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THE
SPIRIT
OF
FRANCE,
AND THE
Politick Maxims
OF
Lewis XIV.

Laid open to the
WORLD.

Licensed according to Order.

LONDON:
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The Genius and Temper of FRANCE
and the Politic Maxims of LEWIS XIV
laid open to the World.

Princes do not distinguish themselves so much by their Birth, from other Mortals, as by their conduct. How many have there been in the World, who being Masters but of little discretion, serve only to fill up a Genealogical Table; the days of their Birth and Death, being the only two observable in History?

But it is according to the measure of understanding, in a Sovereign, wherein consists the happiness, or misery of a People.

Wo be to thee Land, says the Wise man, when thy King is young and thy Princes eat in the Morning; happy thee O Land, when thy King excels in prudence and vertue, and thy Princes give not themselves to intemperance.

The Jews were happy under David and Solomon, but Rehoboam his Successor thus graciously exprest himself, *My Father hath laid a burden upon you, but I will encrease it; he hath chastised you with Rods, but I will lash you with Scorpions.*

Augustus Cesar was call'd the Father of the Roman people, but Nero their destroyer.

Philip II. was born of a wise Father, who Governed well but he was a Bloodsucker, that spared not his own Relations: and soon wasted what Charles V. had gotten, and preserved with such Glory and Prudence. Francis the I. was the admiration of the French; and acquired the Title of a Prince, Merciful in Peace, and Victorious in War; the restorer of good Learning, and the Liberal Sciences; whereas Charles the IX, got the affrightful name of a Massacrer.

Henry IV. was Surnamed the Great, for his great Actions: he was the Glory of the French Nation; and his gentle Spirit promis

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mis'd an happy Reign; had not a detestable Hand put a stop to his Life.

Lewis XIII. was Surnamed the Just, grounded, without doubt, on that place of Scripture, *Blessed are the poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of God.* For indeed it was Richlieu's Spirit that Reign'd rather than his. As to Lewis XIV. he gave no proof of his inclinations, whilst he remain'd under the Government of the Queen Mother, and the *Ferula* of Cardinal *Mazarin*; but as soon as the latter was dead, he threw away his Coats, and his Flatterers gave him his Grandfathers name of *Great*, before he had deserved it. It's true, he is of great Ambition, and a great usurper of his Neighbours Countries; a great enemy to the holy See, and as great a Persecuter of Hereticks. His Reign abounds with vast Monopolies, and his *Louis d'ors* break the way to his Conquests. He was born arm'd, and his first nourishment was the Blood of his Nurfses. The ambitious Spirit which possesses him, wou'd willingly sacrifice part of his people, to satisfy his passion after Greatness. *Wo be to thee, O Land, that groanest under the yolk of such a Prince.*

Under the Reign of *Antiochus* the Jews cryed often to God, that he would deliver them from the Hand of the Oppressor. And truly, I think, the French have as good reason to do the same.

This great Monarch imagin'd he had gain'd his point, when he brought the Turks on *Vienna*, which he thought inevitably lost, grounding himself, forsooth, on the Prophecies of *Drabicius*; but finding himself deceived, he now takes other measures. He impatiently expects the event of the ensnaring Marriage of the Queen of *Spain*. But alas! Man designs, but God frustrates. Time too weakens the Understanding, as well as the Body; and Princes are oftentimes constrain'd to leave to their Successors, what they cannot accomplish themselves; and so much the rather, because Providence does not always square things, according to the standing Rule of great Men's Ambition. How oft do such men build Castles in the Air; and for eight or ten foot, which is all they need, grasp at the whole Earth? and this is the very humor of *Lewis XIV.* as shall be seen in the sequel.

The

The Maxims, and designs of France, in relation to Europe, in general.

Spain, was heretofore charged with aspiring to the Universal Monarchy. If this were true, I believe *Philip II.* began to despair, when he saw the Sea and Winds oppose his designs, and the Fleet, term'd *Invincible*, to vanish into smoak; and his best Troops, which were embark'd thereon, to serve only for Meat, to the watry Inhabitants: and that during the whole course of the Low Country Wars, an handful of *Scoundrels*, as they scoffingly termed them, should still make Head against him, and worst him in several rencounters, till the Year 1609. when he was glad to demand Quarter; to make a Truce with the United Provinces, and to acknowledge 'em Free States.

This indeed, was a morsel of very hard digestion, to so ambitious a Prince; but swallow it he must, tho it wrought such an effect, that he lost seven entire Provinces, and part of his Indies. So that this desire after the Universal Monarchy began to abate in his declining years, having lost the first heats of youth. *Philip III.* was not more fortunate, and *Philip the IV.* was forced to acknowledge those, who had been his Subjects, to be a Free People, dependent on God alone. *Charles the II.* that now Reigns, is a good Prince; who loves his ease, and would, without doubt, quit all his pretensions to the Universal Monarchy, for a Son, who might succeed him in *Spain*. *Malherbe* dro'd very pleasantly when he said, that if *Spain* still aspired to an Universal Monarchy, he would counsel its King, to desire of God, to put a stop to the ending of the World. But this Spanish distemper ceasing, the same has past over into *France*: Where this King more wise, desires only the Dominion of *Europe*; a wish truly worthy so great a Prince; whom if you know well, you can imagine to aim at no less. It belongs then to his Neighbours to watch his motions; for *France* cannot aggrandise it self, without Usurpation on their Rights, as she has ever done.

When the House of *Austria* gave marks of her design on the Universe; all the Christian Princes rose up against her.

B. 2

Charles

Charles V. after the Battel of *Pavia*, wherein *Francis* the I. was taken prisoner, thought he had conquered all, before he perceiv'd the King of *England*, the Pope, the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Florence* and the *Switzers*, to be leagu'd against him, to prevent his perfect Subjection of *France* and *Italy*. It was not for the affection the King of *England* and the Pope bore to the *French* King, that they joyned together to succour him, but because *Charles* V. hereby became too great, and had enterprised the mastering of the Universe. But now that this ambitious humor has gotten into *France*, all the Princes of *Europe* have taken contrary measures, and instead of opposing, have concurr'd with the Designs of *France*; some out of stupidity, others out of fear. Only the illustrious Princes of the House of *Nassau* have gloriously thwarted this appetite to the Universal Monarchy.

Who can but wonder at the wretched Policy of several Princes, who sit with their folded arms, looking on the King of *France*, taking great strides in *Europe*; and seizing on *Luxemburg*, a place of so great importance? Only the Prince of *Orange* has appear'd on the breach of the Low Countries, but wanting sufficient Troops, he was obliged to stand on the defensive part. The King of *France* could not have taken it, had *England* and other Princes withstood it. He need not brag, for this is a Truth evident to all the World: He knew how to bribe the King of *England*, and to make him willing to suffer to be lost, what was not his own; and to amuse the rest by illusory promises of an universal Peace, after the taking of this Town. And that great and valiant (Pensioner) the Marquess *de Grana*, Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, who had not come to this office, but on pretence he knew better than another, how to preserve this place, so important to *Spain*, and so necessary towards the preservation of the Low-Countries; and though he had no greater concern to mind, his Honor as well as his Masters interest obliging him thereto; yet this worthy Commander, put into the place 12 or 1500 men, instead of 4000, busying himself in garrisoning *Namur* and other frontier Towns, which *France* dared not touch. Did not this man then contribute to the aggrandising of *France*, and *Lewis* the Fourteenth's Design? When this same King in 1667. had undertaken

dertaken the Conquest of the *Spanish Netherlands*, *England*, *Swedenland* and the United Provinces being leagued together by a triple Alliance, made him soon let go his hold, and obliged him to make a peace with *Spain*, and give up a part of his unjust Usurpations. It would have been the same afterwards, had the Neighbouring Princes taken the same measures, when he attackt *Luxemburg*. *Resist the Devil and he will fly from you*. But *France* subtle and crafty, had sufficiently tryed, how prejudicial this League was to her Designs; and therefore had no rest, till this thorn was out of her foot; and as soon as the term was finished, knew how to blind so dexterously *Charles* of *England*, that she drew him out of this triple League. *Europe* is obliged to her Ladyship of *Portsmouth*, who, as another *Dalila*, past over from *France* into *England*, to entoxicate the *Sampson* of that Kingdom. *France* could perswade so finely, that what with mony and fair words, she obtained of *Charles* the II. the important Town of *Dunkirk*, a place of so vast consequence to *England*, that it opened a passage to *Picardy* and *Flanders*.

But it is not of late only that *France* has had this Itch of coveting Neighbouring Countries, and extending its bounds from one end of *Europe* to the other. *Mounsier de Rohan* heretofore told us, that Princes governed their people, but that Interest govern'd them. This would have been pertinent, indeed, if applied to *Lewis* XIV. for to glut his Ambition, all times are seasonable and proper; times of Peace, of War and Truce.

Interest has for a long time reigned absolutely in *France*. *Godfery* of *Boulogn* designing for the Holy Land, and wanting mony for this expedition, sold several of his Towns, and amongst the rest *Metz*, with the Country of *Messina*, which its own Inhabitants purchased of him for an hundred thousand Crowns. They enjoyed their purchase, till the year 1551. when *Charles* the V. persecuted the Protestants of *Germany*. *Henry* the II. then King of *France* made a pretence, that he would send Succors to the Protestants of *Germany*. In effect, he dispatcht the Constable *Montmorency* with forty thousand men (in appearance) for this end. But the sequel shewed, he had another design. He requested a passage of the City of *Metz*, whose Citizens were for the

the most part of the same Religion, as those molested in *Germany*, and which was not in a very fair correspondency with the Emperor. They granted the King chearfully what he desired, and in testimony of their affection set out Tables in the Steets, to make the Souldiers eat and drink, as they past along, with great signs of Joy and Complacency. But alas! their Joy was soon turned into Sorrow. For as soon as the Constable, who was received by the Magistrates with all the marks of honour and good will, came into the Town, he pretended to be seiz'd with a fit of the Gout, and to feel exceeding great pain; he declared he would make immediately his Will, as not knowing also what might happen in the War he was undertaking, and therefore entreated the Magistrates and Gentlemen of the Town, to be present, as Witnesses. In the mean time he had ordered two of his principal Captains to seize on the Gates of the City, through which the Troops entred and past out; he commanded one of these Officers, to cause part of the Army to advance, which was still without, and the other to lead the Forces in again, which had already march't forth. Then the Constable seeing the Magistrates and the principal Gentlemen, who expected his pleasure, he started immediately from his bed like a Lion, and struck a Dagger into the Mayor's Breast. At the sign he gave, his Guards entred, and killed all the Gentlemen there present, and at the same time the Army, who were now all in the City, cryed out *The Town is our own*. It was pillaged and reduced under the bloody Government of the King, and of an Allie, became subject; and this was for *Henry the II.* a Conquest of Blood. Here is the Temper and Ingenuity of *France*.

Lewis XIII. knowing not how to possess himself of *Lorain*, by the crafty Counsel of *Cardinal Richlieu*, he comes with an Army to *Lyons*, under pretence of some design against *Savoy*. The Cardinal advises likewise *Duke Charles* of *Lorain*, to come to the King, to pay him his respects, and to assure him, by word of mouth, of his good intentions to his person. This Duke suspecting no Fraud, suffers himself to be perswaded, parts from *Nanci* to compliment his Majesty, who was at the head of his Troops. After this, thinking to return home, he was caught in the

he *Lions Den*, and detained under pretence of some old differences. His Eminency undertaking the Office of an Umpire betwixt them, proposes to him, as the conditions of his liberty, to deliver up *Nanci*, his Capital Town, to the King, which was the Key of his Dutchy. This he did, and the King entred therein as a Conqueror, with all his Army. Here is another instance of the Genius of *France*.

The demolition of the Castle of *Orange*, was of like nature; for on some difference which hapned between the two Princesses Dowagers, *Lewis XIV.* as is his custom, would needs concern himself, and to make them both agree, he destroyed the Castle, the defence of the Town, which he also in due time seized on.

The same King's glorious Conquest of *Strasburg*, is like the above mentioned. This Town, after the Peace of *Nimiguen*, thought it self secure; confirmed by the earnest Letters which the King wrote them from time to time, and the assurances which his Resident, who was then in the Town, gave them; That his Master desired nothing with more passion than to live in a fair understanding with the Emperor and Imperial Towns. But afterwards, by the same Residents Intreagues, a Traitor was elected Bourgmaster, who did nothing but by the Counsel of *France*: The Magistrates and Citizens being lull'd by these fine Promises, and Protestations of *France*, sent away the *Switzers* whom they had for their Guard. But they were no sooner gon, but *Monsieur Louvois* with a numerous Army, invests their Town, and obliges them to surrender to the conditions he proposes them. Yet even these sorry Articles, are now violated, and they are enroll'd as Slaves with the rest of the most Christian Kings Subjects. Here's another instance of the restless, and covetous temper of *France*.

Since the Peace of *Nimiguen*, how many Cities and Villages has not this Monarch taken in *Flanders*? How many, has he burnt and ruin'd, to oblige the people to come in to him for the easing them in these vexations, to prevent an entire destruction, and to free themselves from the Contributions wherewith he loaded them?

After the *Pyrenean* Treaty, which was but just concluded, the Seal of which was the French Kings Marriage; I say notwithstanding

standing the Oath and Promises that this present glorious Monarch made to his Father in Law *Philip IV.* not to assist *Portugal*, he no sooner got to *Paris*, but he sent one of his best Generals, with Troops and Mony thither; and all this to weaken *Spain*, which then balanced a little with him, the Empire of *Europe*. So that neither Peace, nor Truce, nor Promise, nor Oath could stop him when his Interest comes into the Scale. Even his Zeal to Catholicism vanishes, when ever it stands in the way of his other Designs.

For when *Lewis* sent an Ambassador to the King of *Siam*, under pretence of converting them; can we imagine this Prince would send his booted Apostles so far? No, for he never made any conversion without them. This then was only to spy the Country, and bring the King of *Siam* into the Jesuits Nets, who were to raise jealousies in his mind, on account of the *Hollanders* power in the Indies; to get all other Nations driven out, and to establish his own, making the business of *Bantam* a pretence for this.

Notwithstanding *Lewis* Respects to the Jesuites, yet he employs all Orders of men, taking them from the Bar, the Church, and the Camp, when his occasions require. They must be men of Brains, impudent, great Lyars and Promisers, and especially free from scruples of Conscience, which now and then are apt to arise in an honest mans Head, like Vapors from the Spleen; in one word, they must be Knaves. As to *Spain*, they must be Church-men, who are sent thither, because persons of that Character are much respected.

In *England* when the Parliament was a little more regarded, than it has been at other times, thither was sent the Marquis of *R.* who was of the Reformed Religion, and their Deputy General at Court; but who was of the same humor as other Ministers, called Catholicks, and led by the same Spirit.

In the United Provinces, there was ordinarily sent a man that could talk much, and ruin his Master by his Promises, out of which the good King could not disengage himself, but by observing none. He was to insinuate himself into the Ladies favours, either by Plays, or Treats; and they having a great
Ascendant

Ascendant over the Men, he many times learns those secrets from the Wives, which he could never have Extorted from the Husbands. But the *Hollanders* beginning to give little Credit to him, who lately Resided there; he confess himself, that the King was necessitated to send him his Holy Spirit, from *France*, in all diligence; to make him be thought sincere, and infallible, in all he should say.

In the German Courts are sent Men of strong Constitutions, who are good Pitcher-Men, that they may keep company with the Prince, and great Men, with whom they have business. For when the Wine goes freely about, there are many things uttered, which would at another time, be thought fitter to be concealed.

You must not think *France* sends a Church-man to *Rome*; no, for they are all in some sort dependent upon the Pope. And every petty Priest can, now and then, dream of a Cardinals Cap, and being a *Spiritual Lord*. There are commonly sent Lay Men, who are yet zealous contenders for the Liberties of the Gallican Church; persons who are Athiests in Point of the Popes Supremacy; and Answer the Arguments of his Holyness Infallibility, with relations of the French Kings Strength. In other Courts where Money prevails most, there is no want of Presents, and a Prince is betrayed by his nearest Domesticks, who are sometimes so charmed thereby, as to forget their own Interest, as well as their Duty. How many Roman Catholick Officers have been observed sculking about every Court in Christendom, under pretence of Flying their Country for having been engaged in a Duel? When in some time after, you shall see them return into *France*, and carry along with them Instructions, where the Strength or Weakness of a Place lies, and how it may, when time shall serve, be best invaded. *Monsieur Vauban* who is now chief Engineer of *France*, has heretofore followed this sneaking Trade, and especially in *Holland*. It will (perhaps) be Answered, he serves his Master, and that it behoves other Princes to stand on their Guard: Be it so, and I heartily wish they would.

Another Maxim of French Policy is, that as soon as ever they know of any Prince or Princess to be Married, who may be useful

ful to their Interest, they make the Matches; and put off many French Ladies to Foreign Princes, who never part, without Instructions; and before they be told, how much they are beholden to the King, for their Marriage; and which way they may in due time, satisfy their obligations to gratitude. But of late the King of *Portugal* has escaped him. Not that the King of *France* has been wanting in his endeavours, but *Spain* has for this bout been too hard for him. Now the Court of *France* is employed to Marry the Prince Royal of *Poland*, with a natural Daughter of the King of *France*; one of which was offered to the Duke of *Bavaria*, who has reason to value himself above the Polish Prince; and I believe the match, had went forward, had there been any certainty of this young Sparks Succession to that Crown, otherwise this would bring little advantage to *France*. Its not to be supposed the King of *Poland* would reject the motion, with a good Portion, for he has already received great obligations from that beneficent Prince. Two hundred thousand Livres a year, which he has given one of his Sons, in giving him the Abbies of *St. Germain* and *St. Denis*, deserve to be taken notice of. Moreover the Queen has reason to be satisfied: Her Father has been made a Duke and Peer of *France*, and she has been promis'd to be received as a Queen, in case she comes thither, though she be born a Subject of the Kings. So that it is not to be doubted, that if the Crown were but secured to the young Prince, the business is done. There are Princesses enough in *France* ready for this Marriage.

This mighty Monarch has set up a Sovereign Court at *Mets*, to which he summons all Kings and Princes, who possess any Land, which he calls his Dependencies; and they not appearing, but disowning its Jurisdiction, as Tyrannical; he Judges them forfeited, and takes possession, as formally, as if they had been his Birth-right.

France has another great advantage whereon to ground her pretensions; for in *Paris*, there are such Ingenious Fellows, as will Counterfeit so dexterously the old Gothick Characters of five or six hundred years standing, that one would judge they are really of that time; and with this they build a dependence, which

which is drawn out so far, that the Devil himself, as subtle as he is, cannot contradict it. Who knows what there is more a hatching; which shall appear in its proper time and place?

Would it not raise Laughter in the most serious Man in the World, to hear the praises which *Lewis* the Fourteenth's Flatterers give him, perswading him he has given Peace to his Enemies, and all *Europe* besides? These Stories will sound well enough in the Kingdom of *Siam*, and very well agree with the *Sieur Chaumont's* Harang to that King. These Stories, I say, may pass in *China*, but not in *Europe*, where our Eyes have seen, and our Ears have heard the contrary. A Man would wonder there should be found such Impertinent, or rather Impudent Writers. Do we not know the Solicitations used by the King of *France* to procure a Peace with the States of the United Provinces? For seeing Fortune began to change, he agreed about the Town of *Nimiguen*, which belonged to the *Hollanders*; for they did not go to *Versailles* to ask it. He offered them *Mastricht*, which he then held, and had not the States made too much hast, to grant what he so earnestly solicited, this dread Monarch had reimburs'd them the charges of the War. And who knows what it privately cost him, to obtain that Peace which he begg'd with so great earnestness, sparing no cost, to endeavour, to disengage the States from their Allies; even to the rendring to *Spain* several Places, to serve as a Bar between his Kingdom, and the United Provinces. When, I said, that if the States had not precipitated the Signing of the Peace, *France* had paid them the Charges of the War, it was not without grounds. Several reasons obliged him to make this separate Peace speedily, not to mention that he saw his Troops daily diminish. It's certain that after the Battel of *St. Denis*, which was not ended, by reason of the Peace, the Prince of *Orange* was entred with his Troops into *France*. Moreover the King well knew, that being obliged to Treat on a General Peace, it could not be made till he had rendred to the Duke of *Lorraine* his Countries; and that he could never have prevail'd with the Duke of *Brandenbourg* to render to *Swedeland*, what he had taken from her, as he was obliged to do, Treating a Peace in particular with him.

France would have restored to his Ally the King of *Sweedland* what he had lost, in taking up Arms for his Service. So that here are a great many reasons to sue a particular Peace with the States, far from having given it to *Europe*, as she vants, and every where publishes. If any have given Peace to *Europe*, it is the States of the United Provinces, for having concluded it in particular, at the Kings instant Intreaties, the general Peace has followed thereupon by the mediation of the States General. It's certain the King made this Peace by constraint. His Wings began to flag, and the States and their Allies grew every day stronger. The *Hollanders* began to come to themselves, the Prince of *Orange* became every day more experienced; The familiar Spirit of the Duke of *Luxemburg* was vanisht; part of the *French* Troops were lost, the rest grievously harass't; *Sweedland's* Vigor was spent; so that of necessity the *French* Troops must have some Recruits, by a Peace.

This Peace being partly forc'd, the King having been obliged to give up whatever he had taken, it therefore lasted but a little while, and in the time when the Emperor was busied with the Turk, and *Spain* and her Ally's had disarmed, and relyed on the Treaty of *Nimiguen*, the Most Christian King threw himself like a Lion on the Low-Countries. To stop this Torrent, a great many places must be yielded him, and a Truce made in a time of full Peace, which is to last no longer than his Interest requires. One may certainly say that *France* makes little difference between her Subjects and her Neighbours (of which *Genoa* shall be an instance of what I say;) she bombs and plunders them all alike, when time permits, and it is her pleasure. Who can assure us that a Truce shall be a stronger bar to stop her Ambition and Interests, than the two Treaties of Peace, the *Pirenean*, and that of *Nimiguen*? That numerous quantity of Troops which exceed an hundred and fifty thousand men, which she keeps up in Peace, and times of Truce, as well as in War, do sufficiently shew the Temper of *France*, who has always one foot up to be gon, having in all seasons sufficient Armies ready, to execute her Designs. They are ordered to make frequent Encampments and continual Motions to accustom the Neighbours to lay down their Suspici-

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ons, when they shall march in good earnest to fall on any place to surprize it.

One of the King of *France's* Maxims is, to hinder these same Neighbours from encreasing their Troops, and to remain always in a condition wherein they cannot gall him, as soon as he shall break with them; as was observable, when the United Provinces were partly resolved, to raise sixteen thousand men. What solicitations, what illusory promises, how many voyages did the Count *d'Avaux* make to hinder it? All his discourfes were filled with the Inviolableness of Treaties, as if his Master were the only man in the World that kept his word, and all this, because he saw, that the only Commission dispatcht, hindred the taking of the City of *Luxenburg*, promising when that work was over, the King his Master would put an end to all his pretensions. But he is still as ready to seize on another, as he was before the taking of this; and as we have seen not long since at *Mons*; and then it would be the same thing if the States opposed themselves, and this will last as long as the Princes of *Europe* shall have before their Eyes the fear of offending, or desire of compliance with him; which serves rarely well to advance the Designs of *France* on *Europe*, no Body perceiving, that *France* is as low, as its King; and that both one and the other dread the Iron.

All those new conversions which you see in *France*, are only to blind the Eyes of Catholick Princes, and to amuse them; till he falls on some City, or State, which makes profession of the Reformed Religion. The House of *Austria* is acquainted with this Stragem. She having heretofore practised it her self: For when she had higher designs than she now has, and that she attackt a Protestant Prince, her pretence then was, that she would extiparte Heresy. The King of *France* at this time, follows the very same Tract.

He must necessarily begin with his own Subjects; and as this could not but weaken him, he therefore solicits others to do the like. How greatly has he labour'd to disunite the *Switzers*, and to make the Catholick Cantons to break with the Protestants, and after he has divided 'em to fall upon them? But the Pope has remedied this, and brought 'em to agree. *France* has so far prevailed, as to oblige the Duke of *Savoy* to rid himself of his

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best Subjects of the Vallies. Being under the ferula as he is, he could not retreat, *and there's no question, but France would be very glad, if England would do the like, to weaken her self,* so that she might not be in a condition to stir, when *Lewis XIV.* shall please to fall on the Low-Countries, and deprive the States of the United Provinces of the means to oppose her, and thus step by step to make her self the Master of *Europe*, as we shall see in the sequel of the Spirit of *France*, and her Maxims in relation to Sovereigns in particular.

The Temper of France in Relation to Rome and the Holy Father.

ALL the World knows the Veneration and Respect which all the Catholicks bear to the holy See, and holy Father, whom they consider as Christs Vicar on Earth, the Successor of *St. Peter*, and the universal Bishop, and as the Council of *Trent* tells us, *the most holy Lord*, and to whom all Kings, Princes, and People ow an intire Obedience. To fail herein, is a *mark of Herese*, and according to the Council of *Constance*, this is to deserve the fire.

Do you not think when you see the great *Lewis* pursuing the *Hugonots*, as he does, that he is the most devout Son the holy Father has; and that whereas others kiss only his Feet, he is ready out of Devotion to kiss something more? But it is the quite contrary, he is a disobedient Son, who little matters the remonstrances of his Father, and snatches away his Country, and enters *Rome* by his Embassadors, as fierce as a Turk. This is the Spirit of *France*, which attacks the holy Father in his Patrimony, in his Authority and in his Conduct. I say, in the first place, in the Patrimony of the Church, in taking away the *Regalia* of *France*, which is a Right the Popes have enjoyed for several Ages, and which the Kings, Predecessors of *Lewis XIV.* had granted to the Successors of *St. Peter*. What Arguings, what Remonstrances, has not this present Pope made to oblige the King not to invade the Churches Rights, and to prove to him, that these sorts of Usurpations have always ended in the ruin of the Princes Families?

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lies? Yet all this has not one whit prevailed; the King only repeating that, *the Pope is a good Man, I would not disturb him*, yet all this while he restores, not what he has taken. So when he took away, in a time of Peace, from *Spain*, part of the Low-Countries; he protested every where, that he intended not to break the Peace, but only took in Dependencies, and what belonged to him. In the Assembly of the Clergy of his Kingdom in 1682. he caused it to be declared, that the Pope is not *Infalible*, that he had no Power or Authority over the Kings Temporalities, that he was under Councils, and could not of himself make one Article of Faith. Could the Pope be more sensibly touched in his Power than he was then? and he moreover obliged all Preachers, Monks and even Jesuits to teach this in their Pulpits and Colledges. The Archbishop of *Paris* who presided in this Assembly, and who, as one may well believe, is not much belov'd at *Rome*, thought he ought at least make himself be fear'd, to the end he might have offered him a Cardinals Cap. For this end he wrote into *England* to be inform'd after what manner *Henry VIII.* proceeded, when he changed the Religion of that Kingdom, yet all this wrought no effect on the Popes mind, who is stubborn and knows the World; and will send the Archbishop no Hat, though he runs the risk of getting cold.

This Prelate having seen, that this course has rather put him back than advanced him in his Design, has therefore taken a quite contrary one, and set up, not for a Converter, but a Persecuter of the *Hugonots*, tormenting not only them of his Diocess, but throughout all *France*; hoping to soften the Popes Humor towards him, and that he will have some consideration for his Zeal and Fervor for propagating the Faith. But the holy Father, being a person of sense, and not cruelly bent, would have Conversions carri'd on by gentler Methods, by Reason and good Examples (not by Dragoons and Torments) and by an holy Life, which is not compatible with the Bishop of *Paris*, who loves the fair Sex; *for to play continually with Beads, yields not the same diversion.*

This change of *Person* has got him nothing but contempt; he had no share in the last Promotion, neither will get any thing as long

long as *Innocent* lives, and perhaps when he is gone. Yet *Monsieur Camus* the Bishop of *Grenoble* (whose life would do well to be imitated by several Court Prelates) has been honored with the Purple, without seeking it, and Persecuting any Body for it, or suffer'd the same in his Diocess. But this Prelate not following the mode of the Court, this his promotion has strangely mortified the King, as well as the Archbishop. In a word, can any oppose more plainly the Authority of the holy Father, than the King has done, in regard of the Franchises of Embassadors quarters (which serve only for a retreat to Ruffians, Bankrupts and Robbers, or to speak better, to fill the Embassador and his Servants pockets.) Altho the Pope be Master at home, yet he has been so prudent as to await the death of the Count *Detree*, and the departure of the Embassador of *Spain*; and yet what a noise do they make at the Court of *France*, about the Regulations which the Pope has made for his Subjects safety, and the repose of his Capital Town? I would willingly know, if his Holyness should concern himself, at what the King thinks fitting to be done at *Paris*, or express his sence about what they have done in reference to the Kings Statue, which is placed in the midst of four Lanthorns, with impertinent and silly Inscriptions; to which Effigies the Magistrates and the Regiment of Guards paid the same respects as to the King himself, even to the Haranguing of it; I would willingly, I say, hear, how the King would take the Popes Remonstrances, on this matter. Without doubt he would bid him concern himself about his own Affairs, and that every Man is or should be Master at home.

When his Holyness, approving not the Kings conversation with *Madam de Montespan*, and the commerce of *Madam Maintenon*, signified to the General of the Jesuits, that he wondred how Father *La Chaise* could on such easie terms give Absolution; the King shewd himself dissatisfied, and replied he vvas above the giving an account to any Body of his Actions. Why then must his Embassador, make (as it vvere) his forcible entrance into *Rome* vvith his Sword drawn? All which shews the Hectoring Spirit of *France*, vvich vvill domineer even over the Altar it self.

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We all know, that if the King could sufficiently slight the Pope, dispenfe vvith his own going to *Rome*, and establish a Patriarch in *France*, after the manner of the Greeks, 'tis not to be doubted but he vvould do it; considering vvhat has been determin'd avvhile ago by the *French* Clergy. Here vvould redound a double advantage, the Mony which is carried to *Rome*, would abide in *France*, and the Patriarch would grant the King what ever he demanded, were it even a dispensation to marry *Madam* the Princess of *Conti*. But he cannot get free from the Court of *Rome*, and moreover fears the Jesuites will fall on the back of him, if he does not make Father *la Chaise* the Man, or some other of their Society. On the other side, the Bishops, who aspire at the Purple, would not like this new invention, excepting the Archbishop of *Paris*, who might make some pretention to this Dignity, and who already talks openly, that the Kings of *England*, from *Henry VIII.* to *Charles II.* have lived without dependance on *Rome*; and that the Northern Princes do still the same. That which makes the King of *France* to temporize, is, that he knows the Popes, are not, what the King believes he is, *vir immortalis*; and that after this, there may arise another, who will not be so honest, but have more complacency for the eldest Son of the Church. But Death tramples underfoot infirm Kings, as well as ancient Popes.

If ever the King of *France* becomes Master of *Spain*, as he pretends a Right after the Death of *Charles* now Reigning, the Pope must not believe, that his Rights will be better observ'd then in *Spain*, than they are now in *France*. And the Hexarchy of *Ravenna*, which *Pepin* granted to the holy See, would soon change Master; and I know not whether *Rome* would be exempt. As soon as ever the Pope began to mention the word Excommunication, the King began to talk of a Patriarch, so that the Pope must not flatter himself, nor judge of the Kings obedience, by the Kings persecution of the Huguenots of the Kingdom, and elsewhere. He has his reasons for this, and if he persecutes them with one hand, he assists them with the other.

He can bring the Turks into *Hungary*, when he thinks they can contribute to his design against the Empire, and serve him to mount on the Throne of *Europe*; wherein this King has bounded

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his ambition. But oftentimes Man proposes and God disposes. *France* would be thought sincere, and that the Holy See, and all people, should think whatever she does is good and reasonable. Whereas she is a concealed Enemy, which counterfeits Devotion, she is a whited Sepulchre, which imposes on the sight of Spectators, an *Orpheus* which enchants Christendom by her fair promises, and by the sound of her *Louis d'ors*; but within is a sink of Falshood, an insatiable Ambition, and the center of Cruelty and Injustice; against which the Church should make publick and constant Prayers, that it would please God to deliver her out of such Hands, lest the Christians should fall into the same miseries, as the Jews in the time of the illustrious *Antiochus*.

The Spirit and designs of France in relation to the Emperor, and Electoral Princes.

Charles the V. apparently weakned the House of *Austria* by the separation he made of it into two branches, giving the Empire to his Brother *Ferdinand*, and *Spain* to his Son *Philip*. I confess these are two Twins, whose proximity is so great by Blood, Alliances and common Interests, that one can be hardly touch'd without offending the other. This House has always bearded *France*. She has as it were, balanced with her, the Empire of the World. *Spain* took from *Anthony de Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, the Kingdom he had obtain'd by his Marriage with *Jane Albret* Heiress of *Navarre*. So that we may believe the House of *Bourbon* being ascended since *Henry* the IV. on the Throne of *France*, is a born Enemy of the House of *Austria*; and if she could de-throne both of 'em, its not to be doubted but she would do it with a great deal of joy, to put her self in their place if she could, and joyn by this means the Empire to *France*, and *France* to *Spain* and the Low Countries, and ascend easily afterwards to the Universal Monarchy of *Europe*. If her design succeeds not, yet this is at least her intention, the Spirit of *France*, and aim of *Lewis* XIV. as may be plainly deduced from the Siege of *Vienna*.

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There's no Body but now knows the correspondence the King of *France* held with the *Ottoman* Port, that it was at his solicitation the Grand Seignour first broke the Truce which he made with the Empire, to second the designs of *Tekeli*, whom *France* assisted with Mony and Advice. The Emperor and his Council know better than any Body the occasion which obliged the Port to send away Count *Caprara*, and the Propositions of Peace which he brought. But the Marquis of *Sepeville* Ambassador of *France*, at the Emperors Court, fail'd not in all diligence to send Curriers on Curriers to his Master, to advertise him of it, who thereupon fail'd not immediately to send an Expres to the Grand Seignour, to oblige him to continue the Siege of *Vienna*, shewing him how greatly his Honor was concern'd, that the Town was at its last extremity, that he must gain it at what price soever, as well for his own reputation, as the advantage of the Port; that this Siege having already made such a noise in the World, he could not leave it but with eternal Infamy to the *Ottoman* Empire, and that of the Grand Visier; and that the easier to facilitate to him the taking of this Town, and dividing the Emperors Army, he was on the point of entring into *Flanders*, with a puissant Army, which would infallibly oblige the Princes of the Empire, to recal their Troops, to preserve themselves. The King effectually executed his promise; for he entred, as we have seen into *Flanders*, Burning, Pillaging, and Taking, after the Turkish manner, all that stood before him, imitating herein his Ally, whom he would serve and second; and divesting himself of the Name of *Most Christian*, he, for a while, took on him, that of his good Friend and Ally the great Turk; seeing the Places the most Sacred to Christians, and the very Nunneries were not spared. Several Virgins suffer'd Martyrdom by a violation unheard of heretofore to Christians. But all this contributed to the Kings design, and the Spirit of *France* had its end. He had forty thousand men, who were ready in *Alsatia* to enter into *Germany*, and to make himself be declared Emperor at the Head of this Army. His Manifestos were already Printed to be sent abroad about the World, as to preserve Christendom from falling into Slavery, he was obliged to oppose himself with a mighty Army, and in making himself Em-

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peror,

peror, take the Reins of the Empire, to defend it, as being a bar to France, and even to Europe, considering the inability of the Emperor, &c. For the King forgot not to say, he was not a fit Person to Govern the Empire.

Its not to be doubted but Vienna, being taken, the Electors and German Princes must have immediately rang'd themselves on his side, for their preservation; being the only Prince, who had Troops ready, and who was then capable to put a stop to the Infidels progress. And when Vienna was delivered, we saw the truth of what I alledg'd, and the Spirit of France much dissatisfied. She was far from joyning her self in the common joy of all the Universe, which could not sufficiently thank God for this Victory, by Bonfires and Te Deums, which made the Air resound. Only France was mute, and forbad several Church-men to give Thanks, and that under penalty of incurring the most Christian King's high displeasure. But as our thoughts are not the same as Gods, so the King of Kings, has otherwise disposed of that Affair, and in giving great success to the Christian Arms, France will be oblig'd to change its methods; and it's hoped that the Emperors Council will learn to be more wary henceforward, and deprive France of the means of penetrating into her Enterprises and Secrets; for it's well known what methods have been taken to change and falsifie Resolutions taken, when they were not according to the relish and interest of the King; and that the Emperor could not Speak, Consult, Write, nor take the least Step, but twas Known, Diverted, and Hindred. And may it not displease the Venerable Society, of the Prince of this World, the Jesuits, if, I say, they have been accused to have had the greatest share in all these wicked Contrivances. They always range themselves on the side of the Strongest, in expectation of a change. Every body knows that the misunderstanding which hapned between the Elector of Brandenburg and Montecuculi, General of the Imperial Troops, in the time of the Dutch War, was caused by the address of these People, by altering the Emperors Order to attack Turenne joyntly with Brandenburg, into that of not Attacking him, which gave an opportunity to the French Army to withdraw, vvhich vvas in danger of remain-

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ing behind, had she been set upon by two so good parties, it being reduc'd to great extremities, by Sicknes, Desertions and Mortalities. But it's to be hop'd, that the face of Affairs being changed, the Reverend Fathers will have for the future kinder thoughts for the Empire. I can hardly let pass two Affairs, which hapned during the last rupture between the King and the Emperor. The one is, that, about General Capiliers Steward, who held a Correspondency with the Emiffaries of France, and advertised them of all he knew, and heard at his Masters, whose Letters were intercepted at the Post-House at Francford. This Traitor was indeed apprehended, but the Jesuits who were then drunk with the Spirit of France, procured his escape, lest he should discover others. During the Siege of Philipsburg by the Imperial Troops, did not these good Fathers gain two Merchants to bring in Powder? but the Mine was discovered, and the Jesuits hindered the Undertakers from being punisht, lest they should make other discoveries. I rather take notice of this Affair, because I knew one of these persons, who told me with his own mouth, that he was sent to, though as far as Paris, where he had settled himself, to do this business. You may see here that the Spirit of France animates a great many Bodies, and that all those his Imperial Majesty trusts, are not faithful to him.

When France dealt under hand, to induce the Emperor to give his two Sisters, to two Princes dispossesd of their Countries, it was not in regard or in design that Affairs should succeed in the manner they do now; for we may truly say, that the Duke of Lorraine is the Restorer of the Empire, and the Conqueror of so many Provinces, as obligeth the Grand Seignour not only to demand a Peace, as he does, but to grant all required of him, to save his Head from a popular Emotion, which will not be wanting, if he obtain not a Peace speedily, or a Truce.

But France had her ends, which were, that counselling the Emperor to give his Sisters to two Princes dispossesd of their Estates, and who had no other hopes of re-entring on them, but by a Peace, they would always induce the Emperor thereunto, when even his Imperial Majesty would not therein meet with all his advantages, in hope there might be one Article for them, to return

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to their Countries by this Peace. In effect this has succeeded to the one, and for the other, it's to be hoped that he will himself force open the Dore with his victorious Arm. It's certain that the misunderstanding which hath been between Prince *Herman of Baden*, President of the Imperial Council, and the Duke of *Lorraine*, and between the King of *Poland* and the Emperor, hath been procured by the Emiffaries of *France*. The Marquis of *Bethune* is too well accustomed to the road of *Poland*, and his Sister retains still a French heart, though a Queen of *Poland*. The French Kings benefits to her Children, are not to be forgotten, and the returns made by the Bankers of *Hambourg*, and *Dantzick*, are the Rays darting from the great Sun of *France*, who displays his light in several Courts. The Emperor cannot be ignorant that the Kings of *France* have of long time been troubled with this itch of ascending into the Empire, because this is one of the roads to the Universal Monarchy, or at least to that of *Europe*. *Henry the II.* caused an account to be given him, how the *Romans* heretofore led their Army by the way of *Italy*; but these places have always proved the Sepulchres of the French, and been fatal to their Enterprises. And therefore *du Plessis* advised *Charles IX.* to give over his thoughts of attacking *Italy*, and turn his Arms against the Low Countries. *Lewis XIV.* is fully of this Opinion, as shall be seen in the sequel.

After the Death of *Ferdinand III.* did not the King of *France* use all his endeavours to mount the Throne of *Charlemagne*? He fail'd not to send into all the Courts of the Electors to gain their Suffrage. Those who had any power on the minds of these Princes, did their business; for *France* is liberal enough when they have occasion for any one to be drawn over into their Party. One of the visible marks of the Kings design was, when he caused an Eagle to be made over the Head in his Coyn, and that he openly gave out with a kind of indignation, That the Empire had been long enough in the House of *Austria*, it being time it should return to his; in prosecution of which the Turks entred in 1683. into *Germany*. But the wisdom of men is foolishness with God, who governs not the Universe according to the ambition of *Lewis* the Great. This Prince knowing the Electors may be a great obstacle

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to his Empire, if they please, he therefore careffes the one, and menaces the others. The Marriage which *France* made between the Dauphin, with the Princess of *Bavaria*, was a bait to draw the Prince of *Bavaria* into the Kings interest, and to dispose him to receive the Spirit of *France*. The Pension which the King paid him for a while, had so far list'd him, together with the Marriage, that all the World believed, this Prince would be entirely and for ever devoted to his Benefactor. But the indecent and unworthy Matches which *France* propos'd to this young Prince, opened his Ministers Eyes, who knew so well to disabuse him, that he changed his Opinion and went over to the right side, and that of his glory, whether by the Marriage he made with the Emperors Daughter, or the Lawrels he acquired in *Hungary*. Which he must never have dream'd of had he remain'd in the interest of *France*, because the Conquests of the Imperial Army agree not well with the designs of that King, as we have already observ'd. As soon as ever the Duke of *Bavaria* had quitted the French interest, the King to comfort himself, entring into Madam the *Dauphiness's* Chamber, said, *That he came from gaining eight hundred thousand Crowns from her Brother.* We all know how the Elector of *Brandenburg* is surrounded with the French Emiffaries, that the chief people of his Court, whom discretion forbids me to Name, have been too much inebriated with this French Spirit, there being nothing done at the Electors, whereof the French Envoy has not notice. Let not *Monsieur Rebenac* take it ill, that we are sufficiently informed of all his Intrigues, and the Presents he makes. Were he more secret, perhaps we should not have known it; but he not being able to be silent himself, he must give others the same liberty, who are not so much interested as he, to hold their Tongues. Had the deceased Prince *Louis* farther advanced into the French interest than he did, probably he might have been still living. I know the Envoy of *France* did not do the Trick himself, but I believe that the Electoral Prince do's also know very well whence the mischief comes to him. He has reason to stand on his Guard, but I wish it be not too late, and that it be not a shutting the Sheepfold when the Wolf is within. Did the Elector of *Brandenburg* know his true Interest and

Strength,

Strength and could once perfectly rid himself of the Emissaries of *France* which environ him, he might reckon himself one of the most considerable Northern Princes, and make himself dreaded by others; for it's certain, which side soever he takes, he balances the Scale. *France* do's very well know this, and therefore caresses him; for provided he will remain Neuter, and Espouse no party, she is content. The Persecution of the Protestants in *France* had in a manner opened the Eyes of that Elector; but *Monsieur d'Rebenac*, and moreover Mr. *Dispense* knew how to manage their Game so well, that they were more believ'd than so many thousand Witnesses which dayly arrived at *Berlin*. Its true that the Elector has this advantage, that all these Fugitives people his Countries; but *France* on her side endeavours to make the Electorship fall after the Death of the Elector *Frederick William*, into the hands of Princes, which will be more favourable to her, than those born of the Princess *Louisa de Nassaw* of *Orange*; and there is great likelihood she will succeed in her design, if Providence does not interpose, by the preservation of the Electoral Prince, who may have Children.

As to the Elector Palatin, when *France* took the Princess to marry her with the Duke of *Orleance*, she had two regards, the first was to draw her by a pension of the deceased Elector into her interests; and the second; that in not being able to do it, she might always form pretensions on the right of *Madam d'Orleans*.

We know well enough how the Electors, both Father and Son have been treated, since this Marriage, by *Lewis XIV.* and how the Palatinate has been trampled on by his Troops, and the People of that Country impoverished and ruin'd. But death having in a short time taken these Princes out of the World, leaving no male Children behind them, and the Palatinate having at present fall'n to the House of *Nieuburg*, according to the Treaty made with the Emperor, the King of *France* has seen there was no measure to be taken with the present Elector, and that he is too nearly allyed to the Emperor, to whom he is too much beholden for what he is, to forsake his Interests and leave his party. And therefore its not on that side *France* attacks him. The Pretensions of *Madam's* Rights are now the Debate. The Pope may concern himself herein,

herein, but to little purpose, this is not a business so soon dispatched; here's a Dore open, which *France* keeps for an entrance into *Germany*, and all the delays which the Pope obtains, serve only to keep off the evil for a while, for it will be seen in the next Spring, what *France* will do in those parts. All that the Elector can wish, is that a Peace be made between the two Emperors this Winter, and that the death of a Prince hapning, his decease may give a diversion on another side to *Lewis* the Great. And these are the only means I can perceive this Elector has to escape falling into the Hands of *France*; and this reason ought to be a great Motive to the Emperor to make a Peace with the Turk, as he may now make with great advantage. For he should know that if ever the King of *France* breaks the Ice, and once enters *Germany*, he will not easily return. The French are insolent in Prosperity, and provided good Fortune smiles on them in the beginning, and in the first fury with which they undertake all things; this is a great Spur to 'em to push forward; and then the Peace with the Turk not being made, I know not whether the Emperor can make it, when he would, or at least on the same conditions its now offered.

The Elector of *Saxony* has never much regarded all the offers made him by *France*: He is a Prince that does not study all those fetches of Policy, which so abound in Courts, but knowing his interest, prosecutes it without more ado; and this indeed is the best Policy, and generally best succeeds. And therefore *France* perceiving he would not bite at the bait, has rais'd up business in his Family, and with his Neighbours. But the Emperors Council has timely provided here, whence it is that in this Court the French interest do's not much prevail, Ducats being here more rife than *Louis d'ors*. But to the end they may know what passes, there are people sent who know how to accomodate themselves to the humor of the Country, and especially to drink lustily, whereby they are fit Companions, and learn truths, by pulling their Noses out of the Glass, when the Company begins to talk freely. And therefore when an Envoy or Resident is to be sent from *France* into *Saxony*, there is, above all, especial enquiry made, whether he can take off his Jugg; this being one of the

the qualifications he must have with his deceitfulness.

As to the Electors of *Treves* and *Maience*, *France* being not jealous of them, being Princes that cannot hurt him, she lets them alone till a necessary time; because she knows when she needs them, she can draw them by the soft charms of her Golden rays; otherwise by threats, and hereby oblige them to do what she would have 'em. The King need only send Troops to *Treve*, he has put her already into a condition not to dispute the Entrance with him; so that he can make himself Master of it, when he pleases.

As to the Elector of *Cologn*, his temper is well known, being a Prince that loves Peace, and desires chiefly to end his Life in quiet; the better to attend his Devotions and mind his Salvation; which design will be always commended in a Prelate, and a Person of his Character. But this peaceable Spirit does not well agree with that of *France*, which is turbulent, and always restless; and therefore the Archbishop must admit into his bosom the Cardinal Bishop of *Strasburg*, who is as violent and deceitful as he that animates him. He has gained so much on the Spirit of the Archbishop that he perfectly rules him, and by means of the Bishoprick of *Munster*, which *France* has procured him with two Millions; this Prelate cannot handsomly now draw back.

Thus, by what we see happen in our days, by the Intrigues of *France*, have I not great reason to say, that all the Empire, and the Electors, and the other Kings, Princes and States, have great reason to oppose themselves against the designs of *Lewis XIV.* to hinder him from mounting into the Empire, lest they become his Slaves. Whereas at present he manages them, and cajoles some of 'em, that he may in time use them like a Master; he will throw off the Foxes skin, to put on that of the Lyon, and they shall hear no other Language, *but for as much as this is my will and pleasure.* To hinder him from aggrandizing himself, only a Peace with the Turks can put the Emperor in a condition to oppose it. Have we not seen, in *Flanders*, in time of a full Peace what the Spirit of *France* is capable of? We know very well, that amongst other good qualities she possesses, the gift of usurping admirably well meets with reasons always so sufficient, that the whole Earth

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must allow and receive them as Articles of Faith, as well as the just pretensions of the King on the Empire, which are deduced, at length, in a little Book wrote by one *Aubri* an Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*. But the *Manifesto* which the King has lately Publish'd at *Ratisbonne*, and in other States of the Empire, to justify the usurping Fortification of *Tarbrac*, deserves a place in this Book, to shew them who have not yet seen the weak Arguments alledged to colour the breach of the last Truce. Here is what the French Minister has openly Publish'd.

THE King having been informed of the complaints, which the Ministers of the House of Austria make, on occasion of some Works, going on at *Tarbrack*, by his Majesties order, which is termed throughout all the Empire, a breach of the Treaty concluded in October 1684. this has obliged his said Majesty to order the Count de *Creci* his Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Imperial Diet of *Ratisbonne*, to represent to the Ministers of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire assembled in the said place, the small grounds for this complaint, and the just occasion they give to all those who are in the design of preserving the Publick Peace, to believe, that this is a pretence, which they would make use of to disturb this aforesaid Peace.

First, We may say with good grounds, that the Treaty concluded at cannot be properly called a Truce, its true definition being only a forbearance, by vertue of which, tho the War still subsists or continues, yet all hostile Acts are to be forborn. We may farther consider this Toleration, as a reciprocal Promise of a fair understanding and union during the space of Twenty years, in consideration of which the Emperor and the Empire, on one hand, must during this time, lay aside all Pretensions to Sovereignty, Rights, Superiority and Protection, which they may claim on the Countries, Places and Towns, which have fallen to *France*, before the first of August 1681. And his Majesty does in like manner engage to make no other pursuit, nor pretention in the Empire during the said time. These are the essential Conventions by which a reciprocal assurance is given of a lasting continuation of Amity, and fair Understanding, which furnishes the Imperial Army with means to Conquer all Hungary, and to joyn with the Empire in the

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undertaking of a War, which cannot otherways be carried on but with great Charge, and perhaps by the ruin of the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire. But to shew clearly how greatly this weak pretence is unjustifiable in it self, the Articles of this Treaty need only be run over. And when even it should be considered as a Treaty, which hath not been simply concluded but to secure the Peace of the Empire, and to furnish her with the means to employ her Arms against the Common Enemy; yet this will not shew, that she may deprive the King of the Power of fortifying Places, where his Majesty has Jurisdiction; as well by the possession he was already in, as by the common consent of the Empire agreed to in the said Treaty, and that he may not act so far with full Authority. There needs only to be perused all the Treaties of Truce heretofore made, to see if the Prohibition of Fortifying is not therein expressly contained, when the parties concern'd are agreed about 'em. By the Tolleration of the Truce of Bonvifi in the year 1537. it is said, that during the Cessation of Arms in the Low Countries, the King may put in not Forces into the County of St. Paul, nor raise there any Fortification. This exception sufficiently shewed, that the King had liberty to fortifie his Circumjacent, and other places, during the late Truce. So that there was a necessity of inserting this Article in this Treaty, to take from France this liberty in the County of St. Paul only.

The general Truce which was decreed at Nice, in the year 1538. confirms this Article touching St. Paul, but it did not deprive the two Princes of the Liberty of raising Fortifications every where else.

The Truce made in the Year 1555. makes no mention of this Point; but the Crown of Spain, and the States of the United Provinces having made a Truce in 1609. intending by the twenty ninth Article to deprive one another of the liberty of raising any new Fort in the Low Countries, therein incerted this clause; There shall be no Fort erected by either side, in the Low Countries, during the Truce.

When a Peace was treating at Munster between France and Spain, the great Obstacle to the Conclusion of it was, That his Catholick Majesty could not resolve to quit his Right on Catalonia, which occasioned a Truce to be agreed on for this Province only, during which each King should keep what he was then possess'd of. But there arose another difficulty, which was, that the Spaniards would not suffer, that the

the places in Catalonia should be fortified during the Truce, which the French would not agree to, alledging it to be unjust, seeing hereby they only put themselves in a posture of defence, not in that of an Aggressor, which was in all time lawful, and would not therefore receive the expedient offered by the Ambassadors of the States General. The same case now happens in the present Treaty. Every one knows that the Prohibition of Fortifying propos'd by the Emperors Ministers in the ninth and tenth Articles, in the said Project of the Empire, and which at that time were reciprocally communicated by a publick writing, were rejected by France. Moreover the Imperial Ministers not consenting that the Emperor should yield to the King the places he was already possess'd of, which his Majesty would never permit to be touched, bounded, or straitned, the Emperors Ministers not being able to obtain this point, forsook it. It cannot be believed that the Imperial Ministers would draw any deduction whereon to ground their complaint from the eighth and ninth Articles of the Truce, Inasmuch as the first contains only the re-establishment of the Countries to their Proprietors who will take the Oath of Fidelity, of which the Sovereignty hath been yielded up to his Majesty. And the other, that his said Majesty is obliged to let the Inhabitants have the free exercise of their Religion.

Moreover, the Re-union of Tarbarck having been irrevocably determined by a Decree of the Royal Chamber of Metz in the month of April 1681. we cannot apprehend what pretence the Imperial Ministers can have to accuse France for breaking the Truce, seeing that the King gives dayly and apparent marks of the inviolable observati- on of the least punctilio, and that he facilitates by his moderation the progress of the Imperial Arms against the Infidels; and this is that which gives occasion to the just suspicions of the design which the Court of Vienna hath, and that its Ministers do sufficiently shew on all occasions that they will observe the Truce no longer, when it shall be in their power to break it.

And seeing this Truce has given to Christendom the happy Tranqui- lity she now enjoys, and yielded means to the Circles and States of the Empire by their assistance, to retort on the Ottoman Empire the mi- series wherewith the Hereditary Countries were threatned, we may truly affirm that the Emperor owes the preservation of his Country, and all

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the advantages obtained over the Infidels, to it. And his Ministers have so much the less reason to complain, seeing the King making use of the full power he has of fortifying of the Frontier places which have most need may do it even as a Soverzign, who to secure the repose and prosperity of his Subjects, should fortifie the limits of his States, and thereby would not shew he intended to possess himself of his Neighbours Country, or to begin a War, and also even as a private person employing himself in repairing the limits of his Lands, would not hereby demonstrate he intended to take in those of his Neighbours. But his Majesty hopes from the Wisdom and Prudence of the States of the Empire assembled at Ratisbon, that they will make serious Reflexions on the just suspicions, which the ungrounded complaints of the Imperial Ministers cause in his Majesty, and that they will find out means, to the end the fair correspondency which his Majesty intends to keep up, with the Empire, be not hindred nor interrupted.

*From Fountainbleau
Octob. 22. 1687.*

Would not one be apt to imagin in seeing this *Manifesto*, that the Emperor is engaged to the King for all his Conquests on the Turks, and that without him the Empire had been lost? whereas all the World knows, as we have already observed, that it was he who induced the Grand Seignior to break the Truce, and underhand assisted Count *Teckeli*. But this is no more than what may be expected from the perfidious and restless Humor of *France*.

The Genius and Maxims of France in relation to Spain.

FROM the Empire I pass to *Spain*, which one while hath divided with *France* Europe into two, with which all other Princes have taken part according as their Interests required. But the greatest part agreed in this point, to assist the weakest, and to endeavour an equality between them. The deceased *Mounseur de Sally* writing to *Henry IV.* on the difference with *Spain*,

Spain, saith that every growth of the one is esteemed the diminution of the other. Till *Philip IV.* *Spain* ever upheld it self, though its declension began from *Philip II.* by the Low-Country War. But since that time and after the death of the last *Philip IV.* *France* has gotten the start of her, and *Spain* hath flagged on a suddain. On a festival of one of the Kings of *Spain* who was canonis'd *St. Ferdinand*, A Reverend Divine, in his Sermon, setting forth the Sacredness, and Majesty of his King, assured his Auditory, *That if God were not God, the King Don Philip would be God.*

To let this pass, its probable his Successor would have contented himself with a lower rank, Affairs having since that changed their Countenance; yet *Charles II.* is still King of *Spain*, and he has the same *Indies*, and the Fleets pass and repass every year laden with Gold and Silver as heretofore; and yet this *Spain* is no more *Spain* which heretofore raised Jealousies, and caused Terrors to all Princes of *Europe*, who leagu'd themselves against her for their mutual support. But now she is like a great Bird, from whom every one having pluckt a Feather, she remains naked; who were she not upheld by her Allies, *Lewis XIV.* would be soon at *Madrid*, and the Low-Countries would in less than one Campaign stoop under the Yoak of *France*; and the more easily, seeing their lawful Prince without Children, a Valetudinary, and at the Eve of an intire ruin; and the mark and desired object of the cruelty of the French Troops, there being no Body ready to deliver her.

France is not ignorant of any thing of this, and it's certain she expects her time to enter into possession, in the *Dauphin's* Name, of the Queens rights, seeing it came to the House of *Austria* by a Woman, I mean by the Marriage of *Jane*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, to a Prince of that Family.

When I say that *Spain* has been notably overreacht by *France*, I need only give you two instances, which will shew you the truth of what I say. The King of *France* sent word to him of *Spain* and the States of the United Provinces, that if the King gives the Low-Countries to the Duke of *Bavaria*, or only the Government of them, as the Report ran in the time of his Marriage with the Arch-Dutchess, that he would break

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the Peace without any more ado, seeing this could not be done, but to the prejudice of the Dauphins Rights. It was *Mounſieur de Fenkier* which notified this to the King of *Spain*, and the Count *d'Avaux* to the States General. But not to inſiſt much on this, becauſe it may be replied that *Spain* thought not on what might follow. But in this other inſtance ſhe ſhewed but little Courage; For when the Spaniſh and French Embaſſadors made their entrance together at *London*, the Baron *de Watteville* got the ſtart of *Mounſieur d'Eſtrada*, and kept it all the way. *Spain* had the Pufilanimity to diſown the generous action of her Embaſſador. By a ſhameful declaration ſhe made a breach in her own honor, and gave place to *France* without neceſſity. I could ſee no other reaſon but the fear of Cannon Law, and of the Troops which the King keeps to make himſelf obeyd, and which are all in a readineſs againſt the King of *Spain* dies. However cautious *Charles II.* may be for his Succeſſor, if he takes him out of his own Family, and according to the Teſtament and Intention of *Philip IV.* this Succeſſor will have a great deal of trouble and a ſharp War to ſuſtain. The Queen who is a French Woman by Birth and Inclination, has her party in the Kingdom, and after the death of the King will ſooner chooſe to caſt her ſelf into the Arms of her Conſin german, than into thoſe of a Stranger, unleſs it be by a Marriage, which will be a great ſtrength to her party. The Marriages of the Infanta's of *Spain* with the Kings of *France* have always made a great noiſe between theſe two Princes, and have prov'd direful to the Spaniards; but that of *Mary Thereſe*, with *Lewis XIV.* is the completion of all the miſeries which *Spain* is ready to be oppreſt with; whatever renunciation the King of *France* has made. For his intention never was to keep what he promiſt and then ſwore. We have apparently enough ſeen it by the ſtop he put to his Parliaments in regiſtring the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and by the *Maniſteoes* which ran abroad in the World concerning the juſt pretenſions of the Queen of *France*. What profit does *Spain* draw from her Marriages and Alliances with the King of *France*? On the contrary great diſadvantages, for tis by vertue of the laſt Marriage he forms all his pretenſions. *Philip II.* more prudently preferred the Arch Duke of *Erneſt*, and afterwards *Albert*. The

Truce

Truce which *France* lately made, is only to amuſe and lay aſleep *Spain* with her Allies, to oblige 'em hereby to diſarm, whiſt ſhe keeps up above two hundred thouſand men, which march about ſometimes in *Alſatia*, otherwiſe on the ſide of *Cologne*, and often towards the Low-Countries. All this is nothing but amuſement, and to take away all Fear and Suſpition. But in due time you ſee 'em ſeize on their Prey, there being no body in Arms to reſiſt them, and before the Ally's be in any tollerable condition, the King of *France* will have compleated his buſineſs. So that this Truce being only to amuſe and entertain the Princes of *Europe* from making a War with him, he will be ever in a condition, immediately after the Spaniſh Monarch's Deceaſe, to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Dauphin's* Rights, without any other Form of Proceſs but the Canon Law; whereby the Spaniards will find themſelves ſufficiently deceived, after the Death of their King, by relying on this Truce. This is a broken Reed which will pierce their Hands: And if by miſfortune, for them, the Emperor is ſtill employed in the *Turkiſh War*, Who will hinder the two French Armies, the own in *Catalonia*, and the other in the Low-Countries, from making themſelves Maſters wherever they ſhall preſent themſelves?

I know very well its the Intereſt of *England*, and the States of the *United Provinces*, to defend the Low-Countries, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel; but the one is ſo good a Friend, and has ſo much other buſineſs to mind, that he thinks no more of the Low-Countries than his Predeceſſor did of *Luxemburg*. As to the States, they have Troops only to defend their own Countries, being naturally Thrifty and good Huſbands. Its certainly a great Error of *Spain* to ſend commonly into the Low-Countries ſuch Governours who come there only to fill their Purſes, and then return again; which, to effect, the King muſt be cheated, and the Country too, no payments being made either to the Citizens or Soldiers of whats owing them. So that, often times, inſtead of a thouſand Men in a Regiment, there are fifty: and I once ſaw an whole Regiment, who changed their Garrifon, carried in one Waggon. In ſine, a Man needs only to be in *Flanders* to ſo ſee what I ſay is true. The Soldiers hold out their Hats to you, to beg, whiſt they

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they are mounting the Guard, and the Officers are reduced to live among the *Capucins*, on the Charity which these good Fathers have mump't for their own subsistence. Those last three Irish Regiments which the King of *England* had agreed to send to the King of *Spain* to Guard the Low-Countries, and which were effectually raised, have melted away like Snow before the Sun, and you'll hardly find now amongst them the number of four score Men. *Spain* commits farther a greater fault, in resting on foreign Forces for the guarding the Low-Countries, and neglecting the number of Troops, she should send for the preservation of those places. Moreover its not to be questioned but *France* knowing, as she does, the distemper of the Governors of the Spanish Territories, causes their Pulses to be often felt, and provides for their weakneses. No man alive can cure wise Heads of the Suspicions they have, that the Marquess *de Grana* lent his helping hand, by means of a certain Spring, towards the taking of *Luxemburg*. The thing is as clear as the Sun at Noon-day. Four or five Millions which he left behind him are shewed signs. I advance, you see; no impossibilities, it being a thing every day practised. There are few people in the times we live in that are proof against a Million. I allow there are some, but you need not be long accounting them. The Low-Countries being no Patrimony to its Governors, they too frequently draw out all they are able, as from a piece of rented ground. There is no trick or artifice which the Spirit of *France* does not devise to compass its designs on this Country, it being though but a small Bone, yet very hard of digestion for *France*, and therefore the King has begun to give it very furious knocks these late years. He also knows that if he were the Master of it, he might employ all her Forces on the side of *Catalonia* and *Roussillon*, and having nothing more to fear or to decide in that Country, arrive in some short time at *Madrid*, wherein I see no great difficulty, after the mastery of some Frontier places, for entrance and returns.

And therefore the Council of *Spain*, considering the strength of the French, should take other measures, for the Defence of the Low-Countries; and I see only one means, in the present circumstances of *Spain*, which is a speedy remedy. It's certain only
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a good number of Troops, with an honest and discreet Commander, can hinder the misery which is ready to fall on their Heads. We know in what manner the Troops there, are at present pay'd; and the small number there are, when there needs above twenty thousand more to Garrison Places to any purpose, and ten more in case of a Rupture. And seeing that *Spain* cannot furnish 'em, the Towns themselves should be suffer'd to raise and pay them, who will not refuse to do it, to preserve themselves from falling into the cruel Hands of the French, and to be ruin'd before they thought of it; as several Towns and Villages have been, where the most Sacred Places have been violated. I know, 'tis long since, this Proposition has been debated, but the Council of *Spain* has ever rejected it, for reasons of little weight. When there should be a faithful Governor, more Vigilant and Valiant than the Great Duke of *Lorraine*, who would make *France* tremble, were he at the Head of forty thousand Men, and back'd by the Prince of *Orange*, tho with a less Army; yet *France* has still her Emissaries at *Madrid*, in the Council, as well as elsewhere, to deaden all designs which oppose her Interests.

I repeat again that *France* can never accomplish her grand project, but by making her self, first, the Mistress of the Low-Countries; and therefore *du Plessis* advised his Master to begin his attacks there, which like a Dike once opened will soon overflow the rest.

The Ambition and Interest of the King of *France*, is such a Torrent, that neither the affinity of Parentage, nor Alliances, Peace, Treaties, Truce, Oaths, and solemn Vows, are sufficient to stop its impetuosity, to say no more, nor the very Bounds which God by his wise Providence has put to the limits of each Monarchy, which seem to cry out to every Sovereign, *Non plus ultra*. But *Lewis* has Sworn not to be contented with the portion the Supream Monarch of the Universe has allotted him. Who knows but that if he had Conquer'd the whole World, he would set up on building a second Tower of *Babel*, to Scale the Heavens? Ambition has no Bounds, but Pride commonly meets with a fall.

Let not the Council of *Spain* rest secure on a deceitful Truce; 'tis a *Dalila* which will suddainly Cry to the Spaniards, the *Philistins*

listins are upon thee; and I am afraid it will be the same, as with *Sampson*, who in awaking, finding himself bound and fettered, could not then keep himself from falling a prey to his Enemies.

The *Grandees of Spain* yield great assistance to the *French Mounseur*, and labour, without thinking of it, to promote his Design, and maintain his Ambition; for they enrich themselves at their Masters cost, from whom they take away the means of keeping Forces for his security. But were they well advised, they would seriously reflect on their present condition, and that wherein they must lye, falling under the Domination of *France*. What a useful reflection may this prove to them? For they must reckon that a French Prince coming to the Throne, the Spaniards will be little regarded, but rather scorned as miserable Wretches. The antipathy which is between these two Nations will not suffer this new King to trust them, and all their Grandure and Statelynes will serve only for ridicule to the Court of *France*. For the Spaniards must not promise, if this should happen, the *Dauphin* would leave *France* to live in *Spain*. The Kings of *France* will always esteem *Versailles* more than the finest Town in *Spain*. They will have Vice-Roys sent, French both by Nation and Inclination, and Enemies to the Spaniards, that they may not complot together; and these Vice-Roys, rather than be unprofitably Idle, will set to the study of laying on Taxes, Excise, Imposts, Gratuities, Royal Aids, Grants, Subsidies, Gabels on Salt, Corn, Flower, Tobacco, Pipes, Wine, Oyl, Cloths, Perewigs, their Swords, Tooth-picks, ay and Mustachos.

So that, I affirm, it is the Interest of *Spain* to induce the Emperor to accept a Peace or a Truce from the *Grand Seignior*, to cast her Eyes, during the Life of her King now Reigning, on a Prince to succeed him; that this Prince, before the time, retires to *Madrid* to be acquainted there, and to be in the middle of the Kingdom, to defend it; that he make himself be Crowned immediately after the Decease of the King, seize on the Seals and Papers of the Crown, and hinder the *Grandees of Spain* from siding with any but himself, as their Lawful Sovereign.

In fine, *Spain* ought maturely to study the preservation of the Low-Countries, and for once disabuse her self of the ill opinion, her

her Council suggests, that *England* and the *United Provinces* must Defend them in regard to their own Interests. It's true (I confess) they ought to do it, but if *France* disengages *England* from its true Interest, as she will undoubtedly do; if this soon happens, the *United Provinces*, whatsoever good Intentions and Interest they may have for the preservation of the Low-Countries, cannot alone stop this French fury, which as an impetuous Torrent, will soon sweep away the best part of *Flanders*. So that it concerns *Spain* to think of this in good earnest, and not to sleep, whilst the Spirit of *France* acts efficaciously, and has long since prepared it self for this great Affair. In a word, if the Spaniards understand themselves, they will not part with the Monarchy, after their Kings death, to *Lewis* the Great, but with their Lives.

The Maxims of France in Relation to England.

Henry VIII. King of *England* caused a Medal to be made in his time, whence appear'd an Hand out of a Cloud, holding a pair of Scales in equal Balance; one of which denoted *Spain*, and the other *France*, with this Inscription, *He that I am for gains his Point*. It seems this Prince knew his Power, whereas now I may compare *England* to an Ox, who not knowing his own strength, suffers himself to be yoaked. This Kingdom has this advantage, that it can easily preserve it self, and its Enemies will be obliged to pass often on the Seas, to encounter with the Winds and Waves, besides a puissant Fleet, before they can Land. Thus a King of *Great Britain*, having Peace with the *United Provinces*, its certain he may give a great stroak to the party he joyns himself. *France* so well understands this Truth, that for all the hatred and antipathy of the two Nations, yet has she spared nothing to disengage *England* from its true Interests, to draw her to her side, or at least make her remain Neuter, and behold unconcerned, the King of *France* act his Tragedies on the Theater of *Europe*; it being certain that none, so well as *England*, can deliver *Europe* from falling into the chains of *France*. Did the King of *Great Britain* know the strength of the Country he Rules in, and

and his own Interest, he might be not only the Mediator and Arbitrator of the whole World, but give Peace, when he pleas'd to all Christendom. To attain this, he need only do two things, which are very easie, and even in his Power, when he would. The first, to make himself beloved by his People, and agreed with his Parliament. The second, to make a firm League with the States of the United Provinces, and to live with them in a good Understanding, Union and Correspondence for the common good. The first is, very easie to do, seeing it consists in only requiring of his Parliament, what's according to the Laws of the Realm, as he is obliged by his Coronation Oath. The second will be done as soon as the King of *England* will not hearken to the French Emisseries, and lay aside all those jealousies and distasts, against his People. But *France* sends continually some of those deceitful and turbulent Spirits hither, to sow the Tares of Misintelligence between the King and the Parliament. In the time when the Kings of *England* made Profession of the Protestant Religion, Catholicism then displayed its Artifices, in endeavouring to excite the Episcopal Party against the rest of the Dissenting Protestants; and to make these later believe, that the Bishops were Papists in their Hearts, who would not fail to throw off their Masks, when time should serve; and that I know not what great Men besides were of this way, and even the King himself; and a thousand things of this nature, which sharpened the Peoples humor against the King, and caused just suspicions among the Members of Parliament, who judg'd it then their duty to thwart the Kings demands; so that he had so much Work to do at home, that he could not think of what was doing abroad. In *Charles I.* Reign 'twas *France* which kindled the first sparks of those Civil Wars, (and who will be sure now to leave no Stone unturned, to do the same again) which cost the Nation so much Blood. Whence it was, that when the French Embassador was returned from *England*, he vaunted he had kindled such a Flame, as would not soon be out, and that for twenty years *England* would not be in a condition to expostulate on any account with *France*. One Father *Joseph* contributed underhand amongst the Catholics to enflame these Divisions; and it's unquestionably evident, that of these
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same Catholics there were not a few in *Cromwells* Army. King *Charles I.* complained of this, saying, these doings of theirs proceeded from his not admitting them to Offices; and in the heat of the War between King and Parliament, the King of *France* sent six hundred thousand Livres to *Cromwel*, being not willing to starve a good cause; this is a thing Publick, and which was well known abroad. But since the King of *Great Britain* has owned the Popish Religion, *France* has removed her Batteries, and her great Cannon has been discharged against the Church of *England*, having before not a little contributed to the exasperating those of that Church against their Protestant Brethren, both of 'em having been made use of to ruin one another, to make way for Popery. But that King will find it an hard task to Establish his Religion, though he should yet Reign twenty years, and had such a Parliament as he would choose. Now all this time the King must stand on his Guard, because his People know his ends, and being not able to part with his Troops, and wanting a Fund to maintain them; *France* all this time will do as she pleases, will seize on the Low-Countries, and all *Spain*, should the King of *Spain* dye in the mean time, as *France* expects with great impatience.

As to the second, which is the League with the United Provinces, and a good Harmony and Understanding between these two Sovereignities for the good of Christendom, its certain the States would desire it, provided they could see they might engage with certainty, and be seconded on occasion. But of this there could be no likelyhood as long as the Affairs of *England* remain in those hands and condition are they in. This would be a sad mortifying blow to *France*, seeing the conjunction of these two Powers, would make her desist from several Enterprises, and make her give over undertaking any thing contrary to the last Treaty of Peace at *Nimigen*, and the Truce. But *France* takes care of this, and those Divisions she sows, are Spectacles which magnifie objects beyond all proportion to what they really are in themselves. We need only consider the Affair of *Bantam*, which would have been accommodated long ago, had not *France* thought it more useful it should remain in debate, be never finisht or scarcely well begun, lest it should come to a good end. The Union
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of *England* with the *United Provinces* would not much forward the design of *France* on the *Spanish Netherlands*, for if *England* would, the King of *France* can never succeed in that Design. Had the late King made the least shew of stirring, the French had not taken *Luxemburg*; but he knew his weak side, and so dazled his Eyes, that this good Prince saw not the mischief, till the Town was taken.

England understood not her own Interest in parting with *Dunkirk*, that Town which was a Dore into *France* and the Low-Countries. But what would it not be, if these Countries should fall under the povver of *Lewis* the Great, and should joyn by this Conquest, *Newport* and *Ostend* to *Dunkirk*? *Flushing* afterwards would soon be at his Devotion: He might then justly dispute the Empire of the Sea with the King of *England*, and spoil his Commerce. And if after this the King of *France* makes himself Master of the *United Provinces*, this being a misfortune which may happen, the Low-Countries being lost, *England* cannot exempt it self from being of that number. And therefore *Queen Elizabeth* told heretofore *Monsieur Sulli*, the most Christian Kings Embassador, that neither *France* nor *England*, nor any other Princes had any thing to do with the Low-Countries, and that she would take care the King should not concern himself about them.

This same *Sulli* writing to *Henry IV.* saith, *That with great strength, notwithstanding the Queens talk, he might seize on the Lands and Towns of the Low-Countries, and joyn intirely and inseperately France with the United Provinces, which is the only means, said he, to reduce France to its splendor, and to make her Superior to all Christendom; for if once, the Provinces of Luxemburg, Juliers, La Marck, Mons, Limburg, Aix and Cleves, were united and associated to France, there's no doubt but the rest of the Country would be constrained to follow their Example, being separated from all Communication with the rest of the World.* *France* has now of late applied her self this way, since she saw, she could not compass her design by the way of *Italy*, as heretofore the *Romans* did. Although all the Princes of *Europe* have the greatest Interest to hinder this Conquest, yet there are only these two neighbouring Powers who

who can best, and have greatest Interest to hinder the progress of *France*, in the Low-Countries, which would draw along with them, as I already mentioned, most dismal consequences. For as to *Spain* her self, she is a Body without Members, save the Tongue, which she makes use of to implore the aid of her good Friends and Patrons, that they would take care of her, and not leave her a Prey to *France*. *England* its certain, may do a great deal for the preservation of the Low-Countries, for had not its Sovereign promist not to stir, *Luxemburg* would have remained in the same condition. His most Christian Majesty knows it very well, and therefore took so great care to keep his British Majesty in his Interests, and that if he would not declare for him, yet at least he would look on as a Neuter. To this end he spared not any thing, neither Presents nor Pensions, Oaths and Promises; but the English may one day feel the weight and vexation of hearkning to these solicitations of him, who finally will enslave those who can only subsist by the equal balance of the two Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*. I conclude then that the Kings of *England* have a notable interest, for their own preservation, and that of Trade to hinder the French Kings Conquests in the Low-Countries, for if they do not do it, and after the loss of these Countries *Monsieur* makes himself Master of all the seventeen Provinces, which is his great aim, and which misfortune may happen, if the States be not seconded and remain alone, I say, in what condition will *England* be? *France* will be stronger at Sea, and in the *Indies* than she; *France* will hinder her Commerce every moment; she will always have a good Fleet out, and especially in the Narrow Seas, which will not suffer the least Boat to stir out, but with her leave, and at the least dissatisfaction; her loss will be certain and inevitable, seeing no Body will, or can stir to defend her.

Moreover the true Policy of *England* is to keep *France* low, whether to preserve the Empire of the Sea, or to meet with a favourable season to recover her ancient Rights, withheld by *France*, as *Bretagn*, *Normandy*, *Poitou*, *Languedoc* and *France* it self, by the King of *England*'s Marriage with *Margaret* the Daughter of *Rhilib the Faire*; for from this Marriage came *Henry*

V. of *England*, who has the same right to *France*, as the Dauphin to *Spain*. The three Sons of King *Philip the Fair*, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip the Long*, and *Charles the Fair*, died all without Male Children, and it was in consequence of this, that when the King of *England* prosecuted his Right on the Kingdom of *France*, that the *Salic Law* was there set up on a preachment which the Bishop of *Beauvais* made to the States assembled, wherein he proved as clearly from Scripture (as other People have done other popular Doctrines elsewhere) that because the Lilies do not spin, therefore the Flowers de Luces, which represented *France*, ought not to fall to the Feminine Line. But this Law can only serve for the future, and not the past time. In fine, *Henry V.* King of *England*, who came into *France* with a puissant Army, and won several Battels, espoused *Catherine* the Daughter of *Charles VI.* and in the year 1421. it was concluded and decreed, that *Henry* should be King of *France*; and *Isabella* Queen of *France*, Mother of *Katharine* Queen of *England*, making her Will in Favour of her Son-in-Law, declared him Heir of all her Estate, and the Crown it self, which is a farther confirmation of the Right which the Kings of *England* have to *France*.

Had the King of *France* had but half the Right to *England* as the Kings of *England* have to *France*, we should soon see *Manifestos* and Declarations run through the World, to prove his just pretensions, as he calls all those he makes; So that in what manner soever the Kings of *England* behold *France*, she ought in all times to be suspected by them, they ought to beware of her, as a concealed Enemy, and knowing her to be such, they ought to believe she flatters only the better to deceive; and because they alone can give a great counterpoise to her Affairs; so that we must not wonder, if *Lewis XIV.* has spared no cost to satisfy the occasions, wants and pleasure of *Charles II.* Mr. *Barillon* and Madam *Portsmouth* can bear Witness to the truth of what I say. But I can assure you, that the King of *France* respects Princes and private persons no more than they are profitable to him. I say farther, that even Vertue it self is esteemed by him no longer than it consists with his Designs. Observe what esteem and what reckoning he made of the Princes, and Princesses of *England* during

ring the Government of *Cromwel*: Were they not banisht and driven out of *France*? What sustenance and entertainment have those exiled Princes from their Countries received from *France*? It is to the House of *Orange* to which they have been obliged, which suppli'd them with considerable sums; but *France* on the contrary, was the cause of the late Troubles in *England*, and would not receive the Princes, nor ever contributed in the least to the Re-establishment of the late King.

Every thing considered, the resentment of the Royal Family, and the Interests of *England*, do not permit the having such strict Alliances with *France*, whilst *Lewis XIV.* seizes on the Low-Countries: On the contrary, she ought to be always ready to hinder the least enterprize she undertakes, in making use at the same time, of the six Regiments she has in *Holland*, which the States will not refuse her in such a case of necessity, till she can send over others into *Flanders*. I am perswaded that these six Regiments will oppose double the number of French, and then *England* shewing only her Teeth, *Europe* will be in safety. *France* has cut out Work to King *James*; the design which he has undertaken, is so great, that many fear, and others hope, he will never effect it, as long as he lives. Its no time to alter and violate Laws, when the Enemy is at the Dore. Its not always a fit time to act the part of a Converter; he would do better to study the preservation of his Dominions, and shew himself a Soldier and a Politician. All the World expected great matters from the King. His great Courage, exceeding great Courage, made *Europe* hope an Universal Ease, and some respite particularly for *Spain*: But what are his Allies and *Spain* to expect, whilst he makes it his business to hearken and please the Jesuits, and kindles in his own Kingdom a fire, which perhaps he will never be able to extinguish, and all this while, he will be afraid to call an honest and Free Parliament? *Spain* has lost her self by driving out the *Mores*. *France* has weakned her self, by her Conversions, and departure of the *Hugonots*, and she would have the King of *England* to do the like. We must not take Gods Work out of his Hands, the Office of Conversion belongs to him, and he can Convert the whole World with one Word. So that leaving this care to God, the King of *England* ought

ought to take that of preserving his Countries, and to hinder himself from being the Cully of *France*; and to oblige that Prince to remain where he is, without encroaching on his Neighbours Countries, which are as a Bar, and then this King would have deserved the Titles which some gave him.

The Temper and Maxims of France in reference to the United Provinces.

THE States of the *United Provinces* having constrain'd, by Force of Arms *Spain*, to acknowledge 'em a Free State, Sovereign, and only dependant on God, were for one while the admiration of her Neighbours, and every one endeavoured to gain their Alliance; and we may say, without flattery, they were respected as the Arbiters of *Europe*; but since the War of 1672. this great Reputation has a little fal'n; and *France* has known so well to play her game, that she had like to have wrought her ruin, had not an unexpected change hapned, by the Peoples committing the Government, or Command, to the Prince of *Orange*, and chastised some ill intentioned persons. But God designing by his providence, to preserve this little Country, after the taking of *Naerden* struck their Enemies with a pannick fear, who scamper'd away with more speed than they came. That which greatly contributed to these misfortunes, was, that besides the Treachery and Intelligence *France* held there, they were unprovided of good Troops and a Leader. These Provinces relied on the Peace, and deceitful promises of *France*, who during this Peace laboured in her designs against these very Provinces. We see that in a profound Peace the Soldiery becomes idle, or betake themselves to some more profitable employments. *France* knew that as long as the *United Provinces* had no General, the *Militia* would be but in a bad condition and incapable of Defence; and therefore she took such care to hinder (by her wiles and false suppositions) the Prince of *Orange* from taking on him the Office and dignity wherein he is Instated, and by strengthening and envenoming the contrary Party. By this means the States grew weaker, their *Militia* were

were useles, Fortifications neglected, and the strongest Places went to ruin; their Magazins were ill stored with Ammunitions, whilst *France* levy'd Troops silently, made secret Alliances with *England*, and the Archbishop of *Cologne* and Bishop of *Munster*. *Du Plessis* said very well, that all States are to be esteemed strong or weak from the force or weakness of their Neighbours. And wise Princes keep a Counter-poise as long as they can, to the end that hereby they may live in Peace and Amity together, for as soon as this fails, Peace and Amity are dissolved, being only grounded on a mutual fear or esteem of one another. And this is so true, that a wise Prince enters in to suspicion at the least Levy, or motion of his Neighbour; even in the midst of a Peace or Truce, he continually watches him, and endeavours to be informed of the design of his Enemy or Neighbour, even before the time comes, for hereby the measures are broken. And herein many Princes and States, who are over-saving of Mony, fail; this is a thriftiness which often proves very pernicious, and which causes in the end a War, which perhaps might have been prevented by a small matter. *France* is so perswaded of this Truth, that she neglects nothing in this respect. Her Embassadors in all Courts of *Europe* have Mony for this, and they cannot better ingratiate themselves with their Master, than by corrupting some one or more of the Council of that Prince or State where they reside; hereunto bend they their studies Night and Day, and spare no cost. When they cannot gain the Husband, they endeavour to gain the Wife, that she may question her Husband on occasions; in failure of her, one of the Children; and if this do's not succeed, they apply themselves to the Servants, whom they pay according to the service they render. These Maxims succeed marvailously well, in Countries where there are several Heads, as in the *United Provinces*, which are a great obstacle to the King of *France*, for the Conquest of the Spanish Netherlands; for he knows very well, that having the one, the others cannot fail him. And therefore his great business is to lull asleep the States of the *United Provinces* by a Truce, which he will break when he pleases, hoping that during that time they will neglect the *Militia*, as heretofore, and betake themselves wholly to Trade. For the King

King knows very well, that the States being awake, and on their Guard, they will never consent to the taking of the Spanish Netherlands, at least they ought not to do it, seeing this is the only Bar between *France* and them. The better to succeed, what has not Count *d'Avaux* done to divide one Province against another, and even the Towns of *Holland*, and especially *Amsterdam*? What Offers and Promises has he not made to compass this? This is no Mystery, the very Children know it by the frequent journies which this Embassador continually made to this great Town. Its not to be imagined that *Mombas* was alone. In retiring to *France* he has left several Disciples, who labor in the Night, and dare not shew themselves in the Day. But the best is that Count *d'Avaux* begins to be known, and that his Doctrine is not belived, any longer. He had abused the facility and goodness of several, but they have perceived the cheat and freed themselves out of these delusions. Moreover the Spirit of *France* busies it self in fomenting the Division between *England* and the United Provinces, because she knows very well that these Powers joyned together are able to give her a mortal Wound. What pleasure do's she not take in seeing them ruining one another, seeing they promote her Interest without intending it? The last War which these two Sovereignties had one against another, was occasioned by an Affair of Commerce. Whilst the King of *England* arm'd, the King of *France* offered under hand to make a Treaty with the States, on design to impose on them, as they saw, when they would come to the conclusion of it: They were surpris'd, when immediatly *France* ranged it self on the side of *England*, and whilst one attackt by Sea, the other invaded by Land, and thus believing the Conquest of the United Provinces certain, they had shar'd 'em between them; one was to have the Maritime places, and *France* the rest. But *Amsterdam* occasioned a misunderstanding, in as much as each of the Princes believed it belonged to his Division. But there was no need of casting the lot, for God would not suffer it to fall into their hands. So that each retired home by the Peace which the English made first. After this *France* did all she could to disengage the States from their Allies; and *France* seeing Fortune turning about, and the *Hollanders* coming to themselves,

selves, and their Troops beginning to grow expert, having a good General to lead them, the King to have the Peace of *Nimigen*, did all he could, and gave up, as I said, *Mastricht*, which he then had. From that time he barks at a distance, and is so greatly afraid lest the States should raise the sixteen thousand men, that the Count *d'Avaux* spares no cost to hinder it, and will continue so to do as oft as the States prepare for War, this being an obstacle to his Conquests and Designs. In the mean time, I again repeat it, its the States Interest not to suffer him to proceed beyond the Bar, for its certain they are then lost, and will fall in a few years a prey to the Usurper, at the least quarrel the King shall raise. He will publish his Intention, his Pretensions, and his just Right, that these Provinces have belonged heretofore to *Mary of Burgundy*, to *Philip* the I. to *Charles V.* and afterwards to *Philip II.* that the Provinces have unquestionably belonged to them, that they have been the lawful Possessors of them; and that they are Rebels, and have gotten themselves to be acknowledged free by mere force.

He will offer to maintain them in their Privileges, in case they will voluntarily submit themselves, and to continue them in the exercise of their Religion; and in case they do yield to him freely, he will pare off by little and little their Privileges, and deprive the Protestants of all their Offices, as he has dealt with his French Subjects: and if they do not voluntarily submit themselves, he will attack them by main Force, as he did in the year 1672. being certain that none of the Catholick Princes will oppose him, having dazled their Eyes with the false pretence of Religion. But if the House of *Austria* suffers her self to be seduced by this bait, she is ruin'd without remedy, for all her Catholicism. But, I find, that the States of the United Provinces, next to God, ought only to rely on their own Strength; and having nothing but *France* to fear, they ought therefore to prepare and Fortifie themselves against this Kingdom, which hath for a long time made it her aim to debase the strength of the States; and if she cannot destroy them, yet at least to bring them so low as to make 'em depend solely on her. The King would willingly make that Agreement with them, which the Fable tells us, the Wolf would

would make with the Sheep; Send away, said the Wolf to these simple Animals, your Shepherd and your Dogs, and we will League together, live hearty Friends and in Peace with one another. So discharge your General, and Disband all your old Troops, says *Mounseur*, and there will be so much Money saved, in a time of Peace too; for you may rely on my Friendship, and be secure in the Truce, and we will lay aside all mutual jealousies, and trust and love one another. But says the Italian, *Trust not, and thou wilt not be deceived.* So that the best way is, as I have said, to rely chiefly and solely on their own Strength, to have always a good Fleet of Ships at Sea, whether for Convoy, or Cruising, and another ready to put out in case of need. The Sea Forces are the States right Arm, and which scatter several mists and ill thoughts which oft arise in the Head of *France*. And if ever the State can agree upon the entertaining of a certain number of Seamen, to be ready to go at all times on Board, this will produce a double effect; first, the State will hereby have people always ready for her Defence, without going to search and raise 'em elsewhere, and who will be expert by continual practice; and secondly, this will draw over a great many Seamen from Neighboring Ports, who will come and offer their Services, and especially the Subjects of the States, who have undertaken Foreign Service, and had rather return into their own Country, and enjoy the sweetness of an intertainment for an whole year either by Sea or Land. Its certain this will be a mortifying Pill to *France*, for she sets out few Men of War, whereon there are not *Hollanders*, especially Pilots, relying more on the skill and experience of these People, than on those of their own Nation, who know nothing in a long Voyage. And if ever the States can come to so salutary and necessary a resolution, you shall see immediately the Spirit of *France* bestir it self, and *Mounseur d'Avaux* run like a *March Hare* from Town to Town, to give notice of his just objections. But it's to be hoped that as he begins to discover himself by the small effect, all his promises have hitherto produced, for not being seasoned with the Salt of Truth and Sincerity; for it is that which preserves the credit and reputation of a Minister in Foreign Countries: The obligation which the King has to this great

great Minister, is that he has made several considerable Subjects of their High and Mightiness to have no great aversion to *France*. *France* has moreover great Assistance in the United Provinces by means of the Jesuits, who are hired to spy and to endeavour to sow Dissentions. They are at the Court of the Prince of *Orange* and have Friends there, who serve them on occasions. They have the Impudence to brag they know the Secrets of his Closet. How many of these sort of Spies are among the Soldiers and Garrisons, and especially in constant attendance, at the *Hague*, as being the receptacle of all sorts from the other Provinces and Towns? I remember, not long ago, that four Ducatons were offered a Week to a Valet of one of the States Deputies, only to relate what he heard his Master talk, whether at Table, or in conversation with the other Deputies; but the Servant rejected these offers with great disdain, as he had reason.

This is to shew that the Spirit of *France* roves every where, and that it behoves the World to stand on its guard against her. I have also remarkt that some little Spies ramble over the principal Towns, especially the *Hague*, and change every day their Ordinaries and Table, unless they find wherewith to stop them, and find any considerable Harvest. Others run through all Companies, and some the Court, and are present at the dining and supping-time of the Prince and Princess; but all to hearken what's said, and to gather, if possible, some matter for Reports. And as soon as ever these Mercuries have learnt or seen any thing remarkable, you shall see them run like Lacquies to the French Embassadors, who then gives them some small Dole, his Table being for the most part fill'd with such sort of People. I could name a dozen vvhho drive this little Trade, and whom I have knowvn, besides those who do this more secretly, and go to the Offering by night by the Stable-dores. The Count *de Caravas* one of these Spies of highest Rank, although in my opinion of little profit, at his going out of Court, observed not such strict measures, he went to give an account at Mid-day, entring in at the Fore-dore. Two Jesuits whom I know to be such, come every day habited like Officers, at the rising, Dinner and Supper of the Prince, and are all the rest of the day at Court, where they have so many

Intrigues and Friends, that they know how to get Offices for their Catholick Friends, to the exclusion of honeſter men: Others have thruſt themſelves into the very Kitchin, where the Traffick of ſuch ſort of men is very dangerous. I conclude then, there ought to be taken care on all hands and at all times, in Peace and War, of the Spirit of *France* and its pernicious and Antichriſtian Actions, ſeeing that her King as deceitful, as perjur'd, under pretence of Eſtabliſhing every where the Catholick Religion, which he renounces by his life, and inſincerity; has no other aim, and tends ſolely to eſtabliſh his own Power over *Europe*: to ſubdue, firſt, the Proteſtant Princes, if he can, and afterwards the Catholick, and make himſelf be declar'd, not only Emperor of the *Romans*, but Emperor of *Europe*; and that the only means is to be Maſter of the United Provinces, which he views at *Versailles*, with a longing Eye. So that we may adviſe the States and People of theſe Provinces, to practiſe what the Saviour of the World ſaid heretofore to the Jewiſh people, *Watch, for you know not at what hour the Thief will come.* I ſay moreover, be provided to reſiſt when he ſhall break into the Houſe, and Uſurp his Neighbours Country, and that which God hath put under the Sage conduct of the States; and conſider *France*, now as the Enemy of Republicks, the ſcourge of all thoſe who will not ſubmit to her yolk. Its true, ſhe fears more the States of the United Provinces, than ſhe loves 'em; and therefore they ſhould put themſelves into a condition to keep her in this fear, and to reduce her when ſhe wanders, and advances beyond her bounds. They are not to mind all the deceitful Remonſtrances which the Count *d'Avaux* offers when they put themſelves into a condition of ſafety, for if they were not agreeable to the deſigns of his Maſter, he would not mention them, and of this they ought to be aſſured.

The States have ſo much the more reaſon to ſtand on their Gard, and to neglect nothing which may contribute to their defence, in that they ſee the Cardinal of *Fuſtemburg*, newly Elected, Coadjutor of *Cologne*. This dangerous and turbulent perſon, poſſeſt by the Demon of *France*; whom that King by vertue of Mony hath rais'd to what he is, and uſing his utmoſt indeavors,

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to make him Maſter of the Countries about the Provinces, will ever be the Engin of *France* to begin the Quarrel, at the firſt ſign that King ſhall give. So that to have the King or him for a Neighbour is the ſame thing. He has too great obligations to his Maſter, not to concur with his deſigns, and to place him if he can, on the Throne of *Europe*, as we ſhall ſee in time, if he meets not with a ſtop.

The temper, and Politick Maxims of France, in relation to the Kings and Princes of the North.

AMong the chief Princes of the North, I reckon the Kings of *Sweedland* and *Denmark*. Theſe are two Nations between which there is no Friendſhip, or Simpathy, altho they be Neighbours, and Related, by divers Alliances which they have together; but on the contrary they hate one another, and almoſt at the ſame degree as *France* and *Spain*. And tho that their Intereſt, their Commerce and ſmall Revenue they have, oblige 'em to live in Peace one with another, yet there is a great Antipathy between theſe two People. It imports *France* to have, for its Ally, one of theſe two Sovereigns, to give employment to the other, in caſe the one would ſuccour the Low-Countries, or the United Provinces, when *France* ſhall Attack them. *Sweedland* as the moſt Powerful answers beſt his turn, and therefore he made Alliance with her; but the Penſion which he had promis'd being unpaid, and the perfidious uſage of the King of *Sweedland*, in reference to the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, which belong'd to this King, after the Death of the Duke of this Name, whom the King of *France* has ſtrip't before his Death; this, I ſay, has ſo diſguſted the King of *Sweedland*, that it will be a long time before he forgives the King of *France*; and tho he ſays nothing of it at preſent, its becauſe the time is not yet favourable, which yet may prove to be ſo in the end. He may ſend him *Louis de Or's* in a Barrel of Olives, as he did his Embaſſador, at the Treaty of *Nimiquen*, to make him eaſie for the concluding of this Peace, as *France* has ſince bragg'd; this will no longer accommodate affairs here. *Sweed-*

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land has tasted of the Spirit of *France*. It's a bitter Pill, only Gilt, which she has been forc'd to cast up, resolving to come no more under her Hands. And therefore *France* has betaken her self to the King of *Denmark*, who is very glad to see, at his turn, how the *Louis d'Or's* are made, and stuck not to side with *France*, which sent thither immediately the *Count de Roie*, in quality of Generalissimo, with French Officers. But the Spirit of *France* appeared at their arrival, for the *Count de Roie* was no sooner there, but he demanded of the King of *Denmark*, in the King his Masters Name, that he should have part of the Subsidies received from him, affirming that they were ill employed. Almost the like Complement was made to the Elector of *Brandenburg*. Kings and Princes ought not only to labour for their present Glory, but for Posterity, and the Ages to come: What Figure will a Mercenary Prince make in History, an Hireling of *France*, whom she leads about like a Bear by the Nose, and who will sully hereby what ever he has perform'd remarkable in his Reign? There are yet Friends to Truth, and all Pens are not as Mercenary, as those of *Varillas* and *Pellison*.

As soon as ever the King of *France* has gotten what he needs from *Denmark*, he will abandon her as an useles Friend, will pick a frivolous quarrel with her to avoid paying the Subsidies; and if the House of *Lunenbourg* would have nibled at the Bait, *Denmark* would have been long since disgraced, and have been no longer a sharer in the benefits of *France*.

But besides the Ignominy, there is in a Kings becoming the Servant of another; (*France* being able to say with the Centurion of the Gospel, *I say unto this Servant go, and he goeth; and to another do this, and he doth it.*) Besides, I say, this meaness, there is a most wretched Policy, that for a pitiful sum of mony, which the Troops, must be over and above kept up, do easily consume; they must make themselves the Enemy of *Europe* and the Neighbouring Countries; without which the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway* cannot subsist. I know and am fully perswaded, that the States of the United Provinces with one Declaration can do more mischief in a year to these two Kingdoms, than the King of *France* can do in ten, with his Subsidies or Pensions. I confess that

that under the Pavilion of *France*, he has made himself Master, without much difficulty, of *Holstein*. But does the Danish King really believe he'll hold his purchase long? for he may find within a while such people interposing, as will oblige him to march out, as fast as his Master the King of *France* did out of the United Provinces. If a Peace be made between the two Emperors, the Victorious Arms of the Christians will be used perhaps to bring Usurpers to reason, and make 'em disgorge what they have unjustly devoured. There is nothing many times lost by having patience: Had he not relied on his Alliance, he had never undertaken the attempt against *Hamburg*, which had been a Sepulchre to the best men amongst the French and Danish Troops; a poor Fort stopt him in the way, and killed him more than two thousand men, and made him retire with shame, and be a laughing-stock to all *Europe*.

The King of *Denmark*, as well as many others, is ignorant of his true Interest, and suffers his Eyes to be dazled with those golden Rays darted by the Sun of *France*. He is pleased still with the relish of those *Nimiguen* Olives. It were to be wisht his Danish Majesty would open his Eyes, as well as the King of *Sweedland*, and rescuing himself from the subjection he lies under, he would stick sincerely to his other Allies, which can make his Commerce flourish and increase his Revenues, without being obliged to keep up a great many chargeable Troops, as he now does. But its necessary *France* should have at her Devotion, one of the Kings of the North, lest uniting by a strict Alliance, they league themselves with her Enemy in case of a Rupture. This Alliance he makes is an Apple of Discord; and as he cannot be without one Ally in the North, had *Denmark* held out, *France* would have bought her Friendship at the double cost he now pays. Its a matter which every Body does not know, though it be certainly true, That *France* by means of the Jesuits instigates King *James* of *England* to demand of the first Parliament which he shall have at his Devotion, the power of choosing a Successor after the Example of *Henry VIII.* and that obtaining it, he will make the Crown fall, to the prejudice of the Divine Right of Succession.

The King of *France* who loves Virtue, no longer than it suits with

with his Temporal Interests, seeth clearly that the good qualities which the Princess of *Orange* possesseth, will no sooner shine on the Throne, but they will attract the Hearts of all the Subjects, and the strict Alliance of the Neighbouring States: That these Ties will make her repent of all the miseries she has brought on Christendom. And who knows whether God has not designed this great and vertuous Princess, as another *Judith*, to destroy this mighty Hunter and Blasphemer *Holophernes*. And this is what this Usurper and Disturber of Christendom does so greatly apprehend, that he endeavours to hinder it, by bribing and corrupting the great Men in *England* (as well as elsewhere) and assuring himself of all the Catholics, and even of *Ireland* it self, to give them their Assistance on occasion.

As to the Princes of the House of *Lunenburg*, they are watcht and environed by the Emmissaries of *France*, who are continually representing to 'em the advantages they may receive by taking the Kings Pension, or to speak better, by becoming the Slaves of *Lewis* the Great, after the Example of the King of *Denmark*, and dancing after his Pipe. The Ministers of these Princes do indeed delicately lick their Fingers. Every Body knows that the French King offers considerable sums to disengage the Princes of the House of *Lunenburg* from their true Interests, and to make them submit to the French Yoak, thereby to draw them from their faithful Allies of *Sweedland*, *Brandenburg*, and the States of the United Provinces, with whom the Interests of these Princes oblige them to remain united and allyed, whether by the Proximity of their States, or their Commerce, and the Sincerity which has always reigned amongst them, so that we may say they are linked naturally to one another for their mutual preservation.

But *France* has its aim in obliging the Princes of *Lunenburg* to enter into her Interests. If the King of *England* or *Spain* should die suddainly, she would have need of these Princes to give employment to some one of these three above mentioned Sovereignties, and to oppose them conjoynly with the Troops of *France*, in case somebody should stir.

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It's evident that *Lewis* XIV. ought to labour as he do's, to make Allies on the same bottom, as the King of *Denmark*, to second him, either to hinder the Prince of *Orange's* passage into *England*, or when he shall attack in good earnest the Low-Countries. These two Affairs do lye at his Heart, together with the great Conquests of the Emperor, who may after conclusion of a Peace not a little discompose him with his Victorious Army, and perhaps make him lose the desire of executing some of his grand designs, on which he is labouring Night and Day.

I may affirm, without being mistaken, that the Prince of *Orange* alone, is the Prince he fears, and that the thoughts of the Succession, of the Princess Royal, to the Crown of *England*, gives him such mortifying apprehensions, that they often purge him without a Pill, knowing this Prince to be as great a Politician, as a Captain, having never endured Corruption, perfectly understands the Interest of *Europe*, and will soon say with Queen *Elizabeth*, That no Prince has any thing to do with the Low-Countries, and that he will not suffer the King of *France*, nor any other, to make himself Master of them; which will be very easie for him to do, when he shall arrive to this Dignity. And therefore the Spirit of *Lewis* the Great circuits the Earth, and would League himself with all the Princes he can, to shelter himself against the Tempest and Storm now approaching, and that Thunder-clap which is ready to break over his Head.

Poland is at a great distance from *France*, which cannot directly hurt her either by Sea or Land, but may render her service indirectly; as to traverse the designs of the Emperor, or attack *Sweedland*, when *France* shall think fitting, especially *Sweedland*; for there's no want of a pretence, when a Prince wills it. *Casimir Sigismond's* son had a lawful one; for this *Sigismond* being still King of *Sweedland* was Elected King of *Poland*. Yet he kept his first Kingdom till Prince *Charles* his Uncle was declared King in the absence of his Nephew. King *Sigismond*, who sent a Senate composed of forty Jesuits, to reside at *Stockholm*, chosen to decide absolutely all the affairs of State, being confirm'd with a Patent which gave them the Royal Authority. But as the Senate arrived in the Road of *Stockholm*, Prince *Charles*, with all the Nobility,

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went out to meet them with twenty five or thirty Ships, to honor this new Senate. This Squadron having environ'd the Ship of these Venerable Senators, they had Broadfides given them by way of *Salute*; but their Ship opening in every part, and the Water coming in on all sides, the Jesuits went down to hold their first Assembly in quality of Senators, into the bottom of the Sea, there not being one of 'em suffered to escape. After this Prince *Charles* was Elected King, and the Archbishop absolved the Subjects of the Oath of Fidelity which they had made to *Sigismund*, and his Uncle was Proclaimed King.

The King of *France* interestes himself in the Election of a King of *Poland*, he sends there commonly an Embassador with *Louises* to procure the Election of some one of his Faction, and especially that he be not engaged to the House of *Austria*. King *John* now Reigning, his Wife being a French Woman, as she is, has much contributed to the solicitations of Bishop *Beauvais* Embassador of *France*, because the most Christian King has always been of opinion, that by means of the Queen, he could induce the King to enter into his Interests, and he has not found himself much mistaken. It's true that the refusal of the King of *France* to give the Quality of Duke and Peer to the Marquess *d'Arquier* the Queens Father, and that of acknowledging her, and giving her the Honors of Queen, in case she would pass into *France*, had caused some coldness; but when it costs only Parchment to content a Prince, they are very liberal at the Court of *France*, and especially when she has need of him. So in acknowledgment you may see the King of *Poland* do all his Benefactor would have him do, and that *St. Lewis* has great Power in this Kingdom. Yet it's not the true interest of *Poland* to stop in so fair a way after the deliverance of *Vienna*. The Sequel of his great Exploits would have immortalized his Memory by a Peace which he might have made with the Grand Seignior, with great advantages to *Poland*, and chiefly he might have secured the Crown to his Son; for certainly it would not have been refused him, being in some sort due by way of recompence for his Victories. I know that the Spirit of *France* prodigal in Promises, and abounding with Subtilties, assures the King and Queen that the Crown shall not fail

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fail the Prince their Son, and that her *Louis d'ors* will work greater Miracles. But who has promised *Lewis XIV.* that he shall live to that time? I know he has caus'd to be Writ under his Statue *Viro immortalis*, but I have also found there, *cum fistula in ano*. So that he may dye before the King of *Poland*, and if he dyes, it may happen that his Successor will have so much Work to do at home, that he will not go abroad to seek it. But *France* offers to the young Prince of *Poland*, as a pawn of his Faith and Friendship, Madam the Princess *de Conti la Valliere*, which has been also offered to the Duke of *Bavaria*, as if there were no Legitimate Princesses in *Europe*. I am perswaded that the King of *France* believes he does a great deal of Honor to the *Poles* in offering them one of his Natural Daughters for their Queen. Its certain that if the King of *Poland* consented to this leftsided Alliance, he would declare sufficiently enough, that he pretends no longer to the Crown for his Son, this Marriage being the act of Renunciation. Let him rather follow the example of the King of *Portugal*, for he has known how to deliver himself from the importunities of *France*, by an Alliance with the House of *Austria*, by his Marriage with the Princess Palatine of *Nienburg*; he has foreseen, that if ever *Louis* the XIV. should get footing in *Spain*, his Kingdom would be a dependance thereof: The two Teeth with which the said *Louis* was born, may be call'd, one, the Usurping, and t'other the Cruel. It is not to be doubted, but if the King of *France* should become Master of *Spain*, *Portugal* will be soon invested, for the Spaniards have enjoy'd that Kingdom, from *Philip* the II. to *Philip* the IV. which was about the year 1640. when the Portuguesis threw of the Yoke of *Spain*. Sixty years possession are a time sufficient whereon to ground his Right of Dependance. A private person needs only thirty. He had not so many for the Kingdom of *Austrasia*; and he has indeed stript the Princes, who enjoy'd one part of the Countries of this Kingdom, for above six hundred years.

Was I to speak to Savages, or to the King of *Siam*, or to that of *Chyna*, they knowing not what passes in our Parts, it would be necessary to make them an Historical relation of all the Tricks which *France* has plaid, since some years; of all the Frauds, De-

lutions, Usurpations, Injustices, and Cruelties, which it's King at present Reigning, has used to make himself Master of his Neighbours possessions. But I speak to Europeans, to Christians, who have seen with their Eyes, and heard with their Ears, and who have before them Princes stript of their Countries, so many People ruin'd, so many Towns forc'd, and so many Houses made desolate, thousands of Christians reduc'd to beggery, and the Blood of her own Subjects, which still runs down on all sides; these are speaking Books, wherein you will find every where in great Characters, **LOUIS THE GREAT SACRIFICES ALL TO HIS AMBITION AND INTEREST.** And tho' all the World knows this, and that there has not been a Prince, but has been deceiv'd by him, yet he knows so well how to enchant them, by a sweet shower of Gold, that several cry out, *Lord what wouldst thou that we should do;* and run insensibly, with a kind of pleasure, to the destruction of themselves, and their Descendants. What need hath *Europe* of a good Operator, to make the Scales to fall from the Eyes of several Princes, to the end that each one knowing his own Interest, may leave that of *France*, and labour to find him a Competitor, to ballance him, to keep him within due bounds, and take from him the means of troubling the World by his Ambition. There needs but one Providence for this, of which I shall make no mention; all *Europe* sees it, and this will happen when it shall please the Divine Wisdom of the true Universal Monarch, and King of Kings, to put it out of doubt. We must wish to *Louis* the XIV. a long Life, to the end he may be a Witness of these things, and see another *Joshua* to stop the course of his Sun.

The Spirit of France, and its Maxims, in Relation to the Switz Cantons her Allies, and Savoy.

THE Switz Cantons, Free and Sovereign, are Governed only by themselves, depending only on God, and their own Valour. They are partly Evangelick, and partly Roman Catholick. It is this difference of Religion, which causes oftentimes disputes

disputes among them, and gives great advantage to the King of *France*, who makes use of the facility of Money, to cast the Apple of discord among them. Heretofore by good hap for the Cantons, they bordered on no side of *France*; but since the Peace made by *Henry* the IV. with the Duke of *Savoy*, the Country of *Gex* was yielded to this Prince.

Afterwards *France*, which continually advances, has made Usurpations in *Alsatia*, and the *French Comte*, and *Bourgundy*, and is now found a Neighbour of the *Switzers*, on three or four sides; but *Louis* the XIV. not content with this, would needs draw nearer to his Gossips, by the Fort of *Huninghen*, which is as we all know, within Canon shot of *Bazil*, the Governor having made the tryal not long ago. *Switzerland* hath fail'd, in familiarizing herself so much with the Kings of *France*, who has hereby discovered their weak sides; and howsoever they shall order their Affairs, as oft as they shall have any thing to decide with this Prince, it will always be according to the Fable, of the Earthen, and Iron Pot. Secondly, to send so great a number of Troops to *France*, as she sends, these are as so many Men lost to the Cantons, and which may one day, as Vipers, gnaw their Country, their common Mother. There are found few *Switzer* Officers in the Service of *France*, who suffer not themselves to be corrupted by Marriages, and to be gain'd by Offices, and *Louis-de-Ors*; and several of them abjure their Religion, and Country altogether, as *Stoupa* the Lieutenant General would twice have done thirteen Cantons, for the Interest of *France*. He is not the only Man of his Cabal, and by mishap he has several Disciples. There will be found few who will imitate the Sr. *Dasselouer* of *Bern*, heretofore Captain in the Kings Service, who chose rather to break his Pike, and quit his Employ, than Contravene to the Treaty, which his Sovereigns had made, by the passage of the *Rhine* against the Dutch. They have committed another fault, in tying up their own Hands, from sending to *Spain* the same number of Troops, they send to *France*. This restriction makes more French than the Cantons believe. They cannot deny, but they have suffer'd themselves to be bridl'd, by the Fort of *Huninghen*, which sufficiently discovers that Kings design.

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But if this is not sufficient to the Cantons, to make 'em reflect seriously on the proceeding of *Lewis* the XIV. in their respect, at least, the Cannon-shot which the Governor sent into the Town of *Bale*, should open their Eyes; for the Usurper advances with great Strides, and it is not to be doubted, but when this Prince shall see his fit time, he will form a quarrel with them. Princes never want pretences, and he will begin to require, that the Bishop of *Bale*, and others be restor'd, the Arrears paid them since they have been obliged to forsake the Town; and if he comes to use Force, and obtains the least advantage, as the People of the Cantons are lovers of Peace, to procure it, he will require a Medal of them every year, as a mark of Tribute, as he did of the *Hollanders*; a number of Troops the *Switz* shall be obliged to furnish him at his first demand, and put Bishops upon them, as so many Emissaries in all the good Towns.

I said that the King of *France* makes use of the diversity of Religion of the Cantons, to foment a Disunion among them, as we saw lately in the Affair of *Glaris*, wherein if the Popes Nuntio had not interposed, *Lewis* would have gain'd his point, by this Division, and advanced his pretended Reign over *Europe*. The Roman Catholics of this Nation are for the most part ignorant in their Religion, minding only the Bark, without penetrating further. The only Name of *Catholick* puts them into Commotions without further Inquiry; whereas this is a false Mask, wherewith this Prince covers himself, and sets them together by the Ears, and then to throw himself upon *Bale* or *Geneva*, and perhaps on both together. These are Bars, which ought to be as it were sacred, and which all the Cantons are concern'd to preserve with the last drop of their Blood; otherwise they will be lost without remedy, and of free *Switzers*, they will become French Slaves. But if the *Switzers* in general, conserve a good Union amongst them, and shew their Teeth against the Usurper, and resolve to defend what belongs to them, they may be certain the King of *France* will only bark at a distance. Whereas on the contrary, if they shew not greater heat for these two Cities, than they have done for the French Court, their Ruin is inevitable. They are now free and independant, but let them have a care of being yoakt, and

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and remember their ancient Valour, and that their Country has prov'd a Sepulchre to the French. The Town of *Geneva* is a Morfel, which the French have of a long time coveted, especially since they have appropriated the Country of *Gex*. It seems that this Republick is at his disposal. The Court of *France*, hath long since muttered, the Re-establishing of the Bishop, who is a *Savoyard*, whom that Duke nominates, and makes reside at his Court, to shew his Right. If it were as easie a thing to the most Christian King to re-establish the Bishop in *Geneva*, as it hath been to settle there a Resident, tis long since this would have been done. And seeing this Resident comes in our way, let's take some notice of his Residence. It's to be known he is there as necessary as a fifth Wheel is to a Chariot, seeing his business there is only to receive the Packets of Letters from *Switzerland* to the Court, which heretofore a Merchant received: So that the Wages and Abode of such a Minister would be very needless were there no other Regards. I also believe he would make but lean Suppers had he no other Revenue than what *France* allows him, and if he did not draw the best part from the Clergy. I remember that one *Charigni*, the first which filled this worthy place, was a poor Fellow whom *Monsieur Pompone* had several times got out of Prison, where he lay for Debt, and sent him there to live free. Each Sunday or Holy-day was a day of Traffick for him; for every *Savoyard*, who came there to hear Mass, made an Offering, and gave five or six Sous under pretence of maintaining the Church and Priest, but rather for the maintenance of *Monsieur* the Resident, who moreover kept a kind of Ordinary to dine them. The Wretch was obliged to make his Fire of all sorts of Wood, for he had been reduced to Beggery at *Paris*, having been before forced to quit *Provence* by reason of the false pieces of five Sous which he uttered; and all this stir he made in *Geneva*, was for nothing else but to oblige the Magistrate to grease his Fist, and to make him underhand some Present. But since his Secretary changed his Religion, and that he gave a Box on the Ear to his Steward for speaking in favour of the Protestants upon his and the Residents hearing of a Sermon; Since, I say, that time his folly was taken notice of, and he was discharged, and a wiser Man

Man took his place. The Kings design on this Town necessitates him at present to keep there a Resident to be inform'd of what passes, to know where its Strength or Weakness lies, and to corrupt some Magistrate as at *Strasburg*. The enterprize heretofore of the Duke of *Savoy* in the year ought to be continually before their Eyes, for its certain that the King of *France*, whatever Amusement he gives them, waits his time to play his part as at the Town of *Strasburg*. So that the *Genevoises* ought to be continually on their Guards, and dispose their Allies to send them Succor as soon as the grand Usurper shall advance, for he keeps the Duke of *Savoy*, in such a way that he must not pretend to stir in the business. Heretofore the Dukes his Predecessors guarded the Town of *Geneva* against *France* as much as the Inhabitants themselves. They had greater Reason for their pretensions than *France* has now founded on the Rights which the Earls of *Geneva* have remited to the Dukes of *Savoy*. The Emperor *Charles IV.* proclaimed this Duke Prince of *Geneva*, and all the *Genevoise* Country, and they have enjoyed it till the year 1532. But the Duke at present reigning, far from opposing *France*, would rather give up his Rights and Pretensions, especially under pretence of Re-establishing the Bishop. And when this Prelate shall be there, and *France* shall be the Mistress, what will the Duke of *Savoy* do when the King will not restore it to him? Will he use Threats or Reprisals? Should he do so, the French King will scourge him like a School-Boy, and make him kiss the Rod besides. So that the City of *Geneva* must not flatter herself neither on the deceitful Promises of the King of *France*, nor on the Assistance of the Duke of *Savoy*; but on her Allies the *Switz Cantons*, on her own Forces, though small, and on so many French fugitive Officers who will not fail immediately to run to her Assistance, or else they must have lost all Sentiments of Honour and Acknowledgments. And if the Emperor makes a Peace with the Turks, the great Duke of *Lorraine* must come to her Succor, whose only Name will make *France* to tremble; and which may serve as a Dore to enter into his Dutchy, where his Subjects tired with the Tyrannic Government of *France*, expect him as their *Moses* and Deliverer.

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The King is a Fox clothed with the Lyons Skin; He is not so formidable, as he is thought. His aim is to make himself fear'd, and obtain by Threats what he pleases. But lay aside this pan-nick Terror, consider *France* nearer, the continual flight of its Inhabitants, the Punishment and imprisonments of another party, this is as so much Blood springing from her Veins, and which daily consumes her. Hereunto add the just discontents of the Catholicks, the Dimnution of her Revenues, and that which is most vexatious for her, the death and departure of her greatest Generals successively one after another during some years. Will it not seem to him, who beholds this Scene, that Heaven labors to humble her? for she is lower than can be imagined, and I may say, that this *France* notwithstanding her Arrogancy, is as infirm as her King, and that they are both struck into the Fundament.

The first Enemy that shall attack her will not be long alone, he will soon see him himself seconded; but this is like the Fable of the Mice, who deliberated in a famous Senate to hang a Bell about the Neck of the Cat their sworn Enemy; but there could be no body found to undertake it. Who would ever have thought the Pope would have contributed to the Union of the *Switzers*? yet this is true, and his Nuncio still labors to undeceive the Catholick Cantons; for these good People are trapt by the Kings pretences of establishing a Bishop among them, for they perceive not whats on the other side the Hedge, and that under the Miter there lies hid an Usurper.

I have only one Advertisement to give the venerable Cantons, which is, that the King has no Esteem or good Will to them, that he uses them, only when he needs them, and when this need is over, he esteems them as the basest of Men. I need no other proof of what I here say, than what has hapned lately to the Embassadors which the Cantons lately sent to this stately Potentate; Who after a wrangle to refuse them Audience, because forsooth, their Commission was not General; this difficulty being removed, by a second Commission, which was sent them, yet they were forced to return, without seeing the King, or obtaining the least particular of the matter for which they came.

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This is the greatest contempt and affront that a Sovereign can receive ; and if the Cantons let this pass without shewing their resentment, they will be slighted by all the Princes of Europe, and this will not be the last displeasure which will happen to them of this nature. But the better to certifie the Truth of what I here relate ; here is word for word the Harangue or Compliment, which these Gentlemen made, in parting to Colbert Croisi the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Sir,
OUR Lords and Superiors have sent us here, to use all means, and make all instances to endeavour to gain the Kings heart, to induce him to maintain their Allies, the City of Geneva in the possession wherein they have been for above one hundred and eighty years, and grounded on good Treaties.

But his Majesty being resolved to send to his Parliament of Dijon, an Affair which is clearly acknowledged to be an Affair of State, and which depends on Treaties of Peace and Alliances, which Parliament our Lords will never acknowledge for just, nor will ever advise their Allies the City of Geneva, to submit thereunto their Treaty, which is also theirs. Moreover his Majesty having given us to understand that he would not have you to enter into any further Conference with us in this Affair, and that we fear that a longer stay here, will be as disagreeable to him as our coming, we cannot then resolve on any thing better than to withdraw, to make a faithful Report to our Lords and Superiors, of what has past.

We come here then to take our leave of your Excellency, and to thank you for your patience in several Conferences ; farther affirming that according to the reiterated Orders of our Lords and Superiors, although most sensibly toucht at the ill Success of this Embassy ; seeing the prosecution of five and twenty Canons is more considered than the Fidelity of several thousands of the best and firmest Allies of this Crown, who have spilt their Blood, and sacrificed so many brave men, for the Service, Grandure and Support of this State ; however they shall continue in their Treaty of Peace and Alliance, in the hope which they have ever had, and which they have still, that his Majesty, to whom with all the Royal Family they wish all Prosperity, will correspond

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on his side. As to our selves, Sir, in particular, although we have not had the happiness of seeing his Majesty, we cannot but wish him a continuation of health in his person, and assure your Excellency of the esteem which we shall always make, of your merit, and rare vertue, protesting that we are particularly, your most humble Servants.

After so sensible an affront, was it not a farther disrespect to the Embassadors, and in their persons to their Sovereigns, to dare to present them with a golden chain of five hundred Crowns value. This is to believe them to be very Interest people, and greedy of presents. If after such an affront an Embassador had accepted it, he had deserved to have been hang'd to this chain. By this refusal of Audience, the Cantons may know the Spirit of France and her design. Who has ever heard or seen a Free and Sovereign Republic sent to a Court of Justice, depending on the Kings mere will and pleasure, as he remitted Geneva to that of Dijon. He might with more Reason and Justice referr'd her to the Parliament or Court of Turin.

Here's the equity of this great King of France, who will be always, and every where, both Judge and Party, and make all Europe depend on his Judges, as he obliges at present those of Orange and other Places. But its to be hoped that those of Geneva will not submit themselves to these unjust Judges ; and if they do it, they will not fail of losing their Cause ; and after that, there will be a new pretention rais'd, till the chains are put on their Feet, and losing their Liberty and Town, they become the Slaves of France, a Victim to the Jesuits, and the Conquest of Lewis the Great. They will not fail of meeting with this, if they do not timely Guard themselves, and prepare themselves for his coming, for he will visit them as he did Genoa. When he shall do it they must resolve to Sacrifice themselves, for their Liberty, rather than yield to the Ambition of a Prince who will prove a bloody Lord to 'em ; and snatch their Children from their Mothers Arms to put them into the Hands of the Jesuits, make 'em forsake their Parent, Religion, and all Christian duties, and not obeying hereunto, will throw their Carcasses to the Fowls of the Air ; and should he treat them more gently, he must make them

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Companions of his own Subjects, in Dungeons, in Gallies, and in America. And this is the temper of France, of which beware.

That Lewis the XIV. King of France is nothing less than a Catholick,

I Shall end with this Chapter, wherein I pretend to prove, that this King is in no sort a Catholick ; that it is but a Cloak, the better to cover his Ambitious designs; and tho he makes a great noise with this name at Rome, and among the Princes of this Profession, yet I find he is far from it.

All those who call themselves Catholicks, and go to Mass, are not such for all this; as all those who are Baptiz'd are not true Christians, otherwise it would follow that Julian, Arius, and so many other Apostates, would have been such, and yet they are reckoned amongst Apostates, and Antichrists. He is a Catholick who do's the Works of a Catholick, and leads the Life of one. Take off the mask of Hypocrisie, and you will find nothing but Antichristianism; and if you examin him nearly, you will not find the least mark of Catholicism in him. I am perswaded that the Marquess de Montespau will justifie what I say. The Catholick Church allows not Perjury, and the Violation of the most solemn Oaths, made at the Foot of the Altar, after the Communion, as that which the King made, at the Pirenean Treaty, and at the time of his Marriage with the Infanta of Spain, since Queen of France. The Oath which this Prince took at his Coronation, to observe the Edicts of Pacification, in favour of one part of his People, are they not every day violated, and finally retracted, under frivolous pretences, by acting contrary to what ever he had sworn, and so solemnly promised. Pope Gregory spoke very Christianly, when he affirm'd, *That we are truly Catholicks, and faithful, when we accomplish by our Actions, what we have promis'd by our Words.* And St. Jerom, *That we must keep our Word even with our Enemy; that we must not mind to whom, but by whom we swear.*

Here's what a Catholick ought to do, but I would willingly know whether Lewis the XIV. practise it, and not doing it, according to this very Pope, he is no Catholick.

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But can one call this Prince a Catholick, after what he has order'd his Troops to do, in the late Troubles in Flanders, where in a time of full Peace, he burn'd, and plunder'd this poor people, sparing not the most Sacred Places, ravishing Virgins dedicated to the Service of God, and carrying away the Ornaments of the Altars.

The Catholick Church do's not acknowledge for Member a Prince that persecutes his own People; for the true Church may indeed be persecuted, but she never persecutes; she prays for those that are separated from her, but calls not for fire from Heaven to fall down upon them. The present Pope writing to the King of France on his Conversions, is so far from congratulating him, and rejoicing at them, that he disapproves them, by denoting to him, they should have been carried on by Reasonings, and good Examples, and not by Force, and Violence.

The Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church, acknowledges for her Members only such, who submit to her, and her Head, as Christs infallible Vicar. Lewis the XIV. far from this has snatch'd from him the Churches Patrimony, the Regalia in France, and part of his Authority, in the Assembly of the Clergy of his Kingdom, held at Paris 1682. Do's he not every day Usurp on his Rights, and advance a Schism in his Kingdom? And if the Pope shows the least resentment, then nothing is talk'd off so much as of a Patriarch, and the seizing of Avignon. What a noise has not the King made, and still makes for the Franchises of his Embassadors quarters in Rome, which to speak truly is a retreat for Bankrupts and Cut-throats.

The Marquess of Lavardin in making his entrance into Rome, chose rather to come in like a Fox than a Lion, as it has since appear'd, having given no positive Answer to the Question about his entrance. So that in engaging himself in no explication, he will have the advantage of showing his Master will in times, when his Fleet shall be before Civitta-Vechia, and the other parts belonging to the Pope. Besides it did behove him to begin soft and fair, to obtain the Bull for the Cardinal de Furstemburg, of whose nomination France was assured, in the Coadjutorship of Colon. The Chapter had (as it is said) touch'd the Kings mony, list'd

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and fold their Voices, so that there was no means of drawing back. So that when the Marquess of *Laverdin* had enter'd *Rome*, the affair was as good as done, but he found himself deceiv'd as to the Bull; for he thought the Pope who is naturally a wise and good Man, a lover of Peace, would yield at the arrival of his Embassidor, and the Spiritual would stoop to the Temporal Lord. He has been deceiv'd in his account, and found such a firmness, and vigor in an old Man, as cannot be expected in a young one, for should the Pope yield, this would give hold to the Gallican Church and her Clergy, and acknowledge they have judg'd right in 1682. *That the Pope is not Infallible.* In the meantime there is the Marquess of *Lavardin* in *Rome*, keeping Guard night and day, and goes the rounds about the Palace *Farnese*, as if it were environ'd by Enemies, in sight of the Pope, and all the Conclave. After all these insolencies offered to the most Eminent Person of the Church, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and *St. Peters* Successor, he is not satisfied. What has not *Talon* the Kings Advocate Vomited out against his Holiness, and the Cardinal Councillors, accusing the first to be a favourer of Heresies, *Jansenisme*, and *Quetisme*, and a thousand other impertinences, as one may see at length, in the demand of the foresaid *Talon*, to the Parliament of *Paris*, and by the Protestation of the Embassidor which he has fixt up at *Rome*, the expressions of which are so criminal, that they deserve the fire, had a private person wrote them. But where Men have strength on their side, they think they have right to say or do any thing. But the Holy Father, who is a prudent Man will let him run his course, and perhaps his great modesty, and wise conduct, will make the King come to himself, and acknowledge his fault, and that the Pope is Master at home, and may abolish and take away the Privileges of Places, when he judges it expedient for the quiet of the City, his People, and his own Conscience.

After all that I came from relating of *Lewis XIV.* who is he, though a Jesuit, that will swear or affirm that he is a good Catholick, for to go to Mass, is not a certain sign; the new Converts of *France* go thither, and yet they are but sorry Catholicks. I have seen Turks at it, and on *St. Elois* Festival herds of Cattel blest. To

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To be a good Friend to the Jesuits, is no more a certain mark, the King of *Siam* as great an Idolater as he is, is so, as the Jesuits themselves tell us. There are perhaps Reasons for this, fear making the King hold in with them, for he knows very well that they are *Spaniards* in their Hearts, and their General so by Birth; and that Father *Cotton* wrote into *Spain* all *Henry* the IV's. Confessions, and that after the death of this King, the same Father presenting himself to *Lewis XIII.* his Son, to be his Confessor, as young as this Prince was, he knew how to answer him, either from himself, or set on by others, *That no, for he would send his Confession into Spain, as he had done his Fathers.*

I say, that fear obliged *Henry IV.* to do what he did, for he was not at liberty, and when he was diswaded by the Duke of *Sulli* from recalling them into *France*, he answered with great transport *Assure me then of my Life.* This was a mark that they had filled his Head with fear, and that those who solicited their return had assured the King, that if he did not hasten it he would run a great risk of being assassinated by these good Fathers or their Disciples. The King knows also very well, that notwithstanding their Repeal, it cost this good Prince his Grandfathers Life, that *John Chastel* and *Francis Ravillac* had been two of their Scholars, that they had been set on to do this *ad majorem Dei gloriam.* Its not to be doubted but that the King knows that among the Records of the Parliament of *Paris* there is a Book written with Father *Guignard's* own Hand, wherein are these clauses touching *Henry III.* *That the cruel Nero was killed by a Clement, and the counterfeit Monk, by a true Monk. That the Heroic Act of James Clement was the Gift of the Holy Spirit, so called by our Divines, and justly commended by the deceased Prior of the Jacobins (Confessor and Martyr) for several Reasons.*

That the Bearnois now converted to the Catholick Faith should be more gently dealt with, than he deserved, if the Monachal Crown was given him; that if he could not be deposed without a War, then let a War be, if it cannot be done by a War, let him be put to death.

So that when life is concern'd, what will not a man do to preserve it. Who knows whether these good Fathers have not told the King now reigning, that if he does not extirpate all the *Hugonots*

gonots out of his Kingdom, Still, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, that he runs the hazard of his Life. But besides fear, there are other probable Reasons, which oblige to entertain them, and make use of them, which is that they are very indulgent in confessions, and the greatest crimes before them are only peccadilos, this is what cannot be expected from an humble Capucin, who would be oftentimes scandaliz'd, to hear them only named.

Another Reason is, that I find a great Sympathy between the Spirit of the King and that of the Jesuits. One might make a just parallel of them, these later being sanguinary, deceitful, intriguing, spies in all Courts, proud, sacrificing all to their own Interest. Moreover the Jesuits have some credit at Rome, where the King is obliged to have Emissaries. All which Reasons considered, its not to be wondred, if the most Christian King be a Friend of the Society, being so useful, and having ever found them disposed to take the strongest side as agreeing best with their Policy, as well as that of France, these Fathers concurring to deceive and lull asleep the Catholick Princes, under pretence of conversions, and expiating Heresy. The Jesuits calling themselves the Pillars of the Church, their Testimony is of great weight. The better to allure the Jesuits themselves, the King only makes use of their Council, to persecute the Hugonots in his Kingdom. Moreover is the Hope he gives them nothing of establishing them, in a small time in the Countries of Protestant Princes and States. This has been already began in England. They pretend they will not be contented with this alone, they will proceed further, and that the year 1672. may return again. They had already shared their Houses and Colledges. There were to have been two in Amsterdam, and in other Cities proportionably, their new Conquest on the Protestants being like a Land newly plow'd up. So that if the King be a Friend to the Jesuits, its not by a Motive of Religion, but Interest and Fear.

What Mark of Catholicism was it in the King, when he leaug'd with Crommel to take the Low-Countries, and drive Charles the II. (the lawful Heir to the Crown of England) out of his Country, who was truly in his Heart a good Catholick, though he dared not shew it, but appear otherwise?

Again,

Again, what mark is it of Catholicism in a Prince, who assists Count Teckeli, who is leagu'd with the Turks against the Emperor, a King that forbids throughout his Kingdom the Bishops and Curates to sing *Te Deum*, for the Victories of the Christians over the Infidels, and who by Force of Money hinders the King of Poland to use his Army on his side against the Infidels, to give them the means to employ all the Ottoman Strength against the Emperor, and make him quit the Countries which he has acquired at the price of so much blood?

What Catholicism find you in the Kings proceedings touching the Towns of Genoa and Orange, where he has no right? So that from all I now have alledged, this name of most Christian and Zealous Catholick which the King affects is only a deceitful name of Hypocrisie to gull Catholick Princes, the better to act his part, and make himself Master of their Countries. And when the King of England would hinder him, as being he that could best otherwise do it, he will sow such Divisions, make such parties, and lay such blocks in his way, that it will be impossible for him to undertake it. So that we may say of the King of France, that he becometh all things to all men, that he may gain some, for he Leagues himself with the Turk, the Protestants, the Gentiles and Pagans, against the Catholicks themselves, when his Interest and Grandure require it, and the arriving at the Monarchy of Europe. Here's the Kings true Religion and the Spirit of France.

F I N I S.

