he was pleas'd or displeas'd. Whilst the enemy's army was in sight of his camp, and he expected every moment when they would attack him, he took me aside in his closet,

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closet, and laid before me the posture of his affairs; he said, it was the utmost concern to him, to see his dominions thus exposed to ruin and desolation: that these misfortunes which overwhelmed him all at once, were the more grievous, as they were unforeseen: that the march of so many armies, as came to fall upon him all together, was so sudden and unexpected, that he had not time to think of the means to prevent it: that it was true, the king had promised never to abandon him, but to assist him with all his forces; that, nevertheless he thought he had reason to complain of the marechal de Tallard's dilatoriness, who was to join him with 30,000 men. You see, says the elector, the straits I am in. The proposals made me by the allies are very advantageous, if I will lay down my arms and side with them; to which the electress earnestly entreats me, and the interests of my family, and the preservation of my dominions are powerful motives; what would you advise me to do? if, continues the elector, I should venture to wait the decision of a battle, to what a state will the loss of one reduce me. I answered his highness, that his affairs were far from being desperate, that the arrival of the marechal de Tallard, who was advancing with all imaginable expedition, would give a new turn to his affairs; that if his arms proved successful,
it

it would render him more considerable in the eyes of the two kings, and more formidable to his enemies, who would still offer him better terms; and the two kings would never be ungrateful, nor forget the services he had done them since the war began: that therefore it was my advice, to enter into a treaty, and seem to be inclined to an accommodation, till the marechal de Tallard should come up, as the duke of Savoy had done in the last war. This expedient being proposed to the marechal de Marfin, he approved of it, upon condition, that the elector should make him an entire confidence of every thing that passed in an affair which concerned the king so near. This treaty being set on foot, all things were in a perpetual hurry on both sides. The allies thought the elector acted sincerely, and his highness had the satisfaction of knowing the extent of the offers they would make him, and without communicating all the secrets of his heart to Marfin, who watched him narrowly, he kept it in his power to accept them if the merechal de Tallard should delay his coming too long.

The negotiation answered the end proposed by it: the elector gained time, and as soon as he heard that Tallard had outmarched prince Eugene, and was arrived at Willingen, he declared publickly, that he would adhere to his treaty with the two crowns.

The

The allies seeing there was nothing to be done with a prince who had amused them with such a treaty, made several detachments from their army to ravage the country, in expectation by that means to draw the elector out of his trenches, into the plain; but his highness and the marechal de Marfin would run no hazards, but remained in their camp. The marechal de Tallard at the head of 60 squadrons and 40 battalions, having passed the Black Forest, and battered Willingen seven days to no purpose, at length on the 30th. of July he arrived at Ulm; the elector, who had expected him with great impatience, now conceived fresh hopes; he was with this reinforcement superior to his enemies; and flattered himself with giving them the law in his turn; he anticipated in his thoughts the pleasure he should have in driving them out of his territories, and avenging himself for the disorders they had committed in them. 1. At length we came out of our trenches, and marched towards the Danube, the marechal de Tallard with his troops followed the elector, and the 11th of August both armies joined, and passed the river at Lawipgen, and encamped at Hockstet. 3. Upon this movement the generals of the allies, to prevent being shut up in an enemy's country, where they could not subsist, marched all their forces towards Donawaert, except a

considerable detachment under prince Lewis of Baden, who was to form the siege of Ingoldstadt. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene being resolved to come to a decisive action, advanced at the head of a body of horse on the 13th of August, N. S. at five o'clock in the morning to Sweyningen, to reconnoitre the French and Bavarian armies, which were then encamped on the plains of Blenheim, where was fought that famous battle, which decided the fate of the elector of Bavaria, by stripping him at once of all his dominions, and was at the same time so fatal to France. As it is not my intent to write the history of the war, I shall not enter into the particulars of this great day, those who have a mind to see them at large, may read the letters of the generals on both sides, which are to be met with in all those histories.

When the terrible fire of the great and small arms ceased, and both sides were weary of killing and being killed, we for the glory of the king, and the allies to secure their victory, looked upon each other as men dropped from the clouds; our French officers, who were made prisoners, were in the most inexpressible sorrow and dejection; and the victorious army full of joy and satisfaction. As I was in the number of the prisoners, I was an eye-witness of a scene, which was never before beheld since war
was

was war. It was certainly a most surprising thing; for a whole army to be almost entirely made prisoners. It was in vain that our officers of dragons, the gendarmerie, horse, and some of the oldest regiments of foot fretted and cursed Bavaria as the detestable cause of their disgrace, there was no help for it, they were still in the same situation. I was among those who were undone by the battle at Hockstet, and behold the reward of all the services I had done the court; it happened thus. The wing commanded by the marechal de Tallard being entirely routed, and drove out of the field, and himself made prisoner, the elector who was most concerned in the event of the war, apprehending the same fate, presently thought of retreating, and indeed he narrowly escaped being surrounded by the left wing of the enemy's horse, who had broke in upon our centre, and separated the two wings: these troops advancing on the full gallop to fall upon the elector's men, were stopt by the duke of Marlborough, who was satisfied with the complete victory he had gained over the right wing of the French army; the king's troops which remained in the field were in the utmost confusion: I was then near the marechal de Marfin, who charged me with a commission, which I had rather have been without, as I was none of his aid-de-camp, but the marechal de Tallard's;

lard's, besides I had gone through thick and thin among the cannon and musquet shot often enough that day, not to desire to venture my life again, to oblige a general, on whom I had no dependance, and who had no right to command me. However, out of complaisance, I took upon me the execution of this commission, which was to carry orders to the commandant of 26 battalions and four regiments of dragoons which were in the village to retire immediately. In order to execute the marechal's orders, with greater expedition, I took a fresh horse, and did all that was possible for me to do, to get through the enemy's troops that surrounded the village; it was the whole left wing of their army. But notwithstanding all the care and pains I took, I could not avoid being made prisoner: another aid-de-camp, whom the marechal dispatched with the same orders, had better luck than I, and got at them; but that did not prevent their being made prisoners: the marechal de Marfin wrote afterwards to court, that I had not executed his orders, and consequently the misfortune of those troops was owing to me, tho' I was no ways to blame; for had I been fortunate enough to have reached them, it could have been neither better, nor worse, for they had no choice, but either to be cut in pieces by a victorious army, which surrounded

rounded them, or to surrender prisoners at discretion. But to say the truth, the marechal de Marfin hated me; he had conceived a jealousy whilst we were in the camp at Aulbourg, that the elector put more confidence in me, than in him, which displeas'd him; and he was glad of an opportunity to make me sensible of it. However, the letters he wrote to the court were the cause of my disgrace: the king who does not easily forgive any one, of whose conduct he has received any ill impression, since that time will not so much as hear me named; and his ministers, who follow his example, be it good or bad, likewise turned their backs upon me, tho' I wrote several letters to messieurs de Chamillard; and de Torey, to justify myself, and the marechal de Tallard did the same to madame de Maintenon; but all to no purpose. Thus did all my hopes of establishing my fortune in France, upon which I so much depended, come to nothing; after all the care and pains I had been at to please our ministers, in every affair in which they had thought fit to employ me. The king of France was in an inexpressible consternation, upon the arrival of monsieur de Silly, whom the marechal de Tallard had dispatch'd with the news. The king, who had been always accustomed to hear of victories, was in an inconceivable concern; he could not

comprehend how a flourishing army, which he had sent into Bavaria, should be defeated, or made prisoners; he looked upon this as the most terrible, and unfortunate event which had happened to him in the whole course of his reign. For my own part, when I think seriously of it, it turns my brain. I never saw our generals so delighted, as they seemed to be at the sight of the enemy's army just before the battle; the elector appeared on horseback at the head of his army, with an air of a conqueror, and was so persuaded of success, that he said publicly, that as he had defeated count Stirum the last campaign, he should now have the pleasure of doing the same for the rest of the emperor's troops and his allies. The marechal de Tallard, full of the glory he had acquired at the battle of Spire, flattered himself with the thoughts of a complete victory at Hockstet, so that he did not stick to say, that if the enemy wanted pontoons to pass the rivulet, which parted the two armies, he would send them some. Add to this the advantage of a camp which seemed inaccessible, the superiority of numbers, and the goodness of the troops, which had most of them been at the battle of Ekeren. But for all this, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene shewed they knew more than all our generals. To amuse us they sent a detachment off to besiege Ingoldstadt,

goldstadt, or rather made use of that pretext; to send out of the way one of the emperor's generals, who would never have consented to hazard a battle under such difficulties. This scheme was followed by several marches and counter-marches, all which stratagems succeeded so well, that they came upon us on such a sudden, that our tents were standing when the battle begun; we had scarce time to get ourselves in order. One principal cause of the loss of the battle was the weakness of our center, from whence the greatest part of the forces had been drawn to reinforce those in the village on our right. Which the duke of Marlborough perceiving, went directly up to the duke of Wirtemberg, who was at the head of the Danish horse; prince, said the duke of Marlborough to him, now is the time to win or lose the battle; I beg you will attack their main body immediately with all your horse. My lord, said the duke of Wirtemberg, how can that be, as we have no pontoons to pass the rivulet? the duke then begged the prince to attempt the passage at all adventures, as it was absolutely necessary, prince Eugene being repulsed on the right, and the attack upon the village on the left had not succeeded. Upon which the duke of Wirtemberg, animated by that noble ardor which the thirst of true glory inspires, drew his sword, and said, then let

the first rank serve for pontoons to the rest ; and putting himself at the head of the squadrons ordered them to follow him. Thus the enemy's cavalry passed the rivulet, under a continual fire, which several regiments of dragoons made upon our gendarmerie, who were advanced from the main body to charge the enemy's squadrons as they passed ; but these last, without being in the least discouraged at the danger, got over, and forming themselves on the other side, were sustained by the English horse, who came pouring in upon our centre sword in hand. Then it was the French cavalry gave way, were overthrown, and drove all on a heap ; and the battalions which should have sustained them were hewed down, and cut in pieces ; so that the two wings of our army were separated, and the centre of the field of battle was filled with confusion and the enemy's troops.

But to change this scene of horror, for one that is more agreeable, of love and pleasure, in which we employed ourselves, tho' we were prisoners, as much as if we had been at liberty ; we made a party of four of us, who were much of a temper ; these were the comte de — the marquis de — the chevalier de — and myself. The day after the battle, we went to the fine comtess's ; a Gascon lady, who kept a gaming tent near the generals quarters ;
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this was the rendezvous of all the officers of the confederate army, thither likewise resorted all our French officers, who were made prisoners; some to divert themselves at Bassette, and others to drown their chagrine in the champain and Burgundy that was sold there. I had known the comtesse particularly well at Paris; she had been a fine woman in her time, and there was no small remains of it still: as she had a good share of wit, I was charmed with her conversation. She took pleasure in giving me the history of her amours, and it was no less agreeable to me to hear them. This was the only comfort we had in our misfortunes. She was a woman that had seen and knew the world, so that when she and I came to compare notes, I found she had gone through almost as many adventures as myself. She eased us very genteely of our French pistoles, which we had saved at the battle; and it is my opinion, she made a better hand of the Bavarian campaign, than any of our French officers. I never in my life saw a woman of such courage and address. She spoke to the generals with the same freedom as to the lowest officers of the army: when we had any thing to solicit of the generals, we went to the fine comtesse, who always took upon her, in a very obliging manner, to execute our commissions, which she did in so agreeable and grace-

ful a manner, that she seldom failed of success. A great many of our French officers, who were my friends, had their mistresses at Paris, who wrote to them after the battle; the count de —, with whom I was very intimate, communicated to me those of mademoiselle de — which she wrote to him. I was never tired with reading them; they were full of that delicacy which true love can only inspire; the stile was elegant and tender, and they abounded with fine sentiments. The count was so deeply affected with them, that the tears run down his cheeks in great drops when he read them: I could not forbear laughing at him, and told him it was ridiculous to shed tears for a woman; I added, that I had my mistress at Paris, whom I had loved, and still loved, tho' I had never been weak enough to expose myself that way to their raillery; the greatest folly I had ever been guilty of in this way was at Madrid, when I made love upon my knees to the comtesse d'Escueva, and that was only to make a jest of a block-head of a Spaniard that was my rival. Mademoiselle de — the count's mistress, interested herself so much to obtain his liberty, to have the pleasure of seeing him at Paris, that she wrote four letters to the prince de —, to desire him to speak to the duke of Marlborough, and solicit him in her behalf. The count, who received copies of these letters

ters from the lady, shewed them to me; there was something so extraordinary in them, that I begged leave to copy them. And they happening in my way, when I was writing these Memoirs, I could not forbear inserting them, tho' at the risk of offending those two lovers by my indiscretion; but as I have taken my leave of France (as I believe) for good and all, and never expect to see Paris more, I am in no great pain about that. The letters are as follows.

L E T T E R. I.

MONSIEUR,

IT may perhaps be thought too high a presumption in me, to join my prayers with those of the duc de — in behalf of monsieur the count de — my concern in that affair is so great, that it is too strong for the reasons which should prevent my taking a step of that kind: the knowledge I have of your goodness, and the generosity of your sentiments, joined to the pleasure you take in serving the unfortunate, are my motives to it. I therefore beg the favour of your interest with the duke of Marlborough for his discharge. He has affairs of moment, which may be of very bad consequence to him, if he cannot be here to solicit them
him-

himself. I do not say monsieur, that that is the greatest or only reason he has to wish for his liberty; how greatly shall I be obliged to you, if you will please to undertake this affair; as the thing in world I have the most at heart; I am not ashamed to say it; you are too good not to be influenced by the truth, and the confidence I repose in you; the justice I do your character, assures me, that I need not apprehend your censures, nor any of those pleasantries which this letter would draw upon me, should it fall into any other hand but your own. I am persuaded, could you see the bottom of my heart, and of his whom I recommend to you, you would be more zealous in his behalf. I conjure you, by all that is most dear to you, you will have the pleasure of bestowing the most compleat happiness on her, who is now the most miserable of her sex. It is from you alone, dear prince, that I look for my happiness, and the greatness of the obligation will assure you of my eternal acknowledgment.

I am, &c.

P. S. The risk these letters run prevents my signing my name, you will do me the justice to think I do not omit it on your own account, my confidence in you being great enough to trust you without reserve.

L E T-

L E T T E R II.

DO not take it amiss, dear St. that I trouble you again so soon, but look upon me as a wretch, whose sole dependance is upon yourself. I should have waited the event of my former letter; would my impatience have given me leave, but a letter I have received from him, in whose behalf I give you this trouble, renders it impossible. He dies with grief and despair; he has the strongest reasons to wish for his discharge: He is ruined to all intents and purposes, if he fails of it, having affairs here which absolutely require his presence: have so many others obtained theirs, and can such an unhappy destiny be reserved for him alone? it cannot be, if you, dear prince, will undertake his cause, I shall look upon you as his deliverer. If his misfortune is not great enough to move you, look upon the excess of mine; which forces me to make so sincere a confession to you; pity me, monsieur, and pardon a poor creature, who for more than a year has had her head turned with grief, and whose only hopes is in you: what Fame speaks of the duke of Marlborough here, makes me look upon him as a hero possess of every virtue. Generosity is one that he cannot have a fitter opportunity of shewing than upon this occasion,

caſion, and putting an end to the miſfortunes of two perſons rendered unhappy by his own actions. I have been tempted a thouſand times to throw myſelf at his feet, and implore his clemency, by the recital of my miſfortunes; which he would doubtleſs pity, and certainly relive. Without naming my name, my dear prince, deſcribe to that glorious man, the moſt miſerable of wretches, and ſtrive to obtain of him that favour, without which I cannot live. It requires an entire confidence in a perſon to uſe that freedom with them as I do with you: your goodneſs is my ſupport under my weakneſs; once more, my dear prince, I beg you to excuſe me, and to believe, that no perſon in the world has ſo perfect an eſteem for you, and that I ſhall be the reſt of my life

Your moſt devoted, &c.

L E T T E R III.

WORDS cannot expreſs the emotions of my heart, which I felt on the receipt of the letter you did me the honour to write. It is not in my power to expreſs it, and ſo many are the thoughts that crowd into my mind, that I can ſcarce make my acknowledgments to you. The opinion
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on I entertained of your generosity and readiness to serve the unfortunate, had anticipated my experience of it; but your excess of goodness, and the manner in which you have done me the honour to convince me of it, surpasses my hopes; you have restored me to life, and it is to you I am obliged for it, and the pleasure of being indebted for all my happiness to a person I esteem and honour so perfectly as I do you, will render it a thousand times more valuable; I shall never enjoy a happy hour, but I shall bless you as the author of it. Had you obtained nothing of the duke of Marlborough, I should never forget the kind and obliging manner in which you interested yourself in my behalf. Your letter, my dear prince, has abated the violence of my miseries. The moment in which I read it, was the first that has afforded me any consolation these fifteen months. I expect a completion of my happiness from your application, and the duke of Marlborough's bounty. The glory of a hero consists not in vanquishing only; the power of bestowing favours, and making others happy, distinguishes them from other men, and likens them to the divinity. They above all others should favour those who are devoted to love. It would be want of gratitude to that great God who has loaded him with so many favours, and so often crowned him

him with victory, not so seek all occasions of pleasing him. I would by such arguments as these, engage the duke to set the person you know at liberty. My dear prince, press it with all your might; all my hopes are in you; be persuaded, that I have a just sense of all my obligations to you, that they are eternally engraved in my heart, as well as the respect and esteem, with which I shall always be,

Your most obedient, and

Most humble Servant,

The Unhappy Unknown.

I flatter myself, that I shall soon lose this melancholy name through your good offices. But must defer it till after a peace to subscribe my own name; by reason of the uncertainty of this coming to your hands.

So sincere and ardent a passion deserved the happy fate, which at length attended it. The lady obtained her lover's liberty, as may be seen by the letter of thanks she wrote to the prince: the comte de L— seeing me so much pleased with the others, sent me the copy of this.

L E T.

L E T T E R. IV.

MONSIEUR,

ALL the precautions you have taken to moderate my excess of joy, has been to no purpose. I cannot express to you what I felt on the arrival of the count de L——. What were my thoughts of you, my dear prince, when I reflect that it is to you I owe all this happiness. I assure you, in the midst of all my delight, I have never for one moment forgot that it is to you I owe it; the remembrance of it will last with my life. I have wrote to the duke of Marlborough to thank him: I know not whether he will be pleased with my letter; sometimes, not to say too much, one says too little, at least in this case the intention of my heart must supply the defect of my words. It is the same in respect to you, and tho' I am for ever obliged to you, my dear prince, and honour and respect you above the whole world, yet it is all too little for what I owe you, and you deserve at my hands.

The count de —— and his mistress, were not the only persons who were affected by the disasters of love, after the loss of the battle at Hockstet. Our French officers had for the most part mistresses, or young
K wives,

wives, that they had married either at Paris or the new conquests. It is the madness of the sex, for tho' there is not in the world so dangerous and unprofitable a profession as a soldier's, the women are all distracted after them; these officers received letters every post from their wives and mistresses; some full of love, and others of grief; it was after the battle at Hockstet, as it was after those of Fleurus, Landen, and Steinkirk, half France was in mourning, the mistresses for their lovers, and the wives for their husbands. But to return to the transactions of the war, which were so fatal to the elector and his dominions. That prince, after the loss of the battle, was obliged to abandon his own territories, and to make long marches with the broken remains of his army towards the Black Forest, after joining the marechal de Villeroy at the sources of the Danube. Prince Lewis of Baden, being informed of the happy success of the battle at Hockstet, the project of which was not communicated to him, that he might not oppose it on account of its difficulty and hazard; quitted Ingoldstadt, and returned to join the confederate army. The city of Ausbourg sent to the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, to beg their protection. Ulm was besieged by general Thungen. The elector wrote to the electress to inform her of his misfortune, and the

desolation of his estate; he left the administration of affairs with her during his absence; desiring her, at the same time, to use her best endeavours to put their affairs into a better posture, either by herself, or with the advice of his ministers: he sent this letter to the duke of Marlborough by a trumpet, desiring him to forward it to the electress his consort at Munich; the duke of Marlborough, as a mark of his generosity, and tenderness to an unfortunate prince his enemy, immediately dispatched the letter to that unhappy lady, who had no ways contributed to the miseries in which Bavaria was involved: on the contrary, she had done all that was in her power to prevent them; and if the elector had listened to her councils, he had never ventured his all on the chance of a battle. The electress, having read the letter, assumed the government, and presently sent father Smacks, a Jesuit, to prince Lewis of Baden, with proposals of an accommodation, in order to deliver the people from their desolation and misery. The allies, on the other hand, in order to pursue their victory, marched their army towards Landau, with intent to besiege it, or engage in a second battle with Villeroi, who was encamped on the Queich to cover that place. Villeroi, apprehensive of the same fate which the elector and the marechal de Tallard had met with at

Hockstet, did not think fit to hazard an engagement; in which he obeyed the orders of the court. He therefore retired upon the approach of the victorious army, who drove him before them as far as Hagenau. After the marechal de Villeroi's retreat, prince Lewis of Baden besieged Landau, the king of the Romans being present, and took it by capitulation. The elector of Bavaria, loaded with disgrace and misfortunes, without any prospect of retrieving his fortune by force of arms, retired to Brussels; the scene of all his former pleasures; and which was always his delight. Bavaria his country appeared to him now a desolate wilderness, that presented him with nothing but scenes of misery and calamities. Upon his arrival at Brussels, his brother the elector of Cologne visited him there. These two princes had a very moving interview upon the subject of their misfortunes. They saw themselves both one and the other stripped of their dominions, and forced to take sanctuary in France, and to live in a dependance upon a court, to whose ambition they had sacrificed their all. The elector of Cologne, who was justly offended at the haughtiness with which the king of France and his ministers treated him, reproached his brother with having sacrificed him to his ambition, and an idol of chimerical gran-

grandeur, with the hopes of which the court of France had fed him up. The elector of Bavaria strove to comfort his brother with the hopes of better fortune. He told him, that the two kings, whose interest they had espoused, were powerful enough to restore them to their dominions: that the king of France had assured him, that he would set such numerous armies on foot the next campaign, as should not only change the face of affairs in Bavaria, but should likewise give a new turn to the war in every place where it had been hitherto so unsuccessful.

The duke of Marlborough, who never omitted any thing that might conduce to the service of the confederacy, and heighten the glory he had acquired in Bavaria, resolved to recover Traerbach and Saarbruch before the end of the campaign. Accordingly he advanced to the Moselle with a large body of troops, which he left under the command of the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, who was to direct the attacks of those two places, and returned himself to the siege of Landau; from whence he set out for the courts of Hanover and Berlin, upon some extraordinary negotiations. He was received at both those places, as well as in Holland, with all the honours which were so justly due to a gene-

ral, who had performed such wonders for the common cause of the grand alliance.

What passed in Flanders this campaign was of little importance. As the main stress was to be laid in Bavaria, and that as it has been seen, was indeed the scene of a bloody war, they stood chiefly upon the defensive here. Mr. de Trogné having attempted to force the lines with a detachment, performed a brave exploit, which would have been of great consequence to the allies, had he been timely supported; but after having forced them he was obliged to retire. Namure and Bruges were bombarded; the first by Velt marechal d'Auverquerque, and the latter by baron Spar. The Dutch army advancing towards Dinant, struck terror into the whole country, and raised large contributions; this expedition was of great service to the allies. General Salis attacked fort Isabella near Antwerp, which he took and demolished. The elector of Bavaria and the marechal de Villeroi, desiring to make amends in some sort for the ill success in Bavaria, about the end of the campaign, laid a scheme to surprise general Auverquerque, and revenge themselves upon that general for the good fortune of the duke of Marlborough. For this purpose, Villeroi came post from Paris to Brussels, where the elector met him to concert measures for this enterprize, which would

would have redounded much to their honour had it succeeded: general Auverquerque, being apprised of their march, kept himself so well on his guard, that the project came to nothing. After which both sides sent detachments to the Moselle, and so the campaign ended on that side.

The commotions in the Sevennes were of more consequence to the king than all his foreign wars together. At length the court found a way to draw off Cavalier, the head of the Camisars, from the party. The *marechal de Villars* brought it about, and concluded this famous negotiation, by very different methods than had been used before, as I have already observed, that is to say, he breathed nothing but gentleness, mercy, and clemency, instead of blood and slaughter, as the *marechal de Montrevel* had done, who by it had rendered himself compleatly odious. Great were the applauses that the *marechal de Villars* met with at court on this account, and he really deserved them all at their hands, for this piece of service he did to France, at a time when the arms of the allies were triumphing on every side of her. But the little regard that was paid to these promises afterwards, shewed that their whole design in this treaty, was to deceive Cavalier and his party. But that is not to be wondered at; treachery is natural to the French ministers. If they openly

profess that they are not obliged to observe treaties with sovereign princes and States, no longer than it is for the king's interest, very well may they think themselves as liberty to act in like manner with subjects, who have withdrawn themselves from their obedience to a prince, so jealous of his authority, that he would sacrifice his whole people upon the least shadow of a rebellion. But if the king and his ministers deceived Cavalier and his party, he was even with them in his turn. Soon after this negotiation, which was concluded at Nismes in Lanquedoc the 11th of May, N. S. 1704, Cavalier came to court, and had several audiences of the king and monsieur de Chamillard; he complained heavily of the treatment he had met with, and took the first opportunity to get out of their clutches. They had given him an escorte of dragoons to conduct him to Old Brisac, who dispersing themselves about a village to pass the night and divert themselves, Cavalier took the advantage, and gave them the slip, he and his company, to the number of about fourscore persons, and twenty horses, and got into the principality of Neuf-Châtel on the 29th of August, and from thence to Laugane, where the magistrates refused to admit them into the city, to avoid the complaints of monsieur de Puisieux, the French ambassador: only they sent them a supply of pro-

vifions, and fuffered them to encamp in a neighbouring wood.

When Cavalier was got into a place of fafety, he wrote a letter to monfieur de Chamillard, containing his reafons for withdrawing himfelf, laying before that minifter the caufes he thought he had to complain of their uſage of him, the chief of which were, That the marechal de Villars had not kept his word with him; that he had engaged, that all his proteſtant brethren ſhould be delivered out of priſon, and from the gallies; and that they ſhould have the free exerciſe of their religion, none of which had been performed: that inſtead of a regiment which had been promiſed him, they had only given him a brevet for lieutenant colonel; that ſuſpecting what was intended for him at Briſac, he could not with prudence omit laying hold of the opportunity which offered itſelf for obtaining his liberty.

It appears by the treaty itſelf, which may be read in moſt of the hiſtories of the war, that Cavalier's complaints were far from groundleſs; monfieur Chamillard's answer to the foregoing letter is ſo true a picture, of the hyprocriſy and treachery of the French miniſters, that it is very well worth inserting at length.

Monsieur de Chamillard's Letter to Cavalier.

I Received your letter of the 4th of this month, in which you pretend to justify your escape; the pretences you make use of, may gain credit among the king's enemies; but I, who am thoroughly acquainted with all the good usage you have met with, can only pity your hypocrisy, and beg of God as a christian, not to punish you according to your deserts. For as a man I know you merit it but too much. You make the same complaints to me as you did in Switzerland. Had you acted sincerely, you would have waited at least for my answer. I know that since you have been at Loufane, you have dispatched a courier to the duke of Savoy, and that you are gathering together the protestant refugees you there meet with, in order to form a regiment, with which you have offered to serve that prince. I am likewise assured, that the Abbé de la Bourlie*, who calls

* The Abbé de la Bourlie above mentioned, was the person who went by the name of the count de Guiscard here in England, and who stabbed Mr. Harley at the committee of council at the Cockpit, the 8th of March, 1710, and was himself stabbed by the lords then present; he died of his wounds in Newgate the next day, or the day after.

himself the count de Guiscard, and who has been of the church above these four years, enjoying a very large Abby, after leading a very dissolute life, hated by God, and despised by men, is turned renegade, and contrary to his duty, and his honour, is contriving the destruction of his king and country. If such as these are the men who are to compose the party, you are forming against the king, it is to be hoped he will be revenged by a more powerful army than his own. It is not yet too late for you to throw yourself at his majesty's feet for mercy, a man of your low degree, and accused of such crimes as are laid to your charge, if he was not possessed with the devil, would have made a proper use of the clemency, shewed him by the king, and would have retired to some remote place, where he might have spent the remainder of his days in peace, and praying for his benefactor, without apprehending any danger: If you are capable of such sentiments as these, and of fidelity to your king, which are principles inseparable from the true religion; I am ready to do you all the good offices in my power. But if you are resolved to live in rebellion, it does not become me to have any thing more to do with you.

Signed

Fontainebleau, the
13 Sept. 1704.

CHAMILLARD.

Besides

Besides the pacification of the troubles in the Sevennes, which was of great advantage to France, there was another event this campaign, of which the court boasted aloud. I mean the victory which the count de Toulouse, great admiral of France, pretended to have gained over the English and Dutch fleets in the Mediterranean. This was one of the most famous sea fights, that has happened in these our days, whether we consider its duration, the abilities of the commanders, the courage and bravery of the officers and seamen on both sides, or the powers who set out the fleets. The king of France, who had just lost two great battles by land, gave out that the count de Toulouse had gained a complete victory; this was to be in the eyes of his subjects a counter-balance for the ill success of his arms in Bavaria. It is a common trick of the French ministers, to triumph when they have had the worst of it. There requires no more to that than for the king to write to monsieur the cardinal de Noailles, to cause *Te Deum* to be sung in his cathedral. This pompous ceremony imposes upon the people, who think that nothing but truth can come out of the mouth of the king. Besides, this piece of policy serves to create awe into the people, and keeps them in obedience. It was likewise absolutely necessary to dazzle the eyes of the Spaniards, who

who were very uneasy at the new government under the duke of Anjou. The court of Madrid was full of malecontents, and well-wishers to the house of Austria, who since the loss of the battle at Hockstet, had put it into the heads of the people, that the power and greatness of the king of France, of which they had heard so much, was no more than a chimera. However, king Philip wrote a letter of thanks to the count de Toulouse, and accompanied it with a present of a golden fleece enriched with diamonds, to the value of a hundred thousand crowns, which he sent by monsieur Michelin, one of his valet-de-chambres. He likewise presented the marechal de Cœuvres with a picture, set with diamonds, of twenty-five thousand crowns value. If presents and compliments were proofs of a victory, king Philip could not have bestowed them better; but vice admiral Callenburg's letter to the States gives quite another idea of this business.

To finish this campaign, so fatal to France, I must observe, that the king was so provoked at the loss of the battle at Hockstet, that his majesty not only complained highly of the little regard his generals had had to his glory, but to give them more substantial marks of his resentment, he broke two quarter master generals, fourteen brigadiers, and great part of the squadrons and bat-

battalions that had surrendered themselves prisoners in the village of Blenheim; declaring, that whenever the exchange was made, these troops should lose their rank, and be looked upon as new levies and recruits only. When the division of the prisoners came to be made between the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, the number of them being about fourteen thousand; some staid in Germany, some went to England, and the rest remained in Holland. I was among the last, and my quarters were assigned me at Nimmegen. I could have wished to have waited upon the marechal de Tallard into England, with the other officers, who fell to the share of my lord duke, but it could not be; I proposed to make myself amends for the disappointment, by visiting the principal cities in Holland, which is one of the most delightful places in the whole world. For, besides all the conveniencies of life in great abundance, they enjoy a perfect liberty unknown in France. They discourse freely of all the affairs of Europe, and censure the politicks and conduct of its princes without reserve. But in France, the people are kept in such submission and bondage, as is not to be met with any where else under the sun. The government is more to be dreaded than the inquisitions of Spain and Italy. If one speaks disrespectfully

fully of the king, or finds fault with his measures, no quarter is to be expected from madame de-Maintenon, who might very rightly be called the grand inquisitress of the court; you fall under the displeasure of the ministers, who are her executioners: you pass for disaffected; and without more ado you are discarded, or shut up in the Bastile, or perhaps both. Having left Frankfort, I came to Cleves, where I staid two or three days to refresh myself; getting into the post waggon that goes between Nimmegen and Cleves, I met with a very pleasant adventure; there was going in the same carriage a handsome well drest girl, about 18 or 20 years old; I was mightily pleased with his rencounter, as I expected it would make the journey very agreeable, and resolved to address her, and begun by offering her my hand, to get into the waggon, which she accepted in a very genteel manner, and I placed myself next her. I thought she seemed pleased with my civility, and flattered myself that she took a liking to me.

I asked her in the first place, how far she was travelling that way. She told me, that the French, according to their usual custom, had made themselves so much talked of while the duke of Burgundy kept his quarters at Cleves, that most of the young girls of that place had got themselves very indiffer-

indifferent reputations; that her mother had sent her during that time to an aunt that she had at Harlem, whether she was now returning, that she had relations at Utrecht, where she should call and stay four or five days in her way, and then she should go by the way of Amsterdam to Harlem. All this agreed very well with my scheme, and I saw no obstacle in my way, but a good old lady, who sat over against us in the waggon, there being only us three. Tho' the old lady was a stranger to us both, I could have wished her with all my heart at that time an hundred leagues off. She was a kind of a troublesome companion to two amorous travellers, at least to me; but there was no help for it, we must bear with it. As my time was short, and we were soon to arrive at Nimmegen, I was resolved to make the best use of it, and to whisper to my fellow-traveller all that the most tender and passionate love could suggest to me. I even proposed to wait upon her to Harlem, tho' it was not in my rout, I being to stay at Nimmegen. She seemed pleased with what I said, and after some tender looks and sighs consented to it. My affair was now in a very agreeable posture, kind looks, tender sighs, and consent to accompany her to Harlem; all this was mighty well, and promised me a thousand pleasures; but what terrible revolutions fall

out in these love affairs; a girl of wit that has seen the world, understands these matters better than the most artful and experienced of us all. I was soon convinced of this by my own experience; mademoiselle de Morange, for that was the name she gave herself, said she had considered of it, and begged I would not think of accompanying her to Harlem, as I being a stranger to her, it would set people a talking, and injure her character. This discourse struck me all on a heap, as I really liked her. To make me some amends, for the uneasiness she saw she had given me, she added with a smile, that when we came to Nimmeguen, she would endeavour to think of an expedient that should make me amends; that it was not proper to say any more in the place where we were; however, that she had said enough to let me know, she should be glad to see me again. I was so blinded with my passion, that I believed all she said, and thought myself the happiest fellow in the world. As we drew nearer to Nimmeguen my heart went pit-a-pat, and was full of expectation. When we came thither, I desired we might sup together; she seemed at first unwilling, but I assuring her we would not part so, she consented. I took her to the best house in the town. When we were all alone at table, I made her a fresh declaration of my love, more passionately

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than I had done upon the road, and desired she would, according to her promise, explain herself to me. Mademoiselle de Morange answered, that after supper she would be as good as her word. This was accompanied with a blush that overspread her face, which, with a modesty that appeared in all her actions, charmed me; I shewed her all the violence of my passion, and never was love more sincere and ardent, than what I felt in these happy moments; she on her side used all her endeavours to moderate its excess. Her wit, discretion, and sweetness of temper, but above all, her great modesty, disarmed me in their turn, and called reason to my assistance. When I saw the turn she was taking, I conceived a higher esteem for her person, which had new charms for me. Tho' I saw so fine a harvest of love blasted at once, and all my fine hopes with which I had flattered myself vanished in a trice, I was not out of heart, but waited with patience till supper was ended, which was to be the happy moment when the scene was to be unravelled, and the mystery cleared up. Accordingly, after we had finished our entertainment, mademoiselle de Morange called for pen, ink and paper, and gave me three directions where to meet with her at Cleves, at Utrecht, and at Harlem, with the names of the streets, and the signs; she told me likewise, that

that when I came to see her at her aunt's at Harlem, she would have me take the name of an uncle she had, who was a colonel in the king of Prussia's service, and whom her aunt had never seen, as by that means I might see her with more conveniency. Now was I as happy as a king in my own thoughts with my directions, which I took more care of than of my bills of exchange. The next morning I waited upon her to the post-waggon, where she told me, with an air of tenderness and sincerity, that we were indeed now going to part, but it would be my own fault, if it was long before we saw one another again; to which she added, that tho' there was now-a-days so little dependance upon the oaths and protestations of men, who were for the most part false and perfidious, she could not help owning, after what had passed betwixt us, it would be a very great disappointment to her if I failed meeting her according to the directions she had given me. I confess, I never in my life felt the stings of love more sensibly, than I did at these imputations. I made a thousand protestations of love and constancy, and if the oaths of lovers are any proofs of their passion, I never made so many before. Mademoiselle de Morange dextrously laid hold of this opportunity to get from me; what I was fool enough to part with,

that was a fine diamond ring, which the duke of Anjou had given me when I left Spain. She desired it, she said, as a pledge of my affection, and a real assurance, that I would certainly see her again, and that she should return it at our first meeting: in that confidence, I freely gave it her, and away she went. As she had told me she should not stay above four or five days at Utrecht, I quickly dispatched some little matters I had to do at Nimme-guen, and set out for my first appointment. On one side the real value I had for her, and on the other the desire of getting my diamond ring again, made me very impatient. As soon as I got to Utrecht, as I knew none of the streets of that great city, I shewed my direction to a porter, and bid him shew me the way to mademoiselle de Morange's; he read it over and over, and told me he knew no such person nor place in Utrecht, that I must be mistaken, or somebody had given me a wrong direction; I asked him if he was not mistaken; he told me he was bred and born in that city, and that there was not a corner of it which he did not know; and besides, he called several of his companions, and shewed them the direction; they were all in the same tone, but for greater certainty, they advised me to go to the post-office. I took their advice, and the post-master, calling the messenger that deli-

delivered out the letters about the city, asked him if he knew any such one; he said, there was no such name or person in Utrecht, but that he had lived a good while in Cleves, and remembered there was such a sign there.

Let any one judge of my surprise at all this; my love was turned into fury; I passed the night in the greatest perplexity. What, said I to myself, am I become a cully at last; is it possible, that a man, who has seen so much of the world, as I have done, should suffer himself to be bit in this manner; and then recollecting myself, I could not help listening to the dictates of my love for this pretty Jade. I said to myself; why am I so uneasy; I shall certainly find her at her aunt's at Harlem. Well, I rose as soon as it was light, and without loss of time set out for Harlem, where I arrived at the close of the evening. I took out my second direction, and shewed it to the first porter I met with, to conduct me to mademoiselle de Morange's aunt; he was no abler than he at Utrecht to expound this riddle; for turning it over and over again, and shewing it to several persons, he told me plainly, that somebody had put a trick upon me, for there was no such name, sign, nor street in Harlem. This is very pretty, thought I; three directions, and two of them shams; I have nothing now to trust to but Cleves. It was in vain to curse my love and

folly; and more so to fret for my fine diamond ring. However, I began to think where I should pass the night, well or ill, which I resolved should be with as little uneasiness as possible. After a thousand different thoughts, that came into my head in the night, I determined to see the end of this business, and accordingly set out with the first conveniency for Amsterdam, and from thence to Utrecht, and so to Cleves. As soon as I got there, I made all the enquiry I could for mademoiselle de Morange, but could hear no more of her, or any that belonged to her, than if I had looked for her at Constantinople. I was so provoked, at the thoughts of these sham directions, and at the loss of my diamond ring, and so ashamed of myself for being in love with such a creature, that I do not know what I should have done, could I at that time have met with the jilting slut: but I soon got it over, and I can never since forbear laughing when I think of this adventure.

But to come to matters of more consequence to me, than my amour with mademoiselle de Morange; finding all my endeavours to justify myself at court were in vain, and that I had lost all hopes of establishing my fortune there, I determined to present a petition to their High Mightinesses; wherein I set forth, that being about to quit the service of France, I begged I
might

might be no longer looked upon as a prisoner of war; but that they would please to give me leave to retire where I thought proper.

Their High Mightinesses granted my petition, and I was set at liberty. I then wrote to the elector of Bavaria, who had shewed a great regard to me, to beg the favour of him, that I might retire to the court of Brussels. His electoral highness returned me a very obliging answer, and told me, I should be very welcome there, and might make myself easy in every respect. Tho' my being employed in the secret affairs of France, as I had formerly been, was now at an end, I have all along kept such a close correspondence with my friends in that country, as has enabled me to continue these Memoirs. Before I departed for Brussels, I visited the most remarkable places in Holland, of which I had only seen some few towns, and that cursorily, as I passed thro' them, except the Hague, where I had been several times when the treaty of partition was on foot. I staid some time at Amsterdam, to admire the beauty of the buildings, the prodigious quantity of all sorts of warlike stores in the magazines, and the arsenals, the extent of its commerce, and the puissance of a city, which is of itself able to maintain a war with the king of France; it is not indeed so big as Paris. The town-

house is a most delightful building, the richest and most superb thing of its kind in the world; it can never be too much admired, and it is very well worth any one's while to visit Holland to see that only. I had the curiosity to go to see the places they call the Musico and Spinhuis, of which I had heard so much in France. In the first of those places are wenches of all nations and countries, dressed like so many queens, who are always upon the catch for strangers, and prefer a sailor just returned from the Indies, in his jacket and trowsers, to an officer in his embroidered coat. In these houses they keep a kind of a midnight ball, where those abandoned creatures dance with the sailors to the sound of all kinds of music. It is true, these nests of vermin are right cut-throats, and are not to be much frequented but with the risk of one's purse, and very often of one's life. My late adventure with mademoiselle de Morange, who but a little before had bit me of my diamond ring, put me sufficiently upon my guard here. It is said the States connive at these places to prevent greater mischiefs, and chiefly to divert their sea-faring people till they go off again.

The Spinhuis are houses of correction, where they confine loose women. The intent of these places, where they are kept to work, is to see if they can cure them of
 their

lewdness; but for the most part they are rather worse than better for it. Whilst I was at Amsterdam, I used sometimes to divert myself with mademoiselle de ——— daughter of a banker, upon whom I had bills of exchange. This was a pretty young Dutch woman. She had a freedom and affability in her behaviour which was altogether charming; every thing that I said to her pleased her, even to the meanest trifles. Here I learned the difference of making love to a French or Dutch woman; tell one of these last, that her cap is prettily put on, that she has two fine curls upon her forehead, that her fingers ends are small and sharp, and her nails well cut, her little shoes neat and well made; in short, if you admire any little personal beauty, or praise the neatness of their dress, you win their hearts for ever. But in France, you must rack your brains for a mess of nonsensical stuff, and talk of nothing but tenderness, sighs, constancy, and fidelity, and nobody knows what, and very often to no manner of purpose. And to a Spaniard, as I said before, you must be above the clouds, and talk of nothing but stars and constellations. I have practised all this myself; as I love to act with freedom, and without constraint, the Dutch women would have pleased me very well, as they are generally handsome. But my affairs would not permit me to stay
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in that country, where a good match often makes the fortune of a man or woman, who have nothing to recommend them but their personal qualifications; as happened in the case I am going to mention, before I have done with my account of Holland.

A rich merchant, who was just returned from the East-Indies, where he had acquired a large fortune in the company's service, resolved to marry in spite of his age, and its inseparable infirmities. He communicated his design to a notary of his acquaintance, and told him he had a mind to make the fortune of a girl; that he desired nothing for all his riches but sobriety and virtue, and to be beloved; but above all things, she must be handsome; that he knew the notary had lived all his life-time in the place, and had an universal acquaintance; he desired him to look out such a one for him. The notary mentioned this to his wife, a cunning sharp woman, who, like the rest of her sex, seldom overlooked any thing she could make an advantage of: they having a daughter of their own to provide for, she put her husband upon trying, if they could not get this match for her, and advised him to mention it to the old merchant. She was their only child, had youth, beauty, and wit enough, and they had spared no cost for her education. The affair being thus agreed upon

upon betwixt them, they bought some fine cloaths, and every thing answerable, to set her off in the eyes of the good old man; and having dressed her up to the best advantage, they presented her to him, and told him, that as it was his intent to marry, they could not think of one who would answer his expectation better; that they could answer with more assurance for the virtue and sobriety of their own daughter, who had always been brought up under their eyes, than for a stranger, with whose education they were not so well acquainted. After this compliment, the father and mother withdrew and left them together: the old gentleman made a declaration of his passion, and it is not hard to guess at the reception it met with from a girl so well prepared, and who was to be so great a gainer by it. It cannot be supposed, that love had any great hand in this affair, at least on her side; but what will not women do for gain; these things are seen every day, as most marriages are made for interest more than love: and indeed it is very rare that they go together: be that as it will, the old gentleman was so well pleased with his mistress at first sight, that the match was immediately agreed upon, and great preparations were made for the wedding. The most extraordinary thing in the affair was, that the contracts of marriage ran, that if he died with-

without children, he left all he had to his wife, but if he had any children by her, then she was to have only an hundred thousand florins; as the old fellow knew his own infirmity, he thought by this means to keep his wife honest; it was by no means a bad scheme. The wife outdid his expectation, and behaved herself with all the tenderness in the world to her husband, and lived in a very sober virtuous manner; and moreover took care to have no children. If all wives would do the same, we should not see so many numerous families as we do now-a-days, where the children have more fathers than one.

The old gentleman did not long enjoy his new spouse, for dying about the end of the year, he left her in possession of all his riches. Soon after they were married, she had desired her husband to buy her some jewels, for which she seemed to have a great mind; but he put her off, telling her, that when he was dead, she might do as she pleased with all his money; she followed this advice punctually; for her husband was scarce cold in his grave, when she went one morning to monsieur — a famous jeweller at Amsterdam, and bought as many jewels of all sorts, as came to forty-two thousand florins, for which she paid ready money down; no common thing in our time, and enough to make all the young girls wish

wish to be married to old men, if they were to be so well paid for the voluntary sacrifice of the pleasures and satisfactions of a suitable match, where inclination and duty go hand in hand. The lady, I am now speaking of, had in her husband's time contracted a strict friendship with madame de — who about this time was taken with a distemper, for which the physicians could do her no good. Our young widow was very constant in her visits to her; and as they were very fond of each other; madame de — one day asked her, if she had not yet thought of another husband, that would be more agreeable to her than the last: that it was very natural for one who was like her in the bloom of her youth, and been condemned to the arms of a disagreeable old man, to make herself amends in another, who should be more suitable to her inclination; the young widow answered madame de — that if she was sure of meeting with as good a husband as her's, perhaps she might be tempted to marry again; but that it was so uncommon a thing now-a-days to meet with a husband that had a real love and tenderness for his wife, that she dared not think of it. Madame de — replied, that she advised her nevertheless to marry again, and to choose as well as she could for a husband to her mind; as for her own part, she said, she was going

to bid her farewell for ever, being at the point of death, and indeed she expired a few days after in the arms of her husband and her friend. Monsieur de — the deceased's husband mourned for her in form; when that was over, being well instructed by the many conversations of his late wife with the young widow; he waited upon her, and made a declaration of love, accompanied with proposals of marriage. He told her she had said so many kind things of him to his deceased wife, particularly, that if she could meet with a man of his character, she might perhaps think of marrying again; that he was now at liberty, and if she would please to give her consent, he hoped she would have no reason to repent of her choice. This compliment surprised her the more, as it was unexpected; however, she soon felt in her heart such a conflict, as was the forerunner of a considerable revolution there, and if sighs and looks are the faithful interpreters of love, it may be said, that they shewed monsieur de — that he had all the reason in the world to be satisfied with his first declaration; what respect and esteem had begun, was accomplished by a constant application and repeated assiduity, which produced a mutual affection, and in short the marriage was concluded. Monsieur de — had one of the chief posts in the magistracy of the city, which obliged

liged him to some hours of attendance at the town-house every morning and afternoon ; his new wife complained to him one day, that as she had now married a husband for the pleasure of loving him tenderly, and having him always with her, it was the only uneasiness she had in the world, not to enjoy his company at all times. Monsieur de ——— replied, that this absence did not in the least diminish his love to her, that as he had so long enjoyed that post, he was indispensably obliged to perform the duties of it, and consequently to attend the meetings ; that he had children by his former wife, whose fortunes he should injure, by quitting an employment which was so profitable to him. She answered, if that was all, and a little money would do, she would give each of his daughters the sum of ——— and proportionably to his sons, if he would lay down his place : which monsieur de ——— agreed to, and resigned his employment immediately in complaisance to his lady.

There is a pleasure in crossing one's inclinations upon such good terms ; nor was there a magistrate in Holland but would have done as much upon the like condition. At length madame de ——— proved with child, to the great joy of monsieur de ——— : but that joy was of very short continuance, for she died in child-birth, and the child followed her a few

few days after. So monfiur de — became poffeffed of all her great riches, tho' he was rich enough before; his two daughters, who were reckoned handsome, were foon fought in marriage by very confiderable perfons. Thus it is that riches are diftributed in this world, fome have all, and others none. There are people at court, in the army, and in trade, that are perpetually toiling themfelves to death to get money, and are never the near. And others that become rich they do not know how. Every one has their planet, good or bad. Such adventures as thefe, by which people make their fortunes, happen every day in Holland. But now to my own affairs.

I fet out for Bruffels at the opening of the campaign, and met with as favourable a reception as I could wifh from the elector of Bavaria, who affigned me an apartment in the court, and gave me all the obliging affurances in the world of his regard to me. He was fenfible of my innocence, and the injuftice that was done me at the court of France, as to what had paffed at Hockftet. He was pleafed to acquaint me with the reafons he thought he had to complain of the two kings. His highnefs told me, that I knew his brother the elector of Cologne, and he, had facrificed their own dominions for the intereft of the two crowns, without mentioning the fervices, faid he,
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that I did the king in the last war : that his brother and he having lost their all, he had demanded the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which had been promised him ; but that he could get no answer upon that subject, no more than upon that of the subsidies which were to be paid him, in pursuance of the treaty which I had concluded with the marquis de Bedmar. I answered his highness, that I was not in the least surpris'd at the behaviour of the court of France towards him, as I knew it was a fundamental maxim with them, to leave no stone unturned to engage princes in their interest, when they thought them in a condition to promote their designs ; that the last campaign in Bavaria having answered neither their expectations, nor their ends, the two kings looked upon his electoral highness and his brother as two princes who were likely to become a burden to them. I likewise told the elector, that it was true that he had done me the honour to communicate to me the overtures made to him by the allies for an accommodation when he was encamped with his army at Ausbourg, but that being then in the service of France, my duty to the king, to whom I had always been faithful, did not allow me to give him any other advice than what I did then ; but being now under no such tie, it was my advice to him to accept the same offers, if the

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emperor and the allies should make them to which he answered, that he was born fearless, and that his glory (he should have said his pride) would never suffer him to be guilty of such a weakness, was he to lose all he had in the world.

Nothing of any consequence happened this campaign in Bavaria, the electress concluded a treaty of pacification with the king of the Romans (afterwards the emperor Joseph) at the siege of Landau, which was carried into execution, and all the affairs of that country were regulated by three administrators sent thither by the emperor; those were the comte de Wrateslaw, and the comte de Lamberg for the military department, and the comte de Mollert, who had the direction of the finances.

The allies had formed a plan for the opening of the campaign, which, if it had succeeded, would have ended the war on the Moselle at a blow, as had been done in Bavaria the year before. The court of France was aware of it, and took all imaginable precautions to ward a stroke, which would have opened a passage for the confederate armies through Lorain into the heart of France. The king sent the marechal de Villars to view the ground on that side; he was furnished with a powerful army, which was considerably reinforced by detachments sent by the marechal de Marfin.

Villars

Villars encamped at Sirck, expecting the army of the allies, which begun to assemble about the 15th of May, without the lines of Treves: It was composed of the Danish troops, those of Hanover and Hesse Cassel, and a detachment from prince Lewis of Baden's army. The 26th of the same month, the duke of Marlborough arrived in the camp, and viewed the ground above de Contz upon the Saar: at the same time he ordered the troops to hold themselves in a readiness to execute his orders, and as soon as the English had passed the Saar and joined him, he reviewed the whole army, and marched between the Saar and the Moselle to East, at half an hour's distance from Sirck, where he encamped. Villars, finding by this unexpected motion, that the duke of Marlborough intended to attack him, abandoned his camp at Sirck, and possessed himself of a most advantageous post, where his front was covered by impracticable defiles, his right by a wood, his left by the Moselle, and his rear by a rivulet. The duke of Marlborough, upon his arrival at Sirck, possessed himself of that post, and made 300 men prisoners of war, whom the marechal de Villars had left there. The duke of Lorrain, terribly alarmed at the danger that threatened the Dutchy, wrote a letter of great civility to the duke of Marlborough, to desire him to spare his do-

minions. This letter was brought to my lord duke by monsieur de Martigny, grand veneur (or chief forester) to his royal highness.

The court of France, in order to disconcert the measures of the allies on the Moselle, and likewise in some measure to oblige the two electors, who much desired that the war might be vigorously prosecuted in the Netherlands, had ordered great preparations to be made at Namure in the winter. This they gave out was in order to open the campaign with the siege of Maestricht. Upon which the troops that were to act under Velt marechal d'Auverquerque were ordered to assemble upon mount St. Pierre, without however interrupting the duke of Marlborough in his designs. As this was but a small body of troops, the greatest part of the army being with the duke of Marlborough on the Moselle, monsieur d'Auverquerque thought proper to encamp near Maestricht, where he entrenched himself so well, that the elector and the marechal de Villeroi could not attack him without manifest hazard, with all their superiority of numbers. The army of the two crowns commanded by these two generals consisted of 106 squadrons, and 60 battalions. The first movement of the French army was towards the plain of Vignar, where they encamped; the night following

lowing they laid a bridge of boats over the Meuse at Bassée, and on the 28th of May Huy was invested by a detachment commanded by the comte de Gassé, and the castle surrendered the 31st of May, the garrison being made prisoners of war. For all this the king of France was terribly uneasy at the prospect of affairs on the Moselle, he was under great apprehensions that Villars might undergo the same fate as the elector, Tallard, and Marfin, had done in Bavaria, he ordered the marechal de Villeroy to send a detachment of 36 squadrons and 18 battalions to reinforce the army under the marechal de Villars. The elector and Villeroy on their side, taking advantage of the absence of so many troops as the duke of Marlborough had with him on the Moselle, advanced with their army towards Liege, with design to besiege it. In the mean time the duke of Marlborough received a letter from the States-general, they acquainted him with the state of affairs in the Netherlands; they informed him of the loss of Huy, and the siege of Liege, which was begun, the menaces of the elector and Villeroy to recover all the conquests lately made by the arms of the allies; they laid before him the necessity there was of a powerful diversion to oppose those designs, and if that could not be done on the Moselle, the States desired he would return with the

army to the Meuse. The duke of Marlborough meeting with so many obstacles in the way of his designs on the Moselle, namely, the difficulty of subsisting a numerous army, in a desert and barren country, already sufficiently exhausted; the dilatoriness of the troops of some of the princes of the empire who were to join him, and the impossibility of attacking Villars with any probability of success; who, besides his superiority of numbers, was posted in an inaccessible camp: all these considerations determined the duke of Marlborough to hasten to the relief of Liege. The elector and Villeroy having received advice of the duke of Marlborough's march, sent back their artillery to Namure, and abandoned the siege of Liege, recalled the marquis d'Alegre, who was marching with a detachment towards the Moselle, and retired towards their lines, where they formed a new plan for the rest of the campaign. The marshal de Villars, being rid of so formidable an enemy, immediately made two detachments, one to the Netherlands, and another for the army of the marshal de Marfin. The city of Treves being abandoned by the Palatine troops, the French took possession of it, and made themselves masters of 40 pieces of cannon, and the magazines that had not been set on fire.

The two electors, who had flattered themselves with greater conquests, than the taking of Liege, tho' that was of importance enough to the elector of Cologne, were under an inexpressible concern at this disappointment. The elector of Bavaria, who breathed nothing but revenge, was vexed to the last degree, to find themselves obliged to keep within the lines by order of the court of France, who were absolutely determined not to hazard a battle: they could not conceive what had induced the duke of Marlborough to quit the Moselle, and return with such speed to the Meuse. If this step saved Lorain, it was the entire loss of the Netherlands to the two crowns, at least the forcing of the lines, which I am going to mention, was a good step towards it, and was a kind of a prelude to the famous battle at Ramillies, more fatal, if possible, to France, than that at Hockstet had been. The king of France, who was under great apprehensions for what might happen on the Moselle, after the return of the confederate army into the Netherlands, wrote a letter to the elector of Bavaria, which his highness shewed me after the campaign. The king expressed his approbation of the conduct of the marechal de Villars; in chusing a camp, which secured his army from an attack, and which had caused the allies to quit the Moselle, in such haste, as had been

very prejudicial to their cavalry; so that he hoped the remainder of the campaign would pass without the allies being able to make any great advantage of the numerous armies they had set on foot. And recommends it to the elector to act in entire concert with the marechal de Villeroi, in guarding the lines, and preserving the troops, and carefully avoiding an engagement, and securing the country from the enemy's inroads; and concludes, that the necessity of the times must be submitted to, and that it was not his interest, nor that of the king of Spain his grandson, at this juncture, to run any hazards in the Netherlands.

The duke of Marlborough having joined Velt marechal d'Auverquerque at Tourine, these two generals begun with the siege of Huy, which was carried on by general Shultz, who made himself master of it upon the same conditions as the elector and Villeroi had done before: that is to say, the governor and garrison were made prisoners of war. This expedition was followed by the attack of the lines; which our French generals did not in the least expect. They were in a profound tranquillity at the head of a strong and powerful army. The elector of Bavaria, as I said, wished earnestly for a battle, but the king had given him to understand he had no such intention; and his highness was not in a situation to dispute the

the orders of a prince, who had him entirely at mercy: this prince meeting with nothing but mortifications in the management of the war, strove to divert himself as well as he could with his mistresses; and if he could not indulge his martial genius, he had at least the pleasure of obliging the ladies of Bruffels, who came to visit him in his camp; but this delightful scene was of very short continuance, and was succeeded by another, which brought about a surprising revolution in the Netherlands; and the elector and the marechal de Villeroi were never seen so dejected, as they were upon the forcing the lines.

As soon as the allies had forced the lines, there was nothing but desolation and confusion to be seen throughout the whole country, and it was well for the elector and the marechal de Villeroi, that they took possession of the camp at Bethlehem, where they assembled the remains of the French army, which prevented any popular commotions, and the revolt of a country which was weary of the dominion of France, and more of the elector of Bavaria's rigorous and haughty government. If the allies, who gained immortal honour in the attack and forcing the lines, had followed their blow without stopping, they had certainly made the same progress as they did in the Netherlands the next campaign; however, they

they attempted the passage of the Dyle, but there was only a small body of Dutch got over that river at Neer-yfche. The English met with more opposition, from the vigilance of the elector, and the marechal de Villeroi, who advanced with their troops, and drew them up in order of battle on the other side of the river, so that they forewent that design, in which they lost a small number of men. The elector and the marechal de Villeroi seemed as much elevated at this, as if they had gained a pitched battle. They blessed their good fortune, and represented this affair to the court of France, as matter of great triumph, tho' in the main it signified little. They hoped by this, in some degree, to cover the oversight they had been guilty of, by weakening the lines near Heylesheim, where they were forced, and to alleviate the king's chagrin at it. The allies, in order to pursue their success, made another movement with their whole army towards Genap; upon which the elector apprehended another battle of Hockstet, which would infallibly have happened, if the ground had permitted. The French army was then most advantageously posted, they had the wood of Sonien on their right, the little river Ifche in their front, and the Dyle on the side of Neer-yfche upon their left, besides the trenches they had thrown up to
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cover themselves on every side. All these difficulties did not in the least discourage the duke of Marlborough. He was very desirous of making good use of the impatience the English shewed of coming to a decisive blow, which would certainly have subdued the Netherlands in one campaign as had been done in Bavaria. The duke, finding this impracticable, determined to finish the campaign with the siege of the little town Sout-Leuwee, which it was expected would have made a stout resistance, by reason of its situation, which was in the midst of a morass. The place was invested by a detachment, and the governor, by order of the elector of Bavaria, surrendered as soon as the artillery begun to play. The taking of Sout-Leuwee was followed by that of Santvliet, the garrison surrendering themselves prisoners of war to the count de Noyelles who commanded the siege.

If the war in Brabant and Flanders answered so well the expectations of the allies this campaign, they were no less successful in Spain. Their generals made themselves masters of several places on the frontiers of Portugal, Valencia, Alcantara, Albuquerque, and Marvan, and obliged the marechal de Tessé, who commanded king Philip's army, to abandon his camp, or hazard a battle; he chose the latter; and repassing the Guadiana, he retired under the cannon
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of Badajos, which the allies resolved to besiege. Over and above these conquests, the allies formed a project, which brought about a great revolution in Spain; I mean the siege of Barcelona. France, in the last war, forced the allies into a peace, by taking this important place; and it is probable that by doing the same, the allies may in their turn, oblige France to abandon Spain, and to make a peace, which will, in all likelihood, be of a longer continuance. To put this in execution, king Charles embarked on board the English fleet, with an army of 16,000 foot, and 3000 horse. Upon his arrival he dispersed a kind of manifesto throughout all Catalonia, by which he invited all the people to shake off the yoke of a foreign prince, whose reign would subject them to perpetual slavery, and involve them in calamities and misery; that by abandoning the duke of Anjou, besides returning to the obedience of their lawful sovereign, they might assure themselves of a mild and gentle administration, such as they had been accustomed to under the princes of the house of Austria, his illustrious predecessors, whose memory was still so dear to them. These circular letters produced their desired effect. The Catalans rose all over the principality, the people tired with the dominion of France, shewed their inclinations to a prince, whom they
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looked upon as their deliverer. Likewise during the siege of Barcelona they gave such proofs of their courage, and zeal for king Charles, as contributed as much towards taking the place, as did the fleets and armies which besieged it. Barcelona was besieged the 13th of September, and capitulated the 9th of October. The allies lost at this siege the brave prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who was killed at the attack of fort Monjuich; this prince had behaved with great bravery, during the whole course of the war, and was equally beloved by the people and soldiers. I shall not enter into a detail of the particulars of this famous siege, which is to be met with elsewhere.

The campaign in Flanders being over, the elector of Bavaria returned to Brussels to pass the winter. The people had received him on his arrival there from Bavaria, as a prince who had lost his all at the battle of Hockstet, and was come to be their governor, being fully persuaded, that the two kings would bestow the sovereignty of the Netherlands upon him, to make him some amends for what he had suffered, upon their account. Under this notion they paid him all the honours imaginable, and seemed to outvie one another in shewing the marks of their zeal and affection: but the attack and forcing the lines had changed the face of affairs in the Netherlands, of
which

which the elector their governor soon became sensible, by the very different reception he met with at Brussels, from which they had given him the year before. But so it is, when fortune forsakes the arms of princes, they lose at the same time the affections of their people. Neither did the court of France shew the same difference and regard to the elector of Bavaria as they did before. His highness, after the campaign, shewed me some letters which monsieur de Chamillard had wrote to him, they were in a style little becoming one of the king's ministers to use to a sovereign prince of the elector's rank, and an ally of the two crowns. Had monsieur de Chamillard wrote to an intendant of a province, or a governor of a place, who had failed of his duty, I think he could not well have expressed himself with more haughtiness. As I knew monsieur de Chamillard to be a minister, who making an ill use of his majesty's confidence and authority, has always affected to treat princes, in the same manner as did the late monsieur de Louvois, tho' there was this difference between them, that the latter had raised himself to a degree of favour with his prince, as made him infinitely more respectable; I was not therefore in the least surpris'd at his highness's complaints. To alleviate as well as I could his concern, at seeing himself treated in this manner,

manner, after all the services he had done the court of France, I told him, that when I was in France, I had often heard, both from the king and his ministers, that the war in Savoy was undertaken chiefly with a view to the restoration of him and his brother to their dominions, that having stripped the duke of Savoy of all, the two kings would make no peace with the allies, in which the re-establishment of their electoral highnesses should not be a preliminary; and if the confederates had a right to demand the restitution of Savoy and Piedmont, the court of France would also have a right to insist upon the same for the electors of Bavaria and Cologne.

Thus I strove to comfort the elector in his adversity, and his highness was pleased to do as much for me in my disgrace. In this manner he passed the winter at Bruffels in expectation of another campaign, which he hoped would be more successful than the last, but experience has since shewed, that he much deceived himself. As for my own part, I could not but lament the tender amusements I had left behind me at Paris, as I met with none such at Bruffels where I was a new comer, and an entire stranger; the amiable mesdemoiselle de Blois, de Champre, d'Entragues, were always in my thoughts: I had spent so many agreeable hours with these ladies, that I could not easily

easily forget them ; a thousand times I curſed the campaign of Bavaria, that had deprived me of that happineſs, as well as ruined my hopes of making my fortunes, of which I thought myſelf fully aſſured. If the remembrance of paſt pleaſures is any conſolation, I can truly ſay, it was all that I enjoyed in my retirement at Bruffels, whiſt I was impatiently waiting for the return of better fortune. The elector received from the marechal de Villeroi the ſcheme the court of France had laid for the operation of the next campaign. I was ſo much in the elector's favour, that he was pleaſed to communicate to me all that paſſed. This plan conſiſted of four great enterpriſes, which were to be undertaken at the opening of the campaign : The two firſt were to put an end to the war in Italy ; by ſtripping the duke of Savoy of all his dominions, and driving prince Eugene back into the Trentine, and ſhutting him up there. The third reſpected the war in Spain ; and the intent of it was, to ruin entirely king Charles's party. The fourth was, to regain all the conqueſts made by the allies in the Netherlands. Theſe four projects hath been maturely weighed, and were the reſult of a great council of war held at Verſailles, at which all our generals aſſiſted, and were judged abſolutely neceſſary to retrieve the glory of his majeſty's arms, to recal that
fortune

fortune which seemed to have forsaken them in the late campaigns. The first of these projects was to be executed by the defeat of the Imperialists of Italy before they were reinforced; the second by the siege of Turin; the third by that of Barcelona; and the last by a battle in Flanders. Upon this plan the king had named the generals, and assigned the troops that were to act under them. The duc de Vendosme was to command an army of 36,000 men in Lombardy. The duc de Feuillade was to besiege Turin with 30,000 men. The marechal de Tefsé was to command an army of 30,000 men under king Philip, which was to form the siege of Barcelona; and another army of 20,000 men was to act in Eltramadura under the duke of Berwick, about this time created a marechal of France. The marechal de Villars was to command upon the Rhine; the marechal de Marsin upon the Moselle; and Villeroy, under the elector of Bavaria, was to have an army of threescore and 10,000 men in the Netherlands,

The king's armies in Italy had at first the desired success, which greatly rejoiced the court, and made the king entertain great hopes of the rest of the schemes he had laid for the operation of the campaign. He had received advice, that the fortress of Montmeillan, after a blockade of three years,

had surrendered the 17th of December : that Nice was besieged, and likewise surrendered the 4th of January ; thus the duke of Vendosme had successfully executed the first of his projects, by taking advantage of prince Eugene's absence. and the weakness of the Imperialists, and had attacked them the 19th of April at Calcinato, and obtained a signal victory over them.

This successful opening of the campaign greatly elevated the court of France, and monsieur de Chamillard wrote to the duc de la Feuillade to begin the siege of Turin out of hand. The French army being advanced to that capital, took the posts that were assigned them on the 13th of May. They marked the ground, and formed the attacks. The project for the siege of Barcelona was likewise carried into execution : before king Philip left Madrid to set out upon this expedition, he summoned all the grandees, and other persons of distinction to court ; and told them, that it being his intention to take the field to oppose the designs of his enemies, who were entered the kingdom, to curb the insolence of the rebels, and reduce them to his obedience, and to deliver his good and faithful subjects from a foreign yoke : that he had left the administration of the government during his absence with the queen his consort ; who had long declined it, but had at last accepted it,
and

and took it upon her: that he had confidence enough in them to hope they would second her good intentions, assist her with their councils, and do all that was in their power to serve her. After this moving speech the king set out for Catalonia. The allies in Portugal taking advantage of that prince's absence, whose chief strength was to be employed in the siege of Barcelona, made a powerful diversion, they entered Castile, and made themselves masters of Alcantara, Coria, and Placentia, and advancing farther into the country, resolved to march to Madrid; my lord Galway, to incline the people to king Charles, published a declaration in the name of the queen of Great Britain, that was enough to have shook the constancy of the haughtiest Spaniard, that had the interest of his country at heart.

The rapidity of the conquests made by the allies put all Castile in an alarm. The duke of Berwick, with the few troops he had about him, was in no condition to oppose them. At length they resolved to call in the forces that were in the kingdoms of Valencia, and Navarre, they assembled the three orders of knighthood, the nobility of Castile, and the militia of the country; the queen, who had not been used to such kind of disturbances, and who besides was too young (not above 18 years old at that time)

to act with a resolution fuitable to the occasion, immediately thought of retiring out of Madrid, to a place of safety in some other part of the kingdom. All was in the utmost confusion, when the queen sent for the grandees of Spain, and the magistrates of Madrid, and acquainted them, with the dangerous state of affairs, and the approach of the enemy, and desired them to exert themselves to the utmost in the service of their country, and of the king, who was exposing his person for them in Catalonia. To which she added, that she believed, she was the first queen that had appeared among them upon such an occasion. That as she had shewed them such extraordinary marks of her affection, she hoped they would not be wanting in their zeal for her service. King Philip and the marechal de Tefsé having passed the Egra and Segra, entered Catalonia with one army; another French army commanded by the duc de Noailles entered likewise by another way. The 3d of April those two armies joined on a great plain, between Mounjuich and the Lobregate, and the very next day besieged Barcelona. The marquis de Legal, who had taken the command of the army brought by the duke de Noailles, invested the place on the side of Besos; and the marechal de Tefsé on the side of the Lobregate. The count de Toulouse, admiral of France, with a squa-

a squadron of men of war, and a great number of other vessels laden with artillery, and all other kind of ammunition, invested it by sea. Notwithstanding all these mighty preparations, king Philip was obliged to raise the siege by the arrival of the confederate fleet, under Sir George Leake and Sir Cloudesly Shovel.

King Charles remained in the city during the whole time of the siege, contrary to the advice of my lord Peterborough, and the count de Cifuentes, as well as the prince de Licktenstein. It was chiefly owing to that prince's continuance amongst them, that they held out till the arrival of the confederate fleet. They were hard pressed by king Philip, who was likewise in person at the siege. The French and Spaniards left behind them all their artillery, consisting of 106 pieces of brass cannon in perfect good order, besides a prodigious quantity of all manner of stores, both of ammunition and provisions, together with all their heavy baggage. They likewise abandoned their sick and wounded, which occasioned the marquis de Tefsé to write a very polite letter to my lord Peterborough; to desire his care and protection of them.

This was truly a campaign of affliction to France; the king had formed four projects, of which the siege of Barcelona, that had just miscarried, was the most impor-

tant of all. He had now but two to execute, that was to give the allies battle in the Netherlands, and to take Turin, which was already besieged. As to the battle, it should be known, that before the French army was formed, the elector of Bavaria, and the marechal de Villeroi, went attended by two engineers to view the ground, under pretence of a hunting match. They passed over the plain between Tirlemont and Judoigne, which was intended for the first movement of the French army, on their passing the Dyle, advancing from thence to the village of Ramillies, the elector and Villeroi viewed the ground about this post with great attention, and finding it as advantageous as possible, they pitched upon it for the field of battle, and ordered the engineers to make a plan of it. According to the disposition they made, the right of their army was to be covered by the village of Tavieres, and part of their front by the hedges, the left was to extend to Judoigne, and was to be covered by a morass and the Gheete. The village of Ramillies was to be in the center. As their left could not be attacked, they resolved to post all their chosen troops on the right, and to begin the battle on that side; according to this plan, a brigade of foot sustained by some regiments of dismounted dragoons were to be placed in the village of Tavieres; and

ten battalions with 20 pieces of cannon in the village of Ramillies; all the horse of the king's household, and the elector's cuirassiers were to take post on the right, and the rest of the troops on the left. The engineers having drawn up their plan into form, the elector and Villeroy annexed to it the order of battle, and sent them both by an express to the king.

It is impossible to express the concern the elector of Bavaria was under at the news of the raising the siege of Barcelona. The day before the battle at Ramillies, the elector received a letter from the king, by an express with an account of it; as did the marechal de Villeroy at the same time: in which his majesty shewed them the necessity there was to conceal this affair, and to attack the allies before the news of it reached them: besides they should by all means endeavour to anticipate the arrival of several bodies of troops which were marching to reinforce the allies, and might render the success of a battle more doubtful: that he made no doubt, but that his army, composed of the troops of his household, and all the oldest regiments of France, would be victorious over an enemy inferior to them in numbers; that a good use should be made of the ardour of his troops, and the fine state of his cavalry, and above all things to conceal the misfortune in Catalo-

nia, least it should discourage the men; that he had received the plan of the ground, and the order of battle, that he had examined and approved them both, and recommended it to them to put it in execution without loss of time. The elector of Bavaria and the marechal de Villeroi, immediately assembled their army according to the king's order, and came and encamped behind the Dyle, in the place where they had been the year before. The army was composed of 150 squadrons and 90 battalions, all chosen men, with the troops of the king's household; and was certainly the finest army that France had ever brought into the field. The allies assembled their forces near Tongres: consisting of 117 squadrons and 80 battalions. The elector and Villeroi having passed the Dyle, made a movement towards Tirlement and Judoigne according to the plan before mentioned. They could not have timed it better, as the troops of Prussia, Hesse and Lunenburg, had not as yet joined the allies. The 23d of May, N. S. being Whitfunday, the elector and Villeroi made a second movement towards Ramillies, and drew up their troops in order of battle, their right wing towards Tavieres, the left towards Judoigne, and the village of Ramillies in the center; in this posture they waited for the allies; who made a second movement toward Cor-

tis,

tis and Tourine, to come up with the French: the Danish troops being advanced near enough to be depended upon for an action. The duke of Marlborough, and the Velt marechal d'Auverquerque, made another movement with their army towards the source of the Gheete, and there put them in order of battle in a great plain; the English with the Danish foot on the right; the left was composed of the Dutch horse and foot, together with the troops of Holstein, Gottorp, and the Swifs; the Danish horse were placed in the rear of the left, to form a third line. The artillery was placed on the rising grounds, and begun to play on both sides at about two a clock in the afternoon; four battalions of Dutch, that is, two of the Friesland guards, and of Salisk, and one of Slangenbourg began the battle, by charging our dismounted dragoons that were posted in the hedges, and put them in disorder; some French foot advancing to sustain the dragoons, and taking the Dutch in flank, put them in disorder in their turn. Then the horse of both armies began to engage, when the duke of Marlborough caused the Danish horse to make an extreme well judged movement to take the French cavalry in flank. The duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the Danes, executed these orders with great dexterity, making his squadrons to
defile

defile between the village of Tavieres, and the left of the French army, but meeting with a morass in his way, he was obliged to stop at the end of his first line, where he engaged with great resolution and courage. The gendarmes and the king's mousquetairs made some of the squadrons of the enemies first line give way, and repulsed some other squadrons that advanced to sustain them. But a third body with the prince of Hesse Cassel, major-general, at their head, coming up, sustained and rallied these squadrons; who returning to the charge with fresh ardour, and all the confederate horse falling in at the same time, the troops of the king's household were broke and entirely defeated, eight squadrons were pushed by the Danes into a morass, where they perished; the dragoons of Holstein, general Dopf, and the Dutch horseguards, fell upon the king's household likewise; the French cavalry being thus totally defeated, notwithstanding all the pains that the elector and Villeroy took to rally them, the foot were attacked on all sides, the battalions in the plain suffered terribly, and were at last broke. The villages of Ramillies and Tavieres were attacked by detachments. The dragoons who were posted in the latter forsook their horses and fled; the Danes surrounded the fort, and falling upon them sword in hand, defeated them. The
troops

troops in the village at Ramillies, were likewise attacked in their turn by the battalions of different nations; who took them in flank and in front: and this was the last scene of that famous day which decided the fate of the Netherlands, as the battle at Hockstet had done that of Bavaria. There was nothing but confusion and disorder among the French troops. The elector and Villeroi seeing their right wing cut off, made a movement with the left to come to their assistance. The duke of Marlborough observing it, commanded the English and Danes of his right to advance; then the elector and the marechal de Villeroi thought it adviseable to retreat, and accordingly made the best of their way towards Louvain. The court of France did not immediately publish the news of the loss of the battle, as it really was, and I have just described it. They published a very different account of it to their people. That the king's army advancing towards Gossencourt on the Me-haigne on the 23d of May, was attacked by the English and Dutch, that the enemy were driven from several of their posts by our foot, who engaged for above an hour and half with great resolution; the enemies foot at the village of Ramillies and Jandrenouille; so that for a long time the victory seemed entirely on our side. Whilst the greatest part of our troops were busy in
the

the center, 13 battalions of the enemy attacked the village of Tavieres. And their cavalry fell upon ours on the right, who not making so stout a resistance as might have been expected, gave the enemy an advantage, which obliged the army to retreat with an almost equal loss, our army retired in very good order, but the difficulty of the ways putting them into confusion, some of the troops dispersed themselves, which caused a farther loss, and were obliged to leave some of our cannon and carriages behind them. The battle began at four of the clock in the afternoon, and ended at half and hour after six.

The loss of this important battle was the cause of great affliction at the court of France. The king unaccustomed to such misfortunes, could hardly support himself under it. Had there been the least room left for it, by the victories being ever so little doubtful, or the battle hard fought on both sides (as sometimes happens) our ministers would not have omitted to apply the old remedy, and have advised the king to order a solemn *Te Deum* to be sung. This pompous ceremony would have intoxicated a people, already prepossessed enough with the conceit of the king's good fortune, and made them believe that the king's armies had entirely routed the allies; and reduced them to a condition, out of which it would
be

be long before they could recover themselves. But it could not be this time. The affair was too decisive, and the victory too compleat on the part of the allies for this artifice to be of any use now. Not to mention the joy it occasioned in all the courts, that had any concern in the reduction of the power of France, this principally appeared in England. As that nation contributed most to the expence of the war, the queen was pleased to celebrate this glorious victory with a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, which was performed at London, and all the kingdom over in a suitable manner the 27th of June. The queen herself going in great state to St. Paul's*.

Tho'

* It may not be perhaps amiss to observe, in this place, that such was the success of her majesty's arms abroad, whilst under the command of the duke of Marlborough, and the prosperity of her affairs at home, under the management of my lord Godolphin and the rest of those great men, who composed, that never-to-be-forgotten glorious administration: and such was the just sense that her majesty and her ministers expressed of the great goodness and mercies of Almighty God to her and her people, that she went three times, within the twelve months to St. Paul's, on the 27th of June, as above mentioned, to return thanks to God for the victory at Ramillies in particular, on the 31st of December, or the last day of the year, for the successes of the preceding campaign in general, and on the 1st of May following, on account of the union of the two kingdoms, it being the day on which it took place. The translator of this
work,

Though the battle at Hockstet was the loss of Bavaria, and dispossessed the elector of his own dominions; he had still the government of the Netherlands left to comfort him in his adversity, and change of fortune, and the prospect of the sovereignty of the dutchy of Brabant, and earldom of Flanders, with which the two kings had still fed him up. His electoral highness, in order to make sure of a country where he expected to reign as sovereign, had earnestly desired to come to a decisive action, in hopes, that the arms of the two crowns would be more successful in Flanders than they had been in Bavaria; and tho' the decline of his affairs in Spain had induced the king to agree to it, his majesty, in a letter he wrote to the elector of Bavaria, after the battle at Ramillies, did not stick to reproach him with the pressing instances he had made to obtain his consent. These reproaches touched the elector to the quick, and he felt it the more sensibly, as he saw no hopes of better fortune, and that he looked upon it, that the loss of the Netherlands had left him without resource. If the elector had listened to the advices of his faithful ministers, before the battle at Hockstet, and

work, added this paragraph, as he himself being then a young boy, saw the queen go to St. Paul's all the three times above-mentioned.

had

had made a good use of it, by laying down his arms, and making peace with the emperor and his allies, he had not been reduced to these terrible extremities. But when once ambition possesses the mind of a prince, in vain is human wisdom; pushed on as one may say, by his evil genius, he runs headlong upon his ruin. This cursed ambition was the source of all the elector's misfortunes; and his brother, the elector of Cologne, has been no less sensible of its fatal influence; but he being younger, was more to be pitied, as easier to be led away; and all that remains to these two princes of their former greatness, is the mortification of having lost their dominions, and the despair of being ever able to recover them,

As the battle at Ramillies caused a general Revolution in the Netherlands, and the allies made conquest after conquest. To restrain the license of the soldiers, and to gain the people of Brabant and Flanders, by gentleness and clemency; the confederates thought proper to shew the people, that they did not come into their country as enemies; for which purpose the duke of Marlborough, three days after the battle, published an ordinance in his camp, disclaiming, on the part of the allies, all pretensions to the dominion of the country, and acknowledging it to belong to his catholic majesty, king Charles the 3d, and likewise granting his protection

tection to all the people, for their persons and effects, forbidding, strictly, the officers and soldiers, upon pain of death, from giving them the least molestation or disturbance; but on the contrary, assist and defend them to the utmost of their power. This ordinance was published at the head of every squadron and battalion, and a copy delivered to every troop and company,

This ordinance was followed by a letter much of the same purport from the duke of Marlborough, and the field deputies of the states to the magistrates of Bruffels. As the people of that city had always expressed a great veneration for the elector of Bavaria, and notwithstanding the extreme rigour of his government, they loved him, more than they had ever done any of the kings of Spain their lawful princes, it was the interest of the allies to wean them of an attachment so incompatible with the revolution that had just happened in these countries. But nothing will ever make the inhabitants of Bruffels forget that prince, they were so taken with the splendor of his court, that they still continue to regret the loss of it. It was not in the least to be wondered at. The elector lived at a vast expence, operas, comedies, balls, and ladies; in short, all sorts of pleasures took up their whole time; of which there is nothing now to be seen.

The

The duke of Marlborough made his entry into Brussels the 28th of May, he was received there with all the honours due to a conqueror; the magistrates met him without the gates of the city, and presented him the keys in a gilt bason. Ghent, Bruges, Damme, and Oudenarde, and several other towns followed the example of Brussels, and submitted to the conqueror; the states of Flanders likewise acknowledged king Charles for their lawful sovereign.

If the battle at Ramillies produced so surprising a revolution in the Low Countries, the affairs of Spain were in no less disorder, where all was in confusion; as we have seen by the raising the siege of Barcelona, and the progress of the Portuguese in Castile. It was as if there was to be no end of the misfortunes of the two crowns, and that fortune took delight in humbling two princes she had seemed to have been so fond of before. The king of France, who was greatly disturbed at these events, together with his ministers, set themselves to work on purpose to provide a remedy. The court of France began to reflect upon the haughty manner in which they had treated the grandees of Spain, and the little respect that had been shewed them. This was a most impolitick step at the beginning of a reign, and was the fatal source of all their

misfortunes. The king of France wrote to the court of Madrid to yield to the necessity of the times. He ordered monsieur Amelot his ambassador to flatter and cajole the grandees and the people, but chiefly the former, who being full of their dignity, might take part with the archduke, and excite the people to a general revolt. Monsieur Amelot, according to the king's orders, assembled the grandees of Spain, to whom he made the following speech in the name of the king his master.

Illustrious Lords,

IT is by order of the king my master, that I have assembled you together, to know from your own mouths the true sentiments of your excellencies, upon the defeat of the armies of the two crowns, both in Flanders and Catalonia. The king my master cannot help complaining of the little assistance he has met with from you, he has commanded me to call this assembly together, to tell you, that tho' the king his grandson succeeded to the crown by right of blood, yet he does not pretend to support him in it, contrary to the inclinations which many of your excellencies may have entertained for the arch-duke, who comes without right and by force of arms, to disturb the peace of the kingdom. If his Catholick majesty, that amiable prince, whom

whom God has bestowed upon this nation, has no longer a place in your affections, he who has done nothing contrary to its laws and religion; how is it possible to think, that so religious and catholick a people can take part with an usurper, accompanied by an army of hereticks, who seek his establishment only for the destruction of your altars? the king my master, who prefers the true worship of God to all the crowns upon earth, would rather consent to the return of the king, his grandson, into France, than be accessary to all the sacrileges that must necessarily attend his expulsion by force. He therefore desires your excellencies to deal sincerely, and let him know your true sentiments towards your prince.

After the duke of Medina Celi had represented the grievances of the grandees, and nation; monsieur Amelot answered, that the king, his master, had given him authority, to assure their excellencies, that their grievances should be immediately redressed: that he would refer it to their excellencies themselves; and that they, and the kingdom, might depend upon all the satisfaction imaginable. Upon these assurances, the duke of Medina Celi replied, in the name of the whole assembly, that the king of Spain might depend upon it, that they would sacrifice their lives, and fortunes,

for his support; that they would maintain an army of 40,000 men at their own expence, without touching the king's revenue: that his catholick majesty might return with all safely to Madrid, as he must be fully convinced of their loyalty. Then turning to the assembly, he said, that if there were any there present in the interest of the archduke, they were at liberty to retire; and that their effects should be sent after them wheresoever they went; that after this declaration, if any should betray the king and nation, they might be sure they should lose their heads on a scaffold, and their estates be confiscated; to which he added, speaking of himself, that if there appeared any thing in his own conduct, that gave the least suspicion, he desired to be made the first example; with which he concluded, saying, God save king Philip the 5th, our lawful sovereign, which was repeated by the whole assembly.

The king of France, having put the affairs of his grandson into some order, began to think of his own. He dispatched fresh orders to the generals of his different armies, which he had in Germany, Italy, and Spain; and as the revolution which had happened in the Netherlands, concerned him the nearest, by reason of the danger his own frontiers were exposed to by it, his majesty thought proper to dispatch thither his prime minister, in whom he put the most con-

confidence. Accordingly monsieur de Chamillard had orders to repair to Flanders; where he found the remains of the French army in a deplorable condition, and the generals, who had commanded at the battle of Ramillies, miserably divided. The elector of Bavaria complained grievously of the marechal de Villeroy's behaviour to him; he said, that general had always treated him with great indifference, not to say contempt; that he slighted all the advices his highness gave for the good of the army; that the marechal de Villeroy, had of his own head, altered the order of battle, without consulting the other generals; that the enemy had made so good an advantage of it, that he was sorry to say it, but could not help saying, that it was the cause of the loss of the battle at Ramillies; that it was a great concern to him to find, that the king always gave him masters instead of lieutenant generals; as he had experienced ever since the war began, witness the perpetual contests he had had in Bavaria, with Villars, Tallard, and Marsin, and since with Villeroy, by which he perceived, he was to be always a slave to the king's generals. That it was a sensible mortification to a prince of his rank, to be put upon a level with persons who had no other distinction, but what they received from the king's favour. The elector ended, with saying, that if it was to be always thus, he

was determined to throw up the command of the army, and retire to Mons till the end of the war; that his brother, the elector of Cologne was infinitely happier than he, as he lived at his ease, without meddling with business of any kind, and took his pleasure where he pleased; whereas himself, who exposed his life, every day, for the service of the two crowns, met with nothing but mortifications for his pains.

Monfieur de Chamillard heard the elector's complaints without any emotion. He knew they were well grounded, and, indeed, the king of France had always given private instructions to his generals who commanded his armies with the elector; which they were to observe, whether he was pleased or displeas'd. The court of France did not care to trust the chief command of a powerful army to a prince, who was formidable enough of himself without it; besides, they look'd upon the elector as an ally, who might possibly hold a secret correspondence with their enemies; this apprehension was grounded upon the repeated offers that had been made by the allies to the elector, to draw him off from the interest of the two crowns. So that the marechal de Villeroi was not so much to be blamed, as he acted according to the orders of the court, which justified him. The elector was inconsolable for the loss of the battle at Ramillies;

I do not know, whether, that at Hochstet touched him more sensibly; when he quitted Germany, and his own dominions, he had the government of the Netherlands to retire to, and comfort him in his affliction; but now, he had no resource, but was wholly at the mercy of the king of France; and himself, and his brother, the elector of Cologne, depended entirely upon that prince's favour. Monsieur de Chamillard, according to the king's order, did all he could to flatter the elector's ambition. He gave him the strongest assurances of the king's friendship, and told him, he might depend upon it, the two kings would never consent to any peace with the allies, which should not reinstate him and his brother in their dominions; to which he added, that the king intended to bring twelve armies into the field the next campaign, and that it was to be hoped, that God would bless his majesty's righteous undertakings; that he should not look back upon their past ill success, but forward on the future, and hope for better fortune; that in order to oblige the elector, the king would recal the marechal de Villeroi, and send the duke de Vendosme to command the army: that he made no doubt, but that his electoral highness would be pleased with a general, who had so greatly distinguished himself wherever he had commanded, that who, besides his great abili-

and experience, the sweetness of his behaviour had made him equally beloved and esteemed, both by the officers and soldiers; and therefore they hoped, there would be a perfect understanding betwixt them. Monsieur de Chamillard concluded with telling him, that the king had dispatched his orders to the duke de Vendosme to repair immediately to Flanders, and shewed his highness a copy of them.

These orders were conceived in terms very much to the advantage of the Duc de Vendosme, and, together with the letter which the king wrote to that general upon the battle of Calcinato, shews how great a value the king had for him. It is an encomium which contains a great deal in a few words; I do not know whether the king ever wrote in terms, that expressed so high an esteem, either to the prince of Condé, or the marechals de Turenne and Luxembourg, who had gained so many great victories, and done such signal services to France; the letter is well worth reading, and was in the following terms.

The King of France's Letter to the Duc de Vendosme, on occasion of the Battle at Calcinato.

I Know not whether your late glorious success is a greater satisfaction to yourself, or to me. Nothing can be more seasonable and glorious than such an opening of the campaign. And I make no doubt of your carrying it through with the same courage and conduct. Nobody can be more persuaded of it than I am, nor wish it with more sincerity, for my own, for yours, and the sake of the kingdom. Be assured, I shall take all occasions of shewing the love and esteem I have for you.

From Versailles, the
2d of May, 1706.

Time must shew, whether the new general will be more successful in Flanders, than the elector of Bavaria, and the marshal de Villerpi have been. If success in war was always to attend upon merit, it may be said, the hopes that the court of France has conceived of the bravery of the duc de Vendosme are not ill grounded, and they may have reason by and bye to look upon him as the hero of his country, and the retriever of the king's glory. This thought brings to my mind the following verses,
which

which were handed about at Paris soon after their loss of the battle at Ramillies.

Marlborough fit a Ramelli,
 Dancer un triste branle,
 Mais dans cette Campagne ci
 Vendosme pretend avec lui,
 Dancer un autre branle,
 Dieu veuille qui il en foit ainsi,
 Car sans cela tout branle.

Tho' it is impossible to translate them so as to give them any spirit, I thought they might be agreeable to the reader who understands the language.

Monsieur de Chamillard having carefully examined into all that passed at the battle at Ramillies, broke the officers who had been deficient in their duty, and rewarded those who had signalized themselves upon that occasion, and rectified the disorders among the troops as much as the time would permit; left it to the duc de Vendosme, who was hourly expected there, to make a more exact review of the state of the army. At length this minister took his leave of the elector and returned to court, where he was impatiently expected; upon his arrival, he informed the king of all the particulars relating to the loss of the battle at Ramillies, and their whole care was to retrieve it.

The

The allies made a proper use of the defeat of the French, by vigorously pursuing their conquests, in a country where there was nothing to oppose them. The elector of Bavaria was forced to quit the field, and retire under the cannon of the strong towns. The people of the Netherlands, weary of the dominion of France, received the generals of the allies in every place, as their deliverers, who had freed them from an insupportable bondage, and restored them to their ancient liberties. The duke of Marlborough, and general Overkirk at the head of separate armies, besieged the towns of Dendermond, Ostend, Menin, and Aeth, which were all surrendered with little resistance.

The king of France, as I said, had formed four projects at the beginning of the campaign, which if they had succeeded, were to have put an end to the war, in favour of the two crowns. We have seen how two of them miscarried; their remained only one which took up their whole attention, and was their last stake; this was the siege of Turin, which was one of the most memorable transactions of the age. When this design was first laid, the preparations far exceeded all imagination; and had their expectations been answered with success, the city was to have been demolished and sacked as was Jerusalem of old.

This

This appeared by an order found in the *mà-rechal de Marfin's* pocket after his death : it was sealed up and was, not to be opened till after Turin was taken. It imported, that the place was to be plundered ; the fortifications to be raised, and Savoy and Piedmont exhausted with contributions. There were to be employed in this siege 130 pieces of cannon, 64 mortars, from two to five hundred weight each, 53,200 cannon balls, 17,000 bombs, 600,000 weight of powder, besides what was in the magazine of Susa ; six companies of bombardiers, six of labourers for the artillery, 600 miners, 600 gunners, and 800 pioneers, and three brigades of engineers ; and moreover, the siege was to be carried on by an army of fourscore thousand men.

Notwithstanding all these mighty preparations against him, the duke of Savoy, ever intrepid, and animated with that noble ardour that supports a great mind in the midst of the most imminent dangers, gave his orders for every thing with a presence of mind that was astonishing. Turin was his capital, and the place of his residence, the court of France could not have touched that prince more sensibly, after dispossessing him of the rest of his dominions, than by laying siege to that place. His royal highness did not seem in the least alarmed at it ; the promises he received at that time of speedy assistance

Marquis de HAUTEFORT. 205
assistance from the queen of Great Britain
and the States-general, greatly encouraged
him. The queen of Great Britain ordered
a letter to be written to the duke of Savoy,
which was as follows.

L E T T E R.

MONSEIGNEUR,

YOUR royal highness has no room to
doubt of the good intentions of the
queen of Great Britain, nor of the mea-
sures taken by the States-general several
months ago, for sending into Italy a pow-
erful assistance, which shall be able to deliver
your royal highness's dominions from the
oppression of a potent enemy, whose arro-
gance is well known; the bad weather, and
some unforeseen accidents, have retarded the
march of these troops; but these difficul-
ties are at last surmounted by the wise pre-
cautions taken by her majesty and the States:
it must be acknowledged, this could not be
done time enough to prevent the executi-
on of the duc de Vendosme's scheme, tho'
the advantages he has gained, have made
more noise, than they have done hurt to
the common cause. It is needless to repre-
sent to your royal highness, the vanity of the
hopes

the hopes conceived, and the false consequences drawn by the enemy from this success at the opening of the campaign in Italy: nor is this the first time they have done the same; your royal highness is too judicious to be imposed upon by such arts: all Europe thought France had carried her point, when the duc de Vendosme appeared before Trent in the year 1703, with intent to join the duke of Bavaria in the Tiroleze: nor was France less sanguine in her hopes, when the marechal de Tallard entered Germany, in expectation of triumphing upon the Danube, as he had done the year before upon the Rhine; and yet all these vast projects come to nothing.

I am fully persuaded, Sir, that the same will happen again, before the end of the campaign, especially with regard to Italy; and I am certain your royal highness will soon see the performance of what I have the honour to acquaint you with in her majesty's name; I may even add, that the allies think it will be for your highness's glory, and for the advantage of the common cause, that the enemy should persist in their resolution of besieging Turin, as they are sensible of the bravery and resolution of your officers and soldiers in defending your towns; and Turin being one of the strongest in Europe, they are pleased to think the enemy's army will waste itself in
vain,

vain, and that the length of the siege will give time for the arrival of the powerful succours, which are marching from all parts to your highness's assistance, to whom I wish all the honour and happiness that your own heart can desire, being with the most profound respect, &c.

From the Hague, the
1st of May, 1706.

The particulars of this famous siege are too well known to be repeated here. I shall only say, that his royal highness, before he left the city, made the following speech to the commandant and inhabitants, which was worthy of a great prince and captain.

Gentlemen and Friends, said he,

HOW great soever the danger may seem to which we are exposed, let us not be too greatly alarmed at it; for my own part, when I reflect upon the zeal and affection which you and your ancestors have shewed for your liberty and country, I cannot help assuring myself, that we shall triumph over our enemies.

It is of this precious liberty they would deprive us, and which we are now to defend with the last drop of our blood. You already see your enemy, sword in hand,
ready

ready to destroy you: his insatiable ambition not satisfied with robbing you of your effects in the country, which he has laid waste and destroyed, now comes to drive you from your habitations, and spoil you of what you have preserved, by your vigilance, from the hands of his rapacious soldiers. I have certain advice, that my allies are sending me such powerful assistance, both by sea and land, as will infallibly oblige the French to retire from before Turin, as shamefully, as they have lately done from Barcelona: but then you must, on your part, exert the same zeal, the same courage, and the same resolution and loyalty, of which the Catalans gave such amazing proofs. I know, that neither the Piedmontois, nor the Germans, have ever been surpassed in bravery by the Catalans, I am persuaded you will none of you be behind hand now, the preservation of your liberties and your all being at stake.

I promise you, that I will not only reward every one according to their several degrees of merit, for valour and fidelity; but I will likewise amply indemnify every body, who shall sustain any loss on account of the siege.

For my own part, I am going to expose my life at the head of my troops, to preserve yours; whilst you defend the city, I will do my utmost to facilitate the approach
of

of the assistance we expect ; I will perpetually harass the enemy's troops, or oblige them to make a diversion ; in the mean time, I pray God to bless the justice of my cause, and hear the prayers of my faithful subjects. For you, Sir, said the duke (addressing himself to the count de Thun, governor of Turin) I can give you no greater proof of the confidence I place in your wisdom and integrity, than by committing to your care the defence of my capital ; I leave you a place well fortified, and well provided with every thing ; I leave you a numerous garrison, made up of men full of zeal, and inured to war ; and I leave you a multitude of brave gentlemen and citizens, who will second you, and obey you as they would myself.

You will agree, that this is the most glorious occasion you could have of giving to all Europe proofs of your valour and intrepidity, and to gain immortal honour to yourself, by answering the expectations which the emperor, all Germany and Italy have conceived of your courage and conduct.

This speech being ended, there was nothing to be heard but protestations of fidelity, all the people strove to shew the marks of their loyalty to a prince, who was the first in exposing himself for their defence ; every one endeavoured to signalize themselves, all was prodigies of valour during the siege, both on the part of the governor,

and the inhabitants. If the defence that was made at Turin was surprizing, the raising of the siege was no less so; who could have imagined, that a town, against which such formidable preparations had been making the whole winter thro', and was actually besieged in the beginning of June, by a powerful army, should make so glorious a resistance; and give time for succours from so great a distance to come to its relief; who would have believed that the duke of Savoy, who was forced with his whole court to leave that city, pursued on every side, and obliged to take refuge in the valleys of the Vandois, who, I say, could have believed that he should, in so short a time, re-enter his capital in triumph; besides, who could have imagined that prince Eugene, whom a chain of entrenchments, stopped on the banks of the Adige, should elude the vigilance of the enemy's generals at the head of an army greatly superior to his; that he should surmount all those difficulties, should pass so many rivers, mountains, and different states, and join his royal highness, and all this in four and thirty marches. That these two valiant princes, after joining their armies, should attack their enemies in their trenches, and should carry them sword in hand in less than two hours, should prevent their return into the Milaneze, and force them to make a precipitate retreat towards

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Pignerol; all this surpasses imagination; and it may be said, that this was one of the most glorious events that had happened for the allies in the course of the war. The court of France, in some measure to eclipse the lustre of this action, made a great bustle about an affair that fell out much about the same time between the count de Medavi, and the prince of Hesse, tho' it was in reality a mere trifle.

The campaign of 1706 being at an end, the two armies separated much about the same time; the duc de Vendosme repaired to the court of France, and the elector of Bavaria to Mons. I spent the winter in that city with his electoral highness, who loaded me with favours; he kept me always about him, and would not suffer me to be elsewhere. I was so much in his good graces, that he trusted me with all his affairs, by that means I came to know all that passed at the court of France; I told him freely my thoughts of all that concerned his interest, as well as those of his brother the elector of Cologne, who went about this time to Paris; during his stay there, he went by the name of the marquis de Franchimont. The king, and the Dauphin, and the whole court, vied with each other in their reception of him, and treated him with the greatest distinction. He had a long audience of the king in his closet;

who told him, that tho' the last campaign had been so unsuccessful to his arms, he did not despair of seeing him soon restored to his dominions; that it was a great concern to him, that it could not be so soon as he could wish, that the low ebb of his finances would not admit him to keep an army in Flanders superior to his enemies: that the war in Spain employed the greatest part of his forces, and was an unknown expence to him. That if it would please God to bless his arms on that side, the war in Germany and Spain would give him no great pain; that he was resolved to send such reinforcements into Spain the next year, as should put an end to a foreign war, which was the greatest obstacle to all his other designs; when that was once done, his majesty would turn his thoughts wholly upon the restoring him, and his brother the elector of Bavaria to their dominions; in the mean time he desired him to make himself easy, that he had ordered his ministers to let him want for nothing. This audience being over, the elector of Cologne gave himself up altogether to the diversions of the court. The Dauphin took him to Meudon, la Raisin a player was of the party: monsieur had taken such a fancy to the girl, that the comtesse du Rouce, who before possessed his heart, was obliged to resign all the ascendance she had over the inclinations

clination of the first prince in France, to this player wench, surprizing change! merit is the least charm for prince's now-a-days, beauty does not touch their hearts, a scene of a farce acted with humour by a person of small beauty and mean birth, takes their fancy more, and la Raisin is not the first of her profession who has made her fortune that way. The elector of Cologne, whom we shall call the marquis de Franchimont, the name he had given himself, was so pleased with la Raisin, that he would willingly enough have commenced an amour with her, but was apprehensive of disobliging the Dauphin. She was an artful jade, and used to those things, so that she would have made no bones of it; but monsieur de Franchimont was more upon the reserve. The Dauphin entertained him with great magnificence at Meudon; and the civilities he received there, induced him to write a letter to the elector of Bavaria his brother, in which he expressed great satisfaction at the reception he met with at the court of France; the distant regard with which the marquis de Franchimont treated la Raisin, out of respect to the Dauphin, did not hinder him from indulging himself in another place, where he thought he might take more liberty. The grand prior of France had taken the marquis de Franchimont to Clichy, a house of pleasure belonging to

Franchon Moreau, his mistress, the marquis liked Franchon so well, that she engaged a heart, which would venture nothing for la Raifin; matters went so far betwixt Franchon and the marquis, that the grand prior was jealous; as he loved that wench to distraction, he repented his having brought the marquis acquainted with his mistress. However the deference he had for a prince, whom the king strove to oblige, and for whom the duc de Vendosme shewed a particular regard, as he was to command the army in Flanders with the elector of Bavaria, these considerations made him overlook it at that time. This expedition was no sooner over, than our princes took another.

The duc de Vendosme entertained them all at Anet, a country house of his, three leagues from Paris. The Dauphin, the duc de Orleans, the marquis de Franchimont, the duc de Valentinois, and the grand prior were of the party: but as all other pleasures without women are of little worth, every one took his mistress with him. La Raifin, as I said, was the Dauphin's favourite; la Forence, a dancer at the opera, was no less so of the duc d'Orleans: the marquis de Franchimont, and the grand prior, tho' rivals, shared the favours of the lovely Franchon. La du Fort, another dancer at the opera, was the delight of the duc de Valentinois. The duc de Vendosme,
 who

who was perfectly indifferent in those kind of matters, as well as all other pleasures, lived in perfect tranquillity, and was perhaps the best employed. These princes, being arrived at Anet, shewed the marquis de Franchimont all the beauties of a place, which had cost the duc de Vendosme ten millions of livres. Building is his foible, any maggot was enough to make that prince, in a fine morning, pull down an apartment contrived by the best architects; it is the only pleasure he takes besides war and hunting. The king, who has a particular value for him, lets him alone to indulge himself in it, and the immense sums he confounded in buildings, gave his majesty's no uneasiness, tho' at a time when the strictest oeconomy was more than ever necessary at court. The duc indeed was at that time the hero of France, and possessed the chief place in the king's favour; as he very well deserves it for the services he had done the crown in the war. But to return to my subject, which was the agreeable manner which our princes spent their time at Anet, with their opera ladies. They laid out the time thus; one day for hunting, another for gaming, and the third for balls. The hunting days all the princes appeared on horseback, the girls did the same, drest en Chavalier booted and spurred, with hats and feathers, and swords by

their sides, being provided for that purpose by the princes with the richest habits in the most elegant taste. When they were in the field, they taught them the caracol, and all the horse exercise, and even to fire their pistols. The princes were charmed with their graceful behaviour and martial air. The duc de Vendosme, who delights in those things, was highly diverted to see these pretty lasses perform them so dextrously. The gaming days the ladies took it by turns to keep the bank ; and her gallant, whose turn it was, furnished the cash ; if she won, she enriched herself at the charge of her lover, who generously presents her with the winnings ; if she lost, it was he that bore the expence ; so that the banquere ran no hazards. Franchion, the grand prior's mistress, often reaped the benefit of the good and ill fortune of these illustrious gamesters at Anet ; so that at her return to Paris, she put 20,000 livres into the town-house, contributing in that manner her mite to the necessities of the state, as well as the great ones of the kingdom. The others were not altogether so fortunate ; tho' it may be reasonably supposed, that the expedition to Anet was worth more to them than many operas. The third day, which was destined to the balls, was the pleasantest scene of all that was exhibited at Anet, for the diversion of these princes. Their highnesses were then entertained with a fight, which

which displayed to their eyes all the beauties of nature; and if the naked charms of beautiful well made girls could delight their senses, they might be said to enjoy at once all the pleasures of love to excess. The dancers, to entertain their lovers, threw off their cloaths, and danced stark naked all the entrees of the most celebrated operas: Their highnesses, each in their turns, directed the orchestra and musick; nobody but themselves being admitted into this theatre of love and pleasure. It was in this delightful manner that our princes and generals spent the greatest part of the winter at Anet, till towards the opening of the campaign in 1707. I shall insert the copy of a letter from the elector of Cologne to the elector of Bavaria, his brother, upon this subject.

L E T T E R.

I Acquainted you with the gracious reception I met with from the king upon my arrival at this court, and the audience I had of his majesty on the subject of these affairs, which concern us most. If the hopes of better fortune is sufficient to content us, we have no reason to complain. The king seemed mightily pleased with our constant attachment to his interest, and is extremely well satisfied with us. The ill
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success of the last campaign, so little favourable to his designs, had discomposed him; but the money bills which they have invented, have a little raised his spirits: messieurs de Chamillard and de Pontchartrain make the king believe he will gain 170 millions of livres; tho' the publick don't stick to say, that it is an invention of the devil, and that France will be ruined to all intents and purposes by them; that will be as it happens; the best of the business is this, that the ministers here pretend to carry on the war by the means of them, in such a manner, as shall surprize all Europe the next campaign; I wish it may prove so. If you pass your time at Mons as agreeably as I do here, I am in no pain for you: the princes, whose pleasures I share often, talk of you, and there is not one of them, but would be glad to see you here; as would their mistresses, who are all girls belonging to the playhouses and opera. The stage is all the taste of this court; the women of quality languish in obscurity, and are ready to burst with envy: I have a thousand little adventures to tell you of, which happened at Meudon, at Clichy, and at Anet. These parties of pleasure extremely diverted the Dauphin, the duc de Orleans, the duc de Vendosme, the grand prior, and the duc de Valentinois, with these I spend all my time. We live the happiest lives in the world,

world, a little jealousy ruffles us now-and-then. If you was acquainted with the amiable Franchon, she would tell you more of it: you will say these are only playhouse girls, no great rarities for men of our rank; if so, I must put you in mind of the fair dancer of the opera at Bruffels, whom you was so fond of. The duc de Vendosme proposes to perform wonders next campaign; whatever happens of that kind, you will come in for your share of the glory; if the king will furnish him with an army of fourscore thousand men, he says, he will rout the duke of Marlborough horse and foot; and retake all the towns that have been lost since the beginning of the war. The king has so much confidence in him, that if we may believe them, you will be infallibly at Bruffels, and I at Leige in the month of June next at farthest. Pray God send it.

At the end of the last campaign, all Europe looked upon France as ruined, past redemption. She was thought to be reduced to so low an ebb, by the prodigious successes of the confederate army, that nothing but a peace could relieve her; her generals durst not keep the field unless entrenched up to the nose: in short, it was the opinion of the whole world, that the king had neither money nor troops to carry on the war. To confirm the allies in this opinion, our ministers set on foot three negotiations, from
which

which they reaped great benefit the following campaign. The first of these negotiations was carried in the Netherlands, which the court of France committed to the care of the elector of Bavaria; the other two were carried on in Italy, one by means of the Pope, and the other with the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene. In order to the first. About the middle of October M. Chamillard sent two letters to the elector of Bavaria: these containing overtures of peace, the elector was to transmit one to the duke of Marlborough, and the other to the field deputies of the States, as coming from himself. On the receipt of these letters, the elector took me into his closet, and shewed them to me. I had no sooner read them, than I perceived the drift of the court, and the artifice of our ministers to amuse the allies. Monsieur de Chamillard, when he wrote those letters, took particular care not to let the elector into the secret; he was sincere enough himself to think the French ministers dealt ingenuously; and were really disposed to a peace. But I, who knew them, and all the arts of that court to the bottom, soon convinced his highness of his error; and experience has shewn, that I was not out in my conjectures: the court of France flattered themselves that the allies would fall into the snare, as in some measure they did. These letters being dispatched to the duke

duke of Marlborough and the field deputies, nothing could be more obliging than their answer.

The allies had quite a different notion of the king's design, they really thought that he was in no condition to carry on the war, and depending wholly upon the success of their arms, they paid no regard to the mighty preparations that were making in France: instead of making new levies, and augmenting their forces, they kept all upon the same foot as they were in the former campaigns. The court of France being informed of the good success of the elector's negotiation, set on foot another by the means of the court of Rome, so that the discourse of a peace became general; whilst the king was exerting himself to the utmost to continue the war. The overtures made at the court of Rome, were such as might have deceived the most clear-sighted. The Pope, to shew his affection to the king, and zeal for his interest, made the most pressing instances with the Venetians; and the catholic cantons of Switzerland, to induce them to use their utmost endeavours with the confederate princes to make peace with the king.

The treaty with the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, was of the greatest importance of all to the king's affairs; the powerful diversion made by the allies in Italy, and the numerous armies the king was obliged
to

to maintain there, had saved Spain, and given the confederates an opportunity to extend their conquests so far in that kingdom, as to give king Charles's party the ascendant, so that a general revolution was daily expected in his favour. This the wisest of the king's ministers had often represented to him; but his majesty was exasperated to that degree with the duke of Savoy, that he had vowed to set no bounds to his revenge, and never to leave him, till he had stripped him of all his dominions. But the gallant defence made by all the places belonging to that prince when they were besieged, had drawn out the war on that side to a great length, which laid the king under an indispensable necessity of supporting it with fresh supplies of men and money as occasion required. Of all the king's ministers Chamillard alone approved of his resentment, and advised him to continue the war, in which he consulted more the glory of the duc de la Feuillade (who had married his daughter) than the king's interest. He ardently wished that general might give the finishing stroke to the ruin of the duke of Savoy, by taking Turin. Tho' the Spanish monarchy was the ground of the war, it had been the most neglected on that side; France now saw her error, and in the next campaign made a righter use of her strength and her forces. They abandoned

doned Italy, and sent all her troops into Spain; this was the effect, and the fruit of the treaty with the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene.

After all these intrigues of the cabinet, which turned upon the negotiations I have been mentioning, the king began to think of putting his other designs in execution. He ordered his armies to their posts in the several seats of war; the troops of France were seen defiling from all quarters towards the frontiers of Spain. As it was in that kingdom the great blow was to be struck, the scheme was, that there should be divers bodies of troops, to act against king Charles, and the Portuguese at the same time. Several squadrons of ships of war were ordered to put to sea, which were to be supported by the whole naval force of France, in order to intercept any reinforcement which England and Holland might send into Spain. Thus all imaginable precautions were taken to render the war in Spain successful, and bring it to a speedy conclusion. After the war in Spain, that of Germany and Flanders came under consideration; as the king had resolved to have twelve armies on foot, he named the generals who were to command them, and gave them their instructions for their conduct: the elector of Bavaria and the duke de Vendosme were to
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command in Flanders, and the marechal de Villars in Germany.

When this list of the armies and their generals came from court to the elector, he shewed it me; I could not forbear telling him, I thought the king looked upon the war as a meer amusement; and smiling, I added, that I wondered his majesty had not given out, that he would have 24 armies in the field instead of 12, one was as probable as the other, and the allies would have regarded it as much; when the elector had read it, I took the liberty to ask him, how he approved of the disposition of the generals, and particularly how he liked to have the grandson of Gabrielle d'Etrée to command the army in Flanders under him. The elector answered, that France had no great choice of generals; and as Vendosme was the best, he must be contented with him. I asked, if he reckoned the Camisard hero for nobody? What Villars, said his electoral highness; he's the rarest fellow alive, and the completest Gascon that ever came from the banks of the Garonne, the king should have sent him into Spain, instead of the duke of Berwick. His sublime airs, continued his highness, would have hitted the Spaniards to a hair; it would have been pretty to see him, on the point of a battle, or the passage of a river, disputed by the enemy, to hear him call the sun
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and moon, and every star in the firmament to be witnesses of his valour, as he frequently did when I commanded with him in Germany. I remember, added his highness, when Villeroi and I lost the battle at Ramillies, Villars, turning up his eyes to heaven, and shrugging up his shoulders, sighing, said to the king, ah, Sire! Villars cannot be every where. I did not wonder at the elogiums the elector bestowed upon that general, he had been thoroughly acquainted with him in Germany; where his haughty behaviour was so insupportable, and gave the elector such an aversion to him, that he often declared to me, that if the king had not recalled Villars, he would have absolutely abandoned the interest of the two crowns.

Whilst the court of France was taken up in making preparations for a campaign that was quite to change the face of affairs, the elector of Bavaria left the care of the war to the two kings, who had undertaken it, and thought of nothing but how to spend the winter in the most agreeable manner he could; he had his mistresses not only at Mons, but likewise at Lisle, Tournay, and Valenciennes; and when he went to visit them, it was always upon pretence of hunting. His highness, who was pleased to honour me with his confidence, insisted always upon my going with him; our tem-
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pers agreed exactly in these things; and the many obligations I had to him, would not suffer me to disobey any of his commands. If his brother the elector of Cologne took his pleasure at the court of France, we were no less agreeably employed in Flanders: the elector had at Mons the *la marquise de* — and the *comtesse de* — who were reckoned the greatest beauties of the place. As for myself, I chose a Brabander, who frequently put me in mind of the charming *mademoiselle de Hamelonde*, my former mistress at Namure. When we were at Mons, the elector was making love in one place, and I in another; if we went to any other place in the new-conquests, it was still the same. When the elector came away from his mistresses, he always gave me an account of his adventures: these were generally made up of such perpetual squabbles, and amorous pets, that I wondered how a prince of his rank could bear so much from the caprices of women. I, who always loved to act with freedom in these affairs, told him my real opinion of it, with the same liberty, as I took on the subject of war and politicks; I spoke plainly what I thought, tho' at the hazard of his displeasure. This ingenuity was far from being disagreeable; on the contrary, he took it very well of me. When we went to Lisle, Tournay, or Valenciennes,

nes, we looked out for another kind of game; then it was madame l'Intendante, the governor's lady, or may be madame la Tresoriere, engaged his highness, and sometimes a girl, whose beauty was greater than her quality; 'twas all one, all was fish that came to net. The splendor of his quality and personal merit engaged the first, and his liberality won him the hearts of the last. It is thus that princes make love, and thus that love makes fools of princes.

Of all the elector's ladies at Mons, the young marquise de —— held the first place in his favour; this young beauty was thought to possess his heart, and his ear, preferably to the comtesse de —— Tho' his highness strove to observe a kind of neutrality towards them; yet the fire of jealousy would sometimes break out betwixt them, and gave the elector no small disturbance, as well as produced some adventures, which served a good deal to divert me: as for example, la marquise de —— and the comtesse de —— intending both at the same time to change their habitations, happened to cast their eyes unknown to each other upon the same place, which was one of the finest houses in Mons. This house being to be let, it was indifferent to the owner, who had it if the rent was well paid, and that was out of the question with them both. La marquise hearing the comtesse was about the house,

spoke to the elector privately, and desired he would send to the landlord; being certain, if the elector would interest himself in it, she should have the preference; the comtesse asked the like favour of his highness for the same reason: the elector, who did not care to embroil himself with either of them, but would rather have obliged la marquise; one day asked me, if I could not contrive to get the house for the marquise without his appearing in it. I told him, I had a thought come into my head that would infallibly do it; his highness asked what it was; I told him, we need only give out, that the house was haunted. He smiled, and desired me to set about it; and I should very much oblige him. Accordingly, I sent for two of the pages, and having enjoined them secrecy, I ordered them to go about to all the coffee-houses in town, and to ask every body they saw, if they heard the report, of such a house in Mons being haunted. The pages did as I bid them, and moreover named the place. That was enough; some of the comtesse's servants heard of it, and told their lady; she took no notice of it, but sent her steward to the owner of the house, to desire she might have the keys to see it. I got intelligence when the comtesse was to be there, and went to one of the dancers at the opera, and borrowed of him the habit of one of the
Furies,

Furies, that accompanies Hate, when she appears to Armida. Having made it up in a bundle, I sent it to a shoemaker's, whose house joined to the other. I promised the shoemaker the elector's custom, if he would let me open a trap-door, that went out of his shop into a cellar belonging to the house in question. The man was mightily pleased with the offer, not only gave me leave to do as I pleased, but promised likewise secrecy. Having opened the door, I took the Fury's dress and mask, and a little dark-lantern in my hand, to light me in a place that was darker than the dungeons in the Bastile. Thus equipped, I went down into the cellar by a private pair of steps, and placed myself at the foot of the great stairs, expecting the coming of the comtesse. I could not help laughing at the thoughts of the whimsical part I was going to act; and I never go to the opera since, but I laugh when I see the dress I wore. After dinner comes the comtesse, with mademoiselle de — her friend and confidant, her steward and chamber-maid: the master of the house met them there. Having viewed the apartments above, they opened the cellar door where I was, to look at that also. The master of the house came down first, and offered his hand to the comtesse, who came next, followed by mademoiselle de —, the steward and the chamber-maid; to

make short, I would not stir till they were about the middle of the stairs ; then starting up quick, I stood bolt upright before them in the Fury's dress, with the hideous mask on my face, and the dark lanthorn in my hand. At sight of me the comtesse screamed ; she was so terribly frightened, that she, and all that were with her, ran up stairs again as fast as they could, and out into the street, crying, they had seen the devil. This was enough to convince the comtesse, that what her servants had told her of the house's being haunted was true ; as soon as she was come a little to herself, she fell upon the landlord, and chid him severely, for offering to let her a house, which, she said, he knew very well was a rendezvous of devils : the man protested solemnly, he knew nothing of the matter, and never saw any thing like it in his life before. In short, the comtesse told him, if his house was full of gold, and he would give it her for nothing, she would not live there ; and getting into her coach, she went home as fast as she could, and sent for the surgeon to bleed her, and all her company.

As for me, I shifted my dress, and went directly to the elector, and gave him an account of what had happened ; he laughed heartily at the prank I had played, and the success of it : he ordered me to go and acquaint the marquise with it, but at the same time he charged me to tell her I did it
of

of my own head. The marquise having made herself very merry at her rival's expence, took coach, and went to the landlord. He was glad to get off a house that had so bad a character, let it to the marquise for half the rent he had asked the comtesse. Some months after, the comtesse hearing the trick that had been played her, was in an outrageous passion; and being informed that it was me who did it, she used all her endeavours to bring me into disgrace with the elector; but his highness, knowing that I had done nothing but by his own command, made a jest of all she said to my prejudice. If I lost the favour of the comtesse, I got myself so much into the favour of the marquise by it, that she declared herself my protectress. I could not help smiling at the name she gave me when I used to visit her: she called me her Hobgoblin, *Esprit Folet*.

A few days after this, the elector charged me with a commission, which obliged me to go to Namure. It was to give the commandant orders from the elector what movements he was to make with the troops of the garrison, and how he was to behave at the opening of the campaign. I shall here give an account of a little adventure that befell me there. Upon my arrival I went to wait upon mademoiselle de Hammelonde; she received me in a manner that deserved all the esteem I have ever had for her.

She was overjoyed to see me after so long an absence. We renewed the vows of a mutual affection we had made to each other during the siege of Namure. The Abbey of Malloigne, whither I accompanied her, brought to our minds all our past pleasures and enjoyments; and she told me, she had not forgot the agreeable conversations we had in that place. Besides her other kind entertainment, she insisted upon my lying at her house; and I could not refuse her. Going to bed one night, I took it into my head to read over my Memoirs. I had set the candle upon a chair by the bed-side; and falling asleep, the candle, by some accident, fell upon the papers, burnt them to ashes; and the fire spreading, caught hold of the curtains and sheets of the bed; I was then in a kind of a fiery furnace: the smoke that all this made in the room was as thick, as if all the hay and straw in the king's magazines at Namure had been on fire in it. I had liked to have been suffocated with it, which waked me, otherwise I should have been in danger of sharing the fate of my Memoirs, and the flames would have shewed me no more mercy, than they did the Camisars in the Sevenses. I cried out fire as loud as I could bawl. Mademoiselle de Hammelonde, who lay in a chamber near mine, rose as fast as she could, and ran to my assistance. A maid came in presently after

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ter. with two pails of water : but the pleasantest part of the whole was, that the moment mademoiselle de Hammelonde came to my bed-side, instead of helping her to put out the fire, I fell a laughing ready to kill myself, to see her in an attitude, which exposed all the charms of her person to my view, for she was in her shift. She could not forbear laughing neither, and without further ceremony, caught up both the pails, one after the other, and threw the water all over me. I was then betwixt two elements, both alike destructive ; fire on one side, and an inundation of water on the other, that drenched me from head to heel : I told her, that if all her favours were as cold as these, they were enough to freeze one in the midst of summer : this good humour made her smile ; and I started up, and ran to the chair where my cloaths lay, and pulled off my wet shirt, and only threw my waistcoat over my shoulders. In this equipage mademoiselle de Hammelonde and I went to work with all our might to put out the fire, and at last we compassed it. She fretted for her fine wrought curtains, which were of a fine flowered damask ; and I for my Memoirs, and should have been inconsolable, if I had not by good luck saved the foul draught, which was locked up in my strong box at Mons.

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We have seen the methods the court of France had taken to put their affairs in better order, and to disconcert the measures of their enemies; I come now to the schemes which the confederate princes had laid for this next campaign against France; these were founded upon four great expeditions; the first was the conquest of the kingdom of Naples; this was resolved upon at the court of Vienna; the second was the siege of Toulon; the third was, to give the duc de Vendosme battle in Flanders; and the fourth, to attack the duke of Orleans and the duke of Berwick in Spain. All this could not be executed but at a prodigious charge; England and Holland, that had all along supported the expence of the war, raised fresh supplies; the parliament of England, which expressed a zeal and resolution for the reduction of the power of France, unknown in former wars, granted the queen, who was (at that time looked upon) as one of the greatest princeesses that ever reigned, above 6,000,000 sterling for the service of the year 1707. Besides these sums furnished by England, the states of Holland were not behind hand on their part. Whoever considers these prodigious sums, would think they were more than sufficient to overcome all the king's armies this campaign, as they had done in the foregoing ones; and it was natural to think the difficulty would not have been

been so great; but the event has shewn the contrary; and never did the king give greater proofs of his power and strength than at this time. And like the lion in the fable, who feigned himself dead, he has appeared in every place with armies superior to his enemies.

The raising the siege of Barcelona, and the success which followed, had put king Charles's affairs upon so favourable a foot, that it was generally thought another campaign would have reduced the whole kingdom of Spain to his obedience. To prepare those who had already joined him, as well as to gain those who had not submitted, he published a very well digested manifesto, full of gracious promises, and strong arguments, to induce the Spaniards to take part with him.

The Spaniards, who were of king Philip's party, looked upon this manifesto as lightning before thunder; and it was indeed the prelude to the bloody battle that was fought on the plains of Almanza; for the armies having taken the field, the duke of Berwick made so good use of the superiority of his horse, that he remained master of the field of battle. He was advised of the terrible dilemma my lord Galway was in, and the necessities he laboured under. He knew that lord, and the marquis das Minas (the Portuguese general) had an army

my at most of 4,500 horse, and 11,000 foot, and that to keep open their communication with the kingdom of Valencia, from whence they drew their subsistence, they were absolutely obliged to lay siege to the castle of Villena. The duke of Berwick, on the contrary, had a flourishing army, consisting of 54 battalions and 76 squadrons; and moreover expected to be reinforced with 8,000 French, with which the duke of Orleans was marching to join him. With such a superiority there was little danger in venturing a battle; it was the duke of Berwick's good fortune to be in so happy a situation, and my lord Galway's ill fate to be obliged to come to a decisive action at so great a disadvantage. However, the two armies came to a general engagement the 25th of April (being Easter Monday, 1707) and the duke of Berwick gained a compleat victory.

We shall now see the marechal de Villars performing wonders on the Rhine, without effusion of blood. If the duke of Berwick had sacrificed good part of the best troops that the king sent into Spain to his majesty's glory, Villars found a way to make amends for all by the contributions he raised in Germany. This hero of the Gascons, as they call him at court, could not do a more acceptable piece of service to the comptroller of the finances, in the streights they

they then were in, than to bring all the ready money from Germany into the king's coffers; this was really the shortest way, and more effectual than all his majesty's declarations concerning the money bill; in France they bestowed all the encomiums upon this gentleman that were so much his due.

Villars, say they, is a favourite of the king's, why! for being the scourge of the Germans, the conqueror of the Camisars, and the replenisher of his empty coffers. This, says the elector one day to me, is the brightest scene of Villars's life, in which he appeared with great propriety, and should be put upon his tomb when he is dead; but I would add one thing, said his highness, that every body does not know, it would have delighted me, to see him upon the frontiers of Lorain, when he was encamped at Sirck, venturing a battle with the English and Dutch; then we should have seen how he would have come off; he had then, said the elector, the finest opportunity in the world of showing himself to advantage; his army was composed of the flower of all the king's troops; yet what does he do? He remains quiet in his camp, and instead of stopping the duke of Marlborough, who had given himself the trouble to come so far in search of him, Villars let him go back, without so much as exchanging a single pistol shot; just when
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I was on the point of restoring my brother, the elector of Cologne, to his dominions, by taking Liege, which Villeroi and I were besieging at that time. I answered the elector, that when I was in Holland, I had heard it said, that prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough wished greatly to see Villars at the head of one of the king's armies in Italy or Flanders; prince Eugene, to revenge the emperor for the disorder Villars had committed in Germany, and the duke to be even with him for the high airs he gave himself at Sirck. To which they add, that it was wonderful, since the king had so great an opinion of him, that he employed him no where but in Germany, where there was nothing to do.

But if the princes of Germany suffered so much by the eruption that Villars made into their country at the beginning of May, it was chiefly owing to the little care they took for their own safety. England and Holland both had given them warning enough by their ministers, besides the pressing instances made by the resident of the States-general to the diet of Ratisbon, to persuade them to provide for their own defence. Villars, taking advantage of the weakness of the Imperialists, whose army was not yet formed, made the best use of his time. He advanced his army towards Slugard, the capital of Wirtemberg, and
towards

towards Tubingen; as the king's orders were to gather up all the money he could, he forbid plunder upon the severest penalty, and granted protection in every place where his army passed through, provided they paid large contributions. It was said at that time in the elector of Bavaria's court, that Villars had made as good a campaign of it in Germany, as the allies did at the beginning of the war in the Spanish Guelderland; they observed, in regard to contributions, he had very well imitated the example of a certain general of the allies, who was a lover of the fair sex, as appeared at Ruremond among the ladies who had handsome daughters, which I mentioned before. Villars seeing himself in the heart of Germany, in a prosperous and triumphant situation, gave a loose to his pleasures, as opportunity offered. They came from all parts to bring in their contributions; the ladies with their handsome daughters were always most welcome, and fared best; but those who had none, were obliged to pay to the last farthing: so that before they had done, those who had no beauties of their own that were to the general's taste, were forced to borrow them were they could get them to make their visits acceptable. The ladies of Franconia and Wirtemberg did him the justice to declare, that they never met with a French general so very affable and complaisant

plaisant to the ladies; and as money is scarce in those parts, they made no scruple to own, that had it not been for this expedient, abundance of stately castles and country-seats would have been levelled with the ground.

But to return to the affairs of the war, the prince of Bareith, who commanded the army of the empire, finding himself in no condition to oppose the French army, took care at least to secure the strong places; and sent a detachment of 12,000 men to reinforce the garrisons of Landau, Philippsbourg, and Fribourg. So that the *marechal de Villars* had a clear stage, and was at full liberty to fill the king's coffers, and his own pockets. The rest of the events in Germany, being of little moment, I shall finish what I have to say of it, with just mentioning an imperious letter that *Villars* wrote to the magistrates of *Ulm*, concerning some French prisoners who were upon their parole in that city, and had escaped from thence, and whose baggage those magistrates had stopped; which shews what airs of importance that general gave himself; and indeed the king himself could not have expressed his pleasure with more authority. The great success that *Villars* met with in Germany, pleased the king so well, that all the letters which came from court were full of it: but if his majesty and his ministers

nisters were so delighted with it, on account of the vast sums of money it brought into their coffers, it had not the same effect upon the elector of Bavaria. The court of France had made that prince believe the principal view of the expedition, Villars, was going to make in Germany, was to restore him to his dominions. They wrote him the finest things in the world upon that subject. Chamillard carried it so far, as to desire the elector to hold himself in a readiness to repair to the Rhine in person, in order to second Villars as occasion should offer.

When the elector heard that Villars had repassed the Rhine, and that all the fine promises of the court of France were but air, he was in an inexpressible fury. I never see him so enraged, he was very near throwing up the command of the army, and retiring to Mons. I have, said his highness, a great mind to concern myself no more with any business, chusing rather to divert myself with hunting, than to command the army with such perpetual mortifications. But to leave the elector and his affairs, for those that concerned myself more, I cannot forbear inserting here, a letter wrote to me by a person at court on the death of madame de Montespan. As that lady had been one of my protectresses, the remembrance of her past favours caused me to re-

gret her loss. Had madame de Montespan been the reigning favourite at the time of my disgrace, instead of madame de Maintenon, I had not been now in the situation I am in at Mons, but should have enjoyed the sweets of fortune, in some pretty post of distinction of her procuring for me: but her reign was at an end, and she could only wish me well; however, the marquis de ——— was so good, as to inform me what they said at court on the death of that lady.

L E T T E R.

S I R,

THIS will acquaint you, with the death of one of the king's mistresses, madame de Montespan, who being at the waters of Bourbon, bid her last farewell to the king, and the whole court. She died there the 18th of May; she has left one good friend behind, to lament her death, madame de Maintenon, her successor. Had it pleased God to take her in the room of the other, how great would have been our affliction. If France had not been so well governed without her, we should have at least enjoyed more peace and quietness. The death of this lady, as a mistress, will give the king no concern; but will touch him sensibly on a tenderer point; as it can't fail
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to put him in mind, that he must one day die as well as his mistresses, for all our flatterers, and their *viro Immortalis*. The king has shewed since the death of madame de Montespan, that tho' he could be unkind enough to banish her the court, he could not entirely forget the mother of monsieur the duc de Maine, and the comte de Toulouse, sons infinitely more beloved than the Dauphin himself. Every body is of opinion, that la Maintenon will see out all her rivals, and that the king will bury all his mistresses. They say likewise, that if the miseries of France are to be measured by the length of a reign, that seems as if it would have no end, that the people's only remedy are their tears; tho' they flatter themselves that it will at last please God to touch the king's heart, by setting before his eyes such daily spectacles of mortality; that being at last convinced of his own frailty, he will no longer, actuated by a boundless ambition, seek to aggrandize himself by perpetual war, as he has hitherto done throughout his whole reign. If monsieur de Cambray would give us a supplement to his *Telemachus*, how many fine things might he say upon this subject. I shall conclude my letter with acquainting you, that the deceased lady, has made the marquis d'Authin, her son, by monsieur de Montespan, her sole heir; so that his fortune is made, un-

unless the king should take it into his head to do by the heirs of his mistresses, as he has done by those of his ministers, that is, make them refund.

I come now to the expedition against Naples, and the means by which the revolution in that kingdom was brought about. Cardinal Grimani, a Venetian by birth, and a zealous partizan of the house of Austria, had taken great pains to dispose the people of that kingdom to embrace king Charles's party. He represented to them, that they must expect to be the victims of the war; that the two kings had made use of their diversion only to plunder them; that after they were ruined, the kingdom would be given up to king Charles, together with the Milaneze, Sicily, and the other islands in the Mediterranean, belonging to the crown of Spain; that there was no room to doubt of it, as the king of France had already offered them to the emperor as an equivalent to put an end to the war; that all the reasons the two kings had pretended to give, against dismembring the Spanish monarchy, were no more than artifice to blind the eyes of the Neapolitans. That as they must one day become the subjects of king Charles, it was their interest, as well as their duty, to submit to his authority by fair means, rather than by force of arms; that their submission to that prince
would

would be more acceptable to him, when it appeared to be their own seeking; that there could not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, when the troops of France had employment enough elsewhere.

The Imperial court could not have made choice of such another person to manage this affair with success. He was, as I observed before, a zealous partizan of the house of Austria, and esteemed the greatest politician of his time. His great merit and services to the house of Austria, in the war of 1688 raised him to the purple. He displayed his fine talents and great abilities in the negotiations with the duke of Savoy, that were intrusted to him by the Imperial court; for he managed that prince's temper with so much address, that he at last brought him to declare for the house of Austria; and the powerful diversion that his royal highness gave to the arms of France in the last war, was owing to him. The senate of Venice shewed Grimani the severest marks of their resentment, for meddling with the affairs of foreign princes; they treated him as a rebel, and deprived him of all his estates; this did not in the least diminish his affection to the emperor, on the contrary, he became more zealous in his service, and supported his interest on every occasion that offered. The emperor, in return for

the obligations he had to him, recommended him so powerfully to the Pope, that he was preferred to the princes of Neubourg, and the other German prelates that aspired to the purple. By what has been said it will be readily imagined, that the intrigues of cardinal Grimani contributed more to the success of the expedition against Naples, than the troops the emperor sent thither; for if the people had not been before hand well disposed to receive the Imperialists, what could a body of 14,000 men (for no more were employed in it) done against a viceroy prepared to make a resolute defence.

The expedition to Naples was followed by the siege of Toulon; but before I proceed to that, I shall relate an adventure that befel one monsieur de—treasurer to the elector of Bavaria, with the wife, or rather the widow of a captain of foot, a person who had something in her that I should have liked well enough, if she had been endued with a little more modesty and discretion. But hearing of an intrigue she had with one du Bois, an officer, it gave me a dislike to her; and I was not sorry that monsieur the treasurer took my place, and was her cully instead of me. This fine lady's name was, mademoiselle du Clange: whilst her husband was alive, she passed for a perfect pattern of conjugal affection; her neighbours, her friends, and relations had

had enough to do to dry up her tears, when her husband set out for the army; she fell into fits at the report of a battle, and it threw her into a condition, that drew pity from all that beheld her; and nothing could have equalled the reputation she was in, for so just and laudable a tenderness, if she had died before her husband; but unluckily for her, and her character, this dearly beloved spouse was killed by a musquet ball at the battle at Ekeren, and all this violent and excessive fondness forgot in a moment. After mourning a few days, she grew tired of it; her lamentations ceased, and it was easy to perceive, that the sorrow she shewed for his death was a great deal less, than the pains she had been at to make it believed how much she loved him when living. As she had not wherewithal to live in the world in any figure, after her husband's death, he having spent what he had in the service, her relations and friends imagined she had no other choice, but to retire into a convent; but she thanked them, she was young and beautiful, and retirement did not agree with her constitution; she thought it was better to follow the advice of a crowd of admirers, who easily persuaded her, that a pretty woman need never want money; upon this hopeful principle, she proceeded to make trial of her merit. No more thoughts of a convent, she had more pleasing views. The

next thing was to pitch upon somebody to begin this noble trade with; she soon cast her eyes upon one monsieur du Bois, a subaltern officer in her husband's company, and one of his old companions; he soon supplied the place of the deceased, and was better beloved. He remained for some time sole and peaceable possessor of the young widow; and it is but charity to judge by her former conduct, that it would not have been so soon at an end, if the want of money had not come unseasonably to disturb a connection established upon such a laudable foundation. But unluckily the soldier's finances were too soon exhausted; and, in spite of her virtue, some new ways and means were to be found out for a supply. It happened that monsieur de — treasurer to the elector of Bavaria, a man of a very amorous complexion, of a generous spirit and very rich, had begun to make some addresses to the widow; he liked her mightily, but the surly temper of the soldier made her conceal those thoughts, which her coquetry inspired; however, the want of money increasing every day, she made known the case to the treasurer, who drew his purse-strings, and by his readiness to serve her, gained so much upon her, that in a few days he was at the height of his wishes. The soldier was a little out of humour at first; but when he came to consider of it, the delicacy of his passion gave way
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to the necessities of his mistress, and he quickly found the sweets of coming in for shares with a financier. The widow and du Bois soon agreed upon the matter, and it was determined between them, that in order to avoid giving the treasurer any room to grumble, or any pretence to hold his hand, du Bois should appear no more at her house, nor ever come there but in the most private manner. Monsieur the financier, who thought that his own merit had ridded him of this formidable rival, gave himself up to all the transports, that so unexpected a happiness could inspire; and being persuaded that his mistress would abandon all the world for his sake, his sole study was to convince her, that he deserved such a preference. The marks of his liberality was to be seen in every corner of the house, nothing was wanting, fine furniture in abundance, and every thing answerable. The soldier found his account in it, and without giving himself any trouble at what passed, he came every day in private to partake of the financier's money, and the lady's favours. Thus far all went well, and nothing could have come up to it, if the confidant of this hopeful intrigue had not took it into her head to disturb them. This was an old jade of a coquet, who lived in the neighbourhood, one who had made the most of her own youth, greedy of gain of all kinds, and as cunning

as a witch ; the prosperity of her neighbour, but chiefly the financier's money, had raised her envy ; she could not trust to her own antiquated charms to procure a share of it, so she thought of a stratagem that succeeded to her wish ; she had tried several ways to no purpose, to make the financier jealous of du Bois, but he had not the least suspicion that the widow held any correspondence with him. She laughed and told him, if she had a mind to it, it would be no hard matter to convince him of the contrary, and that they both deceived him. To clench the business ; one day, when this artful carrion knew that the financier was going to carry the widow a thousand crowns, she way-laid him, at a time she was very certain that du Bois and the widow were alone in a closet, where nobody came but himself, and to which he went up by a little private stair-case, unseen by any body : she no sooner saw the financier going that way, but she run to meet him, and having shewn him the steps that went up to this scene of love, she flew home to her own habitation ; having first assured him, that he would find the widow alone with the soldier, whom he thought he was so fairly rid of. The poor financier, between hope and fear, creeps gently up the steps, when the devil, who owed him a good turn, and was going to pay him, threw a little girl in his way,

way, who was niece to the widow; she seeing him going towards the place where she knew her aunt was shut up with the soldier, stopped him short, telling him, nobody went in there when monsieur du Bois was in the closet with her aunt. This was a dagger in the financier's heart; burning with rage, he ran out of a house that had been so unfortunate to him; too happy in his own mind, that he had saved his thousand crowns; away he highs as fast as he could to his confidant, who was prepared for what should happen. She omitted nothing that she thought would set him against the widow; she told him a thousand tales, that he would as lief not have heard; and amused him so well with her cant, that she kept him till two o'clock in the morning; a time at which all the vigilance of the watch is not sufficient to prevent a number of robberies. When the heat of his passion was over, and he was a little composed, he thought of going home to take some rest after the anguish of mind he had undergone that day; but it was a very unseasonable hour, and he did not think the darkness of the night would be a sufficient security for his thousand crowns, which he looked upon as saved out of the fire; he left them there for safety with his trusty confidant, who had just given him (as he thought) such convincing proofs of her good will. She, who had been
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working her wits all this while, for this very purpose, received the money with inexpressible satisfaction. The next day when he came for it, she asked him, to his great astonishment, if he was mad; and told him, she wondered at his assurance, to ask her for what she had never seen; and added such terrible menaces, as made the treasurer dread a train of dismal consequences; and think himself happy enough in being able to hush up an affair, that might have been very prejudicial to him, with the loss of his thousand crowns; and abandoning his mistress and his confidant both together.

I shall now only just mention the siege of Toulon; which when compared with that of Turin, was of equal importance; on the latter depended the fate of the duke of Savoy; and all the future success of his majesty's arms in the present war on the other. However, the court were quit of the latter with the fright; and it was indeed surprising, that an expedition, so well laid and begun, should meet with no better success. When the two princes had quitted Provence, they declared at court, that they owed their retreat to the loss of the kingdom of Naples; that it was better for the king, they said, to lose a kingdom at a distance, than whole provinces at home; and to see the war carried into the heart of France. However, it shewed the king, that he is not invincible,
and

and that in spite of all the pains he has been at during his whole reign to strengthen his frontiers, and carry the war into his enemies countries, they may at all times enter his kingdom, by ways that will ever be open to them. I shall finish this campaign, and these Memoirs together, with what passed in Flanders, where neither side did any thing more than camp and decamp. If they were to carry on the war, in the manner they did there, there would be no end of it. The king, whose chief aim was to amuse the allies, had reason to be very well pleased with the conduct of his generals. This campaign was like that of Mons in the last war, when his majesty, and all the princes, diverted themselves with the ladies of the court who followed the camp, while the soldiers mounted the trenches, being sure there would be no action; just such a one was the campaign before the peace of Reswick, when we caroused in our tents, with as much tranquillity and indolence, as if we had been at Paris. The war, at that time, was a meer pastime to them, and the *marechal de Boufflers* had the trouble of it; upon whom the king had conferred a new mark of distinction, that of *Plenipotentiary*.

The elector of Bavaria was very far from being pleased with these kind of amusements. He was for a good battle won, that he might
have

have seen an end of the war; and this trifling of the duc de Vendosme disgusted him to a great degree; he had flattered himself, at the beginning of the campaign, with making himself master of the camp at Park, and a thousand fine things; and looked for nothing less, than to come and pass the winter at Bruffels, which he could never forget, and was all his delight.

F I N I S.

