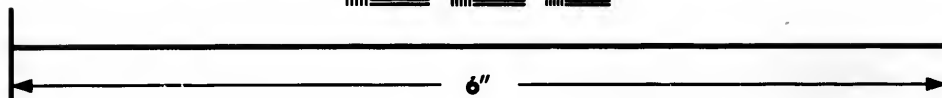
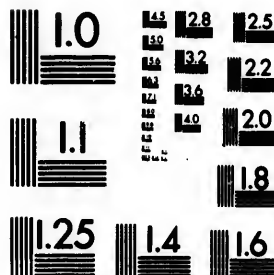


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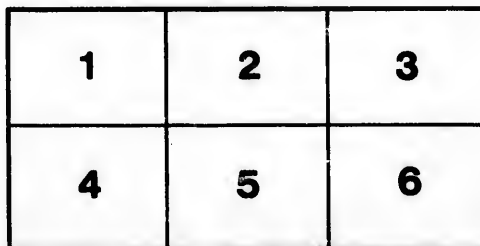
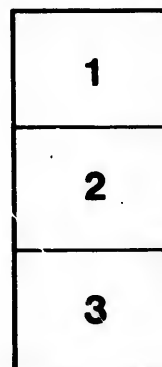
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# LETTERS

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## NEGOTIATIONS

OF

Count d'ÉSTRADES,

IN

England, Holland, and Italy;

From MDCXXXVII. to MDC LXII.

CONTAINING,

An Account of the very SOURCE of all the  
Troubles that happened to King CHARLES I.

The whole Negotiation relating to the Sale of  
DUNKIRK,

The Dispute about the Honour of the Flag, and  
that about the Cession of ACADIE or NOVA-  
SCOTIA, . . .

Never printed in ENGLISH before.

Translated from the FRENCH, . . . with some  
NOTES and ILLUSTRATIONS.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. WILLOCK, at Sir Isaac Newton's  
Head, in Cornhill.

MDCCLV.





## P R E F A C E.

**I**F the translating and publishing this volume of count d'Estrades letters needs any apology, it may be affirmed, that it contains matters much more interesting to this kingdom, than the other volumes of his negotiations formerly translated under the patronage of the late earl Godolphin: and it is very surprising, that it should be omitted at that time, and remain till now untranslated; especially when the letters contained in it open to us matters of such importance, as the very source of all that happened to Charles I. the whole of the negotiation relating to the sale of Dunkirk, the dispute about the honour of the flag, and that about the cession of Acadie, or Nova Scotia.

I desire the reader may particularly attend to his letter to cardinal Richlieu, of the 24th of November, 1637, and the cardinal's answer, dated the 2d of December the same year; and another of the 21st of January, 1641. There he will discover, that the cardinal's resentment for the resolute, wise, and political refusal of

*original is in A 22 Vol. folking the  
of which contains 6215 good Pages*



V  
P R E F A C E

king Charles I. to remain neutral at that juncture, when the French designed the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, excited this minister, whose character was never to forgive, to be revenged on the king of England: and from hence were conjured up those black scenes of horror, blood, anarchy, and confusion, that ensued in these kingdoms; the catastrophe of which ended in the destruction of the king, of the church, and of the whole constitution. So that the grievances complained of, the enthusiastic fears of popery, and the jealousy of the prerogative, which then seized the people, were all, or most of them, raised or fomented by this cardinal; a minister, who depressed the liberties of his own country, rendered the ancient nobility of it contemptible, and his own king the most despotic of any that had ever swayed the French scepter. And it may be remarked, that if a son of Charles lost his crown by being too much devoted to France, Charles himself lost both his crown and life, by refusing to accept of a neutrality, so contrary to the trade and interest of his kingdom, and the dignity of his crown: but this, with many other reflections, I leave to the judicious reader.

The above observation, wrote, as the translation itself was, several years ago, coincides with what I have found lately in Guthrie's history of England, vol. III. p. 953. as follows:

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# P R E F A C E

From these unquestionable documents, it is plain that Charles acted upon principles of right policy, with regard to the affairs of the continent; and yet the ill-temperado of historians has smothered those truths, which do him so much honour. Though married to a daughter of France, of whom he was excessively fond, though surrounded by the agents of France, whom he trusted in his service; and though he was in such circumstances as must have rendered the assistance and money of France extremely agreeable to him; yet his zeal for the honour of his crown, and the interest of his people, and that jealousy of the French power, which ought to be the ruling passion of every English king, got the better of all partial considerations; and in one sense, we may say, he fell the victim of his own public spirit.

So much was Charles impressed with Laud's frantic notions, that he did not think of the hidden destruction, which was now undermining his throne; nor did he dream, that a priest, prelate, and prince of the Romish church, could swear friendship with presbyterians and puritans. Yet this was the case. The vindictive cardinal, exasperated, perhaps, no less with the disregard of his person, than the disappointment of his measures, poured his jesuits and agents both into Scotland and England, where they assumed all forms, celestial and infernal, and blew the flames of rebellion, till they grew too violent to be extinguished,

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tinguished. This was not all; for Richlieu's credit and money gained over some Scot's officers of great reputation in foreign services, and engaged them to head the covenanters. Amongst others, Alexander Lesley, one of the best generals under Gustavus Adolphus, not thinking himself enough considered by Charles, whose ridiculous formality would not suffer him to treat Lesley as a gentleman, received from Richlieu one hundred thousand crowns, which was employed secretly against Charles in Scotland. The whole world, the jesuits and Richlieu's cabal excepted, was surpris'd at the hardiness of the covenanters, in prescribing terms to a prince, who was dreaded by the French, who had rendered the Dutch his tributaries, who had in appearance subdued under his feet all opposition in England, who was the undisputed sovereign of the seas, and whose friendship was courted by all Europe; for such Charles undoubtedly was at this time, notwithstanding the ridiculous suggestions of almost all historians to the contrary."

However fashionable it has been of late years, to blacken the character of this prince, yet the most inveterate malice has extorted even from a French hugonot this character of him, "That he was endowed with a great number of virtues and fine qualities, and that, setting aside his firmness, as to the prerogative, he was the most accomplished prince that ever sat on the throne of England."

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## P R E F A C E. vii

This author's reflection, as to aspiring to a despotic power, does not, from facts, appear to be well-grounded; as he never attempted to exert any power equal to what was actually exerted by his predecessors of the Tudor race.

That this game has been played oftener than once, thus insidiously to excite rebellion in these kingdoms, is confirmed by a memorial of Louis XIV. to the same m. d'Estrades, dated the 25th of May, 1665, the more remarkable, as it comes from a king, and not from a Machiavel or a minister; a prince, whose manifestos and letters are stuffed with professions of honour and bonnesoy, who by such procedure shews a disposition little short of being capable of employing a Guido Faux, or a Ravillac, to have accomplished his ambitious views. This memorial, Mr. Ralph, in his history, vol. 1. has given us a copy of, as follows:

His most christian majesty's memorial to  
m. d'Estrades, May 21, 1665.

“ While these measures are taking out of England, care should be taken to give the king of England trouble in his dominions. To that end, information should be got either by Holland, or by means of French merchants; of the state of affairs in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, it is certain, that the puritans and presbyterians are much more numerous than the episcopalians. Information

should also be got of the chief lords and ministers of both religions; and as they are the same in Holland, and Scotland is nearer that country than France, so it is most proper for monsieur d'Estrades to carry on that negotiation in concert with monsieur de Wit, or some other of the States; however, with such secrecy as none may be able to discover it. These chief lords or ministers may be told, they shall be assisted with arms, warlike stores, and money. This negotiation may be begun by sending thither some person who understands the language, or by way of merchants, or by the ministers who keep a correspondence with each other. The same thing may be done on the side of Ireland by Bretagne, the catholics being strongest there.—Information should be got of the principal catholic lords and bishops, by some Irish refugees in France. To get such information in Bretagne of the state of Ireland, by the merchants there, writing from all parts to their correspondents, to know the detail of every thing. All the Irish catholics at Paris, in Bretagne, and other parts of the kingdom should be examined, to know whether there are any of them that may be made use of. To get information of the state of the puritans, presbyterians, and Cromwell friends.

When we see so powerful and so ambitious a prince, as Louis XIV. at the head of such a confederacy as that with the Dutch, who then had de Wit, the declared enemy of

P R E F A C E. ix

the king and kingdom of England, for their leader; and, besides these open and declared enemies from without, having such auxiliaries as are mentioned in this memorial, of jesuits, presbyterians, puritans, republicans; &c. &c. is it to be wondered, that Charles II. who well knew the situation he was in, should be afraid of France, being so lately reinstated in his throne, when he knew how unequal the match was betwixt him and a king despotic and absolute, who had trod under foot all the factions in his dominions, had enlarged his territories by great acquisitions, and greatly improved his finances; and who by the Pyrenean treaty had humbled Spain, the proud and antient enemy of France. The effect of all this was experimentally found from the war carried on against France by the grand alliance in king William's time, when the combin'd powers of the Empire, England, Spain, and the Seven Provinces, could procure only such a treaty as that of Riswick; not to mention that in queen Anne's reign, and even some of a later date.

M. d'Estrades, in his letter dated the 25th July 1661, writes to his master, that the revenue of the crown of England did not then exceed twelve millions of French livres, or nine hundred thousand pounds sterling; which he computes, did not answer the king's annual expence by two millions French, or 150,000 sterling. And mr. Carte will have it, that the government was then indebted to the amount

## P R E F A C E.

amount of above two millions sterling: In the year 1662, one whole years revenue, or supply, granted to Charles II, by his parliament, amounted only to 1,200,000 *l.* sterling, to defray the charges of the navy, the army in Portugal and Tangier, &c. and in Ralph's history, p. 89, the account, from undoubted vouchers, is as follows:

Revenue Receipt.	Dr.	Credits Issues	Cr.
Customs, Excise, and } Hearth Money. }	£ 1,201,593	Navy Stores, Ordnance	£ 600,000
		Guards and Garrisons	200,000
		Dunkirk	100,000
Balance or Deficiency	235,407	Household, &c.	150,000
		Q. mother, and Q. consort	75,000
	1,437,000		1,437,000

But to come to that which is the principal subject of this volume of d'Estrades letters, the sale of Dunkirk; we shall here find, that the lord chancellor Clarendon was the principal negotiator; though till this was published, the fact was controverted by our historians, as appears from bp. Kennet, who page 259. of the hist. of England, published by him, writes as follows:

“ The town and port of Dunkirk might have been another great advantage to our trade and to our power in the channel, and under this prospect there had been a resolution in the house of commons to prepare an act to annex it for ever to the imperial crown of these realms; but this not being done, the king, with advice of his privy council, for

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P R E F A C E. xi

the sum of five hundred thousand pounds, delivered it up to the French king, and it was ingloriously put into his possession under the government of the count d'Estrades, and his deputy, the marquis of Montpear; the English governors, with two companies, guarding the gates at their entrance, and delivering the keys of them. This action was very ill resented by the body of the people of England, who were apt to think that the sale of such an important place (after the parliaments giving and applying money for the maintenance of it) was the deplorable sign of a weak and mercenary court.

The lord Clarendon, because the prime minister, was to bear the odium of it; and therefore his new stately house, built opposite to the front of the palace of St. James, was commonly in reproach called Dunkirk-house: nay, and in the very next year, the earl of Bristol put it into the articles of high treason and other misdemeanors exhibited against him in the house of lords, that the said earl of Clarendon had told his majesty, that it was better to sell Dunkirk, than to be at the mercy of the parliament for want of money, or words to that effect. And that he had wickedly and maliciously, contrary to his duty of counsellor, and to a known law made last sessions, by which money was given and particularly applied for the maintaining of Dunkirk, advised and effected the sale of the same to the French king. And in the articles

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of impeachment preferred by the commons in 1667, this was one; that he advised and effected the sale of Dunkirk to the French king, being part of his majesty's dominions, together with the ammunitions, artillery, and all sorts of stores there; and for no greater value than the said ammunitions, artillery, and stores were worth."

On which occasion the same author writes thus, page 188.

"The miscarriages of this summer made it necessary that some one great minister of state should bear the odium of them, and be given up for a sacrifice to the murmuring part of the people. In pursuance of this common policy, on Aug. 31. his majesty thought fit to take the great seal from his faithful minister the earl of Clarendon, and give it to sir Orlando Bridgeman, with the title of lord keeper; and by that mark of disgrace to give up the lord Clarendon to the malice of his enemies, who soon hunted him into impeachment and banishment, though, no doubt, the greatest displeasure taken at him was for his heartily opposing popery, and those new ministers who were the professed favourers and promoters of it. The king discharged this wise counsellor when he had greatest need of him; for he had within a few months before lost his other greatest Statesman, the lord treasurer Southampton."

In another place he adds, "The count d'Estrades informs us, that it was by the intrigues

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P R E F A C E xiii

trigues of the count de Molina and the baron Isola, that chancellor Hyde was disgraced; but we cannot think that any thing good was intended by it, when the chief promoter of it was mr. Edward Seymour, whose whole life cannot produce one action that tended to the good of the commonwealth, excepting his taking arms against king James at Exeter."

Page 255, speaking of the earl of Clarendon, he affirms, " That the suspicion of his policy in this affair (of the match with Portugal) and of his corruption in the sale of Dunkirk, though groundless, or at least uncertain and improbable, lost him many friends, and gave his enemies great advantage. A late author, who seldom spared the character of courtiers, gives us this opinion of these matters. " Here I take leave, as well as I can, to vindicate the memory of my lord chancellor Hyde from two aspersions (as I conceive) cast upon him; one, that he was the adviser of giving up Dunkirk to the French; the other, that he was the procurer of the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal. For the first, I was assured by a credible person (though a confidant of my lord chancellor) that he was so far from advising the king to give up Dunkirk to the French, that only he and my lord treasurer Southampton (upon whose honour my lord chancellor relied more than any other) of all the council, entered their protestations against

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gainst it. The truth of this may be resolved by inspecting the privy council books \*.”

Another historian, who inclines to vindicate the earl of Clarendon in this particular, is bp. Burnet, in his history of his own times, anno 1662, page 240, vol. 1. of the edition in 8vo.

“ The Spaniards pretended it ought to be restored to them, since it was taken from them by Cromwell ; when they had the king and his brother in their armies : but that was not much regarded. The French pretended, that, by their agreement with Cromwell, he was only to hold it, till they had repaid the charge of the war : therefore they offering to lay that down, ought to have the place delivered to them. The king was in no sort bound by this. So the matter under debate was, whether it ought to be kept or sold ? the military men, who were believed to be corrupted by France, said, the place was not tenable ; that in time of peace it would put the king to a great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the cost of keeping it. The earl of Clarendon said, he understood not these matters ; but appealed to Monk’s judgment, who did positively advise the letting it go for the sum that France offered.” Page 241. “ By this the king lost his reputation abroad, the court was believed venal. And because the earl of Clarendon

\* This quotation is from no better authority than Coke’s detection.

## P R E F A C E. xv

was in greatest credit, the blame was cast chiefly on him, though his son assured me, he kept himself out of that affair intirely." Thus the bishop too often justifies or condemns by the lump, and lays the whole blame on the duke of Albemarle, to whom he seems to have bore a great rancour.

Echard in his history, page 801, edit. 1720, writes thus :

“ Another effect of this marriage was the sale of Dunkirk, which happened not long after the consummation of it; of which the foundation was laid by the treaty itself: for the Portugese had so far prevailed, that by the nineteenth article of the said treaty, it was expressly stipulated, “ that Dunkirk never should be parted withal to the Spaniards,” which gave France a fair opportunity to close with the king, and to make a bargain with them at a time when he wanted ready money, for the extraordinary expences of this year, and particularly the payment of his sister's portion. Many reasons were urged for the parting with this important place; and the first motive to the king, as I am assured by a knowing man, was the great expence in keeping of it, which Rutherford the governor had increased to an exorbitant degree, since the dismissal of sir Edward Harley. And the earl of Sandwich particularly alledged to his majesty, that the coast was generally so tempestuous, and the grounds so rowling upon every storm, that there would never remain

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xvi P R E F A C E.

remain a certain steerage to that port. These and other reasons being alledged in council, though opposed by chancellor Clarendon and treasurer Southampton, the king was content to deliver up the town and port of Dunkirk, with all the ordnance and ammunition, for the sum of five hundred thousand pounds sterling; one half to be paid down, and the other in a short time after. Several books were written in vindication of this sale, shewing how useless the place was to England, unless millions of money were expended upon it; and at this time we do not find many complaints against either this or the Portugal match: but when the ill effects of both began afterwards to appear, as the increasing power of France, and the queen's want of issue, great outcries were made, and chancellor Hyde was unreasonably charged with the scandal of both, when he was really free from the guilt or rather misfortune of either."

I shall leave the reader to make his own reflections; only let him not think that this place was then of such value and strength, as it was afterwards rendered by Louis XIV. at an incredible expence, after employing an army of men to work on the fortifications, at so immense a charge, that it is thought that Louis XV. could not spare out of his finances a sum sufficient for putting it in such condition as it was in before the demolition after the treaty of Utrecht: And the fortifications of

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P R E F A C E. xvii

the land side could not be made so strong, but that a French army, laying siege to it with one of their trains of artillery, would soon have made themselves masters of it, especially as they were already in possession of most of the forts and sluices round it.

The following is what I could collect in relation to the count d'Estrades, mareschal of France. Amelot de la Houffaye tells us, that he began his fortune in the family of Vendôme, into which he was received as governor to the dukes of Mercœur and Beaufort. As a proof of this, he says, that in a protest made by Cæsar duke of Vendôme, upon his dimission from the government of Britany for the second time, dated the first day of the year 1631, he is mentioned as a witness, under the name and designation of Francis d'Estrades Esq; seur de Rauvette, governor to the said duke's sons.

He served seventeen or eighteen years in Holland; partly in the quality of a colonel, and partly as a secret minister of France. Wicquefort speaks of him in several chapters of his ambassadors. The mareschal d'Estrades, says he, being then only a captain, and afterwards a colonel; and who had no public character, did notwithstanding negotiate affairs of the greatest importance, and is to be considered as a most able and necessary minister. And in another place he says, the count d'Estrades served all the campaigns in Holland, as a military officer, to the time of

xviii P R E F A C E

the siege of Hulst inclusive, but continued still to be a negotiator and minister; so that a council of war could not have proceeded against him for any fault of a nature purely military. It was upon the consideration of this, that he came so well off in an embroil which he had with the prince of Orange in the year 1642, which was this. D'Estrades had orders to tell the prince in confidence, or by way of secret, that a proposal had been made of marrying the king to the infanta of Spain; to whom the king her father would give, by way of portion, all Flanders; and make over to him the right and pretensions he had on the united provinces. The count begged of the prince to make a discrete use of this secret, or rather not to reveal it; but the prince judging that he could not do this without a breach of the fidelity he owed to the republic, communicated it to his masters. It was intended to have sifted this affair to the bottom by a strict examination, but d'Estrades pretended to be quite ignorant, and not to know what they meant. The prince of Orange was his captain general, yet was obliged to suffer that the lye should in a manner be given him by an officer under his command; thinking it more eligible to dissemble and pass over this oblique procedure of the court of France, who had put d'Estrades upon the acting of this part, than to shew any farther resentment, which could only vex him more. Mazarin desired to have the states to be jea-

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## PREFACE.

ious of the intentions of the Spaniards, because they at that time seemed inclined to lend an ear to the proposal of a separate peace: but this had a contrary effect, by increasing the jealousy, they were already possessed with, of their neighbours and allies.

For the better understanding this passage in Wicquefort, la Houffaye adds, that the cardinal Mazarin had proposed to the congress at Munster, by the mediators there, the marriage of the most christian king, on condition that the king of Spain should give with her as a portion, the Netherlands; not that he believed this condition would ever be agreed to, but only to frighten the Dutch, and in order to oblige them to continue in a strict alliance with France.

At this very juncture, Dom. Balthazar Carlos, the king of Spain's only Son, dying in October 1646, the count de Pignaranda artfully made use of this proposal of the cardinal's, to intimidate the Dutch plenipotentiaries, by affirming that he had orders to conclude the infant's marriage; his master, the king of Spain, choosing to purchase the quiet of his subjects, by an honourable peace, rather than shamefully to lose the Low Countries by an unsuccessful war. And this lye, which was not however altogether improbable, made such an impression on the minds of the plenipotentiaries, that upon the first notice of it in Holland, all the country was an uproar, and all the French were in dan-



ger of being massacred; insomuch that d'Estrades, who was then king's resident at the Hague, was obliged to withdraw from thence, to avoid the rage of the people, so much were they moved with the bare apprehension of being subjected to the dominion of France: so that the states general unanimously accepted of the articles of peace offered them by Pignaranda.

To proceed with Wiquefort's account of mareschal d'Estrades; which may be called an elogy; I shall here give it in his own words. "I shall not, says he, consider him as an officer of the crown, who arrived to that dignity by his own merit and services only, without favour having any share in his promotion: I speak of him as an able minister, who had no sooner thrown himself into that profession, than cardinal Richlieu thought him qualified for negotiating, and actually employed him in that way, and he so well answered what the cardinal expected from his ability, that from that time he had a share with the ambassadors, in the trust of all the affairs which were then negotiated in Holland.

Cardinal Mazarin and the succeeding ministers could not do without the assistance of this negotiator of the short robe, in the most difficult conjunctures. It is not easy to be conceived how embarrassing his most ordinary occupations were during the congress of Munster and Osnaburgh, but above all when the Dutch were running headlong

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clap up a peace, at the time of the prince of Orange's sickness. I shall pass over what was negotiated in Italy by his means, whilst he commanded the French army under the name of the duke of Modena.

But is it possible to reflect without admiration, on his address in the acquisition of Dunkirk to France? not of that paltry sorry place which was taken and retaken several times before the Pyrenean treaty, but of that place which Cromwell had been at a prodigious expence to fortify, and might have served as a door by which to enter France, when the English had pleased.

But notwithstanding what Wiquefort says, we must not imagine that Dunkirk at that time more than a *bicoque* in comparison to what it was made by Louis the XIV. as has been already observed.

I should never have done, was I to mention all the particulars of what was transacted by him during the six years of his being ambassador extraordinary in Holland, it is sufficient to say, that the king was so well satisfied with his conduct, that he put him at the head of that illustrious embassy, which was to give peace to the United Provinces, &c.

When the mareschal d'Estades had occasion to talk of William prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, he spoke of him as a prince capable of conducting the highest and most difficult enterprizes. He said more than fifteen years before he mounted a throne, that

that if he lived to be a man grown, he would excite great disturbances. This has clearly appeared since, and monsieur de Louvois, who despised him, found his mistake, when it was too late. The mareschal, one day, speaking to that minister, said, Sir, you do not as yet know the prince of Orange; be pleased to remember what I now tell you, that William the silent, Maurice Frederick, and Henry, are all three reviv'd in his single person; and that his friendship is not to be neglected. Cardinal Richlieu courted that of Frederick, and found his account in it, you will find William's more valuable, as he is more active and vigilant than his grandfather, and of consequence more proper to second your designs.

Amelot de la Housaye, in his memoirs, page 86. on the article ambassador, gives an account how punctual mareschal d'Estrades was in a rencounter he had with the same William prince of Orange. "One day, says he, the prince of Orange, since king of England, having met mareschal d'Estrades's coach, who was then ambassador of France, as he was airing, would have had his coach go first, but d'Estrades would not allow it: whilst this was disputing, one of the gentlemen, who accompanied the prince, went to consult the princess Amelia de Solms, his grandmother, who advised, that the prince should get out of his coach, as if he intended to walk; and this was done accordingly very much to the mareschal's satisfaction, who by this means gained his point."

The

The prince was blamed for this competition, by the pensionary de Wit, who told him, that, as he was neither stadtholder, nor captain general (for it was not till some years afterwards that he was either) he ought not to compete with the ambassador of France, or of any other crowned head; especially, as the stadtholder himself, when there was one, was always seated below the states, and they below the ambassadors or kings.

Wicquefort furnishes us with another instance of d'Elstrades's delicacy in the point of ceremonial and care, that his master's honour should not suffer in his person. Don Estevan de Gamarra, though he had resided as ambassador of Spain, at the Hague for several years, yet pretended, that d'Elstrades should make him the first visit, because he had been for some time at Brussels, and was there when d'Elstrades arrived at the Hague, and so was the latest comer, the mareschal wrote to the king his master of this, who ordered his ambassador at Madrid, to declare to that court, that if don Estevan did not do what he ought, his majesty would be obliged to resent it. The king of Spain ordered don Estevan to do what was customary; but this ambassador dissembled his receiving this order, and would have turned it off as a piece of civility, by sending to d'Elstrades, to tell him, that if it was agreeable, he would come and dine with him; but d'Elstrades, who knew his trade as well as any person whatever, answered, that don Estevan

should do in that as he thought fit, after he had made him the first visit according to form; so that the Spaniard was forced to do that which he would not do in a genteel way.

It was not in this respect only, that d'Estrades piqued himself to do the honours of the king his master; for the same Wicquefort tells, that he was the only ambassador that, during six years in which he was ambassador extraordinary in Holland, kept a splendid and magnificent table, to which all persons of quality and distinction, were welcome to partake every day, without pretending to turn them off, on pretence of post-days and dispatches. It is true, de la Houffaye remarks on this passage, that Wicquefort, who relates this, was all his life a small-feast, and always made one at d'Estrades table, where he would drink like a templer.

These letters shew with what spirit and vigour he maintained the honour of the crown of France in the dispute as to precedency with Batteville, the Spanish ambassador at the court of England, which occasioned that mortifying promise the king of Spain was obliged to make by his ambassador to Louis XIV. in these words; "No concurrir con los ambassadores de Francia." And this not only verbally, the same in writing by the secretary of state; which that monarch was so proud of, as to have a medal struck on purpose, as a memorial; in which the marquis de Fuente, the Spanish ambassador, is represented, making this declaration

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P R A E F A C E.    xiv

declaration to that king, with this inscription:  
 " Jus procedendi assertum." And under it,  
 " Hispanorum excusatio coram xxx legatis  
 " principum, 1662."

Moreri gives us the following brief account  
 of our author: Godfry, count d'Estades,  
 mareschal of France, knight of the king's  
 orders, governor of the citadel of Dunkirk,  
 and the forts thereon depending; viceroy of  
 America, governor to the duke de Chartres;  
 was a man of great capacity, and of extraor-  
 dinary zeal for the king's service, which pro-  
 cured him the king's esteem so much, that  
 he was employed as ambassador extraordinary,  
 both in England and Holland, and plenipo-  
 tentiary at the treaty of peace concluded at  
 Nemeguen; - which employments he dis-  
 charged with great honour. He died at  
 Paris, Feb. 26, 1686. *aged 79*



C O N -

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LETTERS  
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NEGOTIATIONS  
OF  
Count d'ESTRADES.

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Cardinal Richlieu's instructions to count  
d'Estrades on his being sent into Eng-  
land by the king.

Rouel, Nov. 12, 1637.

**T**HE confidence I have in the ca-  
pacity, fidelity, and affection of  
count d'Estrades has induced me to  
propose him to the king, to be sent  
into England on the part of his ma-  
jesty, with a design to dispose the  
king of England not to furnish any succours to  
the towns on the coast of Flanders, in case the  
king and the prince of Orange should attack any  
of them during this campaign.

And that count d'Estrades may be fully inform-  
ed of every thing, the better to enable him to  
execute the king's intentions, he is to know,

B

that

LET

that madam de Chevreuse having exasperated the queen of England against me, and put me out of favour with her, by false representations, according to that woman's malicious way of acting: he must first sound and discover what the queen of England's sentiments are of me, before he declares himself, and if the count finds them favourable, in that case he is to deliver to her my letter, and to inform her of the great desire I have of entering again into her good graces, and to serve her in whatever she desires relating to her interest. But if count d'Estrades shall find her in no such good disposition, he is only to deliver her the letter which the king has wrote to her, which is in the nature of a credential, and tell her at the same time, that the king, having an intire confidence in her friendship, addresses himself to her, that she may incline the king of England to promise him not to lend any assistance with his fleet, in case the king, in conjunction with his allies, should attack any of the sea-ports in Flanders.

If she appears inclined to comply with what the king asks, then he is to assure her, on the king's part, that she will obtain of his majesty whatever she may desire, either for herself or the king her husband: and he may even add, that he is sure, that it would not be disapproved of by me, if he declared to her the desire I have to serve her, and, by my actions, to discredit the bad offices of the duchess de Chevreuse.

If after this second attempt the queen of England should seem inclined to an accommodation, he may tell her, that she is only to give in writing what it is she desires, and that he will immediately dispatch a courier to make known to me her intentions.

Count d'Estrades knows how the prince of Orange has declared by M. Vauſſebergue ambaffador extraordinary of the ſtates, that he could not engage in the project of attacking both Gravelin and Dunkirk at one time, unleſs he had aſſurance that the king of England would not aſſiſt the towns on the coaſt of Flanders, ſo that it is of the greateſt importance that this negotiation ſhould not be delayed, and to be informed what the king is to truſt to.

As the ſtates have as much concern as the king to have this point cleared up, the ſieur Vauſſebergue will embark at the ſame time as the count d'Eſtrades ſets out from hence, in order to repair to London, and confer with the king of England on the ſame ſubject.

Count d'Eſtrades is to diſpatch a courier to me, as ſoon as he has had audience of the king and queen of England, and on his arrival at London, he is to notify the ſame to the king's ambaffador now at that court, and alſo communicate his inſtructions to him, ſo as to act according to the preſent conjuncture, and the diſpoſition of the court of England.

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Count d'Eſtrades letter to cardinal Richlieu.

Monſieur,

London, Nov. 24, <sup>1637</sup>~~1637~~

**I** ARRIVED here on the 19th of this month, after being expoſed to a furious ſtorm at ſea, and the veſſel having ſtruck on the Goodwin ſand, we expected it would have been broke to pieces; but by the help of a ſea and guſt of wind it got over the ſand, and we arrived in the Downs. Landing there, I took poſt to London the ſame day. I went ſtrait to the lodging of monſieur Belleuvre,



#### 4 Letters and Negotiations

the king's ambassador, and communicated to him my instructions, according to your eminency's orders. He told me, I should find the queen of England highly incensed against your eminence, and that he had last night a long conversation with her, which was so warm, that the queen, at parting from him, said, she never should be your friend. This, however, did not hinder our resolving that the ambassador should go next day to madam Civet, who is a principal lady of the bed-chamber to the queen, her nurse's daughter, in great favour with her, and an intimate friend of the ambassador's, that he should desire of her to speak to the queen to acquaint her of my arrival, and that I begged to have an audience of her majesty, before I delivered the king's letter to the king of England.

Madam Civet desired the ambassador to tarry in her apartment, till she should see the queen. She returned in about a quarter of an hour, and then told him, that the queen would be pleased to see me immediately after she had dined.

I failed not to be there at the time appointed, and after delivering the king's letter, I told her, the king, my master, had commanded me to wait of her before I delivered my dispatches to the king of England; being willing to obtain what he desired by her majesty's interposition, and that he should own the obligation to her. That I had orders from your eminence to assure her of your respect and obedience, and your eminency's inclinations to embrace every opportunity of doing her service. The queen answered, that she was better informed of your eminency's disposition, as to what concerned her; that you was no friend to her, and that she desired nothing from you.

I replied,

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*of Count d'ESTRADES.*

I replied, I was very sorry so great and so wise a queen should give any credit to the false reports that had been made to her of your eminency; that I could very easily undeceive her, if she would be so gracious as to let me know the particular grounds of her complaints; and I would make it evident, the bad offices done you had proceeded from the spite of some certain persons, who were jealous of the great qualities which your eminence was possessed of, and, it might be, of the esteem her majesty might have of them, if she was once truly informed of your inclination to serve and honour her.

She told me, she wanted no further information on that article, and that she was fully convinced you was none of her friends.

After such a dry answer to the compliments, I had made on your eminency's part, I did not think it proper to deliver her your letter.

The queen told me after this, that the king, in his letter to her, wrote that I was to acquaint her of the business for which I was sent: on which I explained to her, that the king, having intire confidence in her friendship, hoped, by her means, the king of England would be prevailed on not to oppose the designs which he and the states of the united provinces might have formed to attack some towns on the coast of Flanders, and that she would prevail with the king to remain neuter, in case they should, in the operations of this year's campaign, direct their forces that way.

The queen said, she never meddled in affairs of that nature; but that, to do a pleasure to the king, she would speak of it to the king her husband, and I should return to see her at five o'clock.

Which having done accordingly, I was called in, and then she said to me, that I had been the occasion of her receiving a good reprimand, for having propos'd to the king his remaining neutral, if the maritime towns in Flanders should be attacked; and that I might wait of the king myself, who expected me at six o'clock: And indeed the master of ceremonies was waiting in the anti-chamber for me. I guess'd, by this cold answer of the queen's, that it was resolv'd on not to comply with what the king demanded.

*Charles!*

I was received very graciously by the king of England, and spoke to him agreeable to the orders I received from your eminence, and represented to him all the advantages he would receive from a strict friendship with the king, by complying with his request, by which his subjects would reap very great advantages by furnishing the armies with necessaries, which would bring a great deal of money into England; and that being master of the sea, and remaining neutral, even the Spanish army, as the whole country of Flanders, must be supplied by the English shipping: that your eminence had commanded me to assure him, you would contribute all in your power to maintain a strict union and friendship between him and the king, and even to persuade his majesty to lend him succours against any of his subjects that should have bad intentions against him.

His answer was, he would do all that was in his power, to testify how much he desired the king's friendship, provided that what he asked was of no prejudice to his honour, and the interest of his kingdom; which last would be the case if he should permit either the king or the states of Holland to attack the sea-port towns of Flanders: and to prevent this, he would have his fleet in readiness in the Downs, in condition, to act

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with fifteen thousand men ready to be transported into Flanders for the defence of the said towns if necessary: that he thanked your eminence for your offers and civilities, but he wanted no assistance to punish such of his subjects, as should fail in their duty, that being sufficiently secured by his own authority and the laws of the kingdom.

I told him, I should give an account to the king of his answer, and I hoped, before my departure he would reflect on the offers I had made on the part of his majesty, which would be backed with your eminency's credit and true desire to serve him.

This is all that passed, which shews a good deal of averfeness both in the king and queen of England, from entering into any strict friendship with the king.

I think it my duty to acquaint your eminence of what I have learned in the short time I have been here.

I have had a conversation of more than three hours, with a Scotch minister whose name is Mobil, and a gentleman named Gordon. The minister who is a furious hot and violent person, told me, that he had been at London three weeks, without being able to procure an audience of the king, though he came to give him notice of affairs of great importance, and to acquaint him of dangerous cabals against his person and government, that he was upon his departure back into his own country, and was sure that Scotland would unite with the malecontents of England. Gordon, who is a deputy of the nobility and gentry, told me as much as the other had done. Your eminence will, no doubt, make such reflections on this as your great prudence and insight into affairs may suggest, the present seem-

ing a favourable conjuncture for embarrassing the king of England in his affairs.

Monfieur Vauſſebergue has been ſo fatigued with his voyage at ſea, that he is fallen ſick with it and can do no buſineſs. He has ſent an expreſs to the prince of Orange to have leave to return into Holland. I am, &c.

Cardinal Richlieu's letter to count d'Eſtrades.

Rouel, Dec. 2, 1637.

**I** HAVE received your diſpatch of the 24th paſt, and have acquainted the king of all you wrote me. He was very well ſatisfied with your conduct in the two converſations you had with the king and queen of England. It was of great uſe for the king's ſervice, that their ſentiments ſhould be known; they would have embarrassed us very much if they had had the addreſs to conceal them.

I will make a proper uſe of the advice you give me, in relation to Scotland; and I ſhall diſpatch in a few days the abbot Chambres, my chaplain, who is a native of that country, to go to Edinburgh, there to wait of the two perſons you mention, in order to engage them in ſome negotiations.

The year ſhall not end, before both the king and queen of England ſhall repent their having reſuſed the propoſals you made on the king's part.

You have conducted yourſelf ſo well in your employment, that the king has made choice of you to go over to the prince of Orange, and to conclude with him the agreement for the operations of the next campaign. Monſieur Chavigny ſends you, by this courier, the proper powers.

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You must exert yourself to the utmost to persuade the prince to attack Antwerp, and to promise him that the king will besiege St. Omers. If God bless our designs, the king shall have no reason to be sorry that his offers have been refused in England. You could neither speak nor answer better than you did to the king of England, as to what concerned me; it shall soon be known that I am not to be despised. If your two Scotch friends be still at London, tell them to have full confidence as to what the abbot Chambres may say to them, and write by them letters to the said Abbot, which may be as a signal whereby to know one another. You have done the king great service by the discovery you have made of these two men: assure them of my friendship and protection.

Take leave of the king of England as soon as you receive this dispatch, and repair to Holland. Monsieur de Billion assures me, that he has sent you a bill of exchange, for six thousand crowns, for the charges of your journey. Be persuaded of my friendship and esteem.

---

Count d'Estades letter to the cardinal.

Hague, Dec. 22, 1637.

**B**EING informed at Rotterdam, that the prince of Orange was at Honslaerdike, I went directly to wait of him, without passing through the Hague, that being a more convenient place to confer with him. I gave him an account of all that passed between the king of England and me, in relation to the king's proposals. I then told him, as the design of attacking the towns on the coast of Flanders could not be undertaken, by reason of the king of England's refusing to consent to it, that the king and your eminence

eminence had sent me to his highness to confer with him upon a new scheme for the campaign, and that your eminence had commanded me to tell him, that the king and he would wait to know his sentiments, before coming to a resolution of attacking any place. I observed that he was extremely pleased with this civility from your eminence, and then I presented him the king's letter for him, as also my credentials, which he found to be in good form.

He told me that the weather was fine for taking the air in his park, and ordered me to place myself by him in his coach that no other person should come into it, and even ordered the officers and gentlemen on horseback that were by the sides of the coach to keep at a distance, so that nobody might hear what we should speak.

He expressed himself much obliged to your eminence for the confidence you had in him, as to what was most proper to be undertaken, and that the projects ought to be something great to answer the good opinion the king and your eminence had of him; and therefore he wanted to know what place you desired he should lay siege to. I replied, it was not needful to send an express to inform him of that, and what I was to propose would not be disapproved, to wit, that his highness being, in your eminency's opinion, the first and greatest general in Europe you could think but of one only place worthy of him, which was Antwerp.

To which he answered thus: we have not infantry sufficient to besiege so great a place. We must have three camps or head-quarters: the river Scheld is here a league in breadth, and in order to attack Calo and Verbrook, ten thousand men must be sent from Bergen-op-zoom over three leagues of a country scarcely passable at low-water, and even then on a dike; and this must be done before

we can be masters of the place called Flanders-head. Another difficulty attending this enterprize being, that in case this detachment should be in distress, no succours could come to them in less than twenty-four hours time, in short, that so great difficulties were not to be surmounted, but with a prodigious expence.

I made answer, that all these difficulties he had represented, were not equal to those of the siege of Bois le duc, which he had by himself alone overcome against the united force of both the emperor and king of Spain; that he was now stronger as the king and your eminence were engaged with him, and made it a common cause; and that he should not mind the expence, providing it was employed to purpose: I assured him, your eminence had so much esteem and friendship for him, that you would use all your interest with the king, to furnish him with a considerable sum, to give his highness an opportunity of increasing his glory.

He remained silent for a while, then told me this requires some time to reflect on, and the subject deserves it. To-morrow we shall resume this affair.

The remainder of the day passed on in different subjects. He shewed me some new buildings he was about; his gallery of pictures, and also his fine furniture, without mentioning any thing of business all the rest of that day.

Next morning he sent for me by Leonis his first valet de chambre. I found him in his closet with a map of Antwerp and the country round, before him. You see me, said he, viewing the map of a country of very difficult access, and to maintain one's self in, as the enemy keep an army always in it, but you have persuaded me, by telling me the cardinal will assist me, and I have  
sent



sent for you, to let you know, that over and above the million which the king pays to the states as an annual subsidy, I shall have occasion for two hundred thousand crowns more, in order to raise two new regiments of foot. The king, said he, must engage to lay siege to some considerable place at the same time as I lay siege to Antwerp, in order to divide the enemy's forces.

I answered, that Cambrai was a considerable town or Douay, he said, the Spaniards would abandon either of these to be at liberty to attack him; but that he knew another town still more considerable, and which they valued much more, which was St. Omers. I told him that was impregnable as being surrounded with marshes, and might easily be supplied by means of the canals of Gravelin, Dunkirk, and Bergue which communicate with its marshes, that as those places had a great number of boats, the town might depend upon its being supplied with all provisions; but that I would dispatch a courier that very day to inform your eminence of what had been proposed, and that I was persuaded you would do all you could to induce the king to comply with his highness's desire.

This is all that passed at my second audience, to which I shall wait your eminency's orders, as also for concluding the treaty for the campaign, every thing being regulated according to your intentions.

I shall only add what the prince said, that so soon as he returned to the Hague, he would procure commissioners to be appointed for renewing the treaty as has been done formerly, without naming any place. Waiting your eminency's answer,

I am, &c.

Cardinal

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Cardinal Richlieu's letter to count  
d'Estrades.

Rouel, Jan. 6, 1638.

**T**HE king cannot be better served than he is by you, and you have so conducted yourself with the prince of Orange, that I acknowledge with pleasure I have great satisfaction in it. The king consents that you shall agree to the prince's being paid the two hundred thousand crowns, for the levying of four new regiments of foot; and to enable you to conclude the treaty with all speed, the king has given orders to monsieur de Bullion to send to you, by the sieurs Hœuf, bills of exchange, for the million to pay the ordinary subsidy of the year, as also two hundred thousand crowns for levying the four regiments, which last sum you are to take care be actually employed to this use, and not diverted otherwise.

As the king has great deference to the prince's advice, he allows you to promise in his name that he will lay siege to St. Omer's, at the same time the prince attacks Antwerp.

The king desires it may be inserted in the treaty, that both his and the states army shall take the field, by the first of May, in order to form the two sieges, so that they may have time to intrench themselves, before the enemy can assemble their army.

The king's army shall consist of thirty thousand foot, with an augmentation of four new regiments of infantry, and eight thousand cavalry. Do not fail to have an article express in the treaty, specifying this number of both foot and horse.

You have very skilfully brought the prince of Orange both to agree to the siege of Antwerp,  
and

and to name St. Omers for us. Continue to act in the same manner, and I will take care of what regards your interest.

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Monfieur Chavigny's letter to count d'Eftrades.

Rouel, Jan. 6, 1638.

**I** TAKE such a share in every thing which regards you, that I could not satisfy myself if I did not declare it. It must be agreeable to you to be informed, that his eminence spoke of you for half an hour without interruption, in praise of your address and conduct in the conferences you had with the prince of Orange. He has put you down in the list of such as are to have considerable governments, and has spoke of you to the king in so obliging a manner, that he distinguished you from all others now employed. Believe, Sir, that nobody can rejoice at this more than I. I have nothing to add to what his eminence has wrote you; but that you are to insert the same articles as are contained in the treaty of 1637, and particularly the fifty ships which the states are to keep on the coast of Flanders, from the the 1st of May to the 1st of Noveniber.

I see no other alteration, but that of opening the campaign by the first of May, and the number of troops, which is to be greater than that of last year. I have had a little dispute with monfieur de Noyers, about raising the four new regiments. He says, as they are to be levied at the king's charge, and on the frontiers of France and the country of Liege, it is his business to take cognifance of it; and I pretend that as I am secretary of state for foreign affairs,

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belongs to my office to take care of what is done in a foreign country, and include, as beir<sup>g</sup> my province, the sum of one hundred thousand livres, which is stoped out of the million of subsidy, for paying of the pensions of the French officers that are in the service of the states. If his eminence should write you any thing of this, I desire you would inform him that such affairs have always belonged to my office,

Count d'Estrades to the cardinal.

Hague, Jan. 16, 1638.

**Y**OUR eminence gave me subject, whereby to make my court to the prince of Orange, by the contents of the last dispatch you honoured me with.

He is mightily pleased with your readiness to grant every thing he has asked. I can with confidence assure your eminence, he has the siege of Antwerp so much at heart, that there is not a day but he is at work to prepare every thing necessary for succeeding in that enterprize; and he has sent six officers and some experienced engineers to sound, at low-water, the passage from Bergen-op-zoom to the dike of Callo, which is three leagues broad: they have orders to go and return three times, and take their soundings in the night time, that they may not be discovered; and take notice of the depth of the quick-sands and softest places, and plant stakes in the places that are firmeft and most practicable.

He has given full directions as to the train of artillery, boats, and carriages; and we have agreed on almost every article of the treaty. His highness

highness has named deputies, and we have been upon it for two hours; and to-morrow we shall, without fail, have every thing concluded, and I shall in a day after part from hence to render your eminence an account of all that has passed.

The prince of Orange thinks proper to leave in blank the names of the places to be attacked; and that they should be mentioned only after the armies have taken the field, in order that the secret may not be discovered. As a security, however, that there shall be no alteration in the plan agreed on, the prince and I sign a separate secret article, in which St. Omers and Antwerp are expressly named.

Monsieur Hœuf's nephew has been with me, and brought along with him bills of exchange of 1,600,000 livres. We went together to the prince of Orange, who was well pleased with the assurance monsieur Hœuf gave him of the punctuality of the payment of the bills, and, after this, the prince desired me to acquaint your eminence, that it was both pleasant and safe to do business with you, and for the future he would ask no formal treaty, but barely your word in any affair. I assured him that the confidence your eminence reposed in him was as great.

It was agreed on, at this meeting, that the 200,000 crowns for the levying the four regiments should be paid to his highness's treasurer to be employed to that use; and as to the million, that it should be paid, by quarterly payments, into the treasury of the states, deducting 100,000 livres appointed for paying the pensions of the French officers in the service of the states; that the said sum should be put into the hands of monsieur Chavigny, as it had been before, being secretary for foreign affairs, to be paid according to the king's appointment, he taking the proper receipts.

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The prince of Orange has ordered two men of war to be ready at Scheveling to conduct me safe, and as the wind is at north-east, I hope to be at Dieppe in two days, and to be with your eminence as soon as this letter.

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Cardinal Richlieu to count d'Estrades.

April, 20, 1738-1638

I HAVE dispatched Saladin to inform you, that the king's army under the command of mareschal Châtillon, will begin their march the first of May, in order to sit down before St. Omers by the tenth of that month.

The mareschal de la Force shall be at the same time on the frontiers of Hainault, with an army of 15,000 men, to give the enemy umbrage on that side. Press the prince of Orange to take the field exactly at that time, as agreed upon. You are acquainted with the slowness of his nature, and that he loves to be assured of things before he acts, which is the reason that opportunities are very often lost, which can never be recovered; so that what is of the greatest importance to us, is to invest the places agreed on as soon as possible. You are concerned in this in point of interest, as I intend to procure for you the government of St. Omers.

Acquaint the prince of Orange that I am informed from Amsterdam, that the Spaniards have bought up 300,000 weight of gun-powder to be sent to Antwerp, and that by means of one whose name is Marcellus, a merchant, who is agent for the king of Denmark. I am, &c.

C

Count

Count d'Estrades to cardinal Richlieu.

1638  
April 29, 1738.

**S**ALADIN is just arrived, and found me in the road of Dort, in my boat close by the prince of Orange's yacht, who is embarked himself and all his army in 6,000 boats. We shall by to-morrow pass through the Kell, and may arrive, if the wind favours, the fourth or fifth of May at Bergen-op-zoom. It will take up two days at least to put ashore our artillery and infantry, the cavalry are already arrived there by land with the waggons.

The prince of Orange was much pleased to hear the king's army was to be before St. Omers by the 13th of May. He assured me that he should in that time have 10,000 men in Flanders, by the duke of Callo.

I spoke to him of the information your eminence had relating to Marcellus the merchant. He told me he knew of it, and that he had wrote to the magistrates of Amsterdam to have him arrested and brought to justice, and that he expected an answer. Next day the prince sent for me: I found him extremely angry, and, after throwing his hat down on the table, he told me, That the magistrates of Amsterdam had sent one of their body to him, to tell him, that pursuant to his orders, they had sent to find out Marcellus, to be interrogated in relation to the trade which he carried on with the enemies of the states, and as to the freighting of ships to carry gun-powder to Antwerp: his answer was, That he knew nothing of that affair; that he was the king of Denmark's resident for the trade of the Baltic; that, if they designed any rupture, they had only

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to let him know, and he would be gone to his master the king. He was afterwards questioned as to 10,000 crowns, which he had lent a merchant named Beyland, who was the person that had freighted four fly-boats which were loaded with musquets, pikes, and gun-powder. He owned he had lent that sum to Beyland; but that he knew not what use he had made of it. This Beyland was taken up and put into prison, and brought before the burgo-masters of Amsterdam, and examined as to the trade he carried on with the enemy. His answer was, That the burgers of Amsterdam had a right to trade every where, and that he could name a hundred that were factors for the merchants of Antwerp, and that he was one himself; that trade could not be stopt; and that, for his part, he would freely declare to them, if there was profit to be got, by the trade, he would pass through hell, though he should risque the burning of the ship's sails. Upon this, the magistrates of Amsterdam, had acquitted him, as he only acted by commission, and on account of his principals, the merchants of Antwerp.

The prince was extremely displeas'd with this relation of the deputy; and sent him back without any answer. He immediately sent an express to admiral Tromp, with orders to send to the Texel, to cause to be put under arrest, the four vessels which were loaded with the arms and gun-powder, and that they should not be let go without an order from him. You see, says he, afterwards to me, what patience one must have with those brutes of merchants. I have no greater enemies than the people of Amsterdam; but if I am once master of Antwerp, I shall bring them so low, that they shall never get up again.



The wind being now northerly, we are just going to set sail, and I seal my letter, in order to dispatch Saladin. I am, &c.

Cardinal de Richlieu's instructions to count d'Estrades, on his being sent from the king to the duchess of Savoy. *Sister of Louis 14*

1698  
Dec. 5, 1712

**T**HE count d'Estrades is to know, that on certain information which the king has of some negotiations carried on by father Monot a jesuit, between the said duchess and prince Thomas, and the cardinal of Savoy, in order to engage her to make up matters with Spain, and to break off her alliance with his majesty, he has made choice of the said count to be sent to the said duchess, to inform her of the treachery of her confessor, father Monot, and to prevail with her consent to his being put under arrest. As she has great confidence in this father, and will be very unwilling to consent to this, after discovering her sentiments, in case they do not agree with those of the king, the count is then to acquaint her, that, provided she will agree to have father Monot secured, his majesty had ordered the said count to assure her, that the dauphin should marry the princess Adelaide, and although it must be a long time before such an alliance could take place, yet she should be assured of it, by all the acts necessary on such contracts.

If this proposal be not sufficient to engage the duchess to consent to what is desired of her, the count d'Estrades shall go in person, with 1000 dragoons, which the cardinal de la Valette will

*Adelaide was married to Lewis Duke of Burgundy grandson of Louis XIV  
Lewis XV was her son. 1697*

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order, as soon as he shall be informed by him, and placing himself in ambuscade near Yvrée, where the father Monot now is, he is to go from thence to give the cardinal of Savoy a meeting, to inform him of her royal highness's last resolutions. The count is to communicate his instructions to the cardinal de la Valette, and act in concert with him in this affair, which is of great importance to the king.

Count d'Estades to cardinal Richlieu.

Turin, Dec. 17, 1638

**T**HE snow and fogs have been so great, that I was two days at the foot of mount Cenis, without being able to get over it. I arrived here the 14th, and alighted at the cardinal de la Valette's, to whom I shewed my instructions, and delivered him your eminency's credentials. I was extremely well received; and it is sufficient if one belongs to your eminence, to have the friendship and confidence of this cardinal. He told me I should find the duchess of Savoy very averse to what the king intended; she was so prepossessed with father Monot's fidelity, that all which had been done, in order to undeceive her, was to no purpose. He thought proper to delay my waiting on the duchess till next day, and then presented me to her; and I delivered the king's letter, and explained very fully to her the information which your eminence had of the secret correspondence carried on by father Monot with the Spaniards, by the interposition of prince Thomas and the cardinal of Savoy, which regarded her highness's own person and that of

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the young duke her son, who could not remain in safety, without a quick, and that an only remedy, which was to make a prisoner of father Monot, and examine him about the correspondence he carried on with the enemy.

She answered, That the probity and fidelity of father Monot was so well known to her, that she would answer for him as much as for herself; that she had been long ago sensible, he had ill offices done him, in order to remove him from her person; but that she could not believe, till now, his enemies had been so very malicious, as to give umbrage to your eminence by false insinuations, that she was very sorry for it, and begged of me to write to your eminence, that the good father had never spoke or counselled her to any thing contrary to the duty which she owed to the king, or to what she might promise to herself from your eminency's friendship.

I told her, That her highness might be imposed upon by the artifice of a monk, who has the government of her conscience, and makes use of his credit with her in order to succeed in his projects, without letting it appear, as he was not suspected, but that she ought to yield to the advice given by your eminence, as a person who does not believe rumours on slight grounds, but takes time to have them verified by the great correspondence you had; what I told her had been confirmed by letters intercepted, the very originals of which were in your eminency's hands, and even by persons who had been present at two meetings, which father Monot had with the princes.

She complained much of the king and your eminency's treatment of her, in desiring to remove from her one that was faithful and her confessor. She said, She had sacrificed every thing

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to serve the king; and was ready to do it over again, to be drove out of her dominions, and stripped of every thing, as she had already been, to testify her zeal and affection for the king; and yet, notwithstanding, she was persecuted as if she was the worst person in the world; and as she spoke thus, she shed many tears.

I waited some time till she was a little recovered, and told her that I begged she would reflect on what I had said, and desired she would consider whether it was doing her any violence to give her advice on the part of the king and your eminence, which tended to the preservation of her own person, and that of the duke of Savoy her son, and to maintain her authority in opposition to the princes, who would willingly chase her out of the country, and from the government: I was surprized to hear her complain, and to give out she had sacrificed every thing for the king's service; that she had forgot it was the princes of her own family, assisted by the Spaniards and by such intrigues and plots as father Monot now made use of, that had driven her from Turin, taken the city, and plundered the palace in which she lived: though she was much to be blamed for the little precaution she took against the cabals, which the princes of Savoy carried on in her family: the king, however, had continued to make extraordinary efforts, even to the risque of his army for restoring her, by succouring Casal, and laying siege to Turin, the taking of which had cost his majesty immense sums, to whom she was obliged for being gloriously re-established in her dominions: I begged of her to hearken to what I had said to her; that it was high time to look about her, and not to allow herself to be imposed upon by evil-minded persons, such as father Monot, who had as great a plot against her, and

the duke her son, as that which broke out when Turin was taken by the princes; and that I was obliged to tell her once more that if she would ruin herself, the king and your eminence would neither have the power nor inclination to assist her; but if, on the other hand, she complied with the king's request, I had orders from his majesty to propose the marriage of the dauphin, although only in the cradle, with the princess Adelaide; and the proper writings for that end should be passed in due form, as a security for performing what should be agreed on, and shewed her the king's order contained in my instructions for making this proposition.

Her royal highness answered, It would be a great honour to her, but her age and that of the dauphin did not allow her to hope that she could live to see so great an honour and felicity happen to her family.

She afterwards spoke to me in a milder way, and said, If she had any proofs that father Monot had betrayed her, she would be the first to punish him. I observed from thence that my last proposal was not disagreeable to her, and thought it proper to retire and leave her to herself, to give her time to reflect on what had passed in this first conference; and as I was going, she said, That next day she would see me again, and that I should come at two o'clock in the afternoon.

I went to wait of cardinal de la Valette, and gave him an account of all that had passed, with which he seemed to be very well pleased: he shewed me two notes he had received by his spies, that assured him father Monot was to set out as soon as it was day to go to a castle called Villa Nova, three leagues distance from Yvrée, which had made the cardinal resolve to give orders to the thousand troopers to place and divide themselves

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on the two roads that led from Yvrée, in order to seize father Monot; which succeeded so well, that next day, about eleven in the morning, the news was brought to the cardinal de la Valette that father Monot was made prisoner. He immediately dispatched his lieutenant of guards, with thirty troopers, to conduct him to Pignerol, and a thousand horse more to convoy them without passing by Turin.

The duchess of Savoy had an account of this at noon. She sent to desire the cardinal de la Valette would come to her; and I went in company. One cannot describe the transports of her grief and passion: she immediately fell upon me, and told me I had deceived her, and had amused her with fine speeches, by proposing a match with the dauphin. I answered not a word; but the cardinal took my part, and assured her that the king and your eminence were both sincere: to which she answered, with tears, Can I receive a greater mark of dishonour, than to make a prisoner of one of my domestics, in my own dominions; and to carry him to a place which does not belong to me? If he had been left in any place of mine, I might have answered for him. I then took up the discourse, and begged of the cardinal de la Valette that he would send an express to your eminence, signifying her royal highness's request; or if he would employ me for that purpose, as being better able to give an exact account of her highness's good intentions, and I hoped that your eminence might prevail with the king to grant what her royal highness desired, that father Monot should be confined in some strong place of her dominions. This was approved of by her highness and the cardinal de la Valette, and I shall set out from hence to-morrow, against which time we expect to hear that father Monot

is put into the citadel of Pignorol. I was not willing to lose a post, without informing your eminence of all that passed.

am, &c.

Cardinal Richlieu to count d'Estrades.

Rouen, August 15, 1639.

**I** DISPATCH to you this courier, upon certain advice I have, that the king of Spain is assembling a fleet at the Groyn, which will consist of fifty ships of force, commanded by don Antonio Doguendo, the ablest seaman in Spain: he is to take on board this fleet 12,000 infantry, to be transported into Flanders; he is to be joined by the Dunkirk squadron. Tell the prince of Orange, as from the king and me, that he never can have an opportunity so favourable for the common cause, as this of equipping a powerful fleet to put to sea, in order to meet that of Spain, and to engage them; and that nothing can be more for his honour and glory.

As this prince is naturally slow, press him, as from the king, that he would issue out his orders to all the admiralties to fit out all the ships fit for service; and assure him, that the king has sent express to Calais, Boulogne, Dieppe, Havre de Grace and Brest, with orders to the respective governors to assist the states, with all warlike stores, men, and shipping, when required.

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## Count d'Estrades to cardinal Richlieu.

August 26, 1639.

**I** Gave an account to the prince of Orange of the great fleet, which is fitting out in Spain, of which he had no advice before; but next day he received an express sent him by the first clerk of the secretary's office belonging to the governor general, whom he had bribed by considerable presents, and who writes him all the particulars of the designs of the Spaniards.

All that your eminence writes me is contained in this account, excepting only that don Antonio Doguendo has orders to remain in the Downs, that he may not hazard any engagement, only to put the infantry on board the Dunkirk squadron, to be transported into Flanders, which is to be assisted even by the English fleet.

After the prince of Orange had this confirmation of the advice your eminence sent him, I found that he inclined to equip two squadrons; the one to be commanded by vice-admiral Tromp, which is to consist of fifty men of war, and twenty fire-ships; they are to be ready in ten days time, with orders to sail to the chops of the channel, there to meet the Spanish fleet, and to fight with it; the other squadron to consist of forty men of war, and ten fire-ships, to be commanded by the vice-admiral of Zealand, John Evressens, which is to cruize between Dunkirk and the Downs, to observe the Dunkirk squadron, and to join admiral Tromp, if there should be occasion.

I had no occasion to urge the prince to give orders for this great equipment: he found the reasons contained in your eminency's letters so strong, that he told me immediately, all ought to be done



done that you desired, and, to execute them the better, he would go in person, and encamp near to Bergen-op-zoom, in order to hasten the equipment of the squadrons both of Zealand and Holland, this place being situated in the midst of these two admiralties, where he might be informed, every day, with what diligence his orders were executed.

The prince has this business so much at heart, that he dispatches, every day, four gentlemen to the several admiralties, to bring him an account how they proceed. Your eminence may be quite easy, as to this; and I may, with confidence, assure you, that you will soon see something very extraordinary.

In a conversation I had with him to-day, he told me, he had a strong inclination to go on board the fleet in person, in order to fight with the Spanish fleet. I told him, your eminence would not be of that mind, and his person was too dear to you to have it exposed, if you could hinder it; but all your eminence desired was, that he should give his orders to the admirals, to engage and fight the Spanish fleet in the Downs, notwithstanding the protection which the king of England seemed inclined to give them; that this would be a resolution worthy of so great a general as he was, and would shew the greatness of his courage thus to surmount the obstacles to his glory, formed by two great kings.

Then he asked me if I thought that this was really your eminency's sentiments, I answered him, that he must needs believe it, that as you loved his person and desired his glory, there was nothing that you wished for more, than to see it crowned with an action that would be the most illustrious which could be thought of, that of defeating the fleet of Spain in an English port, though

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though assisted by English ships, and thereby depriving Flanders of all succours, after such a defeat, that country would be in no condition to maintain itself against the king's army, and that of the states commanded by him.

He told me, he was of the same opinion with your eminence, and desired I should write to you that the orders you had sent to the sea ports of France to assist the fleet of the states, had determined him to fight the Spanish fleet in the Downs, whither he had certain advice they would repair, and give orders to admiral Tromp not to engage so soon, but to detach a squadron in order to harass such as he found separate from the main body of the fleet, and to follow them close until they should get into the Downs, and then to draw up his fleet in a line of battle in the entry to the Downs, there to wait till such time the admiral of Zealand, John Evreessens should join him, after which he should send a flag officer to the admiral of England, to acquaint him that he had orders from the states, to fight their enemy wherever he should find them, and to desire him to withdraw the king of England's ships, as he had orders, from the states not to engage with them, unless they should join themselves to the enemy, but in case they would not remain neuter, his orders were to fight both one and the other. This is what the prince ordered me to write to your eminence, which I hope will have a happy event. I am, &c.

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Count d'Estrades to cardinal Richlieu

Bergen-op-stoom, Sept. 20, 1639.

**I** Dispatch this courier to your eminence to inform you of the defeat of the Spanish fleet, notwithstanding the king of England's allowing them the freedom of his ports and harbours.

The English fleet perceiving admiral Tromp's resolution to fall upon the Spanish withdrew and remained neuter; the engagement continued four hours, the ship *Theresa*, admiral of Portugal was burnt, she mounted one hundred brass cannon and had 1500 soldiers on board, twelve other great ships were either burnt or sunk, 16 have been taken and brought into Flushing with 4500 prisoners, fourteen ships have run ashore upon the coast near Boulogne and Calais being chased by ours. The Dunkirk squadron escaped; and brought off the Spanish admiral don Antonio Doguendo, though he was surrounded by ten of our ships.

Our loss is ten ships, either burnt or sunk, but the Victory is as complete as ever was known.

I am, &c.

The earle of Northumberland's concern in these affairs, was very disastrous to the king, by the great trust he put in him, who about the year 1636, made him lord high admirall of England, as great a trust, as could be put upon any man, and enough to have purged a blood that had some taint in it.

He was this year sent out to sea with a navy of about 60 shippes, to interrupt the Holland-fishing on our coast; he took many of their buffes, and disperst others; which brought the states-generall to make such an application to the king, as

might

might for the future obtaine his license, which the king conceived a vindication of his right and dominion; the terms however of agreement were like nails well driven, but not clincht; and made them more susceptible of obstinate councils from France, who were at that time undermining our peace by Scotland.

But the action I am now to mention, whilst this lord was at the head of the admiralty, was too nigh and most dishonorable: for it was an affront given us in our own ports.

For the Spaniards, low in their estate in Flanders, in the year 1639, had equipp'd a fleet of about 60 shippes, to bring mony, recruits, and other necessaries for those countries under the Spanish government. These the Holland fleet met with, under the command of their great admirall Van Trump, with halfe their number; but being light, and fitted onely for warlike action, and ne so great and good a seament, and the winds scant for the Spaniards port at Dunkirk, he drave them into our road and port of Dover, where the English royall fleet or ordinary guard lay, under the command of Sir John Pennington, vice-admirall. Upon confidence of our guarding and defending our own ports, the Spaniard trifled away too much time; for both fleets being our friends, he supposed, that we were obliged in honor to succour the weaker. But the king harassed by his own subjects, and the admirall favouring the popular party, and having a secretary, one Mr. Smith, highly infected with presbyterian principles, (though he had no more temperance or piety, than his neighbours; which is observed onely, that princes may consider the influence subordinate servants may have on their affairs, intrusted in the hands of their chiefe ministers) was forced to a resolution of sending to the Spanish admirall, of not depending on the sanctuary

sanctuary he had taken. And Van Trump, who too, too probably understood our resolution, and being in this time strengthened by as many more fresh ships, as he had at first, even in our very ports, attacked the Spaniards; which, had not been his resolution, and strengthened our fleet as those of Holland did theirs, that admirall would have considered twice, before he had acted once; and a true-spirited English admirall would have reflected more on his master's, his nation's, and his own honor, than to be so unconcerned, as ours was. But the sequel of this story, when we shall find this great lord, contrary to his prince's command, (who had so much to his honour intrusted his navy with him) delivering it up into the hands of the earls of Warwick, for the service of the two houses, and not unto Sir John Pennington, as the king required, will explicate all this riddle."

Warwick's Memoirs, p. 117. &c.

Cardinal Richlieu's instructions to count d'Estrades on his being sent to Holland.

Ruel, Jan. 10, 1641.

**T**HE king being satisfied with the count d'Estrades capacity and fidelity in all the employments his majesty has intrusted to him, and particularly his conduct in the business of the duchess of Savoy, has now made choice of him as a fresh mark of the confidence he has in him to go into Holland, to settle the treaty relating to the operations of this year's campaign.

He is to tell the prince of Orange from me, that the misfortunes of the campaign of St. Omers must be repaired by some enterprize of moment, and

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and that he has orders from me to tell him, that I will take and follow his advice in the choice of the places to be attacked; but at the same time to endeavour to incline the prince to advise me to besiege Air, this being what the mareschal Meilleraye proposes to me, and this will have the same effect as that of St. Omers. But in order to divert the enemy from assembling any army on the new moat, which might hinder making lines of circumvallation, it would be necessary that the prince of Orange, with his army, should march into Flanders ten days before the king's army takes the field, which will oblige the enemy to assemble an army for their own defence against the prince, and by that means the king's army may find means to pass the new moat, and to form their line without opposition.

If the prince of Orange demands a subsidy equal to that of last year, the count d'Estrades is to tell him, that he is not empowered to grant a million as in former years, and as the prince will not be engaged in any siege this campaign, the expence will be much less than last year. But if he insists not to take the field ten days sooner than the king's army without an augmentation of the subsidy, when the worst happens you may agree to the sum of 300,000 livres addition.

The count d'Estrades is to observe to have it inserted in the treaty, that the fleet of fifty men of war, under the command of admiral Tromp, shall be on the coast of Flanders by the 10th of April, and remain there till the 15th of November, in order to act against the common enemy.

He is to give the princess of Orange as a present from the king the diamond ear-rings which Lopez sold me for 50,000 crowns to assure her of my respects, and to acquaint her that she owes this gratification to me.

Count

Count d'Estrades to cardinal Richlieu.

Hague, Jan. 21, 1641.

**I** Arrived here yesterday ; in the evening I waited on the prince of Orange, and delivered him the king's letter and your eminency's ; after having read them, he said, the misfortunes of the former campaign ought to be repaired, and that if the king would resume the former design to attack jointly both Graveline and Dunkirk, while the king of England had so much to do at home, by the English and Scotch rebels being united against him, he believed that the project might succeed ; but in that case to order a squadron to be ready at Brest to join the fleet of the states, in order to secure the English channel, and the rather, because at this very time he knew that a vice-admiral and eight of the principle captains of men of war, had deserted the king of England, and taken an oath to the parliament. He told me afterwards, that your eminence had sent a Scots abbot to Edinburgh, who was a very able man, and had intirely ruined that king's party in Scotland.

I told him, that the design on Dunkirk and Graveline was great and worthy of a general of his capacity and experience in war ; but I begged to be allowed to represent to him that the enemy had an army of more than 20,000 men in the districts of Bergues, Furnes, Bailleul, and in the neighbourhood of St. Omers, which could throw themselves into Dunkirk or Graveline, in three hours time, so as to render these places safe from any attack ; the king having his ships of war in the ports of the Mediterranean, and their magazines at Toulon, a fleet could not be assembled at

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Brest soon enough, neither could stores and provisions of all necessaries for it be got ready, so that this would be undertaking an enterprize of moment on very great uncertainty; to which I added farther, that this desertion of the sea-officers in England, and even the Scots declaring for the parliament might have no effect, but that they might be again united by the umbrage they would take at the loss of these two places, which might be followed by that of all Flanders.

The prince approved of what I said, and proposed to me the attacking Antwerp if the king would take the field fifteen days before him and march to Namur, which would draw off the troops that were quartered in the country of Waes, and neighbourhood of Antwerp, and to give him time to open the trenches. I replied, The king could not subsist his army, that the convoys would be intercepted by the garrison of Charlemont, and Philippeville and Manenburg, but that a thought had come into my mind suggested from the overture he had made, by proposing that the king's army should take the field fifteen days sooner than that of the states, and that it should march to Namur in order to draw off the troops in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, that it would be worth consideration, whether it would not be more sure if the diversion proposed should be made by his highness's taking the field a fortnight sooner than the king, and that by encamping on the canal of Bruges while the king should besiege Air, which would answer the same Purpose, as to opening the way into Flanders, as the taking St. Omers, and would facilitate the joining of the two armies, which could be done with ease at Dixmunde after the taking of Air.

The prince approved the proposal I made and took a map, and after examining the situation of

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Air,



Air, he agreed it was the best design that could be taken, he demanded the same subsidy as last year. I answered, That could not be granted, as he was to undertake no siege, but if, after the taking of Air, he would engage to besiege Bruges or Ghent, I assured him that your eminence would speak to the king in his favour, to obtain some augmentation, but at present no such thing could be expected.

We agreed on this point, as to the others the deputies will meet to-morrow, and before the day is over the treaty shall be signed, and I take my departure from hence to be the bearer of it myself to your eminency.

I am, &c.

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A memorial given by Henry prince of Orange to count d'Estrades, on his going into France.

Dec. 15, 1641.

**I** HAVE for some time past observed that the progress of the king's arms in Flanders gives great umbrage to the states and their subjects, and I have been pressed several times not to engage, during the campaigns, in any enterprize that might facilitate the king's making any new conquests in the Low Countries. I have, however continued to do all in my power to favour the kings designs; notwithstanding all the remonstrances which have been made, and the bad disposition of the people of this country, but I think it prudent to seem to comply with the humour of the times, and to find out some means to remove those jealousies, so I am of opinion, if the king would next campaign turn his arms on the side of Catalonia or Italy, that he would give me time

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and opportunity to remove those impressions which are now on the minds of the people of this country, and to cure them of the jealousy they entertain, that they are to be more afraid of the king's power than that of the king of Spain.

This is what I desire count d'Estrades would give the cardinal to understand, and to assure him, at the same time, that this will not hinder me from taking the field with an army of 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse to find employment for the Spanish army, and to hinder their undertaking any thing against France, whilst the king is at a distance. I will undertake moreover to match both the Spanish and imperial armies, and to put myself in condition to be able to succour count de Goëbriant who now commands the king's army on the frontiers of the electorate of Cologne, and in order to be nearer at hand to succour him, I will encamp my army in the neighbourhood of the Boisleduc. I intreat count d'Estrades fully to represent to the cardinal all the aforesaid, so as he may approve of my sentiments, and so to form the project of the next campaign on that foot, and sign a treaty accordingly. I will add a thought that occurs to me, and which the count may insinuate with his usual address into the cardinal, which is this, that if he will assist me with ten gallies and 3,000 land forces, I will send admiral Tromp with fifty men of war and 6,000 land forces to join the king's gallies, either at Toulon or Marfeilles, and will give orders to the officer that shall command to go and make a descent, either on Majorca or Minorca; and this design succeeding, as I hope, I will order a squadron to remain there, in order to be ready to join the king's fleet as occasion may offer.

Count d'Estrades to the prince of Orange.

Paris, . . . . . 1642.

Monseigneur,

**M**Y passage has not been so quick as I could have wished, the wind being contrary obliged me to land on the coast of England.

I represented to his eminency, the cardinal, all that your highness charged me with in your memorial. He was well pleased with the instructions, as well in relation to the project of the king's bending his forces on the side of Catalonia and Italy, as that of finding diversion for the Spanish army in Flanders; as likewise the securing count de Goëbriant if the troops of the emperor and Spain should join to attack him. His eminence has acquainted the king with this proposal, as also of your highness's thought of taking a fit opportunity to manage the states and people of Holland, and to undeceive them as to their jealousy of the king's power, inspired no doubt by our enemies. His majesty approved of all these reasons, and has taken a resolution to turn his arms this campaign, either on the side of Catalonia or Italy.

I ought to acquaint your highness, that his eminence laboured very much to bring the council to take this resolution, finding by what I represented to him from you, that your highness desired the great effort this campaign should be made on some country remote from Flanders.

Before speaking to the cardinal in relation to the project your highness communicated to me of the design on Majorca or Minorca, I thought proper to mention it, as proceeding from myself, without engaging your highness; and for this end, finding his eminence alone, I told him of it as if my own,

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that as the states fleet had now no business on the coast of Flanders, if he thought your highness could be engaged in any design on Majorca or Minorca, you had 6,000 land forces ready to be put on board, and that if his eminence judged it proper to join the fleet of the states with ten gallies, and some infantry, I believed your highness might be prevailed with to join in the execution of such a project.

His eminency's answer was, That the king had occasion for his gallies either on the coasts of Catalonia or Italy, and he thought it more for the advantage of the common cause, that the states should have their fleet in the channel, and that the 6,000 foot should remain in readiness to join your highness if there should be occasion. This answer, shewing his sentiments, I spoke no more of it to his eminence; he then told me, he would dispatch me in a week's time, with a draught of a treaty for the next campaign.

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Cardinal Richlieu to count d'Estrades.

Rouel, May 13, 1642.

**I** SEND Dalidor, in whom I confide, express to you, to inform you of affairs of importance which will surprize you. I doubt not, but as you have shewn yourself to be my friend in the highest degree, you will therefore do all in your power to prevail with the prince of Orange to give me a proof of his friendship on this occasion.— You are to know then that Cinque Mars, has entered into a plot against me, and has endeavoured to supplant me with the king, and God has been pleased to punish his ingratitude, by depriving him of judgment, and has made him take such measures

as have shewn to the king my innocence, and the goodness of my intentions.

Though this ungrateful man be still about the king's person, and has done all he can to hinder the king's journey into Roussillon, which I advised as necessary for his service; yet he continues to practise on the people at court against me, particularly Treville, Tilladet, and some others, for whom the king has some esteem; I have reason to think the dukes of Orleans and Bouillon are in the plot, and the latter being nephew to the prince of Orange, he may engage him also to take part against me, which has made me send express to you Dalidor that you may prepossess the prince, and make use of all the credit you have with him to incline him to make it appear on this occasion, that he continues to have for me the same esteem and friendship he has always shewn heretofore. It will be sufficient for this purpose that you put him in mind that he has often told you, it is principally owing to the confidence in my care and application, that he continues to be attached to the interest of France, and makes him refuse the offers of Spain; that his opinion of me, in those matters, is well known to all who are employed in state affairs; and that while the people strive to wound my reputation, and blacken my conduct, by giving the king bad impressions of me, it would not only be to my advantage, but likewise honour, that he would continue to explain himself in my favour, and to testify both by his words and actions, that it is the safety he finds in my conduct and the sincerity he has always found in my intentions, that makes him enter into what concerns me, and as he is persuaded I continue to be the same person, he for that reason continued to have the same sentiments of me. Such an explanation as this, from a prince of so great penetration, would  
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be of great advantage to me, especially as something of it must be heard of here which will have very good effects, and I shall be very much obliged to you for the care you take of my interest on this occasion.

There is another affair to be managed with the prince of Orange, which is of importance to the king's service, and on which depends the preservation of all the affairs of Germany, and that of the person, and whole army of count Goëbriant; he writes me by Armor, his aid de camp, that he is on his march to enter into the country of Cologne, and is followed by Axell, at the head of the emperor's army of a considerable force, who expects Lamboy to join him with 10,000 men more. The aforesaid count has taken a resolution to march, and attack Lamboy to prevent his joining, and begs of me to prevail with the prince of Orange, to advance towards the Rhine with his army, and to erect a bridge of boats so as to be able to join him if there should be occasion, as he has certain advice that the Spanish army will join that of the emperor as soon as Axell arrives on the Rhine, in order to fall upon him jointly.

You see of what great consequence it will be to the king's service, to press the prince of Orange to march with all diligence with his army, in order to join that under count Goëbriant.

As you may have occasion to distribute some money to such persons as may assist you in the success of the affair you are employed in, I have sent you a bill of exchange of 100,000 livres, directed to M. Hœuft, to be paid to your order.

I expect from your address and ability, good success in the affairs recommended to you, and will look upon them as the effect of your friendship for me, and you may be assured of mine for you, and that I am, &c.

“ THE contents of this letter, if we look into the history of those times, shews the foresight and address of the cardinal, in the revenge he meditated both against the public and his own private enemies.

For Goëbriant engaged Lamboy at Ordingen, near to Cologne, on the 16th of January 1643, took him and Mercy both prisoners, who were sent into France and shut up in the castle of Vincennes, and after this victory, Goëbriant, who was for this service made a mareschal, made himself master of the towns of Ordingen, Nuys, and Campen, &c.

This mareschal did not enjoy the honour long, for he died the 24th of November, in the year after, of a wound he received at the siege of a place called Rotweil. His corpse was by the order of the then queen regent, buried in the church of Notre Dame in Paris, accompanied by all the sovereign courts, an honour done only to kings and princes of the blood, and it must be acknowledged that he was a very great and successful commander, as well as faithful to his prince; for notwithstanding general Baniers, who in those days was at the head of the Swedes in the empire, had very much disoblighd him, he saved both Baniers's life and honour, by undertaking a march of no less than ten days, and relieved him out of the hands of the imperialists, by whom he was in a manner besieged. No, no, said he to an officer that would have dissuaded him, it is not just that the good of the public should suffer by the quarrel of private persons, and that I should, in order to destroy my enemies, allow the Swedes to be cut to pieces, who are the best allies of  
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France, and the deliverers of Germany. He rendered such another piece of service to Forstenon, who succeeded Baniers in the command of the Swedish army, and from being himself besieged, enabled him to lay siege to Leipsic, and to defeat the arch-duke Leopold and general Puolomini, who covered it with an army of 20,000 men.

If this marshal was eminent in his way, his lady was as extraordinary a person; for Wickefort says, that she was the first lady; nay, he believes the only one, who had taken upon herself the quality of an ambassadress. She accompanied the princess Louisa of Mantua into Poland, who had been espoused to king Uladislaus, and believed she had no more to do but to put the queen to bed to the king her spouse: she found him so poisoned with jealousies, founded on some rumours that had been maliciously spread, and even in letters wrote to that king by the marquis de Boisdaufin, that she resolved to send that queen back into France at any rate. And the charms of the queen, who was the most beautiful princess in Europe at that time, served only to increase his suspicions, and what should have inflamed, rendered him only more cold, by reason of those malicious reports. Happy it was that the queen was attended by madam Goëbriant, who, upon this occasion, shewed a superiority of spirit, which Uladislaus could not long resist; so that being overcome by the reasons she used from good sense, decency, and policy, the marriage was at last consummated: and the king, to testify how much he was obliged to her, ordered the same honours to be done to the ambassadress, as had been performed to the arch-duchess of Inspruc, when she brought his famous queen the emperor Ferdinand's daughter.



All this scandal was found to be owing to Boisdauvin, out of revenge, because this queen had done the marquis some bad offices in his addresses to madam de Choisi her confident, with whom he was desperately in love.

Amelot de la Houffai furnishes another anecdote of this lady, that may appear diverting, viz. that one Charlevois, having seized on the government of Brisac, the marshal's lady undertook to dispossess him; for which purpose she went to Brisac, and took along with her a young gentlewoman, whom the governor loved very much; and while the gentleman went out of the castle to divert himself with his mistress, the lady marshal had him caught in the trap, and sent him prisoner to Philippsburg. This lady, says my author, was of great spirit and formed for intrigues. She died in 1652, at the time the peace was concluded between France and Spain in the Perinees, and was nominated at that time first lady of honour to the infant queen Mary Theresa.

As to the marquis de Cinque Mars, mentioned in this letter, he was the son of the marshal d'Effiat, and a great favourite of Lewis XIII. and made use of as a fit instrument to give the king bad impressions of the cardinal's administration. He was an instance of the greatest ingratitude; for he was brought into court by the cardinal, and placed about the king, and pushed up to be grand ecuyer, the cardinal little suspecting any ambition in the breast of so young a man, loving pleasure and vain. He was a fine person, and served with honour in the army, and was at the siege of Arras in 1640, and that of Perpignian in 1642, which proved his ruin; for there, it seems, he entered into an intrigue or treaty with the court of Spain, which was discovered by the quick-sighted cardinal, who had him watched and spied

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very narrowly, with a design to ruin him. On the discovery of which plot, he was arrested at Narbonne, from thence conducted to Lyons, and there had his head struck off on the 12th of September 1642, being then but 22 years of age; a very unequal match for such a veteran in politics: but his story is to be found at large in the memoirs and histories of those times, as also the part the duke of Bouillon acted in that affair. We may be allowed to make one remark further, that for a minister to employ the interest of a foreign court to preserve and continue himself in place is no new thing, and indeed he stood in need of such artifices; for the king, far from saving, would have been glad to be rid of him, and, as a contemporary says, having insinuated himself at first like a fox, he governed afterwards like a lion; and to add to this another reflection, that the cardinal by the smallness of the sum which is here advised to be remitted to count d'Estrades on this occasion, for secret service, shews how good an oeconomist he was, as appears in all his instructions in relation to the yearly subsidy to the prince of Orange, what scanty sums in respect to the profusion of latter times; but what is still more extraordinary is to find one of the count d'Estrades integrity, that having succeeded in this business without having occasion to bribe, he sends the cardinal back this money, which he might have sunk into his own pocket, as no account could be expected, nor any vouchers in such a service."

Monfieur

Monfieur. Chavigny to count d'Estrades.

May 13, 1642.

**Y**OU will be informed by his eminence's letter what he desires, and by Dalidor, clerk in my office, who has orders to give you a particular account of the conspiracy the marquis of Cinque Mars has entered into against his master and benefactor, you will have an opportunity of obliging his eminence in the most convincing manner if you can bring the affairs he now employs you in to succeed. I ought to acquaint you that his eminence, speaking of you to me last night, said, He depended as much on your friendship, as on that of the mareschal Malleraye, and I doubt not but you will be glad to hear that he has such sentiments of you.

He just now sent for me, and ordered me to go to M. Hœuft to get him to draw a bill of 100,000 Livres payable to your order, judge by this what confidence his eminence reposes in you.

I am, &c.

Count d'Estrades to cardinal Richlieu.

Bergen-op-zoom, June 10, 1642.

**I**HAD no sooner received your dispatch, by Mr. Dalidor, but I went to wait on the prince of Orange, and informed him of the ingratitude of Cinque Mars, and of the cabals formed at court to remove your eminency from the management of affairs, and even against your life if they could not otherwise carry their point. I represented to him how often he had told me, That

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May 13, 1642.

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June 10, 1642.

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if your eminency was not at the head of affairs in France, he would accept the offers made to him by Spain, and make up matters with that crown. That, after such a mark of confidence and friendship, your eminency cannot doubt that at this time, while endeavours are used to ruin him with the king, he would support your credit and reputation, by letting every body who had the honour of being about him, know that he had always found in you so much zeal for the king's service, and such prudence in all your conduct as still to preserve the same esteem and friendship for your eminency, he had all along testified.

The prince appeared to be so shocked with the ingratitude of Cinque Mars, and to be so deeply concerned for your eminency, that I can with confidence assure you he is your friend, and of the advantageous manner and way he will take to shew it, when it is proper. I afterwards acquainted him that you desired he should be informed of the danger the army under the mareschal Goëbriant was in, if his highness did not order the bridge of boats, by which the two armies might be joined, that the king and your eminency being at so great a distance, and employed in penetrating into the heart of Spain, had trusted intirely to him to support the common cause in Germany, and that you earnestly requested this of him both as from the king and your eminency. He assured me it should be done, and that he would order the bridge of boats to be drawn up the river to Rhinbergue, and would march his army over the heath so soon as the Spanish army should make any movement, and that he would go in two days and encamp at Poilleduc, and by which means gain two days march of the Spaniards.

This is the disposition of the prince of Orange, which is such as your eminency can wish for to shew

shew the world how strictly he is united to France, and of the share he takes in your interest. I humbly thank your eminence for the bills of exchange you were so good as to send me on the sieur Hœuft. I send them back by Dalidor, affairs being so transacted as that there was no occasion to employ any money in order to succeed. I thought it my duty to send back Dalidor to inform you of all that has passed. I am, &c.

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Count d'Estrades to monsieur Chavigny.

Bergen-op-zoom, June 10, 1642.

**Y**OU will be informed, Sir, by Mr. Dalidor how things have passed here betwixt the prince of Orange and me, and the disposition he is in with regard to Cinque Mars's ingratitude, and as to the march of the states army, all which make me hope that his eminence will be pleased with his sentiments. I return you a thousand thanks for acquainting me with the good opinion his eminence entertains of me.

I have returned the bills of exchange which were sent me, there being no need of money to be employed on this occasion. I am, &c.

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The prince of Orange's instructions to count d'Estrades.

Ordingen, July 18, 1642.

**D**ELIVER my letters for the king and cardinal, and inform his majesty that I marched the states army for six days without interruption.

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tion, running the hazard of coming to a battle with the Spaniards, having taken up my camp during all that time within two leagues of their army, maintaining the advantage of the ground, in order to cover the army under M. de Goëbriant, by obstructing the two armies of the emperor and Spain from joining. If the cardinal duke should be out of favour, and very sick as the last account informs us, he is to tell him that as I have no confidence in new ministers, I shall accept of the offers which are made me by Spain, which are very advantageous both to the states and me; but if the cardinal remains still in the same credit and management of affairs, he may assure him that I will refuse all the offers which have been made me.

He is to tell the king that I intreat his majesty would spare the duke of Bouillon's life, and as a punishment for his crime, he may be confined to a perpetual prison, that I may not hear of his blood being shed on a scaffold.

The count is to inform the cardinal duke that, I hope, he will obtain for my nephew that favour, and that I shall be infinitely obliged to him if he will procure his liberty upon his putting Sedan into the king's hands, and that a compensation for the demans be given to my sister, her portion and dowry having been laid out on the fortifications of the place.

He is to let him know my concern about his health, and the part I took in all the plots against his person, declaring myself openly an enemy to all his enemies. The count is likewise to know from the cardinal if he has any more occasion for the fleet of the states, now before Havre de Grace, and the troops on board it, that I may give them orders to return.

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Chavigny.

June 10, 1642.

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July 18, 1642.

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If there be any more to be added for the cardinal's service, the count may act or say what further he pleases, and I will approve of it.

Signed, Frederic Henry.

The prince of Orange to the king.

Sire,

July 18, 1642.

**I** MOST humbly supplicate your majesty to save the life of my nephew the duke of Bouillon, and that his crime may be punished by a perpetual imprisonment.

I have desired the count d'Estrades to inform your majesty of the offers made me by Spain.

If the reports be true that are spread abroad, that the cardinal duke is no longer in your majesty's good graces, and that you have removed him from the helm of affairs, the king will not take it amiss that I accept of the advantageous offers made for the states and me, which the Spaniards are ready to grant, the rather that I cannot repose any confidence in new ministers who may be more in the interest of Spain than of France. I also desire monsieur d'Estrades to inform your majesty of the states of affairs in this country, and I beg of your majesty to give belief to what he says, and to believe me with all possible respect, &c.

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The prince of Orange to cardinal Richlieu.

July 18, 1642.

I Refer to the count d'Estrades to explain to you the real concern I have about your health, and every thing that relates to your interest and service, which I will support against all opposers whatever. Please, believe what he tells you farther from me.

I ask as a mark of your friendship to save the life of my nephew Bouillon, and to have consideration for the dowager my sister, who has no other estate but the demians of Sedan.

I am, &c.

“ THIS duke was, it seems, one of the cabal against the cardinal, and was expressly named in the treaty entered into with the Spaniards by Cinque Mars; and Sedan, of which he was sovereign prince, was a place of strength, and important by reason of its proximity to Rheims, and if the Spaniards could have had it put into their hands, they could have made what inroads they pleased into Champaign, or laid all that province under contribution. The artful minister laid hold of this occasion to get the duke and viscount de Turenne his brother, and even the prince of Orange to ask it as a favour, to accept of this important place as a ransom for the duke's life, besides as the duke was a protestant, this place served as an asylum for those of that religion, and maintained a correspondence with the Hugonots in France, as we find by the humble style of the above letters to ask it as a favour, to save his life at the price of giving up his principality, which was too fine an acquisition for France ever to part with

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with, though the family retains the empty honours and title of Princes Souverains in France, though in all other respects subjects of that king.

The present family is of La Tour d'Avergne, and came by the title of Bouillon and prince of Sedan, by marrying the heiress of the family of La Mare, by which, however, there was no issue, but by the favour of Henry IV. to whom the mareschal de Bouillon had done great service, and by buying off the pretensions of the next heirs he continued to possess both the estate and title, he married for his second wife Elizabeth of Nassau, daughter of William prince of Orange, the founder of the republic of the seven provinces, and sister to prince Frederic Henry.

All agree that the cardinal never thought himself in so much danger as from this cabal, for the king hated him much, and expressed his dislike to Cinque Mars, and his particular favourites and most of the great men in France: the parliament of Paris were also his enemies, and Cinque Mars had undertaken to have killed him, and had opportunities of doing it being alone with the cardinal, if his resolution had not failed him, but the arts the cardinal employed, particularly that remarkable one of working upon the king's timidity, by getting the count de Gramont, who commanded the army in Flanders, to allow the Spaniards to gain a victory over him, which made the fearful king apprehend that all was lost, and that the Spaniards whom he hated mortally, would be soon at the gates of Paris; thus frightened almost to distraction, he was obliged to have recourse to the cardinal to save him from the storm which he apprehended, and by this stratagem, together with the interposition of the prince of Orange, and the discovery of the plot, did the cardinal escape being ruined."

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Count d'Estrades to the prince of Orange.

Lyons, Sept. 4, 1642.

**I** Have been longer in giving your highness an account of what passed in the audience, which I had of the king at Livry, where his majesty was to take the diversion of hunting, and to relieve himself after the fatigue of so long a journey, by reason I had told the king, that as what I was charged with related to the cardinal, I thought it was better to wait till I should be where he was, more fully to inform him of all that had passed, and afterwards to acquaint your highness of his sentiments.

I shall begin by telling you, that before I waited on the king, I made a visit both to messieurs Chavigny and Desnoyers, and communicated your highness's instruction, after reading of which they shewed great pleasure on finding the particular friendship you express for the cardinal, and were of opinion that I should wait on the king by myself without them.

As soon as the king was told of my being at the door of his chamber, he ordered that I should come in, and inquiring much about you and your health, he said before all that were present, that it was to you he owed the preservation of his army in Germany, and that he would never forget the obligation.

After that the king was dressed, he went alone into his closet and ordered me to be called, and I delivered to him your highness's letter; after reading it he told me, that he had never intended to take the management of affairs out of the cardinal's hands, nor to remove him from being about his person, and as a proof of it, he had left

him the sole command of the army with an unlimited power; but that all the disorders which had happened were entirely owing to the duke of Bouillon, who had debauched the duke of Orleans, and the great master of the horse, Cinque Mars also; and that he deserved to lose his head, as being the most guilty.

I answered the king, That your highness petitioned his majesty that the duke of Bouillon might be saved out of regard to you, and that it would be shocking to you that your nephew should die on a scaffold, at the very time you was hazarding your own person and army of the states to do his majesty the most considerable service. That he must certainly know, that it was the master of the horse, Cinque Mars, who had debauched the duke of Bouillon, by imposing upon him, and by telling him that the cardinal sought to ruin him, as also, that the said cardinal was quite in disgrace with his majesty, who would soon rid himself of him; that indeed the duke had been too easy in giving credit to this ambitious-minded person, who in private conferences was always making him believe, that he had the entire government of his majesty, who would dismiss the cardinal on his journey; that if he was persuaded of the truth of what I delivered by order from you, it was to be feared, that if his majesty did not grant your request, to spare the duke of Bouillon's life, and did not punish the master of the horse as the guilty person, and thereby convince the world that he never designed to remove the cardinal from the direction of affairs, your highness might embrace the offers made you by Spain, which were so advantageous both to the states and you, and sign the treaty.

The king made me no answer, but sent for messieurs Chavigny and Desnoyers: and till they

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they should come, he desired me to give the particulars of the march your highness made from Boileduc to Ordingen, your encampments, and your order of battle, in case your highness had rencountred the Spanish army. He seemed well pleased with my account, and the aforesaid gentlemen being come I retired.

The king was in council for the space of two hours, after which I was called in, he then told me, that in consideration of your highness, he would save the duke of Bouillon's life, and had resolved to dispatch me to the cardinal with the necessary orders for the trial of Cinque Mars, and that he would never pardon him.

I took post the same day for Lyons, where I found the count de Rouffi married to a sister of the duke Rochefoucault, who was come there with the duchess of Bouillon. I acquainted them with your highness's intentions, and he joined with me in soliciting the duke's interests, and gave him very useful and friendly informations, in a secret manner; and it was agreed on by the cardinal, to send to the duchess dowager of Bouillon, in order to dispose her not to refuse the conditions settled between the duke and the king, to put Sedan into his majesty's hands.

I was received by the cardinal with expressions of thankfulness to your highness, the most tender and passionate, not only on account of your instructions, which I shewed to him, but also for what you had given me in charge to say to the king. I cannot but acquaint your highness, that it is the highest proof of his gratitude, the obtaining the duke of Bouillon's pardon on your account, which he never could have had otherwise than at your request.

He ordered me to assure your highness, that he was, from his heart, so sensible of your goodness

towards him on this occasion, that your highness might dispose of his life, fortune, and all he had in the world; and that he should always be ready to sacrifice them to serve you.

Cardinal Mazarin entered the room while he was thus talking to me; he would have retired. The cardinal duke called him back, and repeated in his hearing all that he had said to me before. I was allowed to see the duke of Bouillon, whom I found very dejected, having been already twice interrogated, and believing himself quite undone; I gave him assurance, that your highness did not abandon him, that you sent me on purpose to the king and the cardinal, in order to save his life, and that I had hopes of succeeding, but it would cost him Sedan, for which he would receive a good equivalent; he embraced me, and said, he was most extremely obliged to your highness and would do whatever you should desire, provided he was saved, I acquainted the cardinal duke of what had passed, and immediately after cardinal Mazarin had orders to sign the treaty between the king and the duke of Bouillon, and we are to part together in two days for Sedan, to execute the agreement. The cardinal has desired the count de Roussi to go before, in order to prevail with the duchess dowager to a compliance, considering the danger her son is in, of losing his life in case of refusal of the conditions proposed.

But I am now to acquaint you, that this journey of the count de Roussi was stopt, on the news we received of the duchess dowager's death, for which the cardinal was sorry, as believing her better disposed than the present duchess, her daughter-in-law, who has always been in the interest of Spain, and maintained a correspondence with it. I shall inform your highness of all that occurs when I arrive at Sedan, whither I go

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in company with cardinal Mazarin, by the cardinal duke's orders. I ought to let you know, that nobody can have a greater respect for your highness than cardinal Mazarin. He is a person of great merit, and it is he that manages all affairs under the cardinal duke.

I am, &c.

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Instructions to the count d'Estrades from cardinal Richlieu, six weeks before his eminency's death. — On the count's going to Holland.

Oct. 4, 1642.

**T**HE count d'Estrades is to endeavour to discover the prince of Orange's real sentiments, as to a peace, that is, upon what terms he judges it may and ought to be made, as well for the interest of the states, as that of France and Sweden.

After drawing from him as much as you can of his sentiments, you are to tell him, as your own thought, that France and Sweden cannot follow a better example than that of Holland, in making peace, whose custom was never to give back any thing they had taken, for if one did not treat the Spaniards in that manner, they would be encouraged to go to war again, as believing they might have a chance, if it should prove disadvantageous, to have at least some part of what they lose given back to them.

Afterwards he may tell him that he has heard it often said in France, that there is no other way of making a sure peace with Spain, but to make the conditions so smarting that they should be

afraid of entering again into war for fear of the like treatment.

The count d'Estrades must know, that by the treaty signed at the Hague, April 15, 1634, the states cannot make peace without the king remains in peaceable possession of Pignerol, without the full execution of the treaty with the emperor and king of Spain, in relation to the Mantuan, without the Grisons remain masters of the Valte-line, and without the king of Spain abandons the duke of Lorraine, and be induced not to assist him against the interest which France has in the execution of her treaties with the said duke; by all which it appears, that seeing, at the time of making those treaties, it was stipulated, that the states could not make peace, unless, at the same time they should guarantee the advantages which France had then acquired; it is not reasonable to make peace now, unless France be secured in what it has since acquired, and chiefly because most of what it has since conquered belonged antiently to its domaines.

This ought to weigh with the states the more, because the more disadvantageous the peace be for Spain, the less it will be in condition to attack them, and the more able and willing France will be to assist them.

Count d'Estrades is to signify, that the king and his eminence desire the good of the states, and that of the prince so much, that he is instructed to consult with the said prince, whether some places of consequence may not be seized upon for the preservation of Maestricht, and a free communication with it, and this is so sincerely wished, that his majesty will give orders to M. de Goëbriant to favour such a design, as much as is consistent with the service he is now employed in. People think so in France, that the states being

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these masters of some places of importance, they may be confirmed in the possession at a treaty of peace.

In case the prince of Orange thinks any such thing really practicable, and not merely fit to be attempted, count d'Estades is to communicate the same to M. de Goëbriant, and for that end go where he may be, and concert such measures as may effectuate the design.

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Cardinal Richlieu to the prince of Orange.

Monseigneur,

Oct. 4, 1642.

COUNT d'Estades will inform you of what has passed in this country, in relation to the duke of Bouillon, he will likewise explain to you, how much I am persuaded of your favourable disposition towards me, both as to my sickness and the several traverses and obstacles to the king's affairs, occasioned by some malicious spirits. I want words to express my thankfulness for the favours you have shewn me on this occasion, but I beg you to believe, that I will embrace all opportunities of shewing effectually how much

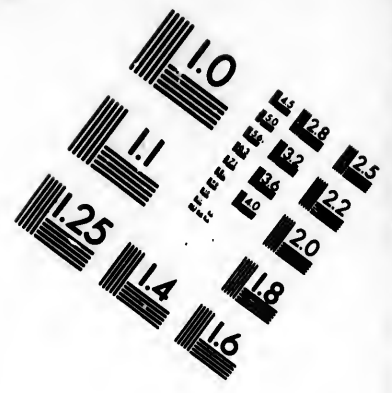
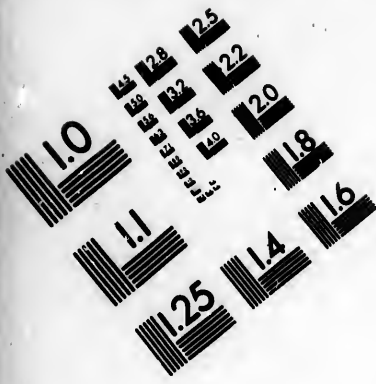
I am, &c.

"The cardinal died the 4th of December, 1642, precisely two months after the date of this letter.

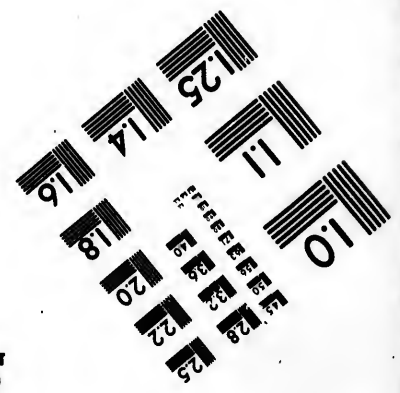
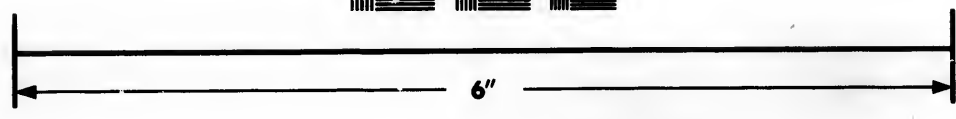
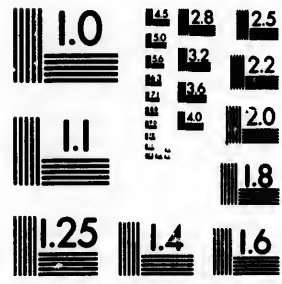
Instead of giving any character of this minister, a task too great for me, and which I think ought not to be given of any person in so elevated a station, tho' every little author of memoirs, nay, approved historians, have taken such liberties; I rather choose to subjoin a list than a recital of his most memorable actions, and from them, the letters and







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and several negotiations mentioned in the correspondence with count d'Estrades, leave it to the reader to form his own judgment of this cardinal, which I believe he will think at least civil, and I am sure is more charitable, than to be raking into the ashes of the dead, and not only breaking into his cabinet, but ripping up the closet of his heart, which must always have such a teint, colours, and complexion, as the ideas of the painter give it.

He was declared first minister by Louis XIII. anno 1624, president of the king's councils, intendant-general of the trade and navigation of France. The repulse the English met with in the descent on the island of Rhé, and hindering them from throwing succours into Rochelle, and at last reducing that city, the asylum of malecontents, and bulwark of the protestants, in 1628, was one of his greatest exploits in domestic affairs; for the siege of this place was as remarkable for the resolute defence of the inhabitants, as the obstinacy of the besiegers, by that contrivance of blocking up the harbour by piles of wood drove into the bottom, and reaching across that inlet of the ocean which reaches to, and forms the harbour of, Rochelle, and was in length 747 toises, or 4,82 French feet, at the bottom 12 fathoms wide, and went sloping towards the top, where it was 4, the frame being of huge piles drove into the sea, and others across, filled with great stones, and vessels laden with stones for a fence to prevent any vessels getting in; a stupendous work, and of vast expence! By the reduction of this place he broke the heart and sinews of all that party in France; and after this, being free of any apprehensions of disturbance at home, he did not scruple to look after the interest of the king's allies in Italy, particularly the duke of Mantua, persuaded the king to head his army, and accompanied him, by which  
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the siege of Casal was raised 1629. On his return into France, he was disturbed by an insurrection in Languedoc, excited by the duke of Montmorancy, in favour of the king's brother, the duke of Orleans, who were both displeas'd with the minister; this was soon suppress'd by taking Montmorancy prisoner in a skirmish, who was soon after behead'd, notwithstanding all the kingdom were intercessors to save him, and that he was not only thus universally beloved, but was the stock of the noblest family in France, and had done signal services to the crown, for which rigour the cardinal was much blamed and suspected of personal piques. Six months afterwards, the cardinal being declared general of the army in Italy, laid siege to, and took, Pignerol, belonging to the duke of Savoy, and a door to Italy, which the French retained till the treaty of Ryswick, when it was given back after being dismantled; he relieved Casal also a second time, and oblig'd Spinola to raise the siege of it.

On his return from this expedition, the cardinal stood in need of all his address to encounter another storm which might have overfet one of less courage and resolution; for the king being sick at Lyons, the queen mother and other persons of distinction, were continually declaiming to him against the cardinal's conduct; and prevail'd so far as to obtain a promise that he would discharge him, as soon as he got to Paris, and this was looked upon to be so sure that the cardinal was to lie at Pontoise, in his way to Havre de Grace, which place he design'd for his retreat, and he was looked upon as a man undone and deserted by every body. The king had gone to Versailles; to avoid being troubled with his taking leave, but the cardinal was not disconcerted notwithstanding the delicacy of the conjuncture; instead of taking  
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the road to Havre, he went directly to Versailles, and knowing well the king's irrefolution, and how he was to be wrought upon, he quite overturned all that had been contrived against him, and brought the king so over, that he became more in favour and power than ever, so that this was called in derision, the day of bubbles or fools, and several smarted for it afterwards.

In 1631, the cardinal mediated a truce between Sweden and Poland, with a view of bringing the arms of the great Gustavus into Germany, to humble the house of Austria; and this prince succeeded so well, that in the space of two years and a half he over-ran two thirds of Germany, from the banks of the Vistula to those of the Danube and Rhine; under his administration the towns of Nantz, Arras, Perpignan and Sedan were gained to France, he curbed the ambition of the house of Austria, both in the empire and Spain, he excited both the Catalans and Portuguese to shake off the Spanish yoke, and indeed gave such a check to the ambition of Spain as they have never recovered to this time.

What share he had in exciting the rebellion against king Charles I. in England, is clear from his letter, Dec. 2, 1637, to M. d'Estrades, and is confirmed in that of M. d'Estrades to him, Jan. 21, 1641, in which he informs him, that he knew he had a clever agent in Scotland, who had effectually ruined the king's affairs in that country; tho' the cardinal might have had reason, as a good Frenchman, to resent the assistance given to the protestants in France, and the attempt to relieve Rochelle. It appears otherwise by the interval of time; for this place was reduced in 1628, and that party quite subdued, and his employing his emissaries to excite and foment the rebellion against Charles I. was not till nine years afterwards, and proceeded

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proceeded purely from that king's refusing to be neuter, when the Spanish Netherlands were like to fall a prey, and to be shared between the French and Dutch, and the jealousy that king had of the growing power of France: for surely no body will suspect him to have favoured Spain, who had used him so ill in the affair of the match, and king of Bohemia, on any other principle; so one may say that he died a sacrifice to the true interest of his kingdoms, and that Cromwell, being the dupe of cardinal Mazarin, who engrafted on Richlieu's scheme, contributed more to the aggrandising of France, than all its other allies, and has occasioned all the bloody and expensive wars since to reduce it.

How artfully he managed Henry prince of Orange, is clearly seen in these letters.

As to the height to which he brought the prerogative of the king his master, so as to be in a manner quite absolute by his humbling the nobility, and encroaching on the power and privileges of parliament, or the regulations as to trade and navigation; these matters being foreign to the subject of our letters, I pass them over as well as many other particulars, to be met with in the histories of that reign and his ministry.

We find Mazarin in d'Estrades last letter, mentioned as a person in great confidence with Richlieu, and indeed came to succeed him as minister, not only for the short time Louis XIII. survived, which was to the 14th of May following, but also continued by the queen regent, accordingly we find him by the following letters, in the exercise of that high function."

Cardinal

## Cardinal Mazarin to the prince of Orange,

Monseigneur,

Feb. 15. 1643.

**I**F I have hitherto delayed to thank your highness for having me in your thoughts, and the friendship you are pleased to assure me of, as I am informed by the count d'Estrades, the reason is owing to the great grief and affliction I am under, for the death of cardinal Richlieu, as he was infinitely dear to me on all accounts, the loss of him has rendered me inconsolable, and made me incapable of any other subject but that of my grief.

I had resolv'd after such a misfortune to have retired to Rome, and there endeavour to do the king such service as I was bound, but as this was not agreeable to his majesty, and as he has done me the honour to desire me to remain about him, in order to assist in his counsels, and to take upon me the management of his affairs of the greatest importance, I thought I could do no less, after all the favours he had been so gracious as to confer on me, than yield to his desire, and to endeavour by all manner of duty and service, to answer the good opinion he had conceived of my loyalty and fidelity, and to render myself worthy of the choice he had made of me.

I beseech your highness to believe that one of my principal studies will be, in this so honourable employment, diligently to find out means to maintain an union and good correspondence, between his majesty and your highness, and to convince you by my actions, that of all such as honour your person and merit, there is not one more sincere than I am.

Your's &amp;c.

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The prince of Orange to count d'Estrades.

Sir,

April 16, 1644.

I Am informed that you are prosecuted by the parliament, and in disgrace with the queen mother, for having done service to M. de Coligny, your and my relation, in an affair of honour. I beg of you to leave a country where they are not acquainted with such good people as you are, and come here to live with me, where I will share with you what I have, to shew you the esteem and friendship I have for you.

I send you herewith a bill of exchange on the sieur Hœuft, for 100,000 livres, who will pay it you immediately, and if you have occasion for more, you may call for it and come to me with all dispatch, without staying longer in France, where they know not your worth.

I am, &c.

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The prince of Orange to count d'Estrades.

Hague, April 17, 1645.

I Have a confirmation by monsieur Beringhen, that the king's army is to attack Graveline; and as I have formed a design of besieging Sas Van Ghent, in which I cannot succeed without a powerful diversion, I think proper to let you know this, and communicate it to you, that you may inform the cardinal of it. My opinion is, that we should take the field by the tenth of May. I shall post myself at Maldigen, between Bruges and Ghent, in order to draw the enemy that way, and in the mean time, the king's army may invest Graveline,

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Graveline, and as its very probable, that Pecolomine and the Spanish forces may march to succour that place, I shall have my bridges of bulrushes ready with the 1500 swimmers, which I told you of, to pass in the night by the help of moon-shine, the river of Ghent, and to hem in a body of 4000 men, which are posted between Fort Philip and Sas. Endeavour to be with me by the end of May; I design for you the command of the first body, that I shall order to pass the river, and to invest the place.

You must tell the cardinal, that in order to execute this enterprize with exactness, it is necessary that he should give orders to some person of confidence in the king's army, to give me notice, the moment it gets over the ditch of Graveline, because I will make use of that time for putting my design in execution.

N. B. This project in both places succeeded.

The prince of Orange to count d'Estrades.

Feb. 4, 1646.

I Cannot conceive why the plenipotentiaries of France, should press me so much, to have our deputies sent to Munster; I desire you will tell cardinal Mazarin, from me, that it will not be proper to send them so soon, but to make a shew of dispatching them; because while they remain at the Hague, I shall have things in my own power, but when they get to Munster I shall be no longer master, and they will make a separate peace in spite of both France and me. What I tell you is certain, and I have information, that Paes, who is deputy for the province of Holland, has already concerted measures with Spain, to conclude a separate

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separate peace, which I declare to you I cannot help, if I am still pressed to send our deputies to Munster.

I beg of you to represent this with vigour to the cardinal, as being of the greatest moment at this present conjuncture. I am, &c.

“ What the prince foretold, actually happened; for the Dutch, thinking that the French stood on too high demands, or being jealous of their conquests, concluded a separate peate with Spain at Munster, Jan. 30, 1648.”

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Count d'Estrades to cardinal Mazarin.

Mar. 20, 1648.

**I**N order to inform your eminence, with more exactness, of the conditions of the towns of Portolongone and Piombino, I thought proper to send you express M. de Besemos to give you an account of it; he has been witness to every thing that has passed, he is capable, affectionate, and understanding; and, though known to your eminence, yet I must do him the justice to say, that he deserves to be considered by you: I beg of your eminence to grant him the command of a galley, the captain of which is lately dead. I have trusted the said M. de Besemos, with a memorial to be delivered to you, in which you will see a plan of operations for the next campaign; of which, if you approve, I beg you will send me your orders as soon as possible, there being no time to be lost.

I would represent likewise, that in order to make the infantry act better, it will be necessary to have two serjeants of the battle: M. de

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St. Aignan and the king's lieutenant of Piombino, are very capable.

I beg your eminence to send me commissions for them, as I have already formed the infantry into two brigades. I am, &c.

A memorial sent to cardinal Mazarin from Piombino.

Mar. 20, 1648.

**I** Think myself obliged for the service of the king, and for the particular interest of your eminence, to represent to you the state of every thing, and to propose a design to you which appears to me practicable, and what will contribute to the success of his majesty's arms, and the glory of your eminence in particular.

I shall begin to give an account of all that has passed, since my arrival at Piombino.

I found all our infantry ill of a fever and bloody flux, without any assistance, and the hospital in great disorder; I have placed the cordelier, M. de Tellier, sent me as head of the hospital, who has re-established every thing by his good directions, which the cruelty of Brachet, the intendent, had confounded under pretence of saving, and not being willing to be at the expence necessary for the use of the sick.

I can tell your eminence, that from the first of February to this time, there have been 3000 soldiers cured; and that after the recruits, which are to arrive with the regiment of marines of the Levant, I hope to have 8000 effective foot, in condition to undertake any thing in these parts; so much in regard to the infantry.

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Now to tell your eminence, with regard to the cavalry, which is only composed of the four troops of Crequi, which are good and well mounted, four of Bentivoglio, and four of Siront, that are not as yet well mounted.

Pilly's independent troop, which is a good one, consists of sixty men.

My regiment of cavalry consists of six troops, and likewise that of the count de Pas. These two regiments are complete.

If your eminence would still order two old regiments of horse, under a good commander, after all are mounted, to join with us, I could then depend on having 20,000 effective horsemen; there would remain nothing farther but to make up a train of artillery, and we might find in Piombino and Portolongone cannon and carriages necessary for the field, and stores of ammunition and utensils necessary to undertake a siege: so that your eminence sending M. de Choupes with some good engineers, as you mention in your dispatch of the 10th of March, I shall be in a condition to execute the project I now propose; which is, to attack port Hercules and mount Phillip, and at the same time to invest Orbitello, in order to attack it immediately after taking these two forts, which are on the sea side. For this end, it will be necessary to give orders for the fleet to sail, that they may shut up port Hercules by sea. I shall embark on board the men of war and gallies all the foot, stores, and ammunition, and will send the cavalry over land, having taken my measures as to the passes by Grosfette, and other places belonging to the grand duke.

If this design succeeds, the king may drive the Spaniards from all this coast, and will be in a condition to assist the revolvers in Naples both by sea and land, and even to hinder the pope from

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opposing his designs ; for if he should use the king ill, the duchy of Castro may be easily seized upon, where the king's troops may be subsisted, and its neighbourhood make the pope uneasy.

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Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estrades.

April 26, 1648.

**I** Have received your dispatches and memorial sent by Besemos ; nothing can be added to the orders you have given as to the re-establishment of the infantry : I expected no less from your experience and ability, and when I gave an account to the queen of all you had done, I took care she should put a just value on your services, and you may be persuaded that no body loves and esteems you more than I do.

I have perused your memorial several times, and it is a great concern to me that I am under engagements to the duke of Modena, who has obliged himself, by a treaty with the king, to break with Spain, and to carry the war into the heart of the duchy of Milan ; which will be of great advantage to the king's affairs in Italy, by the king's army acting on the side of Piedmont, at the same time the duke of Modena is employed in the Cremonese.

I send you a commission from the king, to command his majesty's army under the duke of Modena, with orders to send the cavalry by land to Lericy, and for you to embark with the 5000 foot and to land at the said place, where you shall have magazines in order for you to pass the Appenines by the mountains of Genoa, till you can join the duke of Modena, whom the king has honoured with the title of generalissimo of his armies.

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I do not doubt but you will keep an exact discipline in all the places you pass through with the king's troops, and hinder them from committing any disorders; I beg you to be very careful of this, being of great importance, for the king's service and my satisfaction; that what I have promised to the princes sovereigns of the countries, through which you march, be punctually observed.

Nothing can exceed the goodness of the scheme contained in your memorial; I will keep it, and what cannot be executed now may be done at another time.

I am glad you are pleased with Belamos, I will take care of him and find an employment for him very soon. I shall dispatch him to-morrow with the necessary orders. I will send by him brevets for the sieurs St. Aignan and Raymond. M. Choupes shall be dispatched immediately to command the Artillery; he brings with him good commissaries, and other proper officers for the train, such as you will be pleased with.

I am, &c.

“ This letter of the cardinal's seems inconsistent with the conjectures in France at that time; that the cardinal designed to have erected those places and Orbitello into a little sovereignty, and to have retreated thither if obliged to leave France.”

A letter from the prince of Orange, son of Henry, to count d'Estrades.

Sept. 2, 1650.

**T**HE confidence I have of your friendship to me, and of that you had for my father, makes me hope you will not refuse the favour I now ask, of coming to me at the Hague as soon as may be, having affairs to communicate to you of the last importance, which concern me much.

It may not be improper that you give out, that you come to solicit payment of the arrears of your regiment. I would not entrust any body with this letter but one of Deschamps's fidelity, give credence to what he may further tell you by word of mouth from me. I am, &c.

“ Henry prince of Orange died March 14, 1647.”

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Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estrades.

Paris, Sept. 15, 1650.

**I** Received your dispatches by the sieur de Las, major of Dunkirk, together with the prince of Orange's letter. I have shewn it to the queen, who ordered me to send back de Las, to give you orders to repair forthwith to the prince of Orange; and that you may be qualified to treat with him if you find him disposed to break with Spain, I send a power from the king for concluding the treaty, and it will be the greatest service you can ever perform for the king, and obliging me in the most agreeable manner if he

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is prevailed with to break with Spain; for this would overturn the measures of all my enemies, and dissipate all the cabals and factions both at the court and in the parliament in opposition to me.

I entreat you not to neglect any thing that may effectuate this, which is of so great importance.

I am, &c.

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The plan of a treaty agreed on between prince William of Orange and count d'Estrades, plenepotentiary of France.

1650.

**T**HE king promises to have an army of 10,000 foot and 6000 horse in the field by the 1st of May 1651, in order to attack Bruges.

Likewise the prince of Orange engages to declare war against Spain, and to be in the field by the said 1st day of May 1651, with 10,000 foot and 4000 horse, and to lay siege to Antwerp.

Also that the king and prince of Orange shall, on the said 1st day of May, declare war against Cromwell, and endeavour by all manner of means to restore the king of England to his kingdoms, and that they will pursue the war against the rebels, as also that no peace should be made with Spain but by mutual consent.

Secret articles.

That after the town of Antwerp is invested by the prince of Orange, the king shall detach 2000 horse from the army, which is to attack Bruges, to join the prince; and after the taking of the two places mentioned, the two armies shall join and

attack Bruffels, and at the same time the king's army, on the frontiers of Piccardy, shall besiege Mons.

† The king promises to cause, expedite in form, the necessary powers for the prince's commanding in chief the army of France, after taking of Antwerp, in the same manner his predecessors had done.

The king condescends that Antwerp shall remain the property of the prince of Orange as also the marquisate of the holy empire, for him and his heirs, and not to agree to a peace unless this article be granted.

The prince obliges himself to keep a fleet of fifty men of war in the channel, from the 1st of May 1651, to remain at sea to the end of November in that year; in order to act both against the Spaniards and the rebels in England.

That the treaty of partition, made in 1634, between the king and states shall be now observed; and if either of the armies, being separate, should attack or take any places, that should not belong to their share, it shall remain in the possession of the takers till peace be made; it being always to be understood, that if both armies should jointly besiege and take any place it shall remain with the party agreed on by the above-mentioned treaty. Done at the Hague, Oct. 20, 1650.

“ Cardinal Mazarin was, in 1651, obliged to retire out of France, by an arret of the parliament of Paris, after some stay at Sedan, he went to Burles in Germany; a price was put on his head, and his library, &c. put up to public sale.

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## Count d'Estrades to cardinal Mazarin.

Dunkirk, Feb. 5, 1652.

**T**HE protector Cromwell has sent to me one Fitzjames, colonel of his guards, to treat with me about giving up Dunkirk, for which he would pay me two millions; and that he would engage to furnish fifty men of war, and join the king's army with 15,000 foot, and declare against Spain, the king's enemies, and your own, and would enter into a strict friendship with you.

I gave him for answer, that if I had not been obliged to communicate this to the queen and your eminence, on account of the civil war and confusion in France, I should have caused him to have been thrown into the sea, for thinking me capable of betraying my king; but that the present conjuncture obliged me to retain him till such time as I had an answer from court.—In the mean time I have called together M. de Vuiermont, who commands the Guards, and the commanders of all the other corps of the garrison, and have communicated to them the proposal made to me, as also the choice I have made of M. de Las, town major, to carry an exact account of all to your eminence. He brings with him the letters which were intercepted, wrote by M. de Pimentel to M. de Verguest, who commands 4000 men at Bourbourg, in which he writes him to prepare every thing for the siege of Graveline; and that the Spanish army would be before that place by the 15th of April, he takes notice in his letter, that there was not corn in the place sufficient for a fortnight.

A party of thirty-one men of this garrison encountered a Spanish party, consisting of fifty-one, near Link,

Count

Link, defeated them and made the commander prisoner, who was intrusted with the said letters.

We are in want of many things in Dunkirk; although we have retrenched our allowance of bread, we shall not have sufficient to serve us to the month of August; we have no more malt or hops for brewing, although we have reduced the allowance of beer one half; we have great sickness amongst the garrison, and if Graveline be lost, it will still be greater; Dunkirk being surrounded and shut up by Furnes, Bergues, Bourbourg, and Graveline. It remains, then, for your eminence to judge, with your usual prudence, if it would not be more proper to enter into an agreement with Cromwell, and to get him to declare against Spain and the rebels in France, than to reject this proposition which will induce him to take part with Spain, and to join it with his fleet and army to attack both Dunkirk and Graveline at the same time.

M. de Las, who is intirely devoted to your eminence, and serves with great capacity and fidelity, will inform you of the impossibility of preserving Graveline and Dunkirk, if this opportunity of the offers made, by the Protector Cromwell, be lost.

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#### Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estrades.

Poitiers, March 2, 1652.

I Received your dispatch by the sieur de Las, and the advice you give me; my opinion was that Cromwell's proposal should be accepted; but M. de Chateauneuf opposed it so much and so strongly with the queen, that she could not be brought to consent. The mareschal de Grancey

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is here; I informed him what you wrote to me as to the siege of Graveline; he told me, and confirmed it in full council, that he would answer for the place, provided he was enabled to raise 1000 recruits to be distributed among the regiments of the garrison.

I ordered him money to make his levy of recruits, and he set out that very day. Endeavour, if possible, to preserve Dunkirk, to the end of May; and I promise you that in case you are attacked, the king's army shall succour you: I will employ all my care to succeed in the thought I have, as to this I refer you to M. de Las to inform you what my opinion is of you, and that your interest is as dear to me as my own.

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Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estades.

May 2, 1653.

**Y**OU may judge of the friendship and esteem I have for you, by advising the king to make choice of you to command his army in Guienne, as lieutenant general under the duke of Vendôme. Your chief design should be the taking of Bourg and Libourne, and afterwards to attack Bordeaux: I hope for good success in this enterprize from the confidence I have in you, and of your capacity and experience in war. Before you leave Brouage give the necessary orders, in all the places in your dependence, that no evil accidents may happen, and believe that I am, &c.

Count

## Count d'Estrades to the cardinal.

From the camp near Libourne, June 24, 1653.

**I** Shall endeavour, by my actions, to answer the good opinion your eminence has of me, and of the great obligations I owe you for having proposed me to the king, to command the army under the duke of Vendôme. I have joined him within two leagues of Bourg with the corps which I brought out of Aunis. I have proposed to him the attacking that place, although the garrison consists of 3000 men under a Spanish governor; he finds difficulty in it, as not having infantry sufficient; upon which I told him there was a remedy, as the duke of Candal was encamped with his army near fort Cesar, which is on the other side of the river, that he should ask of him four regiments of foot, and that the bishop of Xaintes, who was his kinsman and lodged with me, would undertake to go to him and prevail with him to send such a detachment to join us; this was done accordingly, and the next day the duke of Candal came to our camp with the four regiments; the place was invested that very evening, and attacked afterwards with so much vigour that it was taken, and the Spaniards by capitulation sent back into Spain. We stayed two days to level the trenches, and the third we marched to Libourne, where the Count de More was governor. The garrison consisted of 1800 foot and 200 horse belonging to the princes party, the place held out only two days.

The duke of Candal departed afterwards from Bourg with his army to besiege Bergerac, and the duke of Vendôme with his to take his post at Lermont; in the castle of which the enemy have  
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already posted 300 men, and we were told would send from Bordeaux 3000 more; but we prevented them and arrived at break of day, having marched all night. The Garrison of the castle surrendered at discretion, and from thence we saw about a league from Bordeaux their fleet, which has on board the 3000 men designed to seize on this post; it returned to Bordeaux, and I doubt not but that this city, finding itself invested on all sides, will be glad to be received into the king's favour; we already observe a good deal of inclination to this— M. de Gourville is to go to wait on your eminence to give you an account of all that has passed; he is a person of clear understanding, and can explain several things to you, which are necessary your eminence should know, for the better succeeding in our affairs. He will also inform you how difficult it is for me to live with the duke de Vendôme, because of his inequality of temper; the least rumour, though never so false, will make him alter the resolutions which have been formed in council, the retardment of which is very prejudicial to the king's service. I am, &c.

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Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estrades.

July 6, 1653.

**I** Received yours by the sieur Gourville, who has informed me of the good posture in which the king's affairs are; I believe it will not be long before Bordeaux be brought to submit to the king; you must after this reinforce the fleet with all the vessels and seamen of that city, to put the king's fleet in condition to engage that of Spain, which is designed for the river Garonne, and to seize upon

upon the island of Casaux. If the duke of Vendôme should make any difficulty to go on board the Admiral to fight the Spanish fleet, I herewith send you the king's order to go on board, and to embark 4000 foot of the king's troops. I have also wrote to the commodore Nuchese about the order given to you. You will, I hope, maintain a good understanding with one another, for I hear, with pleasure, that you are very good friends, and I hope it will continue for the good of the king's affairs. In case the duke of Vendôme should resolve to go on board the fleet, in order to engage the enemy, say nothing of the order sent you, but go on board the Admiral with him; because if he should not comply with the order given him to fight, you and the commodore Nuchese may execute the same, and in that case both of you are to shew the orders you have from the king.

I was not at all surpris'd with what M. de Gourville told me from you; as to the duke de Vendôme, I know of how unequal a temper he is, and how susceptible he is even of false impressions; but I know likewise your zeal for the king's service, and the goodness of your conduct, which makes me easy.

By the orders now sent, you have a proof of the effect of what M. de Gourville told me has produced; only continue to act with the same firmness and prudence as you have hitherto done.

I approve much of your journey to Brouage, the 1200 seamen that you have brought with you being fitly distributed, will put the king's fleet in a good condition, and this is a considerable service done to his majesty, which I shall take an opportunity of having a due value put upon, be persuaded that

I am, &c.

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Count d'Estrades to cardinal Mazarin.

Bordeaux, Sept. 10, 1653.

**Y**OUR eminency's orders have been executed; I went on board the Admiral with the duke of Vendôme, and 4000 foot were embarked on board the fleet, and distributed among the ships; the commodore Nuchese, and all the other officers in good disposition to acquit themselves well, and I dare assure your eminence that we shall either conquer or die. Orders are given for the foot to land in the island of Casaux; it is necessary to be masters of that before we attack the Spanish fleet, because their batteries from thence may otherwise incommode us.

I am, &c.

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Count d'Estrades to the cardinal.

Royan, Sept. 28, 1653.

**I**T was not necessary to attack the isle of Casaux, for when the enemy perceived that the king's fleet was under sail, they retired their men from that post; and after they had been taken on board, they weighed anchor, and we could not overtake them till near to Royan, where we attacked their rear guard; two men of war and a fly-boat are taken, 1800 men made prisoners, and two fly-boats sunk.

The duke of Vendôme is gone ashore, and makes use of the king's leave to return to court; he has given up the command of the king's army to me. I shall debark the foot to-morrow, in order

order to march them to Bordeaux, where I shall wait your eminency's farther orders.

“ Count d'Estrades must have been well acquainted with the humours of the duke of Vendôme, having laid the foundation of his fortune in that family, into which he was received as governor to the dukes of Mercœur and Beaufort.

Am. de la Houfay.”

Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estrades.

Dec. 28, 1653.

**I** Expected no less than what has happened, after I knew that you was gone on board the fleet. His majesty, as an acknowledgement of your service, has made you commandant of Guienne, jointly with the command of the army, and adds to it that of mayor of Bordeaux for life, which was enjoyed by the mareschals Biron and Matignon, Ornano and Roquelaure; your services merit the same dignity which they had, and you are named for the first promotion. You must apply yourself to restore the king's authority in Bordeaux, to expel such as are rebels, and to endeavour to catch Dureteste, the ringleader of the seditious, and to have him tried by the parliament, who must be ashamed to try him, as conscious of their being as guilty themselves. The king likewise desires that you will take measures to restore the citadel or castle Trompette, and to remount the cannon which were taken from thence, and are now in the town house. You are to be cautious in this, as you have to do with a seditious sort of people; make use of the troops

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as you think proper; and, to enable you more to execute these matters, M. de Tellier sends you an order unfilled up, to put the army into such places for their winter quarters as you think fit; the putting such power into your hands is a great mark of confidence, and of assurance that you will make a good use of it.

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Count d'Estades to cardinal Mazarin.

Bordeaux, Jan. 12, 1654.

I Cannot sufficiently express to your eminence my grateful acknowledgement of all the marks of your goodness and bounty, not only by obtaining for me the office of perpetual mayor of Bordeaux, but that of the chief command of the king's army in Guienne; and being also commandant of the province, I shall endeavour to acquit myself so well of this great employment, that your eminence may have no occasion to regret your having procured it for me. Upon my taking possession of my employment of mayor, I assembled the colonels, and other officers of the several quarters, of the city; at the town house; as they had been all of them chosen by the frondeurs \*. I cashiered them, and put into their places such as are loyal and well affected, and will be ready to take up arms for the king's service, and will render an exact account of what occurs in the city.

Upon an information received, that Dureteste, the chief of the mutineers, lay concealed in a small-coal-man's house at Carcassonne, near to the sea-coast, waiting an opportunity of going into Spain, I sent my lieutenant, with 20 of my guards, to seize him, which has been executed accordingly, having found him in bed; I have com-

mitted

\* Slingers, or seditious.

mitted him to the prison of the town-house under a guard, who have a constant eye over him. I have acquainted the first president of the parliament of his being taken, and that the king intended that he should be tried by the parliament. Being informed that the people were in an uproar on this man's being taken, I ordered two regiments of foot to enter Bordeaux, and also one of horse, and posted 3000 foot and 1000 horse at a quarter of a league distance from the city; by this precaution I may undertake to your eminence, that the malecontents in the city shall give me no disturbance.

I am of opinion, that to re-establish the king's authority fully in Bordeaux, and in the province, it will be necessary to have Dureteste condemned as a rebel by the parliament, and that he be executed within the city, after doing penance, the Amende Honorable \*, to confess his crime before the cathedral of St. Andrew, and the town-house. I shall take the proper measures for being safe, by marching the troops into the city, and posting them in the market and other public places, and transport Dureteste by water to Reoll, where the first president is at present, and have him brought back the same way, under a guard of 300 foot and 500 horse. As soon as this unhappy man is executed, I shall get all things disposed for rebuilding the Chateau Trompette, but before stirring in this, I beg your eminence to send me a good engineer.

I am, &c.

\* Bare-footed and bare-headed; with a lighted torch in his hand, and on his bare knees.

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Count d'Estrades to cardinal Mazarin.

Bordeaux, Feb. 10, 1654.

**D**ureteste was condemned by the parliament to be broke alive on the wheel, after doing the Amende Honorable in his shirt, with a lighted torch in his hand, before St. Andrew's church; which has accordingly been executed without any disturbance; his head has been fixed on a pillar in the camp: this example will keep the people in their duty; but will not hinder me from keeping a body of some troops in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, to use as I may have occasion, &c.

Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estrades.

Feb. 20, 1654.

**Y**OU have performed a great piece of service by seizing Dureteste; be on your guard against the populace, who, I am told, design to rescue him. The precautions you have taken, as to the carrying him to Reoll, and bringing him back, are extremely good. It will be a great mortification for the parliament to condemn him, as there are several of its members as criminal as he is. You must think of setting about the Chateau Trompette; the king has resolved to send you M. d'Argencourt to fortify it. I have sent a courier express to Narbonne, and have wrote to him to make all haste to repair to you at Bordeaux, where he should find his orders.

I have just now received your letter of the 10th of February, in which you inform me of Dureteste's being executed, and of the care you have taken

to prevent any disorders, than which nothing can be better; and I approve of your conduct much. Set about the Chateau Trompette, cause to be built barracks for 300 men, and place there the cannon now in the town-house, it may serve as a recess in case of any tumult in the city.

I am, &c.

Order from cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estrades.

May 28, 1654.

**T**HE count d'Estrades, being to go into Guienne, with the king's orders and instructions; as to the employing the army during this campaign, and for whatever may happen in that province, or on the west coast, I desire, and my intention is, that he may draw what artillery, stores, and provisions, he may want, out of the towns of Brouage, Oleron, Rochelle, and the isle of Rhé; and in general, that he may dispose of all that he finds in these places, without any controul from the officers serving in them: on the contrary my desire is, that they should obey and assist him, in the execution of this order, as if I was there in person.

Signed, Cardinal Mazarin.

Cardinal

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Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estades.

Paris, Oct. 31, 1654.

I Received your letters of the 12th, 18th, and 20th of this month; there is nothing to be said against your sending to the prince of Conti, the three regiments of foot as you mention, because it was agreeable to the order you had; but I sincerely wish at present, that you had executed that order with less punctuality, or that you had not sent so many, for you may have occasion for them very soon, and find yourself under great difficulty to preserve the peace of the province, with your single regiment and the cavalry you have.

My fear is grounded on the advice I have received from good hands, and of which I thought proper to acquaint you by express; that the enemy have now directed their principal view towards Guienne; that there is at Madrid, one deputed from Bordeaux, who has left two more deputies at St. Sebastian; that they have very earnestly entreated the king of Spain to send a fleet into the river of Bordeaux; and that if this be done, even without landing any men, they undertake that Bordeaux shall again take up arms, there being in it great numbers well disposed that way, who only ask for some succours, or at least the appearance of them to support them. That Mazerolles and Cugnat would throw themselves into the town at the same time, in order to spirit up the revolt, and to keep it alive till the prince of Condé's arrival, who is resolved to go thither, as soon as he sees an appearance of doing any thing to the purpose. These two citizens offer to pawn themselves, and to remain as hostages for performing what they advance;

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Cardinal

it's very probable that cardinal de Retz has a great share in this new conspiracy.

This information is most certainly true, and the equipping of ten or twelve ships or frigates, which you may have heard they are about at St. Sebastian, confirms it sufficiently, and they pretend in ten days to be in the river, to try the success of this attempt. Wherefore you have no time to lose, that you may throw yourself, and all the troops you have, into Bordeaux; and as I believe that what you have left with you are not sufficient, some expedient must be found quickly to reinforce you, and to write in the mean time to the prince of Conti, to send you some regiments that are almost worn out, and have only the officers left, because you may soon recruit them. You must take all possible pains to discover who the deputy is that is sent to Madrid, the two citizens left at St. Sebastian, and such as correspond with them, that you may bring them to an exemplary punishment, and his majesty will approve of your resolutions; in fine, I doubt not of your acting in an affair of so great importance, with all the zeal and vigour that is expected from you.

The condemning la Fonds is approved of, but I scarce believe that du Nestier has been an accomplice; let this be well verified, and write me what there is in it.

The chevalier de Riviere, being a very dangerous person, and capable of doing mischief; you judge right in believing that it would not be for the king's service, to allow him to return into France, especially at this conjuncture.

I will not be forgetful of the sieur Montigni; and the quality of being your nephew, joined to his own merit, will make me embrace with pleasure any occasion to advance him.



The information I give you is so certain, that you are not to doubt of it in the least; notwithstanding what they give out at St. Sebastian, that the ships they are fitting out with so much diligence are designed for the Levant, and I beseech you to take your measures without losing a moment's time, that the enemy may not have the success they hope for in this enterprize.

The prince of Condé is quite ready to take his departure for Bordeaux, as soon as Maezrolles, who goes with Cugnat on board the fleet which is to enter the river, informs him that every thing is ready in the town to receive him.

You are above all to be careful of your own person; for the first plot is against you, and it will be necessary to have a good number of people to attend you. You may acquaint some of the most eminent and loyal of the inhabitants, who have most interest to hinder confusions and seditions, that you have certain advice, that the evil affected, and the partizans of the prince of Condé, solicit the Spaniards and English to send a fleet into the river Garonne, being resolved, upon the arrival of such a fleet, to raise an insurrection in the city in favour of the prince, and to kill and banish all that are loyal to the king at the same time; as also that it is true, that Trancard has been at St. Sebastian to have an interview with cardinal de Retz and Batteville; and that another citizen of Bordeaux was gone to Madrid, with Mazerolles and Cugnat, to solicit the king of Spain to send a fleet into the river; such a declaration made to them, will be of service to induce the honest part of the inhabitants, to approve of the precautions you may judge necessary for the safety of the place.

I submit all this to what you may find more proper, for as you are on the spot and an eye-wit-

ness of what occurs, you can more prudently judge what is needful to be done; and if you can discover who are the correspondents with those in Spain, you must not hesitate bringing them to punishment, as also you must banish out of the town, all in general who give the least shadow of reason to suspect them; and it may happen that the enemy, finding their designs discovered, may lay aside the thoughts of executing them.

A person who knows the particulars of this project, has informed me of it by an express; so that you are not so much as to examine into the truth of it, but set about preventing its being effectuated without any delay. You may make use of my regiment of horse, and that of Goas, the Gens d'armes and light horse of Vendôme, of Meilleray's six troops, your own regiment of foot, and draughts out of the garrison of the towns in my government, and even the militia if you find it necessary.

I think that some troops should be placed in the castle of Trompette, lodging them in barracks for that purpose; as also to put therein, the cannon now in the town-house, and all the stores you can, taking immediately what is at Brouage, if you cannot have them more expeditiously from some other place.

The marshal Meilleray, will assist you all he can on giving him notice.

You need not apprehend any danger, but what may happen within Bordeaux, for the Spaniards will send no forces to land, as this person informs me.

My opinion is, that you should provide for the defence of Bourg; for if it should be quite unprovided, the enemy may make themselves masters of it as their fleet comes up the river. If the sieur de Montesson is at Paris, I will dispatch him immediately to you to receive your orders.

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The superintendents have promised me to remit you to-morrow, or next day, 50,000 livres, for repairing Chateau Trompette: you must have a good number of officers about you, and be master of the gates of the city, or at least of one, and that you distribute the forces in such a manner, that you may in six hours time provide for your safety, by marching them into the town; it being always to be understood, that you have force sufficient to suppress any insurrection of the inhabitants, and to prevent their making themselves masters of the city.

I leave it also to your consideration, if it be proper, to tell the first president and other members of note in the parliament, that I resolve to oblige him intirely as to getting them re-established at Bordeaux; and that I am humbly to supplicate his majesty very soon to issue an order for that purpose; for as this has been always my design, I think it may be of use to assure them of it on this occasion; and as it is at a time in which they do not solicit it, the favour may have some effect on their minds; but this is still left to your prudence to judge, whether it may be for the king's service.

The superintendents have likewise told me, that if the parliament be re-established at Bordeaux, it will verify some edict; to assist the king in the vast expence he is put to in carrying on so long a war, and I believe that the parliament will do it in a handsome manner, without capitulating.

The prince of Conti may send you the two or three regiments of foot that have suffered most, which may be weak as to men, but are composed of good officers; and I am persuaded that he will send them as soon as you write to him. This is not to hinder you from concluding the exemption from winter quarters, which you proposed to me

on the conditions I prescribed; because you wrote me, that notwithstanding this, five or six regiments may be maintained in the Province during the winter.

I have dispatched with all speed one of my guards, and I beg you to send him back in the same manner, and to write to me, if you believe that there is nothing to be feared from this design of the enemy, and of the measures you have taken to render them abortive. This is all I have to write you at this time, but to remind you once more, not to forget taking all care of your own person.

I am, &c.

Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estades.

La Fere, July 19, 1655.

**I**T seems to me a thousand years since I have heard from you; I suppose you for the present to be at Bordeaux; but I earnestly entreat you to go from thence as soon as the election of jurats is over, and repair into Catalonia, and to believe that you can do nothing more agreeable to the king, and that can more oblige me in particular, and to inform the prince of Conti, that you will spare neither pains nor even your own life to contribute to his glory; I will answer for his giving you all the good reception you deserve; and that you shall have reason to be satisfied with the esteem and confidence he will shew you. I send him just now commissions of lieutenants-general to St. Abre, to the chevalier d'Aubeterre, Gedaigne, and Bellefonds, who are to serve under you. I entreat you to write me often and fully of every thing, and always to continue that friendship you

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have promised, as that which I shall have for you all my life can receive no addition, not to mention my esteem, which is to as high a degree as you can wish.

I am, &c.

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Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estades.

March 25, 1657.

I Believe you will be pleased with the choice which the king has made of you to command his army in Italy under the prince of Conti. I have dispatched orders for the march of eight regiments of foot and six of horse to the army now in Catalonia, to be conducted into Piedmont by way of Lyons. I desire you will repair to Turin as soon as possible; great matters are designed this campaign; the duke of Modena will join his army with the prince of Conti, and will act jointly and in concert: I beg you will take particular care that they live in good understanding with one another; they both esteem you, and I begged of them to place full confidence in you. As the design is to attack some considerable place\*. I shall send the count de Quincé in the month of August with 5000 foot as a reinforcement, and with him a waggon with 200,000 livres in specie.

I am, &c.

\* This was Alexandria de la Paglia in the Milanese, in which they did not succeed.

Cardinal

## Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estrades.

La Fere, June 12, 1657.

**A**LTHOUGH you must be sufficiently convinced of my friendship for you and your whole family, yet you cannot believe how greatly I rejoice at your son's great exploit in taking of Nono, by a way so difficult, and almost inaccessible. The relation of it which the duke of Modena and the prince of Conti have sent to the king ascribe the honour of it to you, for having discovered the path and for having advised the drawing off the garrison in the outworks towards the plain, whilst at the same time you caused an attack to be made, by the road of the mountain, by your son at the head of his regiment, who carried the traverse works and the place and made prisoners of war of the governor, the count St. Maurice, and his garrison of 2000 Germans. This is a specimen of what we may expect he will grow to in time; and should give you great satisfaction to see in him such glorious fruits of your instruction and example.

The campaign could not be opened with a braver action, nor more likely to intimidate the enemy for the future, and to lessen their courage in opposing our further designs. I believe when our forces are joined we shall not be inferior to those of the enemy in number, as all my advices inform, that they are only 14,000 and as to goodness, ours have the advantage; for which, and the news from this side, I refer you to what I have wrote more particularly by the sieur Brachets. I desire you will embrace your son for me, and assure him, that I rejoiced as much as you for what he has done, I am, &c.

Cardinal

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Cardinal Mazarin to count d'Estrades.

Sedan, Aug. 21, 1657.

**T**HE news we have from Alexandria, of the the 10th of this month, in relation to the siege, could not have been better, unless it had been of the taking the place; there is nothing gives us any concern but the marquis de Ville's being wounded, but we hope the pain he suffers will be all; mean while we expect the issue of that siege with impatience.

I congratulate you on the honour your son has acquired on this one more occasion, by the lodgement on the counterscarp of the half-moon which you attacked; you may believe, that as I love and esteem you so much, I must share with you in the satisfaction he gives you, and that I will make it my business that you may obtain what you desire.

I am, &c.

"Here, I believe, the reader will regret with me, that there should be such a chasm in the series of this great man's correspondence, so as to leave a blank from the date of the above letter to the year 1661; what follow are what the French call hors-d'œuvre, or not in their place, but are not less curious, particularly the subjoined letters to king Louis XIV. felicitating him on his conquests made in Holland, and the means of subjecting the united provinces to his obedience; had he followed the counsel given him by d'Estrades, of seizing on Mayden, where the sluices are; but this was not thought of till it was too late, and that the prince of Orange had put a garrison into it."

Cardinal

Count

## Count d'Estrades to Louis XIV.

Sire,

Wesel, June 15, 1672.

I Cannot sufficiently express the joy I have, that your majesty prospers every day in your designs, and that you have in so few days reduced so powerful and haughty a state as that of Holland, which is more than could have been done by the united force of many other kings.

It is owing to your majesty's presence, and giving your orders in person, that your troops have been inspired to act with that application and patience which can never be too much admired; and I could not have believed, had I not been an eye-witness, not in one, but in many rencounters since your majesty left Charleroy, on which depended the success of the great conquest you have made; for I certainly know, sire, had not your majesty remained till it was night on the other side of the Rhine to order the ferrying over the bread waggons, ovens, provisions, and necessary equipage, with the artillery, your army would have lost a whole day's march before it could have got into the country of \* Betau; and if the enemy had made use of that one day, they would have marched 2000 horse and 6000 foot to have disputed the passage, and rendered it even impossible.

I have just now received information that the populace of Utrecht have taken up arms against such as would remove their effects and goods, and even to plunder them. There are in that place above 6000 catholics, the chief of which are of my acquaintance, and I make no doubt but when they see themselves supported by your majesty's army, they will be able to fright or bring over the

\* A district in Guelderland, in which is Nimeguen.

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others, as knowing they cannot be protected by the Hollanders, but by contributing to taxes which may ruin them; whereas they may have a chance to preserve both their liberty and goods, and to capitulate with, and surrender themselves, to your majesty.

By taking this place, you may reduce Holland to what terms you please, provided no time be lost; and by sending a body of troops to seize upon Muiden, where the sluices are, as from thence, it may march without any danger to the gates of Amsterdam, and oblige it to capitulate.

The same may be done with Voerden, which another detachment may easily seize, and afterwards march to Swammerdam, and from thence to Leyden; which, finding all the passages to it open, will rather choose to capitulate than to have its territory ruined.

The knowledge I have many years had of the government of Holland, enables me to speak to your majesty with more certainty than another can, and to affirm, that on supposition that you are master of Utrecht, and other places I have named, you may quite abolish the republic, and do more in two months than all the kings in the world together could have done.

In order to explain myself more fully, let me inform your majesty, that by taking Utrecht, with what you are already possessed of, you can easily conquer the provinces of Guelderland, Overissell, and Utrecht; those of Friesland and Groningen may be attacked by your allies, who are already in possession of Groll, Couwarden, and other places which open into them; so there will only remain Holland and Zealand; the former of these may be divided, by reason of the respective and separate interests of the several towns; all of which, being sovereign in themselves, will be pleased

pleased to be no longer under the authority of the states-general, if once they see that their privileges will be preserved to them, that their magistrates govern their people as usual, and their trade and revenues remain on the same footing as at present; excepting the foolish pretensions of the states with regard to the sovereignty of the sea, which may be regulated as your majesty shall judge proper.

Things being thus regulated, the communication will remain open between the conquests you have already made, which will make them subsist better than if all the country should be destroyed, and your majesty will gain farther a great benefit from thence; for in regulating by consent the boundaries and extent of the territories of the several towns, there will be great seeds of sedition sown which must be left to your majesty as arbiter; this is what I have seen happen almost every year under Henry, late prince of Orange, who, as their governor-general, made up those differences.

Amsterdam has disputes with Harlem and Leyden in relation to the dikes, pasture, and waters.

Rotterdam also, with the town of Dort, with regard to trade, some islands, and certain villages; all these things will give a handle to whoever you appoint governor of Utrecht to foment or allay those divisions, as may be most for your majesty's service.

The towns in north Holland will follow the example of Amsterdam; so there will remain only Zealand, which may continue a distinct sovereignty, but cannot subsist without the support of France and England.

What other places remain belonging to the states must fall of themselves; such as Bosch, Grave, Heusden, Bommel, and the forts belonging

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Fragments of  
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ing to it; Breda, Bergen-op-zoom, and Maestricht  
not being any longer supported by the great towns  
of Holland, and being unable to resist your ma-  
jesty's arms when you please to attack them, both  
the land and sea forces of the states will be with-  
out pay, and every town must maintain troops at  
their own expence, as also such maritime towns  
as have occasion for ships of war. By those  
means the republic and its form of government  
will be utterly ruined and destroyed, and will serve  
to posterity as the greatest example of punishment,  
and as a work worthy of so powerful a prince. I  
hope your majesty will pardon the liberty I have  
taken to give my thoughts on the forementioned  
subject, as I propose no other end than that of  
serving you on all such occasions as you may think  
me capable, being with all duty, &c.

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Fragments of several conversations which  
count d'Estrades had with Henry prince of  
Orange; in the years 1639, 1640, and  
1641.

**A**FTER having received, on several occasions,  
proofs of friendship and confidence from  
Henry prince of Orange, I had one day a great  
mark of it by conducting me into his closet, and  
shewing me the memoirs of the late prince Wil-  
liam his father, and allowing me to read them.  
I may truly say, I never read any thing finer.  
The occasion of the bad offices he met with from  
cardinal Granvelle, are well set forth; all the ad-  
vices he gave to the duchess of Parma, then go-  
verness of the low countries, not to push the people  
into despair, are there taken notice of with so  
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much strength of zeal for preserving those provinces, that the best subject the king of Spain had, could not have acted more for the service of his master than he did.

I afterwards read over the vindication of himself against the king of Spain, and the instruction he gives to his son prince Maurice. He recommends to him above every thing, never to hearken to any agreement with Spain, and not to allow himself to be allured by any proposals that might be advantageous in appearance, but would end in his ruin; that it be his principal care to maintain his alliances with France and England, and that he should never depart from the interest of the states and the treaty of union; that he preserve with care the form of the commonwealth and the laws he had established; that he encroach not on the privileges of the towns; that he remain always arbiter of their disputes as a friend and the chief of the state, without giving any umbrage to the towns or people by his authority, and that he never acts otherwise than as general and stadtholder of the republic.

After reading this, I thanked the prince of Orange, and expressed my gratitude for the confidence he reposed in me: to this he answered with so much goodness that I was sensibly affected. He then made me go with him to take the air in his coach, none else being with us; at which time he told me, he had great difficulty to preserve a friendship with the late prince Maurice his brother, who suspected him of supporting the Armenian party underhand, at the head of which Barnevelt was. He told me, it was true, that he held a correspondence with them to the end that they might not oppose him at the election of a stadtholder, in case his brother, who had no children, should die; but as it was very

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necessary for him to live well with his brother, and to remove any impressions of his being in any close engagement with the Armenians, he made use of Vanderwiele, who was one of his particular friends and son-in-law to Barnevelt, to give his party to understand, that it was necessary for him to make up matters with his brother, that he might be in a condition to serve them more, which was approved of by Barnevelt. Prince Henry went after this to wait on his brother, and told him, that he never had any correspondence with the Armenians, but to promote his interest, and to be able to serve him better, by being informed of what passed in their meetings; that he thought it his duty to tell him, that Barnevelt and his cabal of Armenians spread a report all over the country, that he intended to make himself sovereign, and that on this view alone he prolonged the war, to augment his power by force of arms, and humble that of the states; that several towns, such as Dort, Leyden, and Amsterdam, were concerting measures to put an end to the war, and that all of them were inclined to agree to a truce with Spain, and even to go farther, and to make a peace; but that if it was made to appear, and that in this conjuncture, he would employ his friends to undeceive the towns, and acquaint them, that he never thought of making himself sovereign, but only to maintain the union, and preserve the privileges of the states agreeable to the constitution; he made no doubt to cure the minds of the people and to dissipate their fears.

Prince Maurice approved of this thought, and desired prince Henry to set about it, which he told me he did so effectually, that Barnevelt and the leading men of the towns, were persuaded that prince Maurice did not aim at the sovereignty; there happened an interval very favourable

after this, to reconcile the prince and Barnevelt; in which prince Henry had taken so much pains, that Barnevelt gave prince Maurice all assurance of friendship and fidelity; but that this agreement continued not long, Arfens, who was ambassador in France from the states, was an enemy to Barnevelt; he was an eloquent, persuasive, and, in a word, an able man; and had gained an ascendant over prince Maurice, and informed him that at the time Barnevelt was ambassador in England, he had endeavoured to break the friendship between the king of England and prince Maurice; nay, farther he asserted, that he had seen letters wrote by Barnevelt to Henry the IVth. taxing and blaming prince Maurice's conduct, which was not approved of by the states; and by these means he so provoked the prince against Barnevelt, that he was always after this an irreconcilable enemy to him, and sought all occasions to ruin him, which he never gave over till such time as he had his head struck off.

In another conversation the prince told me, that after the death of prince Maurice his brother, he undertook to lay siege to Boisleduc, a place believed to be impregnable as well on account of its situation, being surrounded by marshes ten foot deep every where, as for its being so strongly fortified, being regular and faced with stone. This prince told me, that what induced him most, was that his brother had twice attempted this, and had been as often obliged to raise the siege, so that by succeeding in this he would raise his own reputation above that of his brother; he remained three months before it, and in that time the imperial and Spanish army being joined, took Armersfort and besieged Utrecht.

The states of the province of Holland sent their deputies to him with orders to raise the

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siege, and to come to make head against the enemy; he spoke the deputies fair, and at the same time called a council of war; but before he went into it, he took the mareschal Chatillon, general of the French, Hauterive colonel; also Ward, an English colonel, and Staremburg, lieutenant-general of the cavalry, count Stirum, commissary general, and several other officers of rank, to whom he communicated the order he had received to raise the siege; and gave it as his own opinion to continue the siege, and made no doubt but that all of them would be of his opinion; that he had information, that one of the bastions of the town of Wesel was fallen, and that this accident had made a very large breach; and that as this town was at so great a distance as forty leagues from his camp, he believed that the enemy could have no suspicion of what he now proposed of taking that place by surprize; that he had made choice of the baron de Heyde for putting this in execution, who was an old officer and very brave, and gave him for that purpose 6000 foot and 2000 horse, and sent him away that very night; however he sent mareschal Chatillon and the other officers to the council of war, and came thither soon after with the states deputies; whom he told, that he was desirous they should be present to hear what passed, as he did not care to take an affair of such importance on himself.

All the officers were for continuing the siege; and he gave it as his own opinion, and told the deputies that they might return to the Hague, and to assure their masters, that in a few days he should find such business for the enemies army, that they should have nothing to fear from it.

News came of the taking of Wesel in ten days, after the time of the baron de Heyde's setting out, and that the provisions, baggage, and heavy artillery,

lery, belonging to the enemies army, had been taken in the place, and all the garrison killed or made prisoners, which obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Utrecht, and to return after this great loss to Maestricht.

Six days after this, admiral Pintrekens arrived in the Texel, who had defeated the Spanish fleet, and taken twenty three Galleons, whose cargoes were valued at twenty-six Millions, and a few days afterwards Boileduc surrendered.

In some other conversations with the prince, he told me that he always designed to be well with cardinal Richlieu, in order to incline the king to declare war against Spain; but that some things happened which had broke those measures, particularly the treachery of Valkembogur, whom the cardinal had bribed to revolt in the principality of Orange, no more to acknowledge him as sovereign; he told me he had for a whole year entertained in that town of Orange twenty good officers and 200 private soldiers in places underground, who were to wait the time of Valkembourg's coming out of the castle to visit a favourite lady, who lived at the end of the bridge, who were to surround the house as soon as he went in, in order to seize and kill him, that it was a long time before he stirred abroad out of the castle; but at length, his bad fortune would have it, that he went to pass a night with that lady, attended by fifty stout men of his guards. The prince added, that he had trusted the execution of this to Kenut his intendent, and to the sieur de Beauvese, a captain in the regiment of Chatillon, Minet, and other good officers; that Valkembourg had no sooner got into the lady's house than it was surrounded; that indeed his guard made a stout resistance both in the court and stair-case, and that he himself came out into the hall with his sword

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in one hand and a pistol in the other, where he was killed, after receiving several wounds. Kenut, who had carried on a secret correspondence with the lieutenant of the castle, went to the gate and told him, that Valkembourg was killed, and shewed an order from the prince to receive him with the officers and 200 men, which the lieutenant agreed to. After this the prince told me, that one should forgive offences after receiving satisfaction;—that it was always his intention, after retaking Orange, to make up matters with the cardinal, and for that end he desired Eukerque, agent for the states in France, to acquaint monsieur de Boutellier, secretary of state, that if the cardinal would prevail with the king to give an order to the mareschal d'Estrees, then at Treves, to join him with his army, that he would undertake to attack Venlo, Ruremond, and Maestricht; that his design was always to engage the king to break with Spain, which would certainly have come to pass if the two armies had joined.—The cardinal agreed to the proposal, and promised that the king should send orders to the mareschal d'Estrees to join the prince as soon as he should sit down before Maestricht, and he confirmed this by colonel Hauterive, brother to Chateaneuf, keeper of the seals, whom he sent express to reiterate the same promise:—on which the prince of Orange set out the same day and took Venlo and Ruremond in a short time and laid siege to Maestricht, from whence he sent an express to carry the news to the cardinal of the taking of Venlo and Ruremond; and to tell him, that as he was now before Maestricht, he earnestly begged him to hasten the march of the mareschal d'Estrees's army in order to join his before the imperialists should join the Spaniards:—to which the cardinal answered, that the king had occasion for his army elsewhere, and that

the prince of Orange was so great a general, that after having taken two such places as Wesel and the Boilleduc in one campaign, he might easily take Maestricht, and wished him all success in his enterprize. — Bebervert returned with this fine answer, with which the prince told me he was much provoked. — Mean time the army of the emperor commanded by Papenheim, arrived within sight of the lines of circumvallation, and that of Spain commanded by St. Croix on the other side of the Maes, and was preparing to pass it in several boats under cover of a battery of forty pieces of cannon and 2000 musqueteers: while the Spaniards attempted to pass the Maes, the prince of Orange made head against them with his regiment of guards, and those of Candal and Chatillon; the Spaniards lost in that action 2000 men killed and taken, and their boats were burnt; M. Destio, lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Candale was killed after having performed all that a man of courage and experience could do, and was much regretted by the prince of Orange. — A few days after, the Germans, commanded by Papenheim, attacked the prince's line of circumvallation, but were vigorously repulsed and lost 4000 men and several officers. The siege of Maestricht lasted eight weeks, and the marquis de Leyde made a gallant defence; there was one work taken and retaken several times.

After the surrender of Maestricht, the prince of Orange received one letter from the king, and another from cardinal Richlieu; congratulating him on the glory he had acquired by this new conquest gained in sight of two armies of enemies.

The prince wrote in answer to the cardinal, that he was much obliged to him for his civility; but that if, by his intervention, the king's army and that of the states should have one common enemy,

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enemy, and if that time should happen soon, he would act with more pleasure and vigour than he had done this campaign, and that he should believe himself invincible if supported by his eminence.

The prince told me, that by this answer he meant to remove any jealousy the cardinal might entertain of his being displeas'd with him, because he still hoped that a time would come when the king should be inclin'd to break with Spain, which accordingly did happen.

It is but justice done to the memory of Henry prince of Orange, that no general whatever had more steady courage and intrepidity in great actions, or more vigilance in providing for every thing. He was exact and severe in his commands and the execution of his orders; he was generous, liberal, and a good friend; he distinguished men of merit with familiarity and good deeds; he never spoke ill of any body; he loved to praise brave actions in the most public manner, and put the greatest value on them, in order to excite young people to imitate them; he was courteous to strangers, and frequently address'd his discourse to them; he retir'd some hours every day to study, for he had learning, and commonly carried about him Cæsar's commentaries, of a small volume in Latin; his whole conduct during his government was admirable; for he gain'd and brought over his enemies by mild and civil usage, so as to make them sorry for what they had done against him; he never abandon'd his friends whatever misfortunes happen'd to them; he was very close, and must have made proof of a person more than once before he put any confidence in him; he was inaccessible to flattery; he was rather too slow in concluding of business, even after he had form'd his resolution; he has several times told me,

me, he must sleep on it before he signed it, and think whether there was any thing better to be done, &c.

A letter from Henry prince of Orange to the count d'Estrades.

Sir,

Feb. 5, 1638.

**T**HERE being a vacancy of a troop in the regiment, commanded by the count de Bergue, which is the oldest in this country and marches next to my guards; I give you the command of it as a mark of the esteem I have of you, until an occasion offers of doing something better for you.

I am, &c.

The prince of Orange to count d'Estrades.

Sir,

April 15, 1639.

**T**HIS regiment of French foot which the late duke of Candale commanded being vacant, I give you the command of it as a mark of my esteem and friendship; there is in it a vacancy of two captains, two lieutenants, and three ensigns; you have only to send me the names of such as you would have provided for, and I will give orders to Zulichen: to fill up the commissions accordingly.

“What follow relate intirely to the negotiations with the court of England, in the years 1661 and 1662.”

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## Count d'Estrades to king Lewis XIV.

Chelsea, July 12, 1661.

**T**HE king of England having been informed of my arrival, before I had notified it to the master of the ceremonies, sent next day my lord d'Aubigny to tell me he should be pleased to see me in private the 19th, at seven o'clock in the evening; for which purpose I went to Whitehall on that day.

In this private audience, I expressed, on your majesty's part, the joy you had in finding him so well re-established in his dominions, and his prudence in managing so many different humours and parties, and bringing them to agree to his intentions, and to restore the antient laws of the kingdom for the establishing his authority. That his majesty, having always put a particular value on his friendship, hoped he would in return prefer it to that of all his allies, and that to bind this still more strictly you had desired and pressed that monsieur (the duke of Orleans) should marry the princess of England, and as a farther proof you had given it me in charge to offer him whatever was in your majesty's power; but you hoped that he on his part should give you satisfaction on those points which I had to ask, when he would do me the honour to hear me.

His answer was in the following terms; That he never desired any one's friendship so much as your majesty's; that he esteemed himself happy to know, by what I had told him, that his wishes were accomplished; and that if the emperor (and all the kings of the world had asked his sister) he would have refused them all, to have given her to monsieur, for the very reason of being more nearly

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ly attached to your majesty's person; that he was pleased that his conduct was approved of by you; and assured me, it should be such for the time to come, that your majesty should have reason to be pleased.

He after this spoke to me, of Dunkirk, of his army, and that he designed to put that place in a good condition, and insinuated as if he had a mind to make it a place of arms on further views. I said, that although I had been governor of Dunkirk for four years; yet he knew the importance of it better than I did, and by his long residence in that place, and every where in Flanders, he must know better than any one the difficulty of the passages, on account of the rivers and places which are so close to one another.

I did not think it proper to enlarge further at this time; lest he should suspect that I had a mind to dissuade him, and also believing that he had not brought on this conversation without intending something more.

He told me of his marriage with the princess of Portugal, that he believed it your majesty's interest to hinder that kingdom from falling into the hands of the Spaniards; and that he would not believe what the ambassador of Spain gave out, that your majesty was about entering into a league offensive and defensive with Spain, no more than what the Hollanders pretended that your majesty would certainly enter into a treaty with them to guarantee the fishing in the British seas. I made answer, that as to the offensive and defensive league with Spain, there was no such league made; and that the treaty of peace subsisted, your majesty being very exact in keeping your word and promise; that all the king of Spain could ask in friendship from the treaty would be punctually

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tually observed ; but that I could assure him there was nothing more in the affair.

As to the treaty of guarrantee with the Dutch, concerning the liberty of fishing, I had not heard it was actually concluded; but that I behoved to tell him, if the restraint was to be extended to all nations, in prejudice of what was a right in common, by which every one had a liberty; your majesty, besides the interest of your own subjects in particular, could not help assisting the Hollanders as being his allies, neither to refuse your interposition to accommodate that difference which might otherwise induce them to take measures prejudicial to England; and which might very much obstruct the great designs every one was sensible he had projected by his marriage with Portugal; and which he was in condition to put into execution, having so powerful a maritime force that none could oppose, if the Dutch continued in friendship with him.

I spoke in this manner to him, because it appeared to me he designed to push the business of Jamaica; and I found he was pleased with the discourse by his desire to know your majesty's sentiments, and the liberty he gave me of telling my own.

I thought it not improper to acquaint him, that since he had commanded me not to disguise your majesty's sentiments on this subject, I could assure him I had heard you say, that the present conjuncture, by the means of his alliance with Portugal was so favourable, that by the settlements belonging to them in Africa and the East-Indies, together with his colonies in America, he was in condition to conquer whole kingdoms full of riches, and to bring immense treasures into his dominions without any of the inconveniencies of war. That the facility and great advantage of this was

was suggested to your majesty by the experience you had, that a long and tedious land war, in which you had lost a great deal of blood and treasure, and impoverished the trading part of your subjects, had, at the end of thirty years, brought you in nothing but conquests, which cost you more to preserve than you drew from thence; whereas with such a maritime force as his majesty had, he could fall upon many weak and defenceless countries and acquire considerable advantages, as being already in possession of so many settlements which could serve for staple ports and places of safety.

He hearkened to this with attention; and told me that he would talk more on that subject at another time, but would do nothing in it without acquainting your majesty of it.

He told me the Portuguese ambassador was sailed out of the Downs, and that if he had been still at London he would have had him to make his compliments to me; and that as the ambassadors of France and Portugal had visited in Holland, he thought we might have done the same here. I replied, that I should not have failed to have made a return to his civilities; and added, that I believed your majesty would have approved of whatever he should have advised me to do, even if monsieur de Thou's example had not been a direction. After this he told me, that the Spanish ambassador had three days ago demanded audience to complain that the ambassador of Portugal had bought up 400 horses, and had shipped them on board English vessels to be transported into a country at war with his master, which was a contravention of a treaty subsisting; and that he had answered, that if instead of 400 he had asked leave for 4000 he would have allowed it, and that he was the first who had broke the treaty by printing and dispersing a paper exciting the people

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people to a rebellion, on which the ambassador retired very ill pleased, and the king has by an order forbid any of th<sup>e</sup> court to visit him.

He told me, that the design he had of getting the prince of Orange re-established in his employment, had induced him to make up matters with the princess dowager; that he was sure of it; and that she was brought off from the Spaniards; that he was also sure of the elector of Brandenburg; and as to any opposition which pensionary de Wit, the old enemy of the house of Orange, could make, there was a way to put a stop to it; because he had discovered, by the means of Thurloe, secretary and confident of Cromwell, that the said de Wit, being ambassador of the states to Cromwell, had, without any commission from them, made use of their name to irritate the said Cromwell, against the family of Orange, and by this artifice, had, during the whole time of his embassy, been the promoter of all the misfortunes of that family, of which he has undeniable proof in his possession, which he threatens to lay before the states, unless he changes his behaviour to the family of Orange; this threat he thinks sufficient to oblige him to do as he pleases; so that he foresees, that by your majesty's interposition, and acting in concert with him, there will be no difficulty to have the prince restored, and by that means to have the states to depend on your majesty and himself.

The next day I had a private audience of the chancellor Hyde; at which was present lord d'Aubigny, who served us for an interpreter; and in the conversation with him, after assuring him of your majesty's esteem and affection, he spoke to me of the pretended treaty of guarrantee with the Dutch, in relation to the fishery, confirming what

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the king had told me on that head; so I found plainly, that this is an affair which they have much at heart. I made him the same answer I had done to the king; adding, that one of his prudence would be careful not to engage the king in any disputes which might have bad consequences. He replied, that the dispute between England and Holland, as to the fishing, did no way concern your majesty's subjects nor coasts, because it was carried on at a much greater distance than ten leagues; and that about a month ago some Dieppe fishermen having complained of their being obstructed in their fishing, and that their nets had been taken from them, the same had been returned to them and free liberty given to them; but that the Dutch had usurped that right which the king would repossess himself of.

He told me, that the duke of St. Albans being very much pressed at court to be furnished with powers to renew an alliance between the two crowns, he had received an order only to hear what France had to propose. As it is necessary to have an interpreter with chancellor Hyde, he gave me to understand that he would make use of Mr. Cartret for that purpose; of which I am very glad because it is a long time since I have known him to be very well inclined to your majesty's interest; and as he is of no cabal but that of the chancellor, one may place all confidence in him.

I have sent to visit the ambassadors of Spain, Holland, and Denmark, although this last has taken leave; but as I had formerly some intimacy and friendship with him, I was willing by this to invite him to come to see me, and to learn of him the state of the affairs of this court.

The parliament will be up in a week's time, and the king seems very well satisfied with their behaviour;

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viour; and in a fortnight he is to take a journey, or, as they term it, a progress to be back in two months.

I am, &c.

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To the king.

Chelsea, July 25, 1661.

UNTIL such time as I should have a public audience, and a commission for persons named, to hear what I had to propose on the part of your majesty, I judged it proper to endeavour to penetrate as much as I could into the cabals which are at this court, with which of his allies, the king of England has the strictest ties, and what his designs may be.

It appears to me, by his treatment of the Spanish ambassador, on the proposal of a marriage with the princess of Parma, while he was treating with the chancellor's participation, that of the infant of Portugal, as a design to put the ambassador upon making the wrong steps he has done, in order to get rid of the treaties which had been proposed with Spain, and draw from thence some advantage either by Dunkirk or in the Indies; and at the same time the chancellor, who apprehended least the earl of Bristol should have too great a share in the king's favour, had him sent to the court of Parma; and during his absence has got so much into the management of all affairs as to be entirely master; and the earl found that this had been so effectually brought about in the time of his absence, that he had now no more interest with the king. The chancellor has since openly declared himself an enemy to him: at present, all who are of a contrary party to the chancellor have no share of the king's favour or bounty.

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The orders which have been sent to the governor of Dunkirk, to hinder the building of a fort which the Spaniards have begun betwixt Bergue and Link, cannot be executed without declaring war, unless the marquis of Caracena complies, as he has done in the levying contributions.

I know they design to attack Link, and for that purpose will make use of bombs of five hundred pounds weight, such as the protector ordered at the taking of Guernsey; it is certain that with four such bombs they will be able to take the fort, and it is of great consequence to your majesty, that the English may not have such a passage as this on the Colme.

If the Spaniards would exchange Link for Dermuin, which is situated in the middle of the country of Langle, and belongs to them; and that a compensation could be made as to the other places in dispute in Flanders, your majesty might find a great advantage as having a barrier against Dunkirk on the river Colme; and so that whatever may happen, the English will never be able to force these passages sustained by Graveline on one side, and France behind; and it will not be in their power to hinder their being so succoured.

The Spaniards also will find their advantage in this, because if your majesty has it in possession the English cannot pretend to take it, neither to ask a passage while your majesty is at peace with Spain; whereas if the Spaniards should once lose it, all their other places will be in danger, and all their country put under contribution.

In order to retard this design, I told the chancellor, that your majesty had some pretensions on Link; and that half of the fort and fosse belonged to the chateline of Bourburg; and that there were commissaries employed to adjust that affair. I thought it my duty to make this step till I should

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know your majesty's intentions, by which I shall punctually govern myself.

I have learned, that the orders given to admiral Montague to cruize upon the pirates of Aigiers is only a pretext; and that his real orders are to go in company with the Portugueze fleet to meet the homeward-bound ships from the Indies. It is easy to foresee that a rupture must soon ensue between the two crowns, unless matters alter their present face.

As to alliances, the king of England reckons himself sure of both Sweden and Denmark; and it would be necessary, in my opinion, to have a person of capacity at this conjuncture in those parts who is acquainted with their interests to observe their motions diligently, and to discover what stipulations they are under to England. He believes himself also sure of Holland, by means of his friendship and correspondence with the princess of Orange, and the elector of Brandenburg, and their party, but I am very sure he has not taken the right measures in this, the whole body of the states being very angry that they have been excluded being guardians to the young prince of Orange; however, as there are two parties, your majesty's ambassador being on the spot may be able to cast the balance in favour of that which may be most for your interest; but before declaring himself, it will be prudent for him to try how the towns of Holland and Zealand are affected.

After I had, in my conversation with the king of England, found in him a great deal of ambition and inclination to make war, I was desirous to examine into the funds he had to support the expence. I found that the customs, demesne, and his extraordinary revenues do not amount to above twelve millions French; that there must be an act

of parliament every year for levying it, which may be interrupted by the bad humour in which the people or new parliament may be, and they are not always in the same mind; the expence of his fleet is about six millions, and they are paid monthly; Dunkirk costs a million; Jamaica a million; there remains only four millions for his household, that of the two queens and the duke of York, for the pay of his horse and foot guards, charge of ambassadors, presents, and other ordinary and extraordinary expences, which, by the account I have seen, cannot be done for less than six millions; so that he must have some other resource than what I know if he intends to carry on a war. I observe that there are a great many malecontents at court, and still more among the people; the presbyterians, who are the party which restored the king, think themselves ill used by the king's resolution to restore the bishops; he makes use of a great deal of address to bring them to comply with his desires, and has hitherto succeeded very well. In the particular conferences I have had with the Dutch ambassadors I have remarked, that they would desire above all things to be in a strict alliance with your majesty, and that they would abate of their demands as to freight and whale oil; but being willing to know what advantage we should receive from this strict union, I thought proper to make very cold answers to what they said to me with warmth; letting them know, that what happened at the peace of Munster must give a jealousy of what might again fall out; but that though your majesty governed your subjects with so much goodness and prudence, yet the interest of your allies was as dear to you; but that they ought, on their part, to do something more than ordinary to beget a mutual confidence.

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We spoke likewise of their naval force, which consists of 100 men of war well equipped; besides 100 great ships belonging to their companies and private merchants, which the states may command on occasion. After which, they told me, that your majesty's fleet was in no condition to go to sea as formerly, but till they are refitted you might hire by the month to the number of fifty, for a longer or shorter time as you had occasion, ships of thirty or forty guns fully equipped, with good commanders which might be depended on; and that the states would consent to it, and upon this, or any other occasion, they would be wholly attached to your majesty's interest.

They added, that they see very plainly that the king of England thinks to govern their country by means of the cabals, in which he would be disappointed, and that they would very soon put a stop to it.

I told them, I would speak to them as a friend as I knew your majesty's sentiments and according to my instructions from you, which are to endeavour to incline them to accommodate matters with the king of England, as far as they can, with honour; and that the greatest pleasure your majesty can have, is to contribute towards uniting all his allies, and to get them to live in good terms with one another.

That as to the usage they had met with from France and England, I left it for them to judge to which of the two they owed the greatest friendship, most respect, and most gratitude and thanks. They replied, in such terms as shewed they were sincere and from the heart; that they begged I would believe they owed their all to your majesty; that they never have had it in their power to discharge the obligations they lay under to you,

but that they owed nothing to England, having paid very well for their favour.

The catholics have received no satisfaction as yet; although their interest has been warmly pushed in parliament by the earl of Bristol, which was opposed by the chancellor; though rather in spite of the earl than any design of hurting the catholics.

I am, &c.

### To the king.

Sire,

Chelsea, July 28, 1661.

I Had last night my public audience; and instead as is the custom for the king of England's coaches to receive all ambassadors at the Tower, where all are obliged to come, they were brought to my house at Chelsea, which is about two miles further; I was accompanied by such ambassadors and foreign ministers as are at present at this court, and most of the nobility and persons of distinction.

I make the more particular mention of this, to the end that your majesty may be informed that nothing has been wanting in the usual ceremony of honour due to your majesty in the person of your minister, but even somewhat more than usual.

I have sent to monsieur de Brienne an abridgement of the speech I made to the king of England in this audience, that I may not omit any thing which I ought to give an account of to your majesty, even in the smallest matters; the answer to it was, in general assurances of friendship and a good correspondence with your majesty, much to the same purpose as at my private audience, of which I have already given an account; there is a

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committee appointed to hear what I have to propose, and I shall take the proper time to do this according to your majesty's orders. I have just now seen the chancellor, who assures me the king of England will write to-morrow to his resident in Holland, to desist from pretending to take any other rank or quality than the resident of crowned heads have done heretofore; I have advised M. de Thou of this, and of what I have been informed of the negotiation of prince Maurice and that of the states.

The chancellor told me, that as a proof that the king was willing to come to an accommodation with them, he was ready to renew the treaty as they had done with Cromwell; excepting the articles relating personally to the king and the house of Orange.

This I have communicated to the states ambassadors here, that they may take their measures accordingly.

Mr. Rutherford, governor of Dunkirk, came here last night; he has acquainted the king that they have left off building a fort on the Colme; and that on his complaint, the Spaniards pretended that it was the country people who had begun to work without any order, but that they were now forbid to proceed.

Three days ago there arrived ambassadors extraordinary from the republic of Venice; they are to be at London on Saturday, and the king of England sends his coaches to wait on them, as all the other ambassadors do according to custom. This ceremony, which is at hand, has obliged the Spanish ambassador to take occasion of my sending to him the sieur Battielier, to acquaint him of the audience I was to have next day, to enter with him into a long reasoning about the precautions he was desirous of taking to prevent all mistakes and quarrels which might happen between the ambassadors

of the two crowns to disturb the good intelligence and union that should be between them for the interest of their several masters; and after having taken great pains to prove those his good intentions by circumstances of no consideration, and valuing himself very much on the civility he had shewn me, as he pretended, by allowing his coaches to come after the last of mine at our audience, in place of being next after the body-coach; he came then to explain himself upon what he thought we should both of us do at the entry of the Venetian ambassadors; and after exaggerating very much the precautions which had been taken at St. John de Luz by the late cardinal, in order to share equally both land and water, and even the light of the sun, and all other things (for these were his terms) he would endeavour by this to persuade both the sieur Battelier and me, that, on the present occasion, we should neither of us send our coaches, to prevent any contest of pre-eminence between the two kings, and brought as an argument the example of the count de Soissons, who had agreed with him to do so at the entry of the states ambassadors. He charged the sieur Battelier to make me this proposal, and to let him know my answer, which he has done to day to this purpose; that I had the preservation of a good understanding between the two crowns as much at heart as he, and that it was the first article recommended to me in my instructions; and in order to fulfil this, I industriously avoided all obstacles that might disturb it, but that I did not believe he could have disputed with me the pre-eminence on this occasion; that my orders were so positive to maintain the same in your majesty's favour, that I could not hearken to the least diminution of it; and that after the precedents which had confirmed the right in all ages, I was to hear no arguments to the contrary;

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contrary; that I knew nothing of the example he spoke of as to the count de Soissons; that having received my orders since, I was obliged to conform myself to them, even if that example was true. This affair went no farther; and I hope, that as your majesty has done me the honour to entrust me with your affairs, I cannot better shew my zeal and fidelity than by carrying as high as I can the superiority due by claims over all the kings of Christendom.

Saturday next will decide this difference; I have made preparations for it, as I understand the Spanish ambassador has also on his part; and I hope that I shall not engage your majesty in any troublesome affair.

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Count d'Estrades Speech to the king of England, July 27, 1661, on his first public audience.

Sire,

**T**HE alliances made between the ancestors of the king, my master, and those of your majesty, have been accompanied with as sincere friendship as could be among men.

The nearness of their dominions, the extent and fertility of them, established the necessity of a good correspondence, so as to find reciprocal advantage in a good agreement, and this had never been interrupted, but to the prejudice of both.

The kings, who have governed in their course successively, have taken all prudent care to maintain this harmony; but heaven has been pleased to disturb this by accidents, such as destroy the best settled friendship and peace,

We

We have not seen in our days, any of those extraordinary quarrels between the two kingdoms, which were so frequent in past ages, and if heaven did not permit the king, my master, to join as a foreign enemy, along with that vast number of domestic enemies then in arms against your majesty, it may also be attributed to the religious regard he has to his treaties of alliance and friendship.

Thus it was, with regret and displeasure, he beheld the unhappy revolutions in your kingdoms, and rejoiced in your success. That he hears with pleasure, what fame has proclaimed to the world, of so many shining and royal virtues, which your majesty displays in all the parts of your conduct.

That he wishes the princess, you have chose for a consort, may soon bring issue worthy of so great a king. And in fine, sire, it is from this principle of sincere friendship established, for so many ages, betwixt the two crowns, that the king, my master, desires to bind it still more by the marriage of the duke of Orleans with the princess royal of England, your majesty's sister.

The obliging answer which your majesty has given to this proposal, and the assurances of friendship and good correspondence, signified by your ambassador, gives the king hopes that this will not only be mutual between your royal persons, but also influence and produce the same effect on the subjects of each for the good and quiet of both.

And as this is ardently wished for by the king my master, he has sent me, in quality of his ambassador, to give you assurances of it, and that I should make it my business to remove all obstacles, and whatever may tend to disturb this good harmony in which, sire, I shall employ myself with all the care and assiduity which such a work deserves,

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The king's letter to count d'Estrades.

Fountainbleau, August 5, 1661.

**M.** D'Estrades, I am resolved to give answers for the future myself, to all such letters as I have ordered my ambassadors to write me, under cover to M. de Lionne, when they have occasion to inform me of any thing of importance and moment. And, to begin this rule with you, I am to tell you, in relation to your dispatches of the 25th and 28th past, first, in general, that they have given me occasion to reflect of how great importance it is to make a good choice of such as are to be employed abroad at foreign courts, because it is certain, that one who had not your capacity and address, could not have wrote me any thing like what you have done, nor have given me so much insight as I find I shall have from you, upon which to form such resolutions, on all occasions, as will be most for my service.

That confidence of the king, my brother, in you, of declaring his design to re-establish the prince, his nephew, in all his offices, and the method he pretends to follow in order to shut the pensionary of Holland's mouth, who is the most contrary to this, appears to me to be a very handsome way of negotiating, in order to engage me in an affair in which I think I ought not to proceed so far: for, besides the disposition in which the states are at present, nothing could give them greater offence than such a design, because they cannot but see, as well as the king of England, what view he has in this, that it is to render them more dependent on  
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him, to which he certainly will find them very averſe. Beſides, as I cannot altogether depend on the king of England, nor on the princeſs dowager of Orange, or the elector of Brandenburg, I ſhall make a bad figure in this affair; I ſay, even if it ſhould ſucceed, becauſe I ſhould thereby diſoblige the ſtates of Holland, and raiſe the power of England in their country, which is no way convenient for me, as I ſhould not gain the prince of Orange, who would always think he owed the favour to his uncle; ſo that, on this article, I think it enough to give the king of England good words, and to tell him, that I wiſh well to the family of Orange, both out of affection to that prince, and the intereſt my brother has in him: but if he preſſes me to go any greater length, and my ambaffador at the Hague ſhould make any open declarations, I ſhall have a good excuſe for complying with this, becauſe the particular attachments of the elector of Brandenburg and princeſs dowager of Orange, make me doubtful of their inclinations to me.

I have ſeen what you write touching fort Link; and it may be of uſe afterwards, as you have diſcovered the deſign of the Engliſh to bombard it. I know the effects of bombs, eſpecially on a ſmall place; for I ſaw ſome of them thrown at Dunkirk, where they made a great fracas: however, I much approve of your thought of exchanging this poſt for that of Hermuin; and if Fuenſaldagne was not very ſick at preſent, I would have made the propoſal to him; but that no time may be loſt, I have wrote to my ambaffador at Madrid, the archbiſhop of Ambrun, as the ſaid Fuenſaldagne muſt have orders from thence. I have given him ſome advice on this occaſion; which is, that knowing by the accounts which I have frequently had of don Lewis de Haro's manner of acting in buſineſs, that he is always on his guard upon any thing being propoſed,

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proposed, however advantageous to his master, as if one designed to surprize, and was on the catch; he should therefore content himself barely to make the proposal to him, and not enforce it with any arguments, but allow him to deliberate upon it at leisure; which is the best way to succeed.

Mean while, it was very much to the purpose, that in order to make the English delay the attack of Link, you informed the chancellor, that one half of that fort and of its fosses belonged to the district of Bourbourg, which is mine; and that the commissioners named on each side for establishing the peace, were now employed in adjusting this article; this may give me time to see what success I may have in Spain as to the exchange.

I always suspected, what you confirm by your advice, that the true design in sending the first fleet which sailed from the Thames, was not against Algiers, but rather to meet that expected from the Indies. I have in my hands the treaty concluded between England and Denmark, which is only a defensive alliance between those two powers; but what you mention will oblige me to look it over once more, to know if it contains any thing in particular that may regard my interest, which if I find, you shall have orders what you are to do.

As to Sweden, I have not heard that there is any new treaty of alliance between England and it; on the contrary, what engagements the Swedes are under, were with the late protector, and such as should make the king of England displeas'd with them rather than otherwise.

Your own judgment will direct you, that it is no way disadvantageous to me that the king of England should be dissatisfied with the states of Holland, and that I have reason to fear, lest those two powers, who are at present the most formidable for maritime force, should be too strictly united

united. Mean while, nothing could be better urged than what you said to the states ambassadors.

I was pleased to be so particularly informed, as I am by your letter, of the present state of the king of England's revenues, and the expences he is obliged to be at : by your account it appears to me, that he is not in such a condition as is believed; seeing, without some extraordinary supply, he must be every year 2,000,000 livres in arrear; which must make him not only value his friends more, but disable him from undertaking any great matters, which otherwise he might be tempted to do, as he has now a fleet of 160 sail, for which he is obliged to his misfortunes, by the care of the protector, whilst in authority, to increase the naval force beyond what any king of England ever could do.

Continue to inform me as exactly as you have begun to do, of all you think worthy of my knowledge. I have desired Lionne to write you of one particular, which gives me some uneasiness; however, I will not conclude without declaring the entire satisfaction I have in your conduct, and that I still expect from it farther advantage to my affairs. Praying God to have you under protection.

Signed, Louis.

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To the king.

Chelsea, August 1, 1661.

**T**HE king of England's resolution to give the tutelage of the young prince of Orange to the princess dowager and the elector of Brandenburg, has given such umbrage to the province of Holland,

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Holland, that there is reason to apprehend it will much obstruct the conclusion of the treaty between England and Holland. The king has declared himself a little too much an enemy to the pensioner de Wit, whose party, in time, will become such another as that of Barneveldt. There are a great many things certainly to be managed and prepared in that country for your majesty's service, and by which you may receive great advantages. I find that all the three ambassadors here are the particular friends of the pensionary, and that they act as they are directed by the cabal of Amsterdam, by far the most powerful in Holland.

In the two conferences which we have already had, I can discover that they wish much I had gone into the sentiments which they explained sufficiently, to enter into a strict alliance with your majesty; that your friends should be theirs, and that if any of their neighbours had, or should be otherwise, that upon their being informed of your majesty's intentions, they would be ready to grant what you should desire. I answered them in general terms, that your majesty would be pleased to find them in such good disposition, and that you would do all that depended on you, and likewise that your friends should be theirs.

I did not think proper to enlarge farther on the subject, because I know that this party are desirous to strengthen themselves against that of the king of England by means of your majesty; and that of the friends, they mean the duke of Newburg is the person they would choose to make head against the elector of Brandenburg, on account of the differences between them: but in this I thought proper to stop, till I should be further acquainted with your majesty's intentions.

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Prince Maurice, and the sieur Veyman have given me to understand, that they are very desirous that the elector of Brandenburg would take the side of France; and provided he had a subsidy for maintaining his army, as he had from the emperor, he might, by that means, be disengaged. I replied, that your majesty was in such a condition, as not to make court to any one, and much less to buy with money any body's friendship; but that such as desired your friendship and protection, might obtain it with safety and sincerity, when sought for without any interested views; a proof of which was what you had done for the duke of Newburg, in procuring for him the restitution of Juliers, in which there was no probability of succeeding, without your majesty had so strenuously insisted upon it in the treaty of peace.

As to the affair of Portugal, it appears to me that most of the king of England's council are brought over by the Spanish party to hearken to a truce. The chancellor asked my opinion of this proposition. I thought it proper to tell him, that I thought it very disadvantageous to Portugal, as also to the views and interest of the king of England; for that the king of Spain, sensible of his present weak condition, sought only time to recruit his armies and finances; to allay the discontents which now exist in his dominions of Naples and other countries, and at the same time to sow division in Portugal, and excite disturbances in England against the king, so as to find him diversion at home. Whereas, if he lays hold of the present conjuncture to succour Portugal with vigour, and carry his arms even to the Indies, he will do so much damage to the Spaniards, as they will not be able to repair even the losses they have sustained by the long war they have been engaged in with your majesty.

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After having alledged these reasons to the chancellor, he told me I spoke very well; that the inclinations of the king, his master, were indeed to take that part, if the want of money did not render it impossible for him; but, if your majesty would assist him with any considerable sum, he would undertake that war; and he thought that the preservation of Portugal was as much for the interest of your majesty as that of the king of England.

I told him, that your majesty having given me no instructions, either to hear or answer any such proposal, I could not take upon me to speak but as from myself; and to tell him that I did not find an equality in point of interest between your majesty and the king of England in the preservation of Portugal, because your majesty could never succeed to that kingdom; whereas there was a possibility of its being united to England.

That I did not believe your majesty was in condition to furnish any sum of money on that design; that the war which had been carried on for so many years, had drained your finances; to repair which, you was desirous rather to diminish than increase your expences.

He said, I must then, contrary to my inclinations, consent to the truce which the Spaniards propose, though I know, for the reasons you have mentioned, it must be prejudicial to us. I answered, that I thought it would be prudent to appear to listen to the proposal, but to delay giving a positive answer as long as possible, on various pretexts; and, in the mean time, to dispose the parliament to grant a supply to the king for this great design. The chancellor begged that this conversation might be kept secret, being unwilling that the earl of St. Albans should know it.

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I have learnt that there is no treaty in agitation between England and Sweden, nothing having passed but compliments of civility; but there is a treaty of strict friendship and alliance concluded with the king of Denmark and the elector of Brandenburg.

As the king of England sets out on his progress about the end of August, and is to be absent from London for two months, and the chancellor likewise, I beg your majesty will approve, that, according to the permission you formerly gave me, I may go over to Gravelines to execute what may be necessary for the good of your service and government.

After I had sent my dispatches by last post, I received, at ten o'clock at night, a letter from the Spanish ambassador, which I sent to M. de Brienne, together with a copy of my answer; and next day I sent the sieur Batteliler to him, as I promised in my answer; as also, because I owed him a visit of civility, I went to repay it after dinner, and took that opportunity to confirm to him the resolution I had taken of making my coaches take place of his at the Venetian ambassador's entry, which was to be next day, and I was willing once more to give my reasons for so doing; that it did not proceed from any peevishness or punctilio's that might produce a misunderstanding, but from the obligation and duty I lay under, to preserve the pre-eminence due to your majesty, which had been established by so many precedents at this court, but still more authentically at Rome and Venice; where the ambassadors of his catholic majesty never assist at the ceremonies where the ambassadors of your majesty are, on purpose to avoid the mortification of only coming next after, which was an example he might follow on this occasion.

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He had nothing to offer in answer, but the instances of the count de Soissons and monsieur de Thou. As to the first, I made answer, that the reason why the count de Soissons did not send his coaches at the entry of the states ambassadors, was not on account of any agreement he had made, but that he was indebted for several visits which he had received, and had not spare time to return; and that this was the excuse he made to those ambassadors, when he sent to compliment them; with which they were satisfied.

As to monsieur de Thou, it was at the request of the states, and their interposition, begging of all the ambassadors not to send their coaches, as the method to prevent any disorder on such a contest, which was not the present case: but if both those examples were of any force, as my orders were later in point of time, I was obliged to conform myself to them.

He then declared, that as I had taken such a resolution, he would do the like, in case the Venetian ambassadors should send to him to notify their arrival, which they had not as yet done: and as I had not received any message more than he, and in that case it is not reckoned decent to shew any marks of honour; we agreed, that, in order to be informed of their intentions, we should immediately send to find their resident, who assured us, that the ambassadors would not send to either of us, to notify either their public entry or audience, and that, in this particular, they would follow the examples of the count de Soissons and the prince of Ligne, who were extraordinary ambassadors as well as they; on which we agreed that neither of us should send our coaches: and I afterwards received information from the Dutch ambassadors, that they likewise had not received any notification.

I will not affirm positively to your majesty, whether the Spanish ambassador, studying by all means to avoid this concurrence, which he certainly was persuaded might be dangerous to him, by the preparations which he behoved to know I had made, may not have caused the ambassadors of Venice to take this method, by the management of the resident, who is his particular friend, and I know dined with him that day at his house; or whether the vanity of imitating the examples of the count de Soissons and the prince of Ligne has determined them to proceed thus.

The next day at noon the king of England sent to me a gentleman, an officer of his household, to desire I would not send any of my coaches, neither to the entry nor audience of the Venetian ambassadors; telling me, that the same request was to be made to all the ambassadors. I knew that the great number of armed men who were to have rendezvoused on both sides, in the court and public places near Whitehall, to have assisted our coaches to have taken place next after those of the king, made him apprehensive of some bad consequences among the people; therefore to prevent the disorders which happen on such contests, he thought it proper to follow the example which he had seen practised by the states at the Hague on his own account.

I humbly beg to know, whether your majesty approves of my conduct in this affair; so that upon the like occasions; which I expect to meet with very soon by the arrival of ambassadors from Denmark, Sweden, Genoa, and the emperor, that I may either add or diminish, as may be most for your majesty's service and honour.

In the audience I have had of the duke of York and the chancellor, I took an opportunity to speak of your majesty's pre-eminence over the

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king of Spain, and of the injustice of the pretensions of his ambassador on the present occasion; and that this preference had been preserved at this court more than any other, and therefore would not mention the examples of Rome and Venice; at which courts the pope and republic had interposed even with their guards, to hinder the Spaniards from disputing those rights; for which reason they were obliged to absent themselves on such ceremonial occasions; and that I hoped, that the king of England being of the same sentiments as his predecessors, would not refuse me the same assistance if I should want it.

They both answered me in general terms, and in such a manner, that as I have since found out, the king did actually interpose, I am persuaded he will do the like on all occasions where there is any apprehension of raising any sedition in London.

In this present contest, I believe if we had come to blows I should have had the better; for being sensible that frays of this sort begin commonly at first setting out, I should have had with me several officers of my regiment of foot and of my son's troop of horse, and some others out of the garrison of Gravelines; I had got together likewise all the friends of colonels Ruthertford, Dillon, Naper, and Mousqueri, and those being joined to what I could muster of my own domestics, were sufficient, I am sure, to have repelled any force which the Spanish ambassador could have brought; but I considered, sire, that these colonels, though they luckily happened to be here at present, will not always remain; that the king of Spain has in his service a great many Irish officers, as well as your majesty; and that all of that nation are particularly devoted to him, and have great interest with all the catholics of the three kingdoms; and

that Batteville neither spares money nor promises to engage every body; that he receives great sums from the king, his master, for this purpose; so that although for once we may prevail, yet at another time the Spanish ambassador may have the better.

Your majesty may please to make what reflections, and to give what orders you may judge necessary, which it shall be my duty punctually to execute.

I am, &c.

To the king.

Sire,

Chelsea, Aug. 4, 1661.

**T**HE king of England sent for me to let me know the propositions which he had caused to be made to your majesty by the earl of St. Alban's, which are only general; but that being desirous to come to some more particular, which should only be betwixt your majesty and him, without being known to the earl of St. Albans, he was pleased to say, that reposing the greatest confidence in me, he would put the whole of his concerns into my hands, that your majesty might decide and assist him with your advice on all his proceedings, and that he would not undertake any thing without first acquainting you with it.

He and the chancellor both think that to succeed in this there will be need of the greatest secrecy, because of the great party the Spaniards have both in the court and parliament; and to avoid any suspicion of a treaty, I should, under the pretence of going to Gravelines, wait on your majesty with the abovementioned proposition, the substance of which are as follows, viz.

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Whether Portugal ought not to be supported for the interest and good of both crowns, and to prevent its falling again into the hands of the Spaniards?

The means of doing this, and whether to effectuate it, your majesty will contribute any considerable sum of money?

Or, if this cannot be done, whether the king of England should accept the mediation the Spaniards offer to him for concluding a truce?

I told them, as to carrying these proposals to your majesty, I could not do it without your orders and leave, but I would take upon me to write an account to your majesty of what they had proposed by an extraordinary courier; and that after they should have your answer, they might take the properest measures; but as to his accepting to be mediator for a suspension or truce, I had nothing to add to the reasons I had given three days before on that point; and was still of opinion it would be prejudicial both to England and Portugal; that, however, I thought it would be for his service to have every thing prepared as if he was sure your majesty would approve of the proposal that no time might be lost; for it was plain the Spaniards would not, as their army had already entered Portugal, and that being able to join the 3000 men disbanded in Scotland, with the 4000 from the garrison of Dunkirk, it would be so considerable a succour, that there would be reason to hope the Spaniards would not so easily succeed in their designs.

If your majesty gives me orders to be the bearer of these proposals, I shall immediately take post to wait on your majesty, and take the opportunity of that journey to inform you more exactly of the affairs and views, not only of this court and country, but also of Hoiland and their allies in the north.

Upon my starting the difficulty of your majesty's supplying the king of England with money, he said, the Portuguese ambassador had assured him that the late cardinal had promised their ambassador, then in France, in your majesty's name, that you would assist them with a considerable sum to enable them to support themselves, and that M. le Tellier was acquainted with this.

One thing I can assure your majesty, that the king of England is wholly bent on the affairs of Portugal and the Indies, and that he has laid aside all thoughts of any conquest in Flanders, as I at first suspected.

I am, &c.

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The king's letter to count d'Estades.

Fontainbleau, Aug. 13, 1661.

**M.** D'Estades, I have received your two letters of the 1st and 4th instant; I own, that after what you wrote to me in your former, in relation to the entry of the Venetian ambassadors, and the preparations you had made for maintaining the prerogative due to my crown above any other, I could not have thought this affair would have passed over and end as it has. I must not conceal from you, that I was under some concern about two things; the one, lest the king my brother should have concerned himself in this affair without any necessity and in a disobliging manner; for he seemed inclined to have decided for an entire equality between me and my brother the king of Spain, although he cannot be ignorant for how many reasons the pre-eminence is due to me, and that I have enjoyed it at all times and in all places. The other point was, lest you should

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should have paid any deference to the message sent to you, being only a request in his name not to send your coaches, seeing, if it had been an express order of his, as he may certainly give such as he pleases in his own dominions, you ought to have answered, that you received no orders but from me; and if after this he had used any violence, what you then was to have done, was to have retired from his court, and to have waited my pleasure on what had passed. I did not proceed in that manner when the ambassador of Sweden made his entry at my court; having taken care that he should make known neither the hour nor day to the other ambassadors, and by this method I avoided any disorder among them, without any one having ground of complaint. You see then, that I have good reason to say, that the king my brother concerned himself without any necessity in this affair; seeing he would not oblige the Spaniards to do me right, especially in this conjuncture, when they ought not to be much in his esteem; he might at least have made use of the same expedient as I did by dealing with the Venetian ambassadors, not to notify their arrival to any foreign minister. I do not desire you should make any formal complaint of this at present, but that you be prepared to repair the injury done to me on the next occasion which shall offer, on which you shall know my sentiments at more leisure.

If the Hollanders intend to make use of the duke of Newburg to oppose the elector of Brandenburg if they should have occasion, they should begin by treating the said duke more favourably with regard to his interest in the county of Ravensstein, according to the instances I have frequently made to them, and which hitherto they have never taken into consideration. However, I will  
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tell you, that it is well for me that matters take this turn, as well in regard to the engagements of the elector of Brandenburg at this time, but also that I may be the better assured that the powers of England and Holland will not be easily united. As there is so little likelihood of any reason to fear this, while they are so jealous and suspicious of one another, I must only so conduct myself, that the king of England may have no reason to complain of my crossing his designs and interests.

I have considered very well what the king of England and chancellor Hyde told you on the matter of Portugal, and the truce which they say the Spaniards propose. On supposition that this offer is real, which you could not learn, you answered very well to what they said; but as from all the advices which I have from all quarters, I know, almost to absolute certainty, that the Spaniards have never proposed such a truce which might bring on a conclusion of the marriage without any difficulty; whereas all the proceedings and views of the Spaniards have been to raise an apprehension in England, that this marriage cannot be concluded without a declaration of war between the two crowns; as otherwise Spain will lose all its credit and reputation, if after having made peace with me they should not be able to make all things quiet in Portugal.

Now to come to the three proposals made, and with which they would have you charge yourself; or, to speak more properly, the three questions they put to me; the first of which is to know, whether it would not be for the interest of the two crowns to make their utmost efforts for the preservation of Portugal, and to hinder its falling again into the hands of the Spaniards? The second question is, how this is to be done,  
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and if for that end I would advance any considerable sum of money? The third query, in case the former be not practicable, is, whether the mediation, proposed by Spain, should not be accepted of.

As to the first, I will tell you, that my interest, which I know very well, nay, it may be what I wish, is one thing, and my acting, or so much as explaining myself in a case where my hands are tied up by a treaty, is another; for as I am resolved not to violate my faith and honour in the least, for if I did so, the king of England himself could not so much rely on any assurances I could now make him; wherefore, when it is proposed to make all possible efforts in common for preserving Portugal, and the king of England pretends to load me with part of the burden he has already taken upon himself by resolving upon his marriage, and from whence he will reap such vast advantages without my sharing in them; you may plainly see that this is neither just nor honourable as to me, and of consequence that I neither can nor ought to hearken to it.

The second question is solved by the answer given to the first; and as for the third, which relates to the truce, you must abide by what you have prudently represented on that head; and if what the chancellor told you should be urged, that they should be obliged to accept the overture made by Spain, you may signify as from me, that they may acquiesce to it as a necessary evil, which must be hurtful both to them and Portugal, which I shall be very sorry for, but that I can neither hinder nor prevent it in the way they desire.

I was pleased to hear by your letter to the sieur Brienne, which he read to me, that you had adjusted the articles of your instructions in relation

to the Iroquois, whom the English assist against my subjects, and as to the commissary whom I have a right to send to Dunkirk for the creation of magistrates.

But as I find they disturb my subjects in their fishing, which the late protector freely allowed of, which is an infringement of the treaty the late sieur de Bordeaux signed with him, I was unwilling to be the first to make any infraction; but if my brother the king will not execute so important a point of it, I do not think myself bound to have more regard to another article of the said treaty which I find to be to my disadvantage, and which I have this morning given orders to my cousin, the duke of St. Simon, governor of Blaye, to redress and to put on the former footing; that is, in relation to the English shipping bound for Bordeaux which shall be obliged to put their cannon ashore at that place as formerly, before this treaty was made; which I think proper to inform you of, and of what induced me, that you may be prepared to answer, and with good reason, if any complaint be made for the future. However, to shew you that what they tell you, in relation to the fishing, is not strictly true, nor agreeable to custom in all times, I send a very exact memorial, which has been presented to me, certified by the principal officers and inhabitants of Dieppe, and at the same time an order from the duke of York, admiral of England, to make restitution of some fishing nets to the owners, in which mention is made, as if it was only out of favour, of which I think I have very good reason to complain; I ordered these papers to be put into the hands of the earl of St. Albans some time ago, who acknowledged immediately, that he believed them to be true, and doubted not but

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I should receive satisfaction on that point, as I order you to prosecute the same.

I was of your opinion, that the people of Boulogne were in the wrong to make reprisals, which ought not to have been done but by an order from me, after their complaining of their nets being taken from them; but seeing the thing has happened, and I understand the vessel is released, after the Boulogne people have been reimbursed for their damage, it is not amiss that the English should be made sensible by this, that we do not acquiesce in their pretended right as to the fishing.

The Dutch are not the only nation concerned in what the king of England has begun to enterprize in the river Gambia in Africa. I have ordered a copy of a letter to be sent you, which my superintendent of the finances has received from Rouen, by which you will see, that they pretend to disturb my subjects in a trade which they have been in possession of for above fourscore years, which seems very inconsistent with the protestations my said brother king is continually making of his being desirous to enter into a stricter alliance and union with me, wherefore, I doubt not but that I shall have justice done me on the first complaint you shall make of this in my name, as I give you peremptory orders to do.

I am to tell you, however, that I differ in opinion from you, that I should write either to the king of England or to Holland, to invite or press either to renew their alliance; on the contrary, I think it best to leave things to take their course, and should they live in mutual jealousy and even discontent, I shall be more considered by both. I foresee that the king of England, by engaging to support Portugal will find it very inconvenient to be disturbed by the Dutch, but it is not to be  
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thought they will be the aggressors unless provoked thereto by some great injustice, which I think the king will not be inclined to do, as he knows his own interest as well as we; and I judge it much more for my interest, that those two powers, who, if united, would be formidable at sea, should be kept from entering into any strict confederacy than to apprehend any loss by little jarrings which may not arrive to an absolute rupture.

I by no means approve of your treating with chancellor Hyde by writing, which is the expedient proposed by you to avoid the necessity of an interpreter between you; one might speak what one would not choose to commit to paper, and very often arguments are used which on some other unforeseen occasions may be brought and used against one's self, praying God, &c.

Signed, Louis.

### To the king.

Sire,

Chelsea, Aug. 11, 1661.

**I**T is with great joy that I understand by the letter your majesty did me the honour to write me of the 5th, that the accounts I gave of the state of affairs in this country was to your satisfaction.

The king of England is to-morrow to appoint commissioners to treat with the Dutch ambassadors on the subject of their embassy. I have learned that he is to make them one proposal, the same with what is inserted in the treaty with Denmark; which is, that all the furniture and jewels which shall be found in Holland belonging to the crown of England shall be restored, and that all such persons

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persons as were concerned in the death of the late king, who had taken shelter in Holland, should be arrested and sent over to England to be brought to justice. If the Dutch ambassadors agree to these, he designs to demand the same in the treaty to be entered into with your majesty.

This demand is not reasonable, and I have had a conference about it with the Dutch ambassadors, who have resolved to break off the treaty if this be insisted on; but they will agree to it, provided the king of England will pay back the value which was paid for the jewels and furniture to such as purchased them. As for those concerned in the late king's death, they are to be delivered up when demanded.

The Dutch ambassadors communicate to me all their affairs, even the most secret. I am more and more confirmed, that whatever treaty be made, there can be no lasting friendship or union between them, which will be of no small advantage to your majesty; and I collect from the conferences which I have had with them, that the pensionary is upon his guard, as much as is possible, against the king of England, by making himself popular, and by putting into the magistracy of the towns in Holland such as are his own creatures. I manage them without being too open with them, only so far as to give them hopes, that by living in such terms as they ought with your majesty, they may assure themselves of your friendship and affection.

On the other hand, the king of England has twice entertained me with discoursing on the bad treatment of the young prince of Orange by the states, and particularly the pensionary, which was such as he could not bear; and that if your majesty and he were so pleased, it would be very easy to make them sensible of it.

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I replied, that as the prince was only eleven years of age, and could not enter upon the discharge of any of his employments until he had attained to the age of sixteen, there was time enough to manage his being admitted to them by the consent of the states of all the provinces, and that I was persuaded your majesty would with pleasure join your good offices as soon as he should be of age. After two trials of this sort he changed the subject; he reckons to set out on his progress towards the beginning of December, and to be two months absent.

I am, &c.

To the king.

Sire,

Chelsea, Aug. 15, 1661.

**A**fter mature reflection on the several conferences I have had with the king of England, and duly considering the answers your majesty gave by your dispatches of the 5th of this month, I have been so much confirmed in the judgment and opinion you have of the artful and politic manner and views of the king of England in the affair of the young prince of Orange, that being sent for by him last night, I prepared myself for hearing what he had to say, as if I had been afraid of being surpris'd; and indeed he began, by telling me, that the states ambassadors were very unreasonable; that he had offered to renew the same alliance as the kings his predecessors had, with the addition only of somewhat which had been usurped upon his crown; but as a proof of the goodness of his intentions, he was willing to make me mediator of the differences between him and them, but was persuaded they would

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would give me but very little satisfaction, as that nation was both ingrateful and proud; but, if your majesty was inclined, it would be easy to bring them to reason, and to render them dependent on you two; by insisting with the states on the prince of Orange's being re-established in the offices due to him, which they durst not refuse, if demanded jointly by both.

I told him, I was obliged to him for the honour done me in believing me capable of being a mediator in his affairs; but that being informed of the positive orders in writing which the ambassadors of the states had, and which they would not exceed, I did not believe they would accept my mediation on the proposal which had been made; and the rather, as I was certainly informed they had orders to retire and leave England if these articles were rejected.

As to the interposition of your majesty's good offices for the re-establishment of the prince of Orange, that I had done myself the honour to tell him, in the last conference which I had with him, that your majesty would consent to it, on the consideration of that prince's being his nephew, and for the great services his father and grandfather had done to France; but that, as I knew your majesty's manner of acting, I could never take upon me the proposing to you to interpose, when it would be to no purpose; that the states would take it as a breach of amity, and an attack upon their authority: whereas, if this should be delayed for five years, the young prince would be of the same age as the late prince Maurice was, when declared stadtholder; the states then could not but take it kindly of your majesty, if you should desire of them what must be agreeable to themselves, and of which they have a precedent in their records in the instance I mentioned.

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That I begged leave to tell him, with due respect, that by thus hurrying the establishment of his nephew, he would rather retard than advance it, and that he would establish it more firmly by gaining the affections of the states by mild measures, during that time, than by the force he must make use of, as things are now. He seemed displeas'd that I had not come into his sentiments, and, changing the subject, began to talk of the proposal of assisting Portugal; but as I saw he only meant to cajole with protestations of esteem, and mere flattering compliments, as before, I thought proper to cut the conversation short, and to tell him, that ever since your majesty had undertaken the government of your affairs in person, such as were employed by you had orders to write you of every thing, and to wait an answer to be informed of your intentions; that I could only tell him, I had inform'd your majesty of what he had said in relation to Portugal, that I might reiterate what I had said before; which was, that I did not believe your majesty's finances were so well re-established as to be in a condition to assist him in such a war, and also, that I knew how delicate your majesty's sentiments were in cases wherein your honour or word was engag'd; that I did not know but you might have some scruple in lending any assistance against the Spaniards; but that I spoke this only as my own private opinion.

He answer'd me with some emotion, that your grandfather Henry IV. who was a very wise prince, and very exact in observing his word, had made no difficulty to assist the states of Holland both with arms and money, notwithstanding there was an article in the treaty of Vervins, that the king should not assist the said states against the king of Spain, purely out of consideration of the advantage he would reap by exciting disturbances

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to that king, and that the same reason still subsisted with respect to the interest of France.

I replied, that the case was not the same; that what the late King Henry IV. did, was prudent, and for the interest of his kingdom at the then conjuncture of his affairs; and that he had even made a league with the Swiss cantons, and furnished them with money, to bring them off from the Spaniards, because he was but just come out of a tedious war, and was much in debt, and had great factions in his kingdom, disorders in the courts of justice, divisions in all the provinces, and the protestant party to be satisfied who had done him service, at the same time that the Spaniards were powerful in all their dominions, and free from any revolts, except in the low countries; and he was informed that Philip hastened the peace, because he was afflicted with an incurable distemper, and was afraid that by leaving his son, who was but young and without experience, involved in a war, he might run the hazard of losing his dominions, by being engaged with a great king, and a general of consummate experience, who had gained so many battles, taken so many towns, and conquered so many provinces, in spite of all the assistance that Philip II. had given to the league, and to his particular enemies.

But that the case was not so now; that your majesty had not made peace out of necessity, but purely to restore the quiet of Christendom, and that you was willing even to be a loser in order to procure so great a good, and the benefit of your allies; that you was persuaded, that by continuing the war but for two years, you might have conquered Flanders and the duchy of Milan, and the kingdoms in Italy might have followed the same fate: so that as your majesty was in absolute security, and free from all domestic divisions, or

any appearance of such, you had no occasion, from interest, to cut out work for the king of Spain after having concluded a peace with him.

I believe the king of England will be more moderate in treating with the states than he would have been, had he found any inclination in your majesty to have agreed to the proposals he made to me; but I may be positive, that however this may happen, the states will be more attached to France than to England, and that there never was a more favourable opportunity than the present, to fix that state to your majesty, on account of the diffidence between the king of England and the pensionary.

I humbly beg pardon of your majesty, if I encroach on your patience by so long a letter; and by taking the liberty to give my advice on affairs which your majesty sees and knows much better; but I am put upon so doing by the passion and zeal I have for your majesty's service.

I am, &c.

### The king to count d'Estrades.

Fontainbleau, August 25, 1661.

**I** HAVE received your dispatches of the 11th and 15th; and to answer them article by article, I begin with that relating to the demand the king of England is to make of the states ambassadors, to restore all the jewels and furniture belonging to the crown of England which may be found in the united provinces; which you are to oppose with all your address, and do all you can to prevent the like request being made to me, for many reasons too long to write. I will not consent to it even on the conditions agreed to by the ambassa-

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dors, of restoring them on the purchasers being reimbursed the value they paid for them in Holland: but you are not to say any thing of what I write to you on this, unless it is proposed to you. As to the regicides, I do not believe any of them would have the impudence to choose a retreat into my dominions as an asylum; if they did, they should soon know they were no safer there than in England.

However, I am pleased with the exact account you give me of what passed between the king of England and you in your conference of two hours, in which I find he was prepared to attack you on two very important points, and that you made such defences as I could have desired; I only could have wished, that as to the first, by which he would have engaged me to join with him to induce the states to restore the young prince of Orange, that while you was alledging the several reasons for my excuse, which however I approve of as very prudent and judicious, you had taken that opportunity to throw in a word concerning the elector of Brandenburg and the princess dowager of Orange, who have engaged so deeply in interests opposite to mine, and shew themselves so averse, so that this prince, by continuing, as he now is, in their hands, I cannot promise myself, with any certainty, that he would ever shew me any gratitude for all I should do for his advantage; however, that neither this nor the other reasons given by you would hinder me from employing my good offices, and that purely out of friendship to the king my brother; but that I very well know our joint offices and entreaties would only hinder the business, which is premature, because of the prince's nonage, and the precedent of the late prince Maurice, who had not his employments given him till the age of sixteen; and I think,

think, as we cannot forward this, it is for the prince's interest that we do not prejudice it for the future.

You could not answer the king my brother better than you did, as to the assisting of Portugal, to which he would engage me; and although I have already wrote you very fully on that head, yet I cannot help adding, as to the example my brother adduced, of the deceased king Henry IV. my grandfather, who was very wise; and an exact observer of his word, who, notwithstanding, made no scruple to assist the united provinces with men and money, although the contrary was an article of the treaty of Vervins: that as I propose that great prince as a pattern and model of all my actions and conduct, as I have the honour of being descended from him, and am willing to copy and imitate him in every thing as much as is in my power; and therefore, without taking any advantage of the reasons you have given, of the difference of the times and situation of affairs, which might excuse my following his example, I am willing to do in relation to Portugal what the king my grandfather did for the Hollanders, if the Spaniards give me the same occasion of complaint they gave him; but to judge of that, it will be necessary the king my brother should be informed of some circumstances few people know.

When the peace of Vervins was just on the point of being concluded in 1598, the king my grandfather ordered his plenipotentiaries to declare to those of Spain, that the states of Holland had assisted him in the recovery of his kingdoms very considerably, with both land and sea forces, and also money, on a promise made by him to reimburse them, as soon as the condition of his affairs would permit; and that it was not his intention the peace he was about to sign should make him

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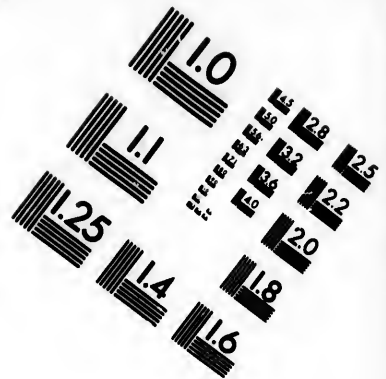
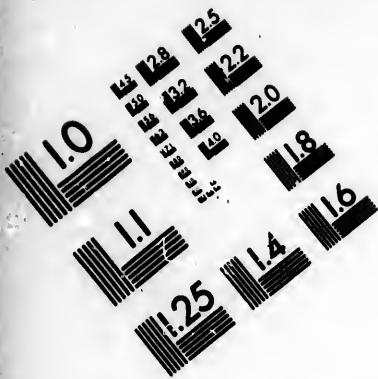
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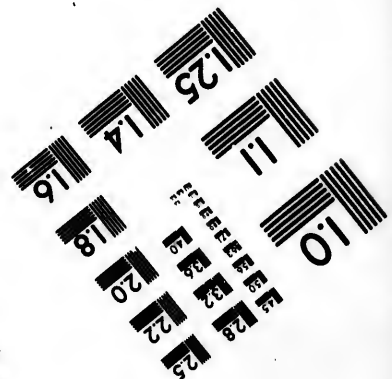
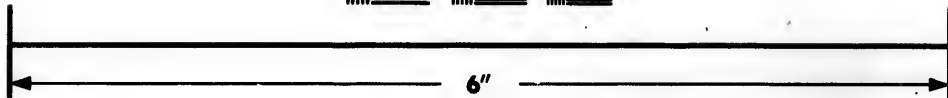
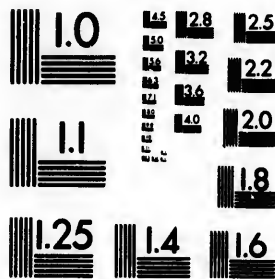
turn bankrupt to his good friends, and rather than they should lose a penny of what they had advanced for his service, he would choose to continue the war; and, in a word, that he was resolved to reimburse them every year such sums as the state of his revenue would allow; and that he was desirous to declare this before-hand to the catholic king, lest he might afterwards take this for a contravention of the treaty, and that he should know it was the payment of a debt, and not a voluntary assistance contrary to the tenor of the treaty\*. It is true this great king might confide that this might supply the place of assistance to his friends, and preserve them from being reduced by the arms of Spain, which were to have been wholly directed against the united provinces, as soon as the peace was made with France: but the reason for the payment of this money was so just, that the king of Spain could not contest it, and therefore agreed to it. The king my grandfather, agreeable to this, paid to the Dutch so considerable sums, that he was almost out of their debt in a few years; and the pretence of furnishing them with any more was very near expired, if it had not been that in the year 1602, which was four years after the peace, the king discovered the conspiracy of the marshal Biron, hatched by the Spaniards, who had even promised to give him the duchy of Burgundy, and to marry him to the daughter of Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy. As this design of embroiling the kingdom, and to dismember it of so considerable a province, if it had succeeded, so that the duke of Savoy could have entered France with his army, it was a manifest and incontestible breach of the peace. The king, my grandfather, complied so

\* Vervins is a small town in Picardy: this treaty was signed May 2, 1598, and the king of Spain died a few days after.





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

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far for the good of his people, as not to take hold of this occasion to break the peace, though thus violated by the Spaniards; but being very sensible that he could no longer depend on their good faith, because they were constantly employed in exciting troubles against him, and that unless he would be deficient in what he owed to himself and his people, he could not abstain from taking other measures, he made no difficulty, and had good reason, for assisting the Dutch openly and avowedly; for which no person of sense or reason could blame him. My meaning then in all this, is, that if ever the Spaniards should give me the like occasion to complain of their breach of faith, in what they have promised by the peace with them, I shall make no difficulty, more than my grandfather did, to assist Portugal openly: but till that be the case, I cannot, with honour, hearken to such propositions.

I have enlarged on this subject beyond the bounds of a letter, out of the pleasure I take to justify the memory of a prince, to whose valour and wisdom I owe all I possess, of dominion, greatness, and glory; and it will be agreeable, if you take an occasion of defending his memory, and of giving the king, my brother, just impressions of it; and I pray God, &c.

Signed, Louis.

To the king.

Chelsea, Jan. 20, 1662.

**Y**OUR majesty was acquainted of my arrival here the 14th, and soon after I learned that the king of England had resolved to oblige your fleet to strike the flag, and that all his court talked

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of it as a quarrel designed out of wantonness; Messieurs d'Aubigny and Carteret came to see me one after another the 17th; they spoke to me as of themselves; of a letter which the duchess of Orleans had wrote to the king of England on this subject; and I discovered by their discourse, that they were persuaded that it was by the participation of your majesty.

That the king of England had given for answer, that he could not give up what was his right, and would sooner lose his crown than depart from it; and that his admiral had orders to oblige every fleet he should meet to strike their colours.

I told them, I did not know of madam's having wrote, and that I was persuaded your majesty did not; that it was very well known, by the way in which your majesty managed your affairs, that you did not consult with the duchess of Orleans, but that she might be inclined, out of affection to her brother the king of England, to make some advances of her own accord, to prevent any occasion of complaint on your majesty's part, in case the king of England should pretend to any right to what your majesty had a much better claim from all antiquity; and I added, that I was much surprized with the rumours that were spread in London, and the other places through which I had passed, of misunderstandings between France and England upon this account; that all I knew was, that your majesty had given orders to your admiral to oblige all ships he should meet with at sea, to lower their colours, and for that end had given orders to equip twenty-five ships, and had picked out the most resolute and most experienced captains in the kingdom to be employed in this armament; which, consisting only of twenty men of war and as many fire-ships, might indeed meet with fleets superior in number, but not more determined to perish

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perish rather than your majesty should have your right contested.

That what I spoke was my own private sentiments; as they had begun the conversation, and I had no commission to speak to the king of England on that subject, I found them to be very much surprized at what I had said, as they told me it was wrote from France that I had orders to speak to the king of England on that point. To which I answered, that the consequences would shew whether I told them truth, and that if the king of England did not speak to me on that subject, I should say nothing of it to him; that indeed I foresaw some troublesome affairs might happen in a short time, when it might be too late to remedy them; but it was the business of that side whose affairs were in the worst order, and had the least power of supporting itself, to reflect on the inconveniencies which might happen.

Next day I went to see the king of England, who received me very civilly. I spoke to him of the proposal Goudanc had made to your majesty about Dunkirk; he begun to laugh, and told me that the man was mad, and had made the same proposal to Spain; and that he would in him of all, but was much obliged to your majesty for acquainting him with this proposal, and your manner of doing it.

I spoke to him afterwards of the letter from Holland, and read to him the contents of it: he told me that his resident had no orders to talk in such a manner, and that he would reprimand him severely for it; that he had discovered it, but had reason to believe it was a spurious letter of some of the states, with a view of giving your majesty bad impressions of his proceedings.

He told me Fanchon was arrived from Portugal, and had pressed him much to send thither some

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more foot, and that it was necessary the fleet should be sent with all expedition, because in the month of March the king of Portugal would undertake something considerable against the Spaniards, and that to defray all these expences, it was necessary he should receive the 200,000 crowns. I told him, I should write your majesty of this, but that it would take up some time to get gold for such a sum.

As he was then going into council I took leave of him, on pretence of visiting the duke of York; but as I was going out, he called me back and told me, he had forgot to acquaint me that madam had wrote to him on the subject of the flag, fearing lest it should occasion some quarrel between your majesty and him; that he did not believe you would dispute with him a right so well established, to which Henry IV. consented when queen Elizabeth assisted him with her fleet; that it was a right he was in possession of, and that it would be very disagreeable to find your majesty, on whose friendship he so much relied, would encroach on the most eminent mark of his royalty; and there was nothing he would omit to preserve it all over the ocean. I replied, in a very cool manner, that the instance he had brought of Henry IV. was not to be reckoned a precedent sufficient to establish a right and possession; that he was then so circumstanced as to have a rebellion against him, and his sea-port towns in possession of the revolters, being only master of ten ships, which put him upon having recourse to queen Elizabeth to lend him her fleet, who exacted of him such terms as the necessity of his affairs obliged him to accept; that I was sure your majesty would never take such advantage of your allies, and that on such an occasion you would grant the same favour, without taking any conditions; that nothing of this kind of precedent can infer any thing as to your majesty; that  
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knowing your delicacy with regard to depending on his friendship, it might happen, that finding yourself deprived of it by a pretension which cannot be maintained; a king so powerful both by sea and land, who may be daily more so, without wanting any assistance; a prince who not only governs his own kingdom by himself, but even the dominions of others, and penetrates into the bottom of the interests of both the one and the other; that it would be difficult to recover your friendship if you be once persuaded that you have not been sincerely dealt with; that I begged he would excuse my speaking with so much freedom, but that, on this occasion, I acted more for his interest than your majesty's, because, without doubt, he was to be the greatest loser.

He answered, in a pretty haughty manner, that when affairs were pushed so far as to give him offence, he should find friends offer themselves who were not as yet thought of, and should find means to support himself. I told him, I could not guess what the offence was, neither by whom given, because I neither asked nor proposed any thing of this sort on your majesty's part; that I did not reckon the friends he meant were of that consideration as your majesty, and I likewise doubted whether they would join with him in any alliance against your majesty, if it happened that the present good understanding should be broke, which I passionately wished might never be the case. As he found I was very little disturbed with what he had said, and the manner of it, he grew milder, and asked me if I was not to visit the chancellor? I told him I was then going, and so took leave, but could not see him till next day.

That I may not trouble your majesty, by saying the same things over again, be pleased to know, that the conversation I had afterwards with the

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chancellor, appeared to be partly concerted, and of a piece with what the king had told me, or almost the same. I only said to him, that it behoved to be the work of his head, hands, and credit, to dispose matters that the two kings might not fall out. He answered, that he would shed his blood to prevent it, and that he was so much obliged to your majesty for the goodness you had shewn him, and the honour you had done his son, that on all occasions, consistent with the service of the king his master, he would be ready to shew his thankfulness. I found him firm, and no way inclined to give up or abate any thing, telling me, that the parliament would never consent to any expedients, and that the people would give all they had to support the king in what was his right. I answered, that I was well enough informed of the orders usually given from the king to his admiral, to know that he might give such as he pleased, without communicating them to parliament; that it was true, that when he declared war he behoved to acquaint them, in order to have wherewithall to carry it on; that as to expedients, I neither asked nor looked out for any.

He said then that I desired a war. I told him your intentions were to avoid it; but if a war was begun against you on unjust pretences, you would sustain it with vigour, and for no short time. Upon this, he told me he had reason to think we desired a war, and therefore thought it would be to no purpose to think of an expedient as to the flag; and that he was confirmed in the opinion, by the advices he had from all parts, that your majesty had resolved upon a treaty with the Hollanders, in which you was to be guarrantee to them as to the fishery; that M. de Thou was come to the Hague to assure them of this, which was very different from the strict friendship your majesty professed.

lessed since my arrival; and that it was only on your account that they had been permitted to fish, contrary to ancient treaties, and would never have disputed this, if they were deprived of your protection; and therefore, without entering upon any inquiry, as to an accommodation which might be fallen upon in the present dispute, the king his master was desirous to know how you was inclined with regard to the guarrantee aforesaid, intimating, that if this difficulty was removed the other might be easily terminated.

Your majesty is now therefore to consider what is most for your interest; whether to break with England, depending on the maritime force of the states of Holland, who will be glad to offer it to you, because of the advantages they will reap from your guarrantee, or to refuse it at this time, in order to obtain a favourable agreement on the matter of the flag; and if you should happen again to be concerned in such a rupture, your majesty may then lay hold of an opportunity when you find yourself most powerful at sea, and can support yourself without any foreign assistance, and take the first occasion which may occur on the matter of this dispute between England and Holland, to take a share or concern, for which you will have a plausible pretence on account of your own subjects, against whom the like contest may be formed.

It is proper also to acquaint your majesty, that the king of England informed me, that Batteville had a week ago sent to demand an audience, to deliver a letter from the king his master; that he had given for answer, that he might deliver it to the secretary of state, which he had accordingly done; and that this letter was to inform him of Batteville's being recalled on account of what happened in England, and of an order he had received to give an account of his conduct; but that, nevertheless,

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vertheless, he put off his departure, which he knew was on purpose to learn what there was in the rumour spread abroad of some disputes between France and England. I took occasion, from thence to tell him of the answer which Spain had made to your majesty by the return of your courier, and that although the order you had desired had been granted, and was in general to all ambassadors from Spain, *viz.* not to assist at any ceremonies where the ambassadors of France should be; that the count de Fuente had orders to repeat the same by words to your majesty, and to satisfy your majesty more fully on that head, you had received a copy of the said orders, signed by a secretary of state, which contained the same words the count de Fuente was to deliver by word of mouth to you, as from the king his master.

He told me that it was forged, and the contrary was believed, but was an evidence of the weakness of Spain. I told him, that it was also a proof of the great desire the king of Spain had to entertain a strict friendship with your majesty, in whom he found so much sincerity, and could never be mistaken.

I shall send my letters, for the future, under cover of a merchant of this place who has a correspondent at Paris, as your majesty seemed to desire; in this manner dispatches will both go and come safely.

I am, &c.

The

## The king to count d'Estrades.

January 25, 1662.

**I** Received, by the courier extraordinary which you sent, your letter of the 20th of January, and observe first what passed between you and messieurs d'Aubigny and Carteret on the subject of the flag, and afterwards with the king my brother at your first visit; and in the last place, in your conference with chancellor Hyde. As to all which I will tell you, that nothing could be thought of better, or more agreeable to my intentions, than every thing was which you answered to every one of them, according as you was obliged to speak to either more or less strongly, by their discourses to you on so delicate a subject.

What I take notice of, in all the tenor of your dispatch, is, that the king my brother, or his chancellor, do not sufficiently know me as yet, when they treat me with haughtiness, and a stiffness that seems to threaten. I do not know the power under heaven that is able to make me move one step in such a way; a misfortune may happen to me, but fear can make no impression on me.

I thought I had gained such reputation in the world, that people had somewhat better opinion of me; but I comfort myself in this, that perhaps it is only at London they judge so falsely; it is my business so to act as they may not long remain in such a mistake.

I am sure that neither at Madrid, or any other place in the world, it would come from any minister, speaking to my ambassador, what chancellor Hyde was pleased to say to you; that the affair of the flag was not to be made up between the king his master and me, if I guarranteed the fishery to the

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the Dutch; and if one was to hear the chancellor, would he not think that I was undone unless this affair be made up in some friendly and peaceable manner. And yet the truth is, that nothing is more indifferent to me, because I pretend very soon to put my naval force in such a state that the English shall then take it as a favour to hear of any expedient or abatement of a right that is more lawfully mine than theirs. The king of England and his chancellor may pretty well guess what my strength is, but not know my heart or courage; let them know both. I desire once for all, that you may as an answer to such a haughty declaration, inform them from your mouth, as soon as this courier arrives with you, that I neither ask nor seek for any accommodation as to the business of the flag, because I know very well how to maintain my right, happen what will; and that as to the guarantee of the fishing, I shall act as I please, without regard to the other point of the flag, because I can very well support my own right, and that of the Dutch, according as I may find it just, well or ill grounded. I would not have you even satisfy them, whether I am engaged or not in the said guarantee; although, to tell you, and for your particular information, which however I would not have them know, because they proceed in this unhandsome manner; I have not as yet entered into any such engagement with the Dutch.

To princes, such as I, who regard honour, and aim at glory, preferable to any other consideration, the chancellor might have taken other measures to have obtained his ends; affairs often succeed or miscarry by the good or bad manner of conducting them; and even in this, I do not know myself, what might have happened as to the guarantee of the fishery which the Dutch press me to,

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if instead of speaking with so much haughtiness as the chancellor has done, he had ingenuously said to you, that all methods were to be taken to prevent your two masters from falling out with one another; and that in the mean time he had proposed expedients to prevent any rupture on the article of the flag, and had afterwards signified, that the king, his master, hoped from that friendship he had so much assured him of, not to give him the displeasure of seeing me engaged in a guarantee with the Dutch, which England would not suffer without loss. This was almost the same thing, only in more civil terms, and I doubt, whether I could have been proof against it; but after this haughty manner of his, I think the first thing I shall do, will be to enter into that very engagement for which they threaten me so much. I doubt not, but after this stroke, the chancellor will represent to you the inconveniencies from such a resolution, if I pursue it, and that in treating with you, he will exaggerate the saving or losing of Portugal, whose interest he will set forth, must be immediately abandoned, and the marriage broke off, and a necessity of joining the catholic king to assist him in the conquest of that kingdom. I believe, that all this may very easily happen, and I see as well as they how much it is my advantage that this should not happen; and yet even all this is nothing to me, in respect to a point of honour, in which the reputation of my crown would be so much wounded; for in such a case, far from careing or giving myself any concern about other peoples dominions, such as Portugal, I shall always be ready to hazard my own, rather than be guilty of the least weakness, which may tarnish that glory I aim at in every thing, as the principal object of all my actions.

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The chancellor, therefore, is much mistaken in his opinion, and I will also say, that whatever be the consequence, he will find himself as much out in the measures he has laid down; for if I must come to an extremity with his master on a point of honour, I hope, without threatening any body, so easily to order matters, that my side, to speak modestly, shall not be the weakest; nay, I say, even if I should maintain it without any other assistance; though I have all assurance and reason to believe, that if there should be occasion, I shall be very well seconded, and from such quarters as the king of England least suspects.

I no sooner received your dispatch, than I gave orders immediately to put my fleet in condition, so as not to be afraid of meeting any other; and, I think, I may say, without vanity or presumption, that if any misfortune should happen to it, that it would be in all respects the most troublesome affair which the king of England could draw upon his back; after which, it shall be as God pleases; it is enough for me, that I have done nothing mean, neither wherewithal to reproach myself. I cannot conclude, without telling you, that the great loss you have lately had, makes me share with you in the grief you must very reasonably have, tho' it is long since God seemed willing to prepare you for this heavy stroke. If I can contribute any ways to comfort you under this, affliction, I will do it very readily, praying God, &c.



## To the king.

Sire,

Chelsea, Feb. 1, 1662.

**T**HE indisposition and affliction I labour under, render me almost incapable of that good conduct which your majesty's affairs require; the zeal, however, I have for your service, will induce me to make all the efforts which I am capable of, so that they may suffer no prejudice in my hands; and the honour your majesty has with so much goodness shewn me, in being touched with my loss, in some measure allays my grief; but it still remains so violent, that I must beg your majesty would impute to that all the errors I may be guilty of in the course of my negotiation for the future, as also in the account I give you of the present situation of affairs here.

I ought, in the first place, to answer the letter your majesty did me the honour to write to me of the 22d; by which, I find, that Mr. Montague has spoke of the flag in a quite different meaning from what the king of England said to me. I cannot tell, whether, since that time, he might discover that his condescension might make him hope for some advantage in the affair with the Dutch; but as he appeared, four days after sending my letter of the 20th as firmly resolved as at first, I should believe that Mr. Montague has not been let into the secret of his intentions.

As to the advices your majesty has received of the reports which Batteville and his emissaries have spread, that it had been concerted, I should be recalled as well as he, which made it be supposed that we had been equally to blame, as we had both been treated in the same manner; that your majesty thinks yourself much concerned

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to put a stop to those rumours which tend to rob you of the advantages of that reparation granted you by the king of Spain, and that the best way for that end would be for me to remain here some considerable time after the others departure; it is my duty to assure your majesty, that I receive your orders with all the respect and true submission a subject ought; but if I may be allowed to declare my sentiments, I may tell you, that wherever Batteville may have held such discourses, they have neither been heard nor believed at this court; every body here believes that it was peremptorily, by way of reparation, the king his master has made to your majesty that he has been recalled, and on account of his misbehaviour, and that he is in a manner disgraced on that account, as he could not, by a courier sent express, obtain leave to return to Spain, but on the contrary, had received an order to retire to Bruges, where he is looked upon as a banished person. In this light did the king of England speak to me of it, and this is the opinion of all his court.

He set out to-day, after distributing a great deal of his furniture to the master of the ceremonies, and to several residents of the princes and republics now at this court, and with all those liberalities has left a debt of 10,000 jacobus's unpaid.

Now he is gone, your majesty may think, if you please, whether my further stay at this court be necessary, and if disadvantageous rumours should be spread, whether a fortnight be not sufficient to remove them, and in that time, or very little more, I hope to finish all the affairs your majesty has committed to me, as I know your intentions by the last dispatch I have received; which being done, I humbly beg your majesty to approve of my returning to Paris; and as a reason for

granting me this permission, allow me to represent many obligations of conscience which require my satisfying several pious legacies, and other dispositions which my wife ordered at her death, as also to regulate the affairs of a family which is very desolate.

My courier returned the 28th, when it was late; next morning I sent to desire my lord d'Aubigny to come to me, as I was not in a condition to go to court; I informed him only in general, how matters were, reserving particulars till I should have a conference with the chancellor. I chose this method first to make the king of England and chancellor sensible of the delicacy with which your majesty was to be used in treating of affairs, as also to render them more disposed to agree to such things as respect your interests.

The 30th I saw the king of England, and took a handle from the arrival of the courier I had that day, with your majesty's accounts of the affairs of Portugal, to represent to him the bad state of that kingdom, the obligations he had to succour it speedily, before the Spaniards should have time to take advantage of the ignorance and divisions among such as had the management of its government; that your majesty could not look upon him, who was so deeply concerned in the protection of that prince, without being sensibly affected, out of that love you bore to him, at the bad conduct of their ministry, and that you had sent me a courier on purpose to communicate to him the advices you had received.

He told me, the advices were agreeable to those he had received by Fachon, and that he had information of somewhat still worse; that in order to fulfil what he had stipulated for the protection of Portugal, he had resolved to embark 3000 foot and 1000 horse, so as to arrive at Lisbon by the

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15th of March; and ordered ten men of war, of sixty guns each, to be equipped, and fifteen merchant ships to be hired for transporting the cavalry; that he would labour to suppress all the jealousies which divided the ministry of that court; but after he had performed all he was obliged to do, that he was not to be blamed or loaded with all the cross accidents which might render the affairs of Portugal still worse; that he could not prevent them, unless assisted as your majesty had promised, and desired of me to know your sentiments.

I declared to him, that I was persuaded your sentiments were still the same, and that orders had been given for that end, and the execution of it had been retarded purely by the difficulty of finding such a sum in gold, which made me not press your majesty on that article; that I behoved likewise, at the same time, to acquaint him with what you had resolved on as to the flag, as an affair that might either more strongly confirm, or lessen the good understanding which seemed to be somewhat changed by the manner in which the chancellor had spoke to me on the subject of the guarrantee of the liberty of fishing to the Dutch.

He told me, that he could not believe the chancellor could have advanced any thing contrary either to the good understanding with your majesty, or the respect due to you, and would disavow it if it was so; but that as he knew very well what was for his interest, he might have said, and he himself would assure me, that he never could be persuaded that your majesty would engage with the Dutch in any guarrantee which might prove to his disadvantage, although he was confirmed from all quarters that it was so, and that even at this present time the Hollanders boasted of being fully assured of it; that he pre-

sumed more on your friendship, and the frequent protestations of it which I had made to him on your part, that at least your majesty would have as much consideration for him as for them, and that he would leave you an arbitrator of his interests, and desired me to write to you on this head; and that even if any difference should be made to his prejudice, that might oblige him to complain, it should not break the good understanding, which he should never choose to do on any such account; that he never designed to compound this with the affair of the flag, nor to demand any equivalent for any compromise your majesty might approve of; that he did not believe your majesty would dispute it, as to the four seas, which are on the four coasts of England, because his right there had never been contested by any prince; but for the sea from cape Finisterre to the mouth of the Straits or Mediterranean, and even all over the Mediterranean, he consented, for the sake of good understanding, that if the two fleets should chance to meet, neither of them should exact any salute from the other, and that each carry their flag, although there was no example nor precedent of that in past times; and that in the Mediterranean, as well as in all other seas, his fleets had always orders to oblige all they met to lower their flags.

I afterwards saw the chancellor, and found he had received information from France, that your majesty was very much dissatisfied with his manner of talking to me on those two articles. I confirmed him in that opinion, telling him, that your majesty, proposing to yourself, in all your actions, the highest sentiments of glory, would never suffer, that any prince in Europe should impose conditions upon you, or that you was to be bargained with, as his design seemed to be; that  
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you might be moved by civility, and by a reliance on your word, but could never be prevailed with to alter what you desire by any procedure that had the least appearance of haughtiness.

He seemed to be much surprised at this discourse, and told me, that next to the king his master, he knew no prince in the world for whom he had so much veneration as for your majesty, even from obligation, that he thought he had not discovered any thing contrary to this in the conversation he had with me; that the manner of expressing himself, in his language, which had not such softness or politeness as the French, might have given occasion for me to misapprehend him; but he assured me, that his thoughts were full of respect, and far from any haughtiness; he launched out into expressions full of respect to your majesty, by which he seemed to me very much affected, to find, that what he had said, had been taken in a sense which he did not intend.

He told me, the same the king had done before on the articles of the flag and the guarantee; and added, that a frigate was to be dispatched after the fleet, which should carry orders to lord Sandwich, admiral of that bound for the Levant, and to admiral Jennings, who commands that for Lisbon and Tangier, to avoid meeting your majesty's fleet after passing cape Finisterre; and in case it cannot be done, that the salutes, both as to number of guns and colours should be equal, which was all that M. de Beaufort had demanded or pretended, as he had seen by a letter of the queen of England's, and one from the duchess of Orleans; and that nothing more could be done to please your majesty, nor could the king his master go any greater length, without ruining himself, neither could he advise him, without exposing himself to be brought to the bar of the house of lords, or  
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to be impeached in parliament; that he could not think, your majesty would expose him to public censure, for a pretension which could not be approved of, and could be of no advantage to you on the present occasion.

I replied to this, as I had done to what the king of England said on this subject; by maintaining your majesty's superior right in all the seas, and by disagreeing from all the arguments and precedents adduced by the chancellor, to support his master's claim, and by declaring, that I had no orders to find out any expedient or compromise; but that I would voluntarily represent the inconveniencies that might arise from this quarrel, which it was the Interest of England, and of France also to avoid; that I had nothing further to say, but should render your majesty an account of all that had passed; and that it depended on you, to give what orders you thought proper to your admiral.

To the king of England, I made answer as to the guarrantee; that I had no certain knowledge, that there was any thing actually agreed to with the Dutch, as had been rumoured and given out by them; but I doubted not, that your majesty would consider his interest in that affair, and have a regard to it, after the earnest request he had made to you.

Your majesty may perceive, by all this discourse, that the king of England, having given his orders before-hand, without any assurance of what might be your resolution as to the guarrantee, shews, that he would willingly avoid any trouble on this article, and would not, though he might, take any advantage of his being armed, and your majesty not as yet in such readiness; and though the rout which your fleet must take to sail from Rochelle to the Mediterranean, is quite different from that of the English, and cannot meet one  
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another, where this occasion to put you right, and ply with he durst no condition of the parliament would never to be great and this had their members of this, and England had that this and I must with me, and esteem seemed to of his people to himself.

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another, but somewhere beyond cape Finisterre, where there can be no further dispute; and after this occasion is over, you may have time enough to put yourself in a condition to maintain your right, and to oblige the king of England to comply with such things as he now refuses, which he durst not have granted in the present weak condition of his authority over his people; and even the parliament, though very well affected to him, would never agree to. Indeed, they appear to be greatly moved on the report of this contest, and this has been the occasion of deputing some of their members to wait on the king, to be informed of this, and to make offers, which the king of England has not accepted of, as still purposing, that this affair should end in some friendly way; and I must also say, that in all his conversation with me, he has always expressed a great respect and esteem for your majesty, and has all along seemed to regard, more the stiffness and obstinacy of his people and parliament than any advantage to himself.

As to the business of Portugal, it appeared to me, by the manner in which the king of England and the chancellor received the advices which I communicated to them, and in their discourses on that subject, that they were very much resigned as to all the bad success of the affairs of that kingdom, and behaved to be very much pressed before they would be prevailed with to send a speedy succour; nay, I can perceive, that they comfort themselves in that loss, in expectation of the share they may reap in plundering the settlements that nation possesses in the Indies; and this, I think, should determine your majesty sooner to do what may be necessary for its support, and to explain yourself with respect to what I should say as to the money destined for that affair, in which



which you engage more for your own particular interest than that of the king of England.

The fleet set sail the 25th at noon, and was met half way down the channel on the 27th at three o'clock in the afternoon; as the wind has been still favourable to the 29th, it is believed here that they are got out to sea, and that as any wind will serve, after they have got clear of the land, they may proceed on their voyage.

I am, &c.

### The king to count d'Estrades.

Paris, Feb. 5, 1662.

**T**HE courier which I dispatched to you from hence the 26th of last month, returned here yesterday about the time I had dined, and delivered me your letter of the 1st current; as it took some time to decypher it, and likewise to put what I now write into cypher, you may easily judge, that as the post for England goes off this morning, I cannot answer the whole of yours but in a very succinct manner, if I make use of this opportunity, which I think too important to be delayed to Wednesday's post.

I shall therefore tell you, in a few words, that I am very well pleased with the obliging manner in which the king of England, my brother, spoke to you on the difference which might arise between us at sea, if both of us should be opinionative to maintain and contest our several claims by force on this occasion, and also as to the guarrantee of the fishing, in which, you tell me, he is willing to make me arbiter; and that if, in the treaty of Holland any thing should be stipulated not so advantageous

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vantageous for him, he might complain, but would not for that break off the good intelligence between us; and, in fine, he never intended to make the affair of the guarrantee serve as an equivalent for that of the flag.

Now, that I find the king, my brother, even before he knew what resolution I had taken, has dispatched a frigate, with orders to his admirals, lord Sandwich, and Jennings, to avoid meeting my fleet; and in case this could not be done, that they should salute equally, both as to guns and colours, I shall send orders to my admiral, to act in conformity, of which it will be proper to acquaint both the king and the chancellor, as soon this comes to your hands.

As to the 600,000 livres \*, which you know has been at Havre-de-grace for some time, on supposition that the frigate you mention be actually parted, and so there be no hazard of our falling out as to the flag at this time, you may immediately tell my brother, the king, that he has only to send the vessel that is to receive it on board, and that the money shall be paid to the person who shall deliver the countersign agreed on.

I need not write what you are further to say, to have a just value put upon this mark of favour, trusting to your zeal and address: I only recommend, that you should take occasion from it, to press the sending the 3000 foot and 1000 horse the king of England spoke of to you, as it appears to me to be of the utmost consequence that this succour should arrive at the destined place, before the opening of the campaign.

Be not uneasy as to your having leave; I will continue you no longer in England than for a time which may be needful to dissipate the reports which  
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\* The Louis d'or was then only worth eleven livres.

have been published, as much to my disadvantage as yours. Acquaint me as soon as you can if the frigate be actually gone, which was to carry the orders to the fleet you was told of, and till you know that it be actually failed, do not explain yourself as to the money.

### Count d'Estrades to the king.

Sire,

London, Feb. 6, 1662.

I Have scarce any thing to add by this post to the account I gave your majesty of every thing by M. de Lionne's courier, who parted from hence the 1st; unless it be, that the king of England sent to acquaint me, that he would be glad to see me next day. What he then told me was, that the advices he had received from your majesty, of the bad state of affairs in Portugal, were confirmed still more and more; and that he apprehended, unless speedily remedied by him, it would be too late, and that the time for this behoved to be before the end of this month, so that the Spaniards might be prevented in their designs before the beginning of March; that he declared, he had not a penny; that the subsidies granted him by parliament came in very slowly; and that, to equip the ten men of war he designed for that expedition, and the fifteen transports, he had no other fund than the sum your majesty had promised, of which he begged me to write you without delay; and however, not to lose time to give him a letter to the person who was to transport the money to Havre, that it may be delivered to the person he has appointed, as soon as he shall have your majesty's orders. He told me, that he pressed this the more, least the present occasion of

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a favourable wind might be lost. I promised him to write your majesty of this, and I thought it was granting him nothing, to give him a letter in the terms of the copy hereunto adjoined.

He told me at the same time, that one of the frigates belonging to the fleet which sailed the 25th, of sixty guns, having lost her masts, had put into Portsmouth, and by that opportunity he was to confirm the orders he had before sent to his admirals, agreeable to what he had promised, so as to avoid all contest at sea with your majesty's fleet.

There are letters from lord Sandwich, which bring an account, that the king of Morocco and Fez had sent to inform him, that the king of Spain solicited him, to hinder the English from settling at Tangier, under pretence, that it was part of the kingdom of Fez, and offered his assistance under-hand; but, that in regard the kings his predecessors had always lived in friendship with the kings of England, he would not listen to this solicitation; but, on the contrary, he would live in amity with him, and that he considered himself in a manner invited to this by sympathy, as both of them had shared in the same misfortune of having their dominions usurped at the same time, the one being dethroned at the very time when the other was exiled, and for that reason, he thought, they ought to assist one another; that a Moor, named Sainte, had invaded his two kingdoms, and had established his son in that of Morocco, who, being lately dead, he had repossessed himself much about the same time the king of England had been restored to his kingdoms, and had for six months besieged and blocked up the usurper in Sallee, a strong place on the sea-coast, within forty leagues of Tangier, which he could not take, as it received succours by sea, and having no shipping, he

he begged of lord Sandwich to assist him, and to assure the king his master, of his friendship and returns of gratitude; that upon this, lord Sandwich had sent him ten ships, and had given an account of all his procedure to the king his master, who is preparing to succour this prince, and to enter into a strict alliance with him; that this might contribute very much to the design on Algier, and the more willingly, because it was the pirates of Tangier who formerly lent their assistance to this usurper, and still supported him by throwing succours into Sallee.

The cabal who oppose the chancellor, bestir themselves very much, to induce the king of England to appoint Sir Henry Bennet his ambassador to the court of France in the room of the earl of St. Albans, who has lately had leave to return hither.

I think it is your majesty's interest, that a person, such as this, who is notorious for being a pensioner to Spain, and wholly devoted to its interest, be not employed in any negotiations at your court, and not so much as to appear there with any public character; it is for this reason that I have caused it to be represented to the chancellor, by persons who are in the same interest with him, how important it is that an employ of this nature, which must let one into all the most secret and considerable affairs of England, should be entrusted to a suspected person, and at the same time I got Mr. Carteret proposed to him; but he is so necessary a man to be about him for the business of the navy, that he could not consent to have him at such a distance. I had Mr. Lockhart mentioned, who, although removed from court, is still however in the king's esteem; and although he was but the other day ambassador from the usurper, it is no inconsistent thing in this country, but that

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that he may afterwards be the ambassador of a lawful king, after the example of Downing, who was the usurper's resident in Holland, as he is still so at this time from the king.

Sir Kenelm Digby's enemies have taken hold of the pension which he has from your majesty, as a handle to disgrace him both in court and in parliament, and to render him so suspected by the king, as to baulk him of being appointed post-master-general, which had been promised him long ago. He has delivered me the brevet which your majesty ordered to be made out, and acknowledged the honour done him, and the gratification; but hoped, your majesty would not take it amiss that he could not receive it for the future, in order to stop his enemies mouths, and that he would be better able to serve the interest of France against any opponents, when it was known he was under no obligation.

The person who has pushed this affair most, is one Krass, who, together with the countess of Castlemain, formerly madam Palmier, has prevailed with the king of England to refuse him the farming of the post-office, after having promised him the employ of post-master. As this is an affair in which there is 200,000 livres to be got every year, the countess and her party have got it for Bennet, who shares the profits with them.

The parliament passed an act last week, declaring all the parliaments which have sate since the year 1641, to be unlawful, and annuls all their acts; and that, notwithstanding the indemnity, such as had a hand in the late king's murder, should be prosecuted, and in a few days some of them are to be executed, the chief of which are Lambert and Vane.

On Saturday last there happened a dispute in parliament, between the duke of Buckingham and

the earl of Northumberland, which divided the house into two parties. The occasion of it was, a petition from the county of York, of which the duke of Buckingham is lord lieutenant, to have a court of justice established in that county, which might save them the trouble of coming up to Westminster to have their causes judged. The earl of Northumberland opposed this, and affirmed, that it would be hurtful to the prerogative, and that it was only some few particular justices of the peace, who, for their own interest, pushed this affair. The duke of Buckingham, speaking next, said, he had lately visited that county, and found, that this was what all ranks and degrees of people in it were desirous of, excepting some few, who had been formerly concerned in the rebellion. The earl of Northumberland, who had been of that party, believing that this was levelled at him, complained of it, and entered upon the justification of his conduct. The duke said, that what he had mentioned was without any design of reflecting on the earl, and although the house ordered them to be friends, yet, happening to be near one another in the house a few minutes after, some angry expressions were exchanged, which being over-heard by lord Manchester, the house ordered them both to withdraw, and deliberated, whether they should not be committed to the Tower; and in this every peer took a part, one for the duke, and the other for the earl, and, the latter being a leader among the presbyterians, he had all of that sect for him, as well as all the royalists were for the duke; so that from a particular quarrel this was like to become a general one, and would have occasioned a great disorder, had not the king interposed in the evening, and made them embrace one another.

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I am told, for certain, that the king of England had refused to see Batteville at his leaving this place, notwithstanding all his pressing instances. He gave out here, that he is to be sent ambassador into Germany, and there was to stir up some mighty affairs against France.

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The king to count d'Estrades:

Paris, Feb. 12, 1662.

I Have received yours of the 6th, with the copy of the note you gave one Fox, to be delivered to the person charged with the money to Havre. My letter of the 5th, which you must have received before this, would certify you, that your writing that billet was agreeable to my intention, as I had already sent orders to Havre, to deliver the money, without any delay, to the person who had the counterfign. I forgot only to inform you, that the man who has the disposing of the money is named Le Negres, and that he is lodged near the harbour, with a guard of my musqueteers. However, it is of consequence, that Fox should so manage, that this may remain a secret.

Set about using your utmost endeavours with the chancellor, and, if necessary, with the king, to prevent sir Henry Bennet's being sent ambassador to me, after the earl of St. Albans is recalled. I know I have no right to demand of the king, my brother, that he should prefer one to another in this employ, and that the person should be of his chusing, and not of mine; but as I would not send an ambassador to him, whom he should suspect, I think he would not use me in another manner; and rather, as he is not ignorant

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of the reasons which I have for not having any confidence in the said sir Henry Bennet; for, besides his long residence in Spain, and the extraordinary presents made him at his departure from thence, the king, my brother, may remember the informations I gave him of what passed, without his knowledge, and contrary to his orders, between the said knight and Batteville, which he has owned to you, he found to be true.

When I settled a pension on sir Kenelm Digby, it was with a design to gratify him, and for his advantage, and not to hurt him; but, as his enemies make a handle of this pension to injure him in affairs of greater importance, I approve of his giving it up, and believe what you say, that he will continue to have the same zeal for my interest, as I shall retain the same esteem and affection for him.

The gentleman who carried to the archbishop of Ambrun the order, is come back, and informs that the king, my father-in-law, has had a tertian ague with cold fits; he fell ill the 27th of last month, but was much better the 30th, and it was hoped that his indisposition would not have any bad consequences: it would seem that they had come to a resolution, not to send Gammar into England, to avoid his being there when the princess of Portugal arrives.

Communicate, in my name, to the king my brother, the treaty I have just concluded with the duke of Lorraine, as I am persuaded he has so sincere an affection for me, that he will be glad of any advantage which happens to me. The principal articles of the treaty are, that he cedes and makes over to me the property and sovereignty of his duchies of Lorraine, and Bar to be enjoyed by me after his death, and to be then united and incorporated into my kingdom; and I leave the quiet

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possession to him during his life. That Marfal shall be immediately put into my hands; that I agree to his family's succeeding to the crown of France after the extinction of the house of Bourbon; that he may not, during his possession, lay on any new taxes or extraordinary levies; that I shall pay all the debts contracted by the late dukes Henry and Francis, and that I shall grant him a rent of 100,000 crowns, to dispose of to whom he may please.

I am, &c.

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To the king.

Sire,

London, Feb. 13, 1662.

UPON my receiving a letter from the duke de Vendôme of the 26th past, in answer to one I had wrote to him, to advise him of the arrival of the ship Fame on this coast, I advanced the sieur Fourand, who commands it, 583 crowns to put him in a condition to proceed to Seudre, and have drawn a bill of exchange for this sum on the treasurer of the navy; so that if the wind proves favourable, she may arrive before the end of this month.

I send your majesty a list of the English fleets bound for Lisbon and Tangier, such as I had from captain Foran, who lay at anchor in the same road, and to whom I gave it in charge to inform himself exactly; and your majesty should have received it sooner if his letters had not been intercepted.

My lord d'Aubigny \* came to visit me this morning, and told me, that last night, the king

\* Fourth son of the duke of Richmond, almoner to the queen mother.

of England and the chancellor, discoursing with him on the affairs of France, had acquainted him, that by the last letters they had received from Holland they had advice, that your majesty had concluded a treaty with the Dutch, by which there was a stipulation of reciprocal succour and assistance, in maintaining all the rights and privileges either by sea or land, which might be contested with either one or the other; and that, by this general expression, they pretended, that the guarantee of the fishery was included, and spoke of it as a condition agreed on by the treaty; that this shewed the little regard your majesty had to their interest.

I made answer, that I had no knowledge of the articles of that treaty, and that I did not believe it was concluded; but, if it was, it would be of no service to the Dutch, if the king of England should have reason to complain; and the rather, that, by d'Aubigny's own discourse, it seemed that the de Wit faction was not pleased with the said treaty, because the guarantee of the fishing was neither understood nor specified in it, which was what they desired mostly; and that, if your majesty had intended to have done any thing disobliging to the king of England, you would have done it without any disguise, such an under-hand way of proceeding being no way agreeable to your temper; but if it was true, that you had done as he said, it appeared from thence, that your majesty, &c. \*

\* The rest of this letter is not in the original.

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To the king.

Sire,

London, Feb. 16, 1662.

I Received the 14th of this month the dispatch your majesty did me the honour to send on the 5th, and I expect by the ordinary post, which ought to arrive to-day, somewhat more full and particular on the several points of my exprefs of the 1st, as your majesty gives me hopes; mean while, I have waited on the king of England, and have acquainted him with the obliging manner in which your majesty received the assurances he had given me of keeping up a good correspondence, and of your majesty's inclination to do the same on your part. He answered in such civil terms as were very satisfactory to me, and from thence he took occasion to enter upon the subject of the guarantee, and told me almost the same I had heard from lord d'Aubigny, of which I rendered your majesty an account in my former; he added, that he still hopes you would put a greater value upon his friendship than to enter into any treaty with the Dutch to his prejudice; that though he was acquainted from all quarters, but chiefly from Holland, that there was a treaty with them actually signed, he could not, however, persuade himself that the terms, though general, should yet be plain enough to infer a guarantee, still believing, that the friendship of the Dutch could never be preferred to his, or of such use to your majesty; that he had a fleet of 150 men of war at your disposal, and that you could never apprehend a piece of infidelity in him, such as you had met with from the Dutch at the treaty of Munster. As in none of your majesty's letters, or in those I received last, you communicate the con-

tents of that treaty, I could answer only in general terms, and by assurances of your majesty's good disposition to do nothing he should have reason to complain of.

I afterwards saw the chancellor, who told me in a more express manner, that the news he had of the conclusion of the treaty came from Holland; that it was conceived in general terms, which were equivalent to a guarantee; that some of the states were satisfied with it, as thinking it sufficiently understood, but that de Wit and his party were not, who wished that the word *guarantee* had been actually inserted to provoke the king of England more, and to be revenged on him for the injurious terms he used against de Wit in the affair of the prince of Orange his nephew; but that upon the assurances I had always given him of your majesty's good intentions, he suspended the judgment he was to form upon the matter till such time as by me your majesty would be pleased to inform the king his master of your last resolutions.

He afterwards spoke to me of the money at Havre, and told me, that all the succours for Portugal depended upon it, and all the good effects expected from that depended on dispatch, so hoped your majesty would give the necessary orders for that end.

He told me also, that the frigate which had put back to Portsmouth had orders on board to avoid all disputes with your majesty's fleet. After this, you may consider if it will be proper to send orders to Havre to pay the money lying there to the person sent by the king of England, as it is of such consequence, and how necessary it is to hasten the designed succours. I should think your majesty will make no difficulty in this, but I would not take upon me to engage you in any thing, and submit to your majesty to take such a resolution in this as you think most proper. I am, &c.

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## The king to count d'Estrades.

Feb. 26, 1662.

**T**HE chevalier de Clerville informs me, that you had told him before your departure, that M. Muty, not succeeding here in his proposal of taking possession of the islands of Alboufemes, had passed over into England in order to make the same proposal; and being informed from another quarter that one captain Supar, who commands one of the English men of war in the Mediterranean, had been to sound the anchoring-ground about those isles, and to examine the soil, I have reason to apprehend that the English may have a design to seize upon them in order to have an harbour for assisting Tangier, and to be masters of the two channels in the streights of Gibraltar, and it may be in time, to settle a toll on all shipping in the same manner the king of Denmark does in the Sound, which would be of very great prejudice to the subjects of all princes trading into or from those seas. I desire therefore that you will write to me fully your opinion of this affair, and send me word of all you know of it, and whatever you can by address be informed of by the said Muty, without letting him know you have any design; for as this settlement under consideration appears to be so commodious for the English that they might have taken possession of them without being proposed to them, it may happen that I may think of preventing them, and even to seize upon the Cheffin islands, which might be of equal advantage to them as those of Alboufemes.

If you can be informed of the particulars of the advantages upon which Muty founds his projects, and especially as as to the soil, wood, and water,

do

do not fail to inform me very exactly; and likewise endeavour to discover, if in consequence of this proposal the English have shipped off any materials, workmen, or artificans, by which I may guess at their design, as also of the time proposed to put it in execution, so as that I may take measures accordingly.

The king to count d'Estrades.

Paris, Feb. 26, 1662.

**I** Have received your two dispatches of the 13th and 16th current in the same day, and that of the latest date three hours before the oldest.

I believe, before this reaches you, Fox may be returned with what was delivered to him at Hayre, because I am informed that they had spent the night of the 18th in counting out the money to him to his satisfaction. I see by the other contents of your letters, that things are often taken amiss for want of being understood, or when one believes news-papers and flying reports; for in place of complaining greatly as they have done to you on informations from the Hague in relation to the guarantee of the fishing, they ought rather to thank me for my way of proceeding hitherto, purely out of consideration to the king my brother; but I refer this to another opportunity, as it requires much time to acquaint you with it, and at present I have not leisure.

I will use all possible means to put my gallees in good condition; and as I am informed that the English and Dutch drive a trade of slaving on the coasts of Guinea and cape de Verde, I desire you would carefully inform yourself, if any English company or particular set of merchants would contract with me to furnish a number of slaves from

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from these parts fit for the oar, for a price to be agreed on, not exceeding 200 or 250 livres a head, to be delivered at Toulon. Adieu.

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The king to count d'Estades.

Paris, March 1, 1662.

I Cannot as yet by this post answer what was said to you by the king my brother and the chancellor on the subject of the guarantee, the matter requiring a long narrative, which my other affairs will not permit. I only take up the pen to send you a recital which I have caused to be drawn up in writing of all the duke of Lorraine's behaviour to me in making the treaty concluded between us, which at last has put me under a necessity, in order to defend myself, and to guard against his bad behaviour, designs, and being over-reached, to come to the resolution you will find at the close of the said writing.

I desire you, as soon as it comes to hand, to communicate the same to the king my brother, and I am persuaded he will approve as much the sincerity of my proceedings as he will blame that of the duke as strange and disingenuous; it may indeed be said, that if he had acted otherwise he must have been no more that duke of Lorraine, who never acted fairly, but had always some cunning fetches, which however have turned out to his disadvantage; and on this occasion, where his view is that I myself should be the instrument to break off a match which I liked and he disliked, he shall not have cause to say, that he made a fool of me.

I am, &c.

To



## To the king.

Feb. 20, 1662.

I Waited of the king of England on the receipt of your majesty's letter of the 12th, and took occasion to confirm to him the assurances I had given him of your friendship; a proof of which was the affair of the money. I informed him, that upon his desire of this being dispatched with all diligence, and the money to be delivered to the person sent by him, you had forthwith sent orders to the clerk who had it in charge, and that I had wrote a letter in conformity to be delivered by this person whom he sends, who happens as yet not to be departed.

He assured me, that he had recommended the keeping this as a secret so strictly, that it would not be his fault if any discovery was made of what passed. I enlarged upon the great need which Portugal had of a speedy succour, in order to prevent the designs of the Spaniards at the beginning of the campaign, and pressed this farther by all the arguments with which your majesty's letters furnished me, not to omit any thing to preserve that kingdom; that all Europe considered this as the first protection he had engaged in, and from whence, people would draw consequences, and form an opinion of the value to be stamped on an alliance with him.

The king of England answered me, that he made that protection a point of honour, and farther, that it was for his interest, and as he would not be wanting either as to the one or the other, he hoped to give the world satisfaction on that point; that he was fitting out and victualling ten men of war for that expedition, and to retain fifteen transports to carry over 3000 men, which were to be drawn out of the cashiered troops in Scotland, and  
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that he hoped from thence the affairs of that kingdom would take a more favourable turn, considering that all the succours the Spaniards pretended to bring out of the troops in Flanders embarked at Ostend were lost; that he had accounts that the storm had obliged two of the largest ships of that fleet to put into some harbour in Ireland, who affirmed that they saw two others sink, one of which carried the marquis de Caracena's equipage, and that all the rest of the fleet was dispersed; that there were about 1000 men on board the two ships, which the commanders had begged leave to put on shore to refresh, after suffering so much at sea; and that the king of England had sent orders to grant them leave, and at the same time secret instructions to the governors there to encourage them under-hand to make their escape and desert, and to facilitate this, to furnish them with passes, and farther, as their provisions were spent before they could be victualled anew, and had money remitted from Spain for that purpose, a great deal of time would be spent. I have seen the letters which give this account, and Mr. Rutherford, who is lately come from Dunkirk is positive that there were but 3000 men to have been embarked, and that more than 2000 of those had deserted.

I acquainted the king with the account you had of the king of Spain's sickness, and of the hopes you had since the return of the courier that nothing dangerous was to be apprehended in it. I found he had also had advice of it, but that by his account he was in great danger, and thereupon took occasion to tell me, that the time might very soon happen when he might prove no weak or usefess friend to your majesty; that he had nothing more at heart than to give you convincing proofs of it, and for that end, wished to enter  
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into a strict alliance with you ; that he knew the Dutch used their utmost efforts to prevent this, by sowing the seeds of jealousy on both hands ; that they were industrious in publishing more than ever, that a treaty of guarantee of the fishing was fully resolved on, and that even a copy had been sent to him of a letter wrote to the states by their ambassadors at the court of France ; that monsieur de Brienne was sent to them on the part of your majesty, to acquaint them that you could not consent to the word *guarantee* being inserted in the treaty, as being contrary to your interest, but that words equivalent to that should be inserted, importing the same thing, and thereupon passages had been published in their gazettes, containing reflexions to his prejudice. Afterwards he told me the whole of the loss it would be to him if your majesty should be prevailed with to agree to this article in favour of the Dutch, which he could never believe, as he thought your majesty would reap more advantage from his friendship than from theirs ; that he desired you would reflect and search narrowly into the artifices they used to make you fall out ; that de Wit was the contriver of all this, who was spirited up by an inveterate hatred to him and the prince of Orange ; and, that at present, he was treating with the princess dowager, to bring her over to his party, and afterwards to lay a trap for her, which might ruin the young prince, and put off his being restored to a distant time, and by that means to fix himself in the authority he had usurped over the states ; that England was so situated, that they could not be without the use of its harbours ; that in the late storm 300 of their ships had been obliged to take shelter in them ; that your majesty being sure of the Swedes, as he was of the Danes and the elector of Brandenburg, they would certainly comply with what you two should

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I told him, to give him ar with the duk give him pleas informed of it usual way of day ; and as h majesty, he w had furnished dominions and mised by the t

should ask of them; that notwithstanding all the advantages they give out to have been offered them by Spain, they durst not enter into any engagements with it when they should see two neighbouring powers united, who had it in their power to ruin their trade.

Your majesty can be easily informed if the discourse imputed to monsieur de Brienne be true, as also, whether there be any artifice in the Dutch proceedings, and if there be, of which I entertain some suspicion, it certainly must be attributed to monsieur de Wit, who has the direction of the ambassadors, and governs them so as to make them speak what he pleases.

All I could do by negotiating under-hand with the chancellor, has been only to get Bennet laid aside from being sent ambassador into France, and to bring him to make choice of one who should not be suspected by your majesty; the king told me at this audience, that he had fixed his eye on lord Hollis, for that employ, who is looked upon at this court to be of no party but the chancellor's, and no way in the interest of Spain; he told me, he reposed the utmost confidence in him, and desired your majesty might take him wholly into yours, and that he proposed to dispatch him in a month.

I told him, I was commanded by your majesty to give him an account of the treaty you had made with the duke of Lorraine, as believing it would give him pleasure. He told me had already been informed of it, and farther, that after the duke's usual way of acting, he had repented of it next day; and as he took part in what concerned your majesty, he was glad that this proceeding of his had furnished you with a just reason to detain his dominions and to refuse him the equivalent promised by the treaty.

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I went afterwards to see the chancellor, and as this visit passed on the same subjects, excepting the affair of Portugal, of which no mention was made, because lord d'Aubigny served as interpreter; our conversation run upon such things as had passed in that with the king, which I shall not repeat.

I am, &c.

### To the king.

Sire,

Feb. 21, 1662.

**S**INCE the letter I had the honour of writing to your majesty yesterday, I had this morning a conference with the king of England. I made a pretext of desiring this on account of the advices I had received from your majesty of the great preparations the Spaniards were making to invade Portugal in the month of April next, flattering themselves, by their arms and by means of their secret correspondence to make a conquest of that kingdom before any succours could arrive; that your majesty had a thought, which you commanded me to communicate to him, to join the 2000 veteran foot which are sent to Tangier to the other 3000 foot and the 1000 horse that are now to be sent, so that both being joined to the Portugueze army, might make head against and break the first efforts of the Spaniards; and for that end, and the greater expedition, it was necessary to dispatch orders before-hand to the governor of Tangier, so that both might arrive in Portugal much about the same time. He seemed pleased with the advice you gave him, and said he would next day send orders for a detachment of 1500 men to be sent from Tangier to join the other body of succours;

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succours; that very fortunately a frigate which had put back to have a new mast was now ready to sail, by which he would send the orders and would cause all dispatch to be made in the embarkation, and hoped that all would be finished by the 15th of March.

He told me, that the parliament had granted him twenty millions, payable in eighteen months at three terms, and that the city of London, knowing the streight he was in for money, had advanced him a loan of two millions, to be repaid when he should be able.

To the king.

Sire,

London, Feb. 27, 1662.

**Y**OUR majesty has no doubt been acquainted with the sieur le Negre's having paid the 600,000 livres he had in charge to Mr. Fox in gold, according to a ticket sent me; it is safely arrived here the 24th, and the king sent me the news the same day, and told me that he had given fresh orders that every thing should be got ready for embarking the forces against the 15th of March; and I shall not fail to press him to it, and I am of opinion, that considering how much it is for his own interest he will of his own accord do as your majesty could wish.

He told me, that he had reason to believe the secret of the money had taken air in France, notwithstanding your precaution and his that it should not; his cause of suspicion is, that the earl of St. Albans had been informed, by one he did not name, that he had accounts from France that some very secret affair was carrying on between your majesty and the king his master, and that part of it was about a great sum of money which was sent to Havre, which it was believed

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that you had lent to him; that the queen of England knew nothing of it, nor had it been communicated to him, but some such report was contained in the merchants letters in London, and that he could not discover what might be in the matter; and though he was obliged to give what notice he could to the queen, he would not however desire to fail in any duty he owed to her, or to the king, and thereupon asked his advice; that such a discourse had happened both before and since Fox's journey, and that he had always desired an answer to be given; that the queen his mother was not to give herself any trouble about any such reports; that if any thing was transacting between you and him, it would be communicated to her as soon as convenient.

That he had been informed by Fox that the waggon had been accompanied by a guard of mulqueteers, who remained at Havre until the money was counted out to him, and that he eat and drank with them; and that it was apparent to every one that it was money which they guarded, and that it was afterwards put on board one of his men of war; that these circumstances being public, it was easy to judge that it was a transaction between the one king and the other, but none could find out for what purpose; that he informed me of those particulars on purpose that I might give your majesty an account of it, and waited to know if you approved that he should own (if he should be put upon an explanation) that it was a loan from your majesty, which the necessity of his affairs obliged him to, and to have recourse to his friends, because the money granted him by parliament required time to be collected, or to give it any other turn agreeable to you.

Lord d'Aubigny goes from hence in a few days to Paris, to purchase some things for fitting up a chapel for the queen of England, as also about

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his own private affairs; he told me, that as he had always entered with his coach into the Louvre, as a prince of the blood of Scotland, and as a descendant of the constable Stuart, to whom this honour was granted, he expected that this should be continued to him at this time by your majesty, and begged I would write to you about it. He names as witnesses of this, the queen, mother of your majesty, the princess Palatine, and monsieur de Turenne, by whom it will be easily known if his pretensions are rightly founded.

The queen of Bohemia died the 23d, aged 67; she has left the elector Palatine as her heir, only for form sake and that her will may be more valid, but has left her money and jewels to prince Rupert, which was all her estate, and only a diamond to the prince Palatine. She begged the king of England, that her pension might be continued for five years after her death, in order to pay off the debts she had contracted in Holland, which was granted. All this court are to go into mourning.

Since my last, there arrived here two deputies to the king from New England, accompanied by two French protestants, one of whom was formerly a minister in the Sevens, the other of Bourg de Marennes near Rochelle; they have presented a petition to the king and parliament full of many and strong reasons, not to consent that Acadia, which is a country of about fourscore leagues in extent, having several harbours, navigable rivers sufficient for ships of 1000 tons burthen, should be restored to your majesty.

They pretend, that there are already several churches built for the use of the people of the church of England; in four colonies, at a very great expence, which they have preserved at the hazard of their lives since the concession of Cromwell, and confirmed by the king since his restoration.



They beg the king and parliament to consider what great advantage may be reaped by the preservation of this country, undertaking in the name of the people of New England to furnish, delivered in the port of London, a sufficient quantity of masts for the king's fleet, and as much pitch as may be wanted; offering farther, to build at their own expence two men of war of sixty guns, and to send them in six months to the king; and that if it was only money that was wanted to pay your majesty's subjects for their damages, they would pay down 300,000 livres, ready money; and that they were sure that more than 6000 French protestants would quit their own country to come and live among them, provided they were assured of being protected by him and the parliament.

Being informed of the contents of this petition, I went immediately to the king of England to complain of it, and demanded commissioners to finish that affair, as your majesty had repeated your orders, and demanded justice of him for the usurpation of your sovereignty and the property of your subjects. I said as much to the chancellor, and it was agreed that I should have commissioners named next day, which was accordingly done, and we have already had two conferences.

In order to combat the heads of their petition, I demanded restitution of all Acadia, of eighty leagues extent, and that the forts of Pantagoet, fort Royal, and that of la Heue should be given up, and put into the same condition they were in when taken; that the cannon, warlike stores, arms, and merchandize should be made good, according to the inventory given in at that time, or paid for according to the value.

That the Capuchin convent and church, as also all the churches and chapels formerly belonging to the catholics within that district should be given up or rebuilt at their expence, and that none

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should be allowed to remain or inhabit in all the country of Acadia who did not make public profession of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman faith; and that the curates of the several parishes should be obliged to give an account every week to the commander appointed by your majesty, if there be any heretics in their districts, that they may be punished as your majesty may direct. That all the temples or meeting-houses, where there has been any preaching or prayers read according to the usage of the church of England, or any other, contrary to the catholic, shall be pulled down, and the materials employed to rebuild such as have been demolished.

My design in this was to go quite contrary to all and every article of their petition, and to make them sensible, that there was no hopes of accommodating this matter either by money or any other way; but if Acadia be restored, some of these demands may be softened and moderated, as particularly on the value put on the goods or merchandize, which the proprietors may not be able fully to prove.

Your majesty may perceive by the offers those people have made to the king of England, the advantage he draws from thence, and what benefit it may be of to you in time under proper regulation; and if care be taken to strengthen this colony, by sending thither 1200 foot under good officers, by which means the Iroquois may be reduced, who are enemies, and by that means a country of 200 leagues in extent may be gained, well peopled with savages, which being once brought under your authority may continue in subjection to it, and the catholic religion be much extended.

As I have spoke on this subject to several persons who have resided in those parts some years, I have informed myself particularly that your ma-

jefty may make a considerable kingdom of a country scarce known, and which the English wish for on account of their trade and navigation. Tomorrow I am to have a third conference on this affair, of which I shall give your majesty an account by next post.

I am, &c.

The king to count d'Estades.

March 4, 1662.

**I** Find by yours of the 22d past, that the king my brother is under some concern what to say in relation to the 200,000 crowns which were paid to his order at Havre, since it has been discovered by the earl of St. Albans, and is at the same time desirous to keep it secret according to promise. As I find the chief of his concern is about the queen of England, I am willing to ease him in that, and consent that he own, but still as a great secret, that the money came from me, conjuring her however, that she alone should know it, and not to tell it to any other person, and that I had done him the favour to lend him this sum upon his present occasions, and to prevent any prejudice which might happen to his affairs by the slow payment of the supplies granted him by parliament; but to all other persons; excepting the queen, I beg the king my brother to continue not to pretend to know what they mean, and to leave them to guess and conjecture what they please.

I approve of all you have hitherto done in procuring Acadia to be restored to me, and I promise myself from your zeal and address that you will pursue the affair till I have that satisfaction which

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is so just, the delay or refusal of which may have consequences not agreeable. It is the effect of your prudence, and I much approve that you have conceived the terms of your demands in direct contradiction to the heads of the petition of the Calvinists, who would engage the king my brother to support so manifest an injustice, and you have also done very prudently to let them know that this affair was not to be accommodated by any sum of money.

You may tell the king of England, that what is known in relation to the money paid at Havre, proceeded from Fox himself who was at no pains to keep it secret; and this has occasioned all the foolish reports which have been current in Paris, and could not fail being wrote to London, that I was making a bargain for Dunkirk with the said king for a sum of money, to exchange it afterwards with the Spaniards either for Cambray, Air, or St. Omer. You know better than any one if I have had the least thought of that, and yet it has reached even to me, from good hands, that some people near to that king have wrote to him, that by the preparations I was making for my journey into Alsace I had an eye more on Dunkirk than Germany; although this be contrary to common sense as well as my intentions, because I have only my ordinary guards to attend me. I should be glad however, that you should found a little the said king on that head, to learn if he will have the sincerity to tell you any thing of the suspicions they would excite in him by the letters I have mentioned, for if he be upon the reserve it will be a proof that he is capable of believing the chimerical informations he has received; take care however, whether he tells you or not, not to explain yourself, but be contented with letting him know, if necessary, how ridiculous those um-

brages and suspensions are, and how inconsistent such a malicious design is with the transaction at Havre.

I send under your cover a letter to be delivered by you to the king, condoling his loss in the death of the queen of Bohemia. I pray, &c.

### To the king.

Sire,

London, March 6, 1662.

**I** Received your majesty's two last dispatches, and by what you give me reason to expect by the next post, I hope to be more particularly informed what has passed between your majesty and the states on the subject of the guarantee, that I may be better able to dissipate the jealousy the king of England has conceived on the malicious informations he has had. However, I think it will be proper to prepare him to believe something different, by communicating to him the assurances your majesty gave me in general, that in all the proceedings about that affair you had acted with so great consideration for his interests as to expect thanks rather than complaints. He seemed pleased with what I said on this head; and although your majesty gives me no handle to enter deeply on this affair, or to say something obliging to confirm what I have said in general terms, yet I hope it will be easy for me to content him:

My former letters gave your majesty an account of the business at Havre.

With regard to the thought your majesty has to find out some person willing to contract for a number of slaves sufficient to serve on board your majesty's galleys, and the opinion you have that the negroes purchased, on the coasts of Guinea

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nea and the cape de Verde will be proper for that purpose; it is my duty to give for answer, that after informing myself very exactly of several persons, and particularly Mr. Carteret, who is concerned in that company, I understand that such a sort of slaves are no way fit for that business, and that this company, who have lately sold a cargo to the value of 100,000 livres, sell them in Jamaica or some other of the colonies of America where they want hands to work in the fields, for which they are proper enough, and these are sold for about twenty-eight pieces a head, which is about 400 livres of our money, and must cost a great deal more to have them delivered at Thoulon supposing it could be of use, as it is a longer run; but that the best way for you would be to get the English ships belonging to the king to bring what slaves they take in the Mediterranean to Thoulon to be sold to your commissary instead of selling them in Spain, as they are able and well-made fellows, used to the sea and our climate, and your majesty will certainly have more service from them than any brought from Guinea. This I afterwards spoke of to the king, and desired an order from him for that purpose to his agent at Thoulon on advice he has that some ships are gone thither to take in provisions, which order he has promised me, and I shall take care to forward to you with all expedition.

I have not omitted however, to address myself to the Hollanders, and by acquaintance with them to be fully satisfied, whether the accounts I have had in this country be true as to the strength and constitution of the slaves which come from Guinea and cape de Verde, and have sent a memorial for that purpose; by the answer I may receive your majesty will judge what is most advantageous, but I should know the number to be contracted for.

The

The same agreement may be made with the Dutch as to the slaves they may take in the Levant as is done here, which they will not scruple to do. I doubt not but the English will endeavour to make some settlement on the islands your majesty mentions, and form some designs on that and the neighbourhood of Tangier; the Dutch ambassadors assure me, their admiral de Ruyter has wrote that the English had carefully viewed all of them, and I find they are also a little alarmed at this.

I understand that M. Muty is gone from hence, and I cannot find by any at this court that he made such a proposal here as that he made in France. I shall still endeavour to be farther informed, but at present this is all the light I can give your majesty.

Lord d'Aubigny was to have gone to France, but his journey is stopped by the news which came yesterday from Portugal. The admiral has dispatched a frigate which has been but ten days on her passage; he writes to the king, that the fleet arrived the 10th of February before Lisbon; that he has taken possession of Tangier, and that the queen intends to embark for England the 15th of March; the king proposes to go from hence the 20th to receive her at Portsmouth, and has adjourned the parliament for two months. I hope your majesty will be so gracious as to allow me my congè, since my stay here will be no longer of use, as the king is absent. There has been no council these ten days, and there will be none before Wednesday next; they have delayed till then giving me any answer as to the restitution of Acadia. Lord Hollis sets out in a fortnight on his embassy to France; he is quite a good friend of the chancellor's, and the king has great confidence in him. I am, &c.

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The king to count d'Estrades.

March 12, 1662.

**I** Wrote to you on the occasion of a conversation you had with the king of England on the subject of the alliance the Dutch press me so much for by their ambassadors, that the said king ought rather to thank than complain of me for the manner of proceeding to that time out of love to him in that negotiation, and that in time he should know the truth. This is what I pretend to discharge in this letter, and will begin by explaining the fact; for I find by your letters, that neither the king my brother, or chancellor Hyde are well informed of it.

When this alliance begun to be negotiated above a year ago, the Dutch ambassador presented articles, by which the states offered to guarantee to me all my possessions, not only what anciently belonged to my crown, but what I had acquired by treaty, and in general, of all my rights without exception. You may easily judge, that at the same time they offered this to me, they did not omit to ask the same with regard to their state, and that I should reciprocally guarantee all their possessions and rights, to which nothing could be objected, because their demand was just and fair, and according to what had been stipulated in former treaties; and this foundation of a general mutual guarantee being laid, the whole treaty has been built upon it.

But it happening, that the Dutch were afraid from what was given out in England, that the king my brother would give them disturbance in their fishing, which they say is a public right, and that they had never been disturbed in the enjoyment of it; their ambassadors desired me, for the

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the greater precaution, and for their farther safety, that there should be added to the article of mutual guarrantee these three words, *also the fishing*. I have hitherto given for answer, that this clause was unnecessary, because that of the fishing was sufficiently comprehended in the guarantee of all their rights in general; at this time we are upon this very claim, and the treaty is stopped purely on account of the difficulty I make of having these words inserted.

My reason of contesting this with them is not, that I think myself less obliged to warrant their right of fishing, whether that clause be expressed or not; for in saying all rights it excludes none, but I was willing to have that regard for the king of England hitherto to reject that word, thinking this expression would be more shocking to him than the clause in general terms, although to speak truly, I know very well that the clause in general terms, which I agreed to long ago, will oblige me as much to assist and support the Dutch in case they are disturbed, as the specification they desire of the word *fishery* in the treaty; so that properly speaking, it is only a dispute about a word, and not any thing regarding the substance; and this being evident, as it is, I leave the king my brother to judge, if as the states are upon the point of recalling their ambassadors rather than conclude the treaty without this expression be inserted; and I presume on the other hand, that I find it for my advantage to engage anew into this old alliance, and may apprehend bad consequences from not doing it; I leave him to judge if I should be well advised to let the ambassadors depart and break off a treaty so far advanced rather than allow a single word, the substance of which I have promised, and which being either left out or put in, neither adds nor diminishes from the force of the guarrantee.

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Yet I can affirm, that I have hitherto preferred a scrupulous satisfaction of the king my brother to my own particular and real interest; for as to the word itself which I so firmly contest with the Dutch, by which they have reason to apprehend a rupture of the treaty, if insisted on, it is certain, if they rightly understood it, I have the same interest with them in relation to the fishing, which the English cannot pretend to disturb but by virtue of their pretended sovereignty of the sea, which I am so far from agreeing to, that I will maintain, when there shall be occasion, with much more reason than they, that this belongs to me; and moreover, as England may dispute the liberty of fishing with my subjects as well as those of the states, especially after what you know Downing lately gave out at the Hague, that the king his master was resolved not to allow the French to fish, at the same time giving out, that the subjects of the united provinces should have free liberty, if they did not enter into any alliance with me. You see, whether the provinces demand any thing of me which I ought not to grant, even for my own safety and the interest of my subjects; yet hitherto I have passed over considerations of that importance, endeavouring by all possible means to avoid doing any thing that might be disagreeable to the king my brother.

To speak plainly; if after this conduct he is not satisfied with my reasons, and will needs think himself disobliged if I should be constrained in the last necessity to have this word inserted in the treaty rather than break it off, it would be a sort of tyranny in our friendship, and I should have no reason to believe his friendship for me so sincere as mine is for him, or that from his heart he desires my advantage as I from mine wish his interests.

Certainly

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Certainly there is none can rejoice more than I at whatever good, glory, or honour happens to the king my brother; I look with pleasure on the acquisition he has made of Tangier, which is a port of the last consequence in the streights, as also of so many other places in both the Indies, which put into the hands of his subjects the trade of all the known world. However, if he persists in the same sentiments he seemed to you to be of, it would appear as if the king envied me a small advantage I may acquire in some friends, when at the same time it is his interest that I should be well with them, in order to dispose them on all occasions to incline to what he may desire.

Besides, I am certainly assured, that if I allow the Dutch ambassadors to go without concluding the treaty, those who have at present the principal credit in the direction of their affairs have resolved to throw themselves into the hands of the Spaniards, and to listen and apply themselves seriously to a strict confederacy which has been proposed to them by Don Estevan de Gamare before he left the Hague; that it is believed that one Huygens is negotiating with him at Bruffels until his return to the Hague, where he is expected to continue the conferences with the deputies appointed to treat of this affair, and I know that some talk to resume what remained unfinished of the pacification at Ghent. If it was only then to ward this blow, can I with any reason from prudence or good policy hinder myself, if it comes to the extremity, to conclude with the states, to prevent their precipitating themselves into engagements, which would be so pernicious to the common interest both of France and England; and I would ask the king my brother, if he would rather desire to see the states confederate with the

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Spaniards for the reduction of Portugal, than to see them enter into an alliance with me, and by my means in the same interest to support that kingdom? As affairs are in this situation and crisis that the states must of necessity chuse either the one or the other side I have mentioned, both the king my brother and we must be blind to our own interest if we lay them under the necessity or allow them the liberty of chusing, when we can attach them to ourselves and keep them out of the hands of the Spaniards.

However, if the king my brother is proof against all these pressing reasons, I shall have reason to think that he can have no other motive but downright ill-will to me, or as the Dutch ambassadors say, out of meer caprice, to hinder at any rate the conclusion of the treaty between me and their republic.

I send you a memorial which Downing presented lately to the generality at the Hague, in which he promises formally in writing, in the name of the king his master, that the subjects of the united provinces should not be disturbed in their fishing.

After this declaration, I would willingly ask the king my brother, what interest he has why I should not guarrantee to them a right, when he has thus publicly declared, he has no interest in disturbing it; as I believe it would not be for his advantage to undertake it, and in all events, I desire him to furnish me with a good reason, by which I can with the least shadow of justice pretend to refuse the states to guarrantee a right which is common to both of us; and which after this declaration, no body can dispute; besides, one may add to this, that England itself has entered as a guarrantee to a treaty between Sweden and the states, containing a guarrantee of the fishing in express terms. As there is not a nation

tion in the world can pretend, but that both France and Holland have a right to fish, it is evident that inserting this in a treaty, where the defence of this right is only meant, cannot be prejudicial to any Nation.

It is also evident, that a general offensive league both by sea and land, ought necessarily to take in the right of fishing, unless a door be left open to make it illusory when one had a mind, with regard to the sea, and to exclude a number of the subjects of nations from part of that protection which ought to be general, by depriving such as are concerned in the fishing from the benefit of the said league, in which my subjects, as being most in number, would be the greatest sufferers.

But grant I should give up this interest thus common, for the sake of gratifying the humour of the king of England, and should let the ambassadors of Holland go without concluding any thing, and afterwards their state should be attacked by England on account of the fishery; could I, because I have promised nothing, exempt myself from taking some part in a war carrying on in my sight, and for a cause I am as much interested in as the Dutch, to wit, the liberty of the sea? And ought I not in that case to apprehend that if the united provinces be brought to submit by force, and be obliged to give up a right, the possession of which they have always enjoyed, that England will assume the same power over my subjects?

I do not however believe, after so many other considerations I have suggested, which are unanswerable, that you will have occasion to add this last reason, which may appear not so obliging, because it may be interpreted an unnecessary menace, which is not my intention, but ingenuously my opinion how things may probably happen.

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pen. Wherefore, I desire if you find it absolutely necessary to mention this last reason, you will do it with such discretion, that the king my brother may not know I have wrote to you of it.

I was desirous of acquainting the king my brother of all these matters which I have mentioned, before you should leave England, and of all the reasons of my being obliged to proceed farther in my treaty with the Dutch, it may be even to the expressing the word fishery, if I cannot prevail with them to give it up, and that my said brother may not be surprized with it, thinking it due to the sincere friendship between us, that I should ingenuously open my heart to him before I actually did the thing, though otherwise supported by so many good reasons, that I am persuaded he cannot but in his own mind approve of every one of them, when duly represented to him by you; and that they will make that impression on him. I could wish, so that this incident may be no cause of any breach of the union between us.

This is the last affair I shall charge you with in England, allowing you to return to take care of your own affairs, according to your request; as soon as you have discharged this last commission, and have obtained a categorical answer as to the restitution of Acadia.

I would also have you take notice, that in drawing up this dispatch, I have made use of several reasons, and it may be several expressions that may not altogether be so proper or useful to obtain what you are to aim at, if mentioned precisely, and in so crude a manner to the king of England; what obliged me to do this, was that you may be fully informed, and the better to imprint on your mind the strength and justness of all my reasons in this affair; but I refer to your prudence and discretion to make use of such arguments,

m -ts, and employ such expressions, as you think most proper to dispose the king my brother (which is to be your object) to relish and approve the resolution I am about taking, which is indispensable, unless I would lose the opportunity of concluding an affair of great consequence to me, which can hurt those only who do not love me, or are in interests contrary to mine.

Since writing the above, I have just received yours of the 6th current, which however occasions my adding nothing more, but that I am of your opinion, it will be better to buy slaves for my gallies of the English and Dutch, such as they take on the coasts of Barbary, than of the negroes from Guinea, as they will cost more and not be so serviceable; forget not therefore to procure the order which the king my brother has promised you for that purpose to his agent at Toulon, as to the number to be contracted, for, if they can be had at a reasonable price, I will take as many as they can furnish, if it be three or four thousand.

I pray, &c.

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### To the king.

London, March 13, 1662.

**O**N receiving your majesty's dispatch of the 1st, I gave an account to the king of England of your treaty with the duke of Lorraine, and read over to him the heads which were sent me of it. He very much approved of all your conduct in that affair, and your honour in performing all the conditions, if princes who have made a bad use of your lenity formerly, and failed in the respect do to you, return to their duty; but think

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that, persisting as they do in the protestations they have made, your majesty has just reason to retain their countries, and to make use of your right by conquest so lawfully acquired. He questions whether all the complaints they make in Germany, can prevail with any one to espouse their quarrel against your majesty, and nothing could be more obliging than all he spoke on this subject. He would have me leave with him the copy of the treaty, and I made no difficulty as knowing it was in order to shew it to the duke of York and the chancellor.

On receiving your majesty's dispatch of the 4th, which came to my hands almost at the same time as that of the 1st, I pleased him very much when I informed him, that, to deliver him from his uneasiness with regard to the queen his mother as to the transaction at Havre, you agreed that he should own that he had received the 600000 l. by way of loan to supply his wants, till such time as the funds granted by parliament should answer; and that the reason of concealing this from her until now, was that your majesty desired it might be kept a secret, and agreed that he should write the queen to this purpose, and recommend it to her not to speak of it to any person about her; and I could perceive he had great pleasure to find you had put him in a way to prevent her being disobliged with this reserve. I acquainted him that Fox had not been so reserved as was necessary, in keeping secret the affair at Havre, and that he had been too open in his discourse there.

He told me that it could not be any fault of Fox's, for he had neither seen nor conversed with any body during his stay there, excepting the sieur le Negre who payed the money, and your majesty's musqueteer guards, with whom he lodged in the same house, and did not stir abroad,



so much as to see the town or to see the king's lieutenant; and that he had told him, on his returning on ship-board, he was surpris'd to hear from the sailors who had brought him on shore, that all the town and harbour was full of rumour, that there was a considerable sum of money to be sent to you by your majesty; and that the arrival of his ship had been expected for two months, upon which every one concluded, that a good understanding between you and him had made your majesty form sundry designs without discovering the true one: and that from thence had sprung all the whimsical news which had been reported, both in Flanders and at his court, that there was no restraining this liberty of discourse, but that nobody could certainly know the true reason of this transaction. That these reports, however, had come to his ears, and he told me in confidence, that it had been wrote to him, that your majesty, instead of a progress into Alsace, designed a tour to Calais; and that they would have him suspect, that you had formed some design upon Dunkirk; but that, as those advices were ridiculous, he only laugh'd at them.

I told him, he could not do your majesty more justice, than still to remain persuad'd, as he then was, of the sincerity of your intentions; and that nobody could be so good a judge as himself, by your proceedings with him hitherto to believe that you would continue to be so. That I was mighty glad to find that these false reports had made no impression on him, and that thereby he might discover the evil designs of the informers; and it appear'd to me as if he was resolv'd not to give any credit to them. I deliver'd him your letter of condolance on the death of the queen of Bohemia, and to the duke of York that address'd to

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I took occasion, from my audience of the duke of York, to be informed of the dispatch made in the equipment of the men of war and transports for the relief of Portugal; he told me there were ten sail ready to be sent to Scotland to take on board the infantry there, and that the transports would take the cavalry on board at Portsmouth, but, that no time might be lost, those that were first ready should be sent away, to prevent the inconveniency which happened to the last fleet, who, by waiting till the whole fleet were made up, had remained in port, and consumed by that means two months provisions; the lords Morgan and Inchequin are to command those succours, the former is he who commanded in Dunkirk after Lockhart's removal, until the time that Rutherford was appointed governor.

I could have wished not to have wearied your majesty with so tedious a letter, but as the subject is to give you an account of a kingdom of as great extent as France, and much desired by the English, I thought it my duty and for your majesty's service, to enlarge upon the particulars of the negotiations about this country.

Perceiving that all the delay in the affair of the restitution of Acadia, proceeded from a second petition presented to the king of England by the inhabitants and deputies of New England, and supported by Parliament, I represented warmly on the part of your majesty, the prejudice such delays occasioned, and the peremptory orders I had to know his final resolution, that you might take your measures accordingly. He told me he was desirous to give you satisfaction, but that it was but just that he should not give up his own interest; that, if I desired, he would call the commissioners into his own chamber, who would convince

vince me by good reasons, that this country belonged justly to him. I accepted the offer, declaring at the same time, that, after having fully answered these commissioners, I hoped he would do me justice, by restoring to your majesty what of right belonged to you.

These gentlemen alledged for justifying their possession a commission from king *James* in 1607, to one capt. Richard, chief of a company of English, with a power to plant and possess the country of New England, whither afterwards several families did transport themselves and establish, and since that time to this present, have built three towns, and more than a hundred villages; have erected a fort beyond the river of Noremburgh named Pantagoet; that they were the first who inhabited the country, and cleared the ground. That it was indeed true, that there had been disturbances occasioned by the misunderstandings between the two kingdoms, which had been the cause of war between the French and English; that Pantagoet fort had been taken from the English by the commander Razilly, that since then Oliver Cromwell, in the year 1654, had given a commission to the inhabitants of New England to make reprisals, and that, upon account of several losses and damages which the inhabitants had received by the invasions of the French, they had seized upon Acadia. That, even by a treaty concluded between your majesty and Oliver Cromwell, it was agreed on that nothing should be said more of the restitution of this country, but referred the examination more particularly into it, till the commissioners on both sides should meet to enquire into the reprisals, when every one was to have justice done them. That what they had represented, made it apparent that the English had a right to retain Acadia, as being the first who were seized

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seized of it, which is the same as possession in countries new discovered.

After the commissioners had thus given their reasons in the presence of the king of England, I answered that they alledged nothing to me, except a commission, given by king James in 1607, to a society of merchants conducted by an English captain named Richard. That I could justify the possession of America by the king of France 100 years before the commission of king James; that, in order to prove what I advanced, I should not content myself to speak in general terms as the commissioners had done, but that I should give an account by whom the first land in America was discovered, and of the several kings who afterwards gave commissions to their subjects, and the names of such as had been employed, so that the king might more clearly see the injustice done to your majesty in retaining the lands belonging to you.

That I should begin with a voyage made in the year 1504, by two captains of Brittany, who were the first that discovered the continent of America, as is to be verified by the history of Nislet and Magin printed at Doway. That afterwards king Francis Ist, being informed of this, sent John Verassan a sea officer with two men of war, to take possession of the country in his name, extending from latitude 33 degrees to 47, so that the country now possessed by the English, to which they have given the name of New England, is comprehended in the limits belonging to your majesty.

The said John Verassan made two voyages thither, the last in the year 1523, and from that time the country has been called by the name of New France.

In the year 1535, James Cartier, a famous seaman who was a native of Dieppe, and had raised himself from a common sailor to be a commander, discovered most part of the sea coast of that country, and of the river St. Lawrence. The said Cartier, in 1541, made another voyage with three ships, and was made lieutenant under the sieur de Roberval, whom the king had appointed lieutenant-general of all America.

Anno 1542, the sieur de Roberval went in person, having with him six ships fully equipped with all things necessary, and made a settlement upon an island near Quebec which he named Orleans. In 1543, the said Roberval sent one capt. Alphonse a native of Saintonge, on board a vessel towards the country of Labrador, who discovered the passage between the main land and the island of Newfoundland.

In the years 1564, 1565, and 1566, the sieurs Ribault and Loudonniers went to New France by order of king Charles IXth with eight sail of ships, who fortified the colonies, and afterwards went to seize upon Florida, which belonged to the king of Spain Philip 2d, who fitted out 20 sail under the command of an admiral, retook Florida, and put to death, as pirates, the captains Ribault and Loudonniers.

In 1598, king Henry IVth, resolved to send a person of consideration into that country, being of opinion, that this new sovereignty might one day be of great advantage to France, and for that end conferred the employment of lieutenant-general of America on the marquis de Roche Giffard, a nobleman of Brittany, with full power to command all over that country.

Anno 1600, the commander de la Châtre, governor of Dieppe, succeeded to that government, who sent thither as his deputy the sieur de Mons, who

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In 1603, Henry the IVth, finding himself in possession of that country after a great deal of expence, that he might be better informed of every thing of its situation, harbours and rivers, sent thither the sieur Champlain, a knowing man both in geography and fortification to make an exact report what was worthy of being remarked, as may be proved by his book and map, entituled the voyage of sieur Champlain to America.

The death of Henry IVth happening, this country remained in an abandoned state by the loss of its protection and sovereign, and the troubles which arose afterwards, during the minority of Louis XIII, putting a stop to the execution of the grand designs which Henry the great had formed as to New France, this country remained without any assistance or share of the royal protection, and it was at this time that king James gave commission in 1607, to settle an English colony in that part of America.

In 1649, in the reign of the late king Charles, the lord Alexander Stirling invaded Acadia, seized on the forts of Pentagoet, St. Croix and Port Royal, and afterwards took Quebec, and possessed himself of all that belonged to us in that part of America.

By the peace made between the two crowns in 1632, restitution was made of all the country from Quebec to the river Noremburg where the fort of Pantagoet is built, which is the principal place in Acadia; in consequence of which treaty, the late king Louis XIII. sent the commander Razilly with four ships to take possession of all Acadia, and was made governor of all that country which we possessed quietly, until Oliver Cromwell in the year 1654, under pretence of letters of reprisal, sent

sent four ships to make a descent on the river of St. John, and afterwards took all the forts in Acadia, without any just cause of a rupture, and contrary to the law of nations.

To this I added, that seeing even by the report of the commissioners there appeared no just ground to justify the legal possession of New England, which had been usurped from the dominions of your majesty; I had a right to demand restitution of it as well as that of Acadia; but that the value your majesty put upon the king of England's friendship, made you consider, that this pretension, though just, might at this juncture occasion some trouble to his subjects in those parts, made him overlook his own interest, and confine himself to demand the restitution of all Acadia, only without renouncing however his right to New England.

If after this conference, in which it seemed to me that I had fully cleared up your majesty's right, you had not satisfaction made you, I do not see what is to be farther expected; but I am persuaded that the king of England and the chancellor will reflect duly on this, having acquainted them as proceeding however from myself, that I apprehended, if the justice your majesty demanded should be refused, you would have reason to believe that all the protestations of friendship made by him hitherto were only words, to which his actions did not correspond; and that from the great desire I have of both your majesties being strictly united, I earnestly wished that all grounds of complaint might be removed.

The king told me, that the affairs of Ireland would employ his council for all the week; that he could not go upon the affair I mentioned till the week after; but acquainted me beforehand that

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The king to count d'Estrades.

Paris, March 18, 1662.

I Received your dispatch of the 13th current, and was glad that the king of England approved and commended so much my procedure in the negotiation of the treaty with the duke of Lorraine, and that he blamed the duke's conduct; that matter is still in the same situation, because, that although I have clearly discovered his design to trick me, I would shun as much as possible doing any thing that looks like violence or force, till such time at least as I have given him leisure to yield and submit to reason.

All that the king of England said to you in vindication of Fox on his neglect of keeping the secret, would have some weight if he had not wrote to some in this place that he was come to Havre to do what he did; but at present there is no remedy but to leave people to conjecture what they please, and I do not apprehend that hitherto any body knows the truth of this affair.

I am glad to understand that the king of England has himself owned that which I knew was wrote to him in order to make him jealous of me on the subject of Dunkirk, because this open declaration is a proof, that he regarded no more than he ought informations of that sort, which have not so much as the appearance of truth.

As to what you have wrote to de Lionne by the former post I approve, and desire you will send all your equipage directly to Holland, so to save the



the expence of transporting them from hence by a round-about way; mean while I have wrote three days ago to the Hague, to recall from thence the sieur de Thou.

I would gladly have waited till Morgan and Inchequin should have been gone with the troops designed for Portugal, before I should be obliged to make known to the king of England the resolution I was necessitated to take on the affair of the Dutch fishing; but their ambassadors urged me so much to make a declaration because of the disorders which might happen by their being recalled, that it was not possible for me to delay longer, and to write you of it in the terms you find in my last dispatch. I would willingly hope the king my brother will yield to reason, because with a great deal of more equity than he can alledge in the affair of Acadia, I may make the same excuse; that I would willingly please him as far as I can, but it is not reasonable that I should give up what is my interest, and the rather, when he has no real interest, but purely to hinder me from entering into an alliance with another state; whereas in the other affair of Acadia, I may complain that he detains from me what is part of my property.

I would willingly hope he will not continue long in this refusal, but rather, that so many strong reasons as you have assigned in the presence of his commissioners, will prevail with him not to allow you to depart without bringing along with you to me this so just satisfaction, for which I shall think myself obliged to you in particular, being sensible with what ability and skill of all that has occurred in past times you have maintained my right. I pray, &c.

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To the king.

Sire,

London, March 23, 1662.

**Y**OUR majesty must have been informed by the sieur Batailler, after what manner the king of England received the account I gave him of the guarrantee of the fishery; he is still very much affected with it, as also the chancellor. I could have wished that the succours for Portugal had been sent away before this news, and I found very little dispatch made in that embarkation. As for Acadia, nothing is to be hoped, but when a treaty is made between France and England, they have so little right to retain it, that they cannot with any shadow of justice refuse to restore it; in all events with 2000 men and ten ships it may be taken back in a short time, although they have an alliance with the Indians, and have 6000 militia in New England; but they are not people so accustomed to war as to dislodge regular troops from any posts they may have taken. I took last night my audience of leave, and shall be gone from hence in three or four days.

I shall make use of shipping for Holland for transporting my equipage, seeing your majesty gives me leave. The king of England has granted to him by parliament a subsidy of twenty millions a year for him and his successors on several funds; the most considerable is that of twenty-four sols on every chimney in England, which alone is computed at twelve millions per annum. He has also obtained a regular militia of 10,000 men, to be ready to march in case of any war, domestic or foreign, the colonels and other officers to be appointed by the king by commissions from him, and the power of ordering their pay and appointments.

This

To

This act is passed by all the three estates of parliament, which adds much both to the king's power and credit.

I am, &c.

To the king.

Sire,

**S**INCE the sieur Batailler went from hence, I have received visits from lord d'Aubigny, Mr. Carteret, and lord Hollis, who is appointed ambassador to France, and is entirely in the interest of chancellor Hyde; each of them separately entertained me with nothing else but the pressing instances made by the emperor and king of Spain to the king of England, to enter into a strict alliance with them, and of the considerable offers they made to him, even to make him sole arbiter as to Portugal. I had no difficulty to penetrate into their meaning in this, which made me answer, that I believed your majesty would be very well pleased to see the king of England in good friendship with the king of Spain, and even should receive that mark of confidence as to become the arbiter of the affair of Portugal. As the subject was only a kingdom, the king of Spain could do nothing more generous than to refer all his pretensions to the brother-in-law of his adversary, and that this appeared to be so extraordinary that I could not but be astonished at the proposal, and at the same time to admire the conduct of the king of Spain, who, not being satisfied with the peace and alliance made with your majesty, does still desire with greater earnestness to enter with you into a league offensive and defensive without limitation, judging very rightly, that nothing can better se-

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cure his possessions than such a friendship by a new league. They asked me if I had advice that such a treaty was set on foot; I told them I had not, but I was very well assured that it depended entirely on your majesty to have it concluded in a very short time.

They seemed to be very much surpris'd, and I thought it proper to go next day to see the king of England and the chancellor, to hear what they would say on the subject. They began again to speak to me of the guarrantee of the fishery, making still the same complaints of which your majesty has been informed. I told them, that the time you had taken and the delay you had given to the conclusion of that business, which was of so great importance to you in order to give him satisfaction deserved his consent, without being uneasy at an affair in which he had no interest, as it appeared by the declaration made to the states by his resident; and I hoped, that after reflecting on all the reasons your majesty had declared, that he would enter with the same warmth as I had known him to have, to support a kingdom (viz. Portugal) which could not be sustained but by him.

He told me, that indeed his assistance would be of great use if your majesty should enter into a league offensive and defensive with the king of Spain. I answered, that you would be obliged so to do if the king of Spain should make choice of him as arbiter of the difference between him and Portugal, but that as this must precede the treaty he mentioned, he could not be surpris'd at it; but that this was not the case with your majesty, because he might accept the great offers which the emperor and his allies made to him from all quarters, without your knowing any thing of the matter.

The

The king of England knowing very well that I was not much alarmed at these rumours, said to me, Let us talk no farther on this subject, but I would have you to be persuaded that I make all possible haste in sending the succours to Portugal; and assured me that he had sent to Portsmouth the ships for transporting the cavalry, and had given the same orders as to embarking the infantry to be sent from Scotland.

I commended him much for the care he took to fulfil his promises and his word with so much punctuality, and finding him in good humour, I took that occasion to beg I might represent to him afresh that he had no reason to complain of your majesty on the guarrantee of the word fishery; that the measures your majesty took to make this agreeable, were so obliging with respect to him, that you ought rather to be thanked than complained of. He said, that what piqued him most was, to find de Wit and his cabal preferred to him. I answered, that I could not bear to hear of such a comparison, or that he should entertain a thought your majesty ever put them on the level.

That your majesty wished nothing more ardently, than to cultivate the strictest friendship with him, but that each of you was to make steps towards one another, and meet half way; and that it was not enough you should make some advances, but that he should make some likewise, and he had at present an opportunity by this civility you have shewn him in the treaty with the Dutch.

Though this conference was smother than some others, yet I did not perceive such an approbation as I wished for; but he told me at the same time, that their own way of proceeding had not succeeded with them.

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To the king.

Sire,

London, April 5, 1662.

I Was fully informed on the sieur Batailler's return, of the reasons your majesty had for concluding a guarrantee with the states-general of all rights whatsoever, with particular mention of that of the fishery, and of the little occasion there is to be afraid from the proposals of which England boasts so much, as being made to her by the emperor and Spain, which they would make use of to hinder an alliance so advantageous to your majesty's affairs, which are so clearly explained by your dispatches, and by the mouth of the sieur Batailler. I remain absolutely perswaded, so as no more to doubt, that the king of England and the chancellor cannot, with a good grace, give their consent to that treaty, nor take for a mark of contempt what truly ought to be reckoned a proof of the sincerity of your friendship.

In order to bring them into this way of thinking, I have omitted nothing of what the sieur Batailler has told me as from your majesty; but the reason which appeared to me to be the strongest, and on which I insisted most, and being also that which most touched them, and therefore I enlarged most upon was, that by this guarrantee your majesty engaged yourself in nothing which was directly against the king of England, because the Dutch have other branches of fishing in other seas besides those of England; and moreover, what is said of the right of fishing, when they may pretend to set it up and to contest it with the king of England, they must first make out that right and justify it before your majesty can be deemed to guarrantee it by virtue of this clause; that

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by this treaty you became arbiter, and acquired a power which obliges the Dutch to comply with such a decision as you should make, and then it would be that your majesty would know how to make a just difference between your allies, and give the king of England a proof of the consideration and friendship you had for him, much greater than what the Dutch may have received. That this difference had appeared already, as your majesty had spent a whole year in disputing this point with the Dutch ambassadors, by refusing so much as to express the word fishery, because it might be interpreted to the disadvantage of the king of England; that you had given him advice of the treaty, and of the reasons you had for concluding it, and that he had been invited to consent to it, and accede to it; and farther, that you had not proceeded thus far until after being undoubtedly assured that the Spaniards laying hold of the occasion of the states of Holland being discontented on that account, had disposed them, after a long and secret negotiation, to enter into a strict alliance with them, which was directly against your interest, as also to that interest the king of England has in the preservation of Portugal, and that at the last the treaty had not been concluded until the states had actually signed an order for recalling their ambassadors; that your majesty had no other intention in this but to preserve allies, who are of use to both in an equal degree, and that the interest of the house of Orange made it necessary to treat with prudent care.

With these reasons, the chancellor, with whom I first discoursed was convinced, and could not but acknowledge, your true interest was to support the republic of Holland, and that it was also for the king his master's interest, and that your majesty

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majesty acting from this principle, only to maintain a good understanding between the three countries, and not out of a preference of having the Dutch for allies rather than the English, which would be a neglect and undervaluing, should find him disposed to assist in confirming the friendship as your majesty desired of him, and for that end, the lord Hollis would soon set out to give him new assurances. I afterwards waited on the king of England, who being beforehand informed by the chancellor, appeared to me to be of the same mind, as also the duke of York, all three excusing themselves for the opposition made to the receiving it openly hitherto, because of the injury which seemed to be done to England if that treaty had been concluded or entered into on any other view than that of maintaining a good understanding between the other three, and thereby to prevent the Dutch from entering into any alliance contrary to the common interest.

I set out to-morrow in order to repair to your majesty, and to give you a more exact and particular account of all that has passed in this negotiation.

I leave the sieur Batailler, as your majesty ordered, fully instructed in every thing, and agreeable enough to this court to manage such affairs as your majesty may charge him with.

I am, &c.

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The



The king of England to count d'Estades.

London, Oct. 12, 1661.

**I** Received your letter from Calais, on the subject to the resentment which the king my brother shews on the conduct of the Spanish ambassador, and am obliged to you for representing things as they passed, and in such a manner, that the king my brother is satisfied with my orders; if any thing wants to be farther cleared up, as my ambassador writes there will be occasion for, I persuade myself you will fully satisfy people, and confirm the king my brother in the opinion you influenced him to entertain, which I expect from your love to me, on which I rest; so may you be assured, that I have a particular esteem for you, and that I am always, your loving friend,

Signed, Charles, Rex.

“ This last letter is misplaced, though thus placed in the French edition”.

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Negotiation and treaty for the purchase  
of Dunkirk, anno 1662.

The earl of Clarendon, chancellor of England,  
to count d'Estades.

Sir,

Hampton court, June 29, 1662.

**A**S I have frequently reflected upon several particulars of the sundry conferences we have had together, and finding a disposition in the king

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king my master, to give all sorts of proof of the desire which he entertains to bind still more the ties of friendship betwixt him and his most christian majesty. I have sent on this journey M. Bellings, whom you know to be a person in whom I confide, to communicate to you my sentiments; to whom, I desire you to give credence, and to believe that I am truly, &c.

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The king of England to count d'Estrades.

Sir, Hampton court, July 27, 1662.

I Am informed of your being set out on your journey, as ambassador to Holland, and that this may find you at Calais; for which reason, as I have a great many things to communicate to you, and to resolve upon an affair which the chancellor has proposed to me, I wish you would, to oblige me, turn a little out of your road, and take this in your way. I am persuaded the king my brother will not disapprove of it; and to facilitate your voyage, I have ordered my brother's yacht to be sent for you. Mean while I remain, &c.

Signed, Charles, Rex.

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Earl of Clarendon to count d'Estrades.

Sir, Hampton court, July 27, 1662.

THE king having signified to you in his letter, his desire that you would pass this way in order to confer with you about some affairs, I persuade myself that you will not refuse him that satisfaction,

tisfaction, and take this occasion of expressing to you the pleasure I shall have of seeing you once more, and to assure you by word of mouth, how much I am, &c.

### King Louis XIV. to count d'Estrades.

St. Germain en Laye, Aug. 12, 1662.

**I** Received your letter from Calais, of date the night before last, together with the copies of those wrote to you by the king of England and his chancellor, declaring the desire which the said king my brother had to discourse with you about some important affairs; as to which I tell you, that I approve of your going into England to give him that satisfaction; I shall write to Holland that it will only be for a few days. However, I shall expect with impatience, to be informed, as soon as may be, the occasion of their being so desirous of seeing you. I pray, &c.

### The king to count d'Estrades.

St. Germain, Aug. 20, 1662.

**S**UNDRY important advices I have received from Holland this week, occasions my writing to you this letter, to inform you of them, and my own thoughts thereupon for your better government; so that you may consider this dispatch as an addition to the instructions given you at your departure from hence.

In the first place, they have named certain towns of Holland as deputies, who are to examine the propositions made to them by Estevan de Gamaro,

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of a league, between the states and the king of Spain, his master, for the mutual defence of the whole seventeen provinces, and the said Estevan de Gamaro bestirs himself with all diligence to gain the most considerable persons in the said towns, in order to make a favourable report to the states of the provinces at their next meeting. I therefore think, that your principal care should be on your arrival in Holland, after being informed, as you may easily be, what towns they are, to apply yourself diligently, either by going in person, or by means of your friends, to traverse the said Gamaro's negotiations by all the means and arguments which are so fully explained in your instructions, as to make it unnecessary to repeat them in this.

As the said Gomaro satisfies himself, in persuading only by fair words, without distributing one penny of money, having difficulty to draw from Madrid what he wants for his own subsistence, I think one has no need to be afraid of all the pains he takes, as soon as you set about destroying them, and especially at this conjuncture when an alliance is to be renewed, when the people seem to be so passionately desirous to shew their affection to this crown. One thing more is, the states have sent orders to their ambassador Borell, that at the exchange of the ratification of the treaty, which they have addressed to him, he should so manage it, that they may be allowed three months time for examining the other treaties fully, which are to be exhibited on both sides, upon condition, that if either party find out any thing difficult to be agreed to, or contrary to some other interest, they may have the liberty of declaring it within that time, otherwise, those treaties to be deemed, to be approved and warranted; and at the close of this article, the states do order

the said Borell, that if my commissioners mention to him, among other treaties, that which I last made with the duke of Lorraine; by which, his dominions are to fall to me after his death, he refuse so to do, on pretence that the said treaty is not as yet finished or ratified.

As to this, I would have you know, that I would be willing to agree to the delay of three months for examining the treaties on both sides, and, in the mean while, to exchange the ratifications without delay, if the states had not beforehand added that exception as to the treaty of the cession of Lorraine; but this has induced me to resolve, not to exchange the ratifications until they first receive and guarantee the said treaty as well as the others.

I have ordered this resolution to be made known to the said ambassador Borell; mean while, I have the more reason to be surpris'd with this novelty (in case the states should insist on it, as I cannot believe) as it is directly contrary to all which the three ambassadors, and even Borell himself has so often told my commissioners during the time this negotiation has been carrying on; when, in order to gain their own points, and to put a value on what they granted for my advantage, they declared more than a hundred times, that the said treaty of Lorraine should be guaranteed by their republic. I do not think that the said ambassadors will disown the truth of this, and I can even say, that it was this consideration which was one of the chief motives for guaranteeing their fishery, and in that to disoblige the king of England; how sensibly, you yourself know full well.

Notwithstanding which, after having engaged me to make so great a step for their advantage, at present they seem to revoke what their ambassadors had agreed to, as a point which could admit

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of no difficulty, and this on a weak pretence, which I cannot enough wonder at; for to pretend that the treaty of Lorraine is neither finished or ratified, is the weakest excuse that can be alledged, for the following reasons:

I. It is to be considered, that the said treaty cannot have its effect until the duke's death, till then we have stipulated, that he should enjoy his dominions with the same sovereign power and property as if he had never ceded them to me. However, I have acquired the right to them, and it is this right which I desire with all equity to have guarranteed to me as well as all my other rights, of what kind soever, by the united provinces, in the same manner as I have agreed to guarrantee unto them all their rights and possessions; and yet, no treaty is said to be more complete than this is, by being signed by me, and the duke of Lorraine, the sovereign of that country, exchanged reciprocally, and its being registered in my parliament of Paris. I do not think, that any thing more can be asked to render a treaty complete; for, as to ratifications, every one knows, that they are acts which are expedited only to approve and render valid what subaltern ministers have agreed on among themselves, by virtue of powers given to them by their masters; but that there is no need, and it would even be ridiculous to demand ratifications after the sovereigns themselves have signed a treaty; because this second act could add no force or validity, or more fully express their intentions than the first; and to conclude, it is evident, that as to the substance of the said treaty, in regard both to the duke or me, nothing can be more complete. It is true, that for the present I have suspended one of the articles, which regards the princes of my blood, which I have granted to the princes of Lorraine,

Lorrain, until such time as all, who have any interest in that succession have made their declaration, that they are content, and will abide by what the duke, as head of the family, has transacted with me, it appearing to me not to be just, and must so appear to every reasonable person, that I should immediately put all the said princes of Lorrain in possession of so great an honour and advantage as that of being capable, they, or some of their descendents, of some time or other having my crown put on their heads, whilst some of them, and even the nearest in blood, shew strong inclinations to oppose the said treaty, and to dispute my right with all the power they have. But, as on one hand, this opposition can in no manner invalidate or weaken what the sovereign has agreed on with me for the good of his state and subjects, and that on the other hand, I am fully disposed to put the prince of Lorrain in possession of all which that treaty gives them a right to demand, after their acceding to all the said treaty which concerns them in particular. I cannot see, how any can dare to say, that this is a treaty which wants any formality, but that it is as valid as any other treaty that ever was made between princes. It very much concerns me, that as soon as you arrive at the Hague, you represent all that I have now wrote to you on this subject, in the strongest manner, to the principal men of the state, and particularly to the sieur de Wit, giving them to understand, that they shall not find me in a humour to abate the least thing in an affair so just and evident, and, that in fine, if they have a mind that the renewal of our alliances should have the effect, they must begin by recalling the order sent to ambassador Borell, without which, you may declare to them, that the ratifications shall not be exchanged.

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In the third place, they have ordered the said Borell so to manage it, that the treaty made by me should be verified in all my courts of parliament and admiralty, so that judgment may be given for the future in conformity to this treaty, in all causes and cases which may happen where their subjects are concerned, which is also what I will not do, because it is neither customary nor consistent with my dignity to let my parliaments into the knowledge of any such treaties, at least, not in the manner the Dutch would have it; it is only in the case of general treaties of peace, which put an end to some tedious war, which it has been the custom to have registered by parliament, more for the honour of the thing than any necessity; or, in case of a treaty, such as that of Lorrain, by which there is a new acquisition of some state, territory, or place, the incorporating of which with the crown is necessary to be declared, which registration fully consolidates such an annexation; but as to treaties of alliance, this is never practised. The kings of France never acquaint their courts of justice with matters of state, for they are only erected to distribute justice to the subject in their name. All I can do then, if it should be deemed necessary, will be to send my parliament and courts of judicature declarations of my intentions how they should proceed and judge in cases for the future, in conformity to the said treaty, in causes relating to trade and navigation, which will serve for the advantage of the Dutch, as much as a compliance with what they demand.

In the fourth place, Borell has been ordered to give me assurance (which he has not yet done) that a treaty should be renewed with regard to the restitution of the effects belonging to the knights of Malta, after the cardinal of Hesse had given satisfaction to the states as to the seizure made of their



their ships at London; but since the said order was sent to Borell, the cardinal has wrote a long letter of excuse to the states, with which they were pleased; nothing hinders your putting your last hand to this affair after your arrival there.

In the fifth place, the said Borell was also ordered to assure me, that his masters were entirely disposed, even as much as I could desire, to treat with my cousin the duke of Newburg, to exchange his county of Ravestein for other lands, or to buy it, if he would send one to be on the spot; so that you must take all pains to have this affair finished to the said duke's satisfaction; who writes to me, that he has actually sent a person on purpose to the Hague with full power to negotiate it.

It is moreover necessary to acquaint you, that the same advices bear, that the ambassador of Spain, now at the Hague, leaves no stone unturned to traverse the conclusion of the treaty now carrying on by them in London, and to obstruct the exchange of the treaty which they have made with Portugal.

The same advice informs me of a very merry particular that the said Spanish ambassador was to acquaint the states with, as if he had orders from his master so to do; which is, to make heavy complaints to the states, that their subjects contravened the treaty of navigation between Spain and the united provinces, by sending every day corn, provisions, and other warlike stores into Portugal; whereas the said treaty expressly mentions, that no such things should be carried to places blocked up or besieged by the armies of the parties contracting. Estevan de Gamaro pretending that all the kingdom of Portugal was besieged or blocked up by the three corps of an army appointed to conquer it; but he may perhaps be pretty much puzzled if the states

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states should take no other notice of this than to send to ask him, whether Lisbon, or any other sea-port was besieged, as being the only places to which the Dutch can send by sea to sell their goods or have any trade. I pray, &c.

By way of postscript is wrote in the king's own hand.

“ Do not *speak* any thing upon your arrival at the Hague, of what I wrote above of the guarantee of the treaty of Lorrain, until I write you *once more* on this *subject*.”

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The king to count d'Estades.

St. Germain, Aug. 20, 1662.

**Y**OU may judge with how great impatience I wait the arrival of a courier from you, to be informed of the occasion of the king of England's being so desirous to speak with you, and to turn out of your way to Holland, expecting that my letters may still find you at London; I have sent this to acquaint you of some advices of importance I have received, which may be of service to the king my brother, by communicating of which to him, he may be still more persuaded how much I concern myself in what may be for his satisfaction, and how sincerely I desire more strictly to confirm our friendship.

I ordered Batailler, some days ago, to acquaint him, to have a watchful eye on one father Raphael, alias Gabriel Catalan, a Franciscan confessor to one of the ministers of Portugal, who is now at London, because I am certainly informed, that he is devoted to, and bribed by the Spaniards, and gives them  
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an account of whatever he can learn in the families of the said ministers. Batailler writes me in his last, that the king of England seemed to be thankful and obliged to me for this information, and that he would make the proper inquiries, and give the orders necessary, without exposing the person from whom I have the information. Since this, I can tell him farther, that at present it will be to no purpose to enquire after this monk at London, for he is come to take a turn to Paris; and having had him narrowly traced, I find that he has had long and secret conferences with the marquis de Fruente, which I should easily have prevented, had it not been out of tenderness not to expose my informer to ruin, who serves me with so much zeal, and thereby depriving myself of so useful a person. I chose rather to let things go on, in hopes of knowing the particulars of what passed, which has happily succeeded; for the monk has discovered to the said marquis, or at least made him believe so, that another Catalan, whose name they cannot yet learn, proposed to the king of England, to make him master of a sea-port in Spain well fortified, and situated in the Mediterranean; demanding, for effectuating this, only seven or eight ships, there being but a few soldiers in garrison. That he had besides, two trusty friends in the place, and without it, three or four hundred miquelets ready at his command, which makes it believed, if the thing be true, that it must be some port in Catalonia. The marquis de Fruente having thanked the monk in such a manner, as one may imagine, for so important a piece of service, and so very reasonable, told him, that he was to dispatch a courier on purpose to Madrid to give an account of this, so as to have the garrison reinforced, and to expel all suspected persons, and to give directions to be on their guard;

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and the said marquis has told me, that he had sent an express to Spain, though under another pretence, which makes me believe that the information is true. Not, but it is possible, the monk may have forged all this without any foundation, on purpose to have some reward; but to bring the truth or falshood of this to the touchstone will be, if any such proposition has been made to the king my brother, or may be made at any time to come; however, I thought it might be for his service, not to despise this information; for you know, that affairs of this sort, where places are to be taken by surprise, can seldom succeed when the other party is apprised of the design.

The same monk told another particular to the marquis, which is more to be regarded than the other, if it has any foundation. He says, that when the king of Portugal removed the queen his mother from the regency, or, when she resigned, he gave the greatest share of power to a bishop, who is privately at the devotion of Spain, and that he was formerly some time under an arrest on suspicion of his being such, though it could not be at that time proved against him. These are what I have hitherto been able to discover of the intrigues of this Franciscan; he indeed added one thing more, but as I believe it to be false, I do not put the same stress upon it as upon the other two. He told me, that don Francisco de Mellos was soon to go ambassador to Rome, convoyed by twelve English men of war, and that upon his arrival upon the sea-coast belonging to the pope, he would send to declare to his holiness, that if he still refused to acknowledge his master as king of Portugal, he would make use of that fleet to block up all commerce with Rome. Write me very particularly in what manner he receives those marks of my friendship, and of every thing he says to you on those

those three informations, and refer to the letter which goes along with this, what I have farther to instruct you as to your embassy to Holland. I pray, &c.

### Count d'Estrades to the king.

London, Aug. 17, 1662.

**S**INCE my arrival I have had one conference with the king of England, and two with the chancellor, on the subject of my journey hither. They turned on their part upon explaining to me their motives for the proposal which has been made to your majesty, which are chiefly, the strong desire the king of England has by that to attain a strict alliance with you, and explaining his reasons for making so high a demand as twelve millions, because of the great expence he had been put to for the maintenance of that place and the support of Portugal, which have already cost him ten millions, as also upon account of the intrinsic value of the place, the cannon and stores, its harbour, the reputation of the place, and the great advantages you may reap by it.

I would upon this have broke off the negotiation, by shewing how widely he was mistaken as to its real value, by the great difference there was between five hundred thousand English crowns, at which Cromwell had valued it at the time he designed a war with the Dutch, to whom it behoved to be much more necessary than it could ever be to your majesty, and acquainted him, that on account of this precedent I could not go beyond what was then offered, and that I had reason to doubt whether they had so great value for your majesty's

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majesty's friendship because they asked so extravagant a price, and that I might conclude from thence that they were not in earnest about treating. By talking thus, and putting on an air of indifference, I threw them into a great surprize, as they could not believe it was possible I should receive the proposal in such a manner, or that I had orders to offer so little, considering the value and importance of the places, the cannon and stores, which they value more than the fortifications, amounting to two millions, which they pretend we should pay for as they are to remain; to all which the chancellor added, that as the thought of this treaty proceeded from him, he did not pretend to disguise that the necessity of the affairs in England had brought this thought into his mind, but would not oblige him to make a bad bargain; that he was the only person in this sentiment, together with the king and the duke of York, and that he was still to bring over Monk, the high treasurer, and Sandwich, whom he could not hope to gain but by the greatness of the sum which should be paid to the king; that having already proposed the matter on account of the necessity of the state, they had offered an expedient for preserving it and saving the king the expence, which was to put that place under the authority of the parliament again, in which case they would be at the expence of maintaining it, and the king be still as much master of it as before, and if that should happen, and the king be forced to accept of that expedient, the door would be shut for ever to any such treaty as that now proposed, for which there was no farther time than till the parliament should again meet; for if that was once met again, nobody dared to make the least mention of such a proposal; that he would not pretend to enhance the price by telling me of

the offers made by Spain, because his master had rejected them all on account of the desire he had of a strict friendship with your majesty, whose alliance he thought also more for his advantage. To which I replied, that I did not enter into those considerations of advantage or disadvantage, but I reckoned he had duly weighed them when he first thought of this treaty, and at the same time how to manage them; that I was only to represent to him, that as the king of England was under some necessities, so you had also your own share, which hindered your being so considerable a sum out of pocket as they demanded; and that certainly he was deceived in the great opinion which he had conceived of that place, and of the advantages which might accrue to your majesty, because you had ten other places besides, which opened you a way into Flanders when you had any thing to push in that quarter; and in this manner I ended this last of our three conferences, seeming to be disgusted to the last degree with their demand, and doubt not to hear from them again, and if they make any more reasonable demands I shall dispatch a courier to your majesty to give you an account with a fuller detail of this negotiation. Mean while, your majesty may judge better than I how much we differ as to price, and that there is no great probability of our agreeing. I shall expect other orders than those I had at my coming away. I should not omit to inform you, that the chancellor told me, there were precautions to be taken in relation to the queen mother as to this affair, and that the king had told him, that it should be given out that he had desired me to pass over into England to persuade me to endeavour to induce your majesty to lend him a sum of money in his present pressing occasions, and that he had ordered the chancellor to see me upon that very account, and

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and they had agreed between them to complain of my stiffness as to this loan, and that the chancellor particularly should inform the queen, by way of confidence, that I was a strange man, and that he was the most deceived that could be, and as if in my conversation with him I had insinuated, that as a security for the money to be lent, some place should be given as a pledge, as Holland; and even France had been obliged to do so in former days in another case, and that he seemed not to understand my meaning, as being a demand he never would advise the king to consent to; all this disguise to be practised, on purpose that if the present treaty should take place, the queen may be ready to believe that she had some intimation of it, and that they had been obliged to it out of necessity. I, on my own part, have reason to complain of the chancellor, as of a man, who aims at procuring all advantages to his master, without any regard to those of your majesty; all this confirms me, that they are desirous of the treaty, and that the price is the only difficulty, and in which they are unreasonable.

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The king to count d'Estades.

St. Germain, Aug. 15, 1662.

I Wrote to you some days ago a letter full of advice of great importance, which regarded the service of the king of England, and which I ordered you to communicate to him from me; the principal one was, that relating to a Catalan monk in the family of one of the Portuguese ministers, the Spaniards pretended to have discovered a secret conspiracy for seizing one of their sea-ports by the assistance of twelve English ships, having



some land-forces, which should be in readiness under the direction of the projector of the enterprize, as soon as the ships should appear; but I could not then acquaint you either with the name of the place or that of the projector, but within these two or three days I have received full information; for the Spanish ambassador, desiring an audience of me on account of some other affairs before he retired, entered upon a formal complaint of this enterprize, because it so happens, that the pretended contriver is a subject of mine at this time, and, in order to prevail with me to let the person know, that I disapproved of his conduct, he was obliged to tell me his name, and that of the place; I learned of him the names of both, viz. that of the place is Cadagues, and the author of the project is don Emanuel Dauch, who has been attached to me ever since the revolution in Portugal, and is so still.

The king of England will know, after you have informed him of the new particulars, as I desire you may, if there be any other foundation for what the monk has informed the Spaniards of, or if he has told them a lie, in hopes of getting a reward; you will, however, have an opportunity to persuade the king my brother to put a just value on the pains and care I take to give him proofs of the sincerity of my affection for him. I pray, &c.

Postscript.

Since writing as above, I received your dispatch of the 7th current, which is not full enough to enable me to write you any thing of the matter in question, until I hear what you are to write to me farther.

Signed, Lewis.

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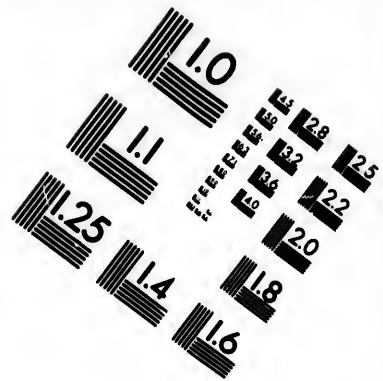
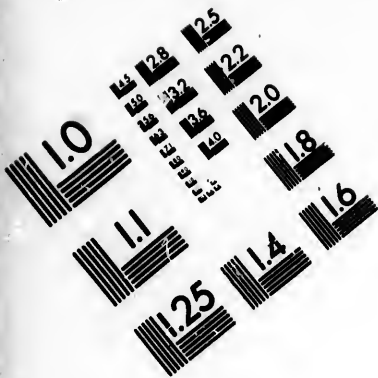
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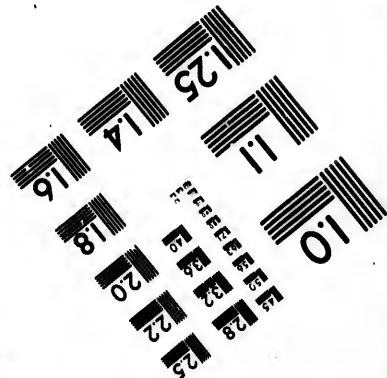
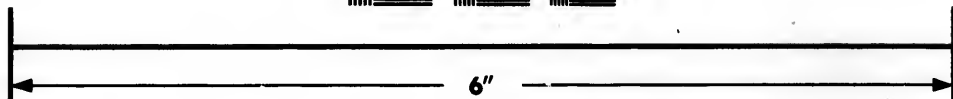
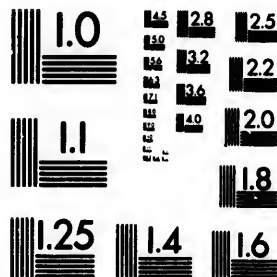
London, Aug. 21, 1662.

**A**LL that passed in the three conferences which I had with the king of England and the chancellor, has been communicated to the duke of York, to general Monk, to the high steward, and to Sandwich, who have had two conferences on the subject amongst themselves, to resolve on what answer was to be made to me on the offer which I had made; and the next day, which was yesterday, the chancellor sent Mr. Beling to tell me, that he should be glad to speak to me, and I immediately went to his house. He told me over again, that it was pure necessity obliged his master to part with Dunkirk, and that he was not affraid to let me know this from the beginning, because he treated with me as one who is a friend to the king of England, and the minister of a great prince his ally, of whom he had no distrust, and that in both those characters he would own to me, there were four expedients to be taken in the business now proposed. The first, to treat with the Spaniards, who at this very time offered any terms for that town; the second, with the Dutch, that offered for it an immense sum; the third, was, to put it into the hands of the parliament, who would be at all the expence, and leave the king full as much master of it as at present; the fourth was, to bargain with your majesty, which last appeared to him more just and more agreeable to his master's interest, which was the reason he had made me the first proposal; but that after hearing what I offered, and which he had reported to the persons above mentioned, and had met to come to some resolution, every body was surpris'd, and





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easily remembered, that when Cromwell had offered it at 500,000 crowns, it was exclusive of the artillery, stores, and the new works, which were to be paid for over and above, and upon this resolved, rather to put the place into the hands of the parliament, because, that when it was known that it had been disposed of for so small a sum, the king could not but expose himself to reproach, or he, the chancellor, at least be liable to a public censure, that might endanger even his life; that it was his opinion, rather to make a present of it to your majesty, and to leave the price to your own generosity; but that as this was not in his power to do, and he was so deeply concerned in conducting an affair of such delicacy, he was obliged to conceal his opinion, and to seem to agree with that of others, so as not to appear as the chief promoter of this treaty; that the most pressing argument which he made use of to prevail with them to consent, was, the supply of money which the king might draw from thence, and that thereby he might discharge the debts he was obliged to be bound for in maintaining this place, but that my scanty offers had destroyed that motive, and shewed them, that either we had no trade, no inclination to have Dunkirk, or that we put too small a value upon it. And after this, he enlarged still more, to shew me the importance of the place on account of its situation and harbour, which had made it so considerable in former times, and to exaggerate the advantages which your majesty might reap from thence, if you had at any time any views on that side of Flanders. After this, he proceeded to the particular expence it had been of to England before and since the restoration, for the payment of a strong garrison, and maintaining the fortifications which had been made; that I ought to consider, that if ever France should

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should think of getting it by any other way than that now proposed, what expence they would be put to, and if it would not exceed the two millions. I offered, that there had been more than two millions laid out on the fortifications alone; that the artillery and ammunition was worth more than one million, and that I could not but be sensible that as the king his master had for three years maintained a strong garrison in the place, he must have expended four millions more; so that all those articles put together, and making all allowances, he thought it was very apparent that the king his master shewed the great inclination he had to treat with your majesty, that he was willing to accept of seven millions; that all he could obtain of the lord high treasurer and the others, was, to get them to consent to this reduction in the price; that it was my part to make known your majesty's last intentions; that for his part, he had no more to say to me on the part of the king his master.

I made answer, that I was infinitely obliged to him for so candidly opening to me the state of affairs; that your majesty, who always had a particular value for his friendship, would have occasion to know, that he was not mistaken in his opinion of him; that this had induced you to receive the proposals made to me by Mr. Beling, believing, that as they came from him, they were sincere, and no ways meant to break off any of the engagements you had entered into with Spain and Holland, but to cultivate a still more strict friendship with your majesty by some treaty of this kind; supposing the king of England would make no demands but what were reasonable and honourable; and it was upon these grounds that he allowed me to come over into England, and had given me the power which I had already communicated to him;

but that if the first price which he had put on Dunkirk appeared to me to be exorbitant, the price now put was still too much; that by this way of valuing of places, there was not any, the least considerable, but what might be valued at a high rate, when one includes the expences which one has been at; but that the right way of estimation was, to judge by the advantages arising from the situation, strength, and extent of the country, and the revenue which it brings in; that there was nothing considerable of this kind as to Dunkirk; that your majesty had open and free entry into Flanders on all sides, when you should have occasion; that Graveline, Bethune, Arras, Bapaume, were considerable places on such an occasion, but that Dunkirk could be of no service, as being shut up by the sea on one side, brought in no revenue, nor country belonging to it, without any strong fortifications, and scarce any thing of a harbour, the canal of Mardyke itself being very incommodious on account of the sand-banks, which choked it up; but, that however, I could not but ingenuously own, that it would be for your majesty's advantage to have it annexed to what you already possess in Flanders; that on the present view had of re-establishing trade among your subjects, that port might be of some use, and for that end, I thought that the proposals made to you by the king of England were not to be neglected, provided the terms were reasonable, and that the example of Cromwell might be a rule in this negotiation, as being a man of ability, and one who knew very well the importance of maritime towns; and that he also considered well the particular conjuncture which made him so desirous of having this place, and of what use it would be to him, as he then was resolving to make war against the Dutch, which was actually declared soon after, notwithstanding

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standing which, with all the advantages he hoped from thence, he offered only two millions, that I did not think the king of England would lay any stress on what the king of Spain might offer him; for, that I could assure him, that whilst he was thus treating with him, he, the said king of Spain, did offer, not only Dunkirk to your majesty, but whole countries and places more considerable, provided you would enter into a defensive alliance with him. That I did believe he might expect a greater sum from the Dutch, than from your majesty, if a treaty of that kind was not contrary to their interest in other respects: that as to the parliament, the bare remembrance of the late troubles, was sufficient to shew how dangerous it was to put power into their hands, and lessening that of the king. That I thought he should rather think of this affair, upon the account of the advantages which would accrue to him by his strict friendship and union with your majesty; than to bring into the consideration the sum of money that it would bring in: that it would be attended with consequences more for his interest, than he thought of, telling him by way of confidence, and as proceeding only from myself, that time might bring about such revolutions, in which it might be of more advantage to him, that Dunkirk should be in your majesty's hands than his own.

This last conference, which lasted three full hours, and to which Mr. Beling served as interpreter, as he was to the former, ended in this manner: It now depends on your majesty, who are the best judge of what is your interest, to decide what resolution is to be taken on these demands; or if you think it of any purpose that I undergo all the tedious delays which may happen, as I foresee they will, in this negotiation, or rather putting an end to it by such an answer as  
you

you think proper, I may proceed to Holland directly, without repassing into France; as to which I shall wait your intentions. The numbers of persons to whom your majesty sees, the chancellor has been obliged to communicate this affair, has occasioned rumours to be spread both at court and in the city of London, on the subject of my journey, and for this very reason it will be necessary to hasten the conclusion of it, if it be wished to succeed.

Friday last the duke and duchess of York came to St. James's, and I took that opportunity to deliver the duchess the present of which I had spoke, at the first time of seeing her. She received it with all the thankful and honourable acknowledgment of obligation, as could be shewn on such an occasion. She much admired the fashion, and the duke of York, who was present, agreed that nothing would be genteeler or in a better taste. It was carried the same day to Hampton-Court, to be shewn to the king and queen.

I am, &c.

x *The Chancellor's daughter*

The king to count d'Estrades.

St. Germans, August 27, 1662.

I Received your dispatch of the 21st curient, by which you give me an account of the state of the negotiation for which the king of England, my brother, desired you might pass over into England, after letting you know that nothing could exceed your conduct hitherto; and that I much approve of it, and thank you for it. I am to tell you, that although your dispatch, preceding this last, advises of an abatement of five millions,

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lions, the sum they insist on still, appears to me so exorbitant, as you have represented to them; and indeed so excessively, that there will be no manner of room left for any further treating, unless the terms be made more reasonable.

It seems to me in the next place, that the best, nay, the only way to make them sensible, if they are capable of being so, is to shew the same indifference as you have hitherto put on, owning still that it is what I desire, but not at an immoderate price, which my own reputation would hinder me from paying, though I had it in my power and inclination, as I have not.

If they still insist on seven millions, as they last asked, you are to tell them roundly, that there is nothing to be done, and to take your leave to go into Holland without omitting, however, to thank the king, my brother, for his good inclinations shewn me on this occasion, by being willing a place should fall into my hands, which would, no doubt, be convenient for me, which I shall always gratefully remember, so as to be sensible of the obligation on all occasions; and likewise thank the chancellor from me, on the same subject, by assuring him of my good-will, and my protection on all occasions. But if they will seriously enter into a real and solid negotiation, upon more tolerable conditions, and such as any third indifferent person of understanding would award both sides to accept of, you may assure the chancellor that he will find me well disposed, if it was to pay something beyond the real value, every thing being well weighed. I shall think myself very much obliged to the king, my brother, that he was willing to make me an offer.

However, to come more closely to the point, so as you may make the proper use of what I write to you as to my sentiments, I would have  
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you take notice in the first place, that of the four elections which the chancellor told you the king his master might make; supposing an absolute necessity of parting with the place, there is not one but would be more for my advantage than that it should remain as it is. I could add the fifth, which was lord Sandwich's proposal, that of demolishing the fortifications, and of destroying or filling up the harbour. For it would be more for my interest, that it should be in the hands of the Spaniards, the Dutch, or demolished, than where it is now, for several reasons needless to be mentioned, because you may easily conceive what they are: so that you already see, that those motives which the chancellor has adduced to prevail with me to bid higher, are of no strength to force me to it, which I tell you only for your own use. However I think proper to inform you, that I had rather that Dunkirk was in the hands of either the Spaniards or Dutch, or even to be demolished, than to be in the possession of the king, my brother.

It was unlucky that the chancellor should have been obliged to communicate the affair to general Monk, to the high treasurer, and to admiral Sandwich; though as it is but just, to consider what may be the interest of another, I very well see that the chancellor, being desirous to act with prudence, was obliged to speak to them of it, as not having strength enough to load himself with the whole weight of such a business, which his enemies would not have failed to censure, if he had not been thus supported: this is a misfortune, but cannot now be remedied, and if it can be got over, may turn out to his advantage, as the principal ministers of state will be found to have been of the same opinion with the chancellor, they must stand by him,

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I very much doubt whether the Spaniards offer such a considerable sum as what the chancellor tells you, for they are not in condition to advance even small sums, as appears by their not having paid one penny of my Queen's portion; although, upon payment of it, depends the validity of the renunciation they obliged the queen to make; which to them is of much greater consequence than Dunkirk, or twenty such places put together.

As to the Dutch, the king of England sees better than I do, that if he considers his own interest, he had better make a present of Dunkirk to the Spaniards, then sell it to the Dutch for twenty millions, which is more than they would give.

As to putting it under the dependence of the parliament, the memory of the last troubles is recent enough to make the king sensible, how dangerous it is to increase the power of parliament, by lessening his own: so that he has shown himself a politic and wise prince, in not being tempted by the offers made to him by the parliament, to ease him of the burden of that expence, upon terms which would have been of so much prejudice to him.

Nothing could be thought or said stronger than what you told the king and chancellor, to induce them to lower their demands, when you told them that Cromwell, who knew the value of sea-ports, would not exceed two millions to purchase this town, though it was then of such use to him in the war, he then designed to make on the Dutch: the unreasonableness of valuing places, by the expence they have cost in maintaining a garrison, and the fortifications, for a number of years, which would raise the value of the most considerable place, to an exorbitant height; and what  
you

*Maria Theresa, said daughter of Philip  
& Elizabeth of France*

you further added, that Dunkirk had no territory bound to it, but was pent up by the sea, and that I had Flanders open to me by several places, which already belong to me, it will be proper that you come over with these very arguments, if the negotiation does proceed; and for greater efficacy, I will suggest two more very cogent reasons.

The one is founded on advice, which comes to day from that country, that a bastion and curtain was burst, from which three things may be concluded. One is, that there is no more a citadel; another, that one cannot be sure of building one that can stand, the consequence of which I leave you to guess; the third, that they can never bring in as an article of the account, fortifications which are no more, neither can be again. You will be informed from thence, if this be true, and in case it be, and those gentlemen be more reasonable, they must own that this should make them lower their demands very considerably.

The second is, that when I buy Dunkirk, I buy a place to which the seller can furnish no other title than possession by force of arms, as it cannot be said that Spain, to whom it is known to belong, has not yet given it up by any treaty, as it has done the conquests which I have made from her by the treaty of Perenees. So that I acquire only a disputed title and right, which may be every day contested, and which will certainly happen, if ever the Spanish monarchy finds itself in condition to hope to re-enter into the possession of it, although England ought to guarantee to me, in justice, the possession of it, or to return the money I pay: so that in all such doubtful bargains, people never pay so great a price as when the title is clear.

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This is al of your last patience, as So I pray,

Now to acquaint you with my intentions, as to the extent of the price I will pay for it, I will tell you, that after adding what I told you by word of mouth you might agree to, my last word is four millions of Livres; to wit, two millions down, one million payable next year at two terms of six months each; the other million to be paid in the same manner within the year 1664.

Whoever will impartially consider what I have touched upon as aforesaid will find, that the price I am willing to give, exceeds very much the value of the thing; and I did not believe, when you went from hence, that I should have gone so high in my offers. For you know, that although I gave you power to bid somewhat near to this, yet it was to have been for a longer term of payment. It was also to be on condition that the three last payments of 300,000 crowns each, should be applied to the succour and support of Portugal, of which, at present, I demand no such express assurance; so that there is a considerable difference between your former power, and what I now give you, when I tell you four millions is the last word, and the highest you are to go; so that you are to offer this not all at once, but gradually, still keeping a reserve till you find you must resolve either to close, or to take your leave to be gone.

Farther, I do not think, that in order to succeed in this affair, you should make any higher offer than what you have already done, unless you find that those gentlemen have come lower in their excessive demands, for otherwise it will be to no purpose to advance in yours.

This is all I have to write to you on the subject of your last dispatch, I shall now expect with impatience, as you may guess, an account from you. So I pray, &c.

I forgot to tell you to make it known to the duchess of York, my sister, that I am highly sensible of her good offices on this occasion, and shall be pleased extremely to shew it on all opportunities.

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To the king.

Sire,

London, Aug. 28, 1662.

I Received by the hands of sieur Batailler your majesty's two letters of the 20th, and in obedience to the command you give me, to communicate to the king of England, the advices contained in one of them, I took the opportunity of a visit, which he made to the queen-mother at Greenwich, to acquaint him of the same. He was of opinion that they were true, by that circumstance of the proposal made to him by that other Catalonian, to surprize one of the sea-ports of that province, which however he did not tell me the name of: and he is to order a search to be made for don Gabriel, or Raphael, that he may be secured. He desired me to let your majesty know, that he was infinitely obliged to you, for the pains you take, and the care you have about what concerns him; which made him still more desirous of entering into a strict friendship. That as to the journey of Francisco de Melos to Rome, and the declaration he was to make when he came off the coast of the pope's dominions, he had heard nothing of it, neither did he believe it; but he had advice that two rich ships from the Indies, under Portuguese names, but for Spanish account, were expected to arrive at Cadiz, and that he was next day

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day to order a frigate to be dispatched to Lawson, to cruize off of that place, and to seize them. That he had sufficient proof of this artifice, which had been concerted with Augustin Colonel, of whom your majesty first gave him reason to be suspicious. As to Portugal, he agreed that the bishop, who had been admitted into the council since the queen resigned, was suspected by him before this, and might now be a pensioner of Spain, the rather because of the great factions now on foot in that country; and that this, together with the bad conduct and arrogant presumption of that nation, gave him a very bad opinion of their affairs; that however he had resolved to have sent them fresh supplies, if the affairs he had desired the chancellor to propose to me, had succeeded, and that he could not think of any other method of being able to do it, but by that means. But that since your majesty had made so low an offer, he began to think of keeping Dunkirk still, by putting it into the hands of the parliament, let it happen to Portugal as God pleases. I could only repeat the same reasons I had formerly given him, in order to justify my conduct in this negotiation, and refer him to the answer I expected from your majesty to his last demands.

For answer to your majesty's second dispatch relating to the affairs of Holland, I must say, that I am much surprized at the proceedings of the States; and it appears to me, that nothing can be more dishonourable and more different from the good faith and sincerity with which your majesty has treated them, than the orders which they have given to their ambassadors as to the treaty of Lorraine; and there are so good reasons to be adduced for this, and are so clearly set forth in your dispatch, that there is hopes they will be prevailed upon to yield; and I will not fail to

make a proper use of them when I arrive at the Hague. At the same time I may find out the intrigues of don Estivan de Gamarre, and be able more exactly to inform your majesty what effects they may have produced on the towns of the provinces. As to the alliance proposed, I shall manage it with all the application, and all the diligence, which an affair of this nature deserves; but I may already promise to your majesty, that if Estevan de Gamarre has no money, it will not be in his power to obtain any thing of the towns to serve his purpose.

On all the other particulars of your majesty's dispatch, I shall govern myself as you order, and observe the reserve prescribed to me as to the guarantee of the treaty of Lorrain, in the postscript wrote in your majesty's own hand.

The chancellor sent me this morning an invitation to dine with him at his country seat; I went thither, and there he told me of the advices he had from Downing, in substance the same with those from your majesty, as to the treaty of Lorrain, and of the alliance proposed by Gamarre, which he makes no doubt will take place, because he believes he has bestowed a great deal of money for that end: and on this he took occasion to exclaim very much against the Dutch, and to persuade me of their insincerity, insinuating as if your majesty would have had greater security from the king his master. By way of defence, I made use of the same arguments adduced in your majesty's letter, and acquainted him that you was in no pain about all the intrigues the Spaniards could enter into on that head, because you was in a condition to obtain justice of all who had promised you any thing.

At last he told me that the duke of Lorrain had sent to solicit the king his master, to inter-

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pose in the affair between your majesty and the said duke, and that prince Charles had come over in person for that purpose, recommended by Batteville to a lady of Burgundy, the marchioness of Montbeson his relation; who at the same time, was trusted with a packet, in which were two letters for the king of England, one from the duke de Medina las Torres, and the other from the president of Castille, to persuade him to interpose in settling the affairs of Portugal. That his majesty had given for answer, that as to prince Charles, he would not see him, and after examining the letters relating to Portugal, he had discovered that they were counterfeited, by an artifice of Batteville, who had imposed on the marchioness of Montbeson. While we were talking thus, the king of England came and brought with him a letter the queen of Portugal had wrote to the queen of England, which he read in my hearing: she represents, with tears in her eyes, this is the expression, the wretched condition of the affairs of Portugal, occasioned by the weakness of the people themselves, and by the cabals of the partizans of Spain, who had prevailed in the council since her removal from the regency, of which the bishop, your majesty wrote of, is the chief: that the fright was so great in Lisbon, and in the country, that the people of condition retire from thence with what they can of their effects, so that the kingdom is threatned with universal ruin, because they see that the king of England alone could not hinder it, and that she can think of but one remedy, which is for him to use his good offices with the king of Spain to obtain a cessation of arms, or if he has not interest to obtain that, or thinks it dishonourable to ask it; he should in that case, make new efforts with your majesty to give them some assistance,

meaning thereby to come to a rupture with Spain. This is the substance of the letter, upon which the king of England repeated the same things I have already touched on in this letter, and the chancellor told me further in his presence, that if it was not possible to prevail with your majesty to push this affair so as to break with Spain; he thought you might at least speak to the marquis de Fuente, and by pretending officiously to inform him of the preparations which England was making for that war, and to make him apprehensive of a rupture with it, heightening the danger by Lawson's being at this very time in the river of Lisbon, and that he was soon to be joined by ten more men of war from hence, that the Spaniards might be very much incommoded by that naval force, not only in their home, but foreign and India trade; that however without retarding or losing ground as to the advantages his catholic majesty might acquire by the conquest of that kingdom, your majesty believed there was room for making some proposal to the king of Great-Britain towards an accommodation, and for that purpose to agree to a cessation of arms or a truce, under pretence of his being fallen upon by a powerful enemy, and for that purpose your majesty offered to concern yourself in it, and to mediate with the king of Great-Britain, if you would not actually take upon you the mediation, which would be still of more advantage; in fine, provided that by either one or the other of these expedients, or such a one as your majesty might find out, next winter could be passed over, new resolutions might be taken in that time, and means fallen upon to set aside these suspected counsellors, and the people of Portugal be recovered out of their fright.

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The king of England added, that he had already told me, he had no recourse for preserving Portugal, but the sale of Dunkirk, and that if the price could not be agreed on, he had the satisfaction of having done all he could for that end. I promised him to render your majesty an exact account of all this conference, on which you will make your own judicious reflections, and give me the needful directions which shall be punctually executed.

I am, &c.

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The king to count d'Estrades.

St. Germain, Sept. 3, 1662.

I Sent a courier some days ago to overtake the ordinary post for England, to have some letters of importance put into the packet which I had wrote to you, but as I have as yet no account of that courier, I have at all adventures sent duplicates of these dispatches.

Mean while I received very late last night yours of the 28th past, and there has scarce been time to have it decyphered in order to my reading it, so that I have not at present leisure to answer the whole contents, but only two or three articles, and that very briefly, leaving it to your prudence to draw such consequences, as are agreeable.

1st, That the chancellor of England is mistaken if he thinks that Estevan de Gamarre has distributed a great deal of money to procure a defensive alliance amongst the seventeen provinces, for I know certainly that he has not had a penny to bestow that way, and that it is with difficulty he can draw from Madrid wherewithal to subsist himself and family, and that he is greatly in debt,

although a few Days ago he has been appointed  
ambassador to me in the room of the marquis de  
Fuente.

2dly, That prince Charles of Lorrain might very  
well have had recourse to the king of England, to  
interceed for him by means of that lady of Bur-  
gundy, whose journey I knew of when she went  
from hence, and the design of it, that I am ob-  
liged to the king my brother for having rejected  
these proposals, but find from certain knowledge,  
that this prince has not been in England, for ever  
since he left this country, he has always been nar-  
rowly observed, and never lost out of sight of  
which I have been punctually informed.

3dly, This manifest falshood affirmed with so  
much assurance, makes me believe beyond doubt,  
that the other particulars of the letter shown you  
from Portugal, are likewise false; and that the  
king's coming as if it was at the very nick of  
time, to show you this letter whilst you was thus  
in conference with the chancellor, was only an  
artifice to make the greater impression on you,  
of what they would have believed of the immi-  
nent danger of Portugal; being ruined even be-  
fore autumn is over, unless it be succoured im-  
mediately, with a design to oblige me out of fear  
of this, to advance in my offers in the affairs  
which they are negotiating with you; for I am  
certainly informed by the advices I have received  
within a few days from Madrid, that the king my  
father-in-law is so much put to it to maintain this  
war in Portugal, that they despair'd of raising  
money sufficient to enable don Juan to take the  
field this year, so that if (as the letter would make  
one fear) the Portuguese do not ruin themselves,  
they have little reason to apprehend that their ene-  
mies will, and that because they have it not in  
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 in considerable a sum, and I may say so much  
 above the true value of the place, that I have rea-  
 son to hope you will not leave London before you  
 have concluded the bargain.

I forgot to tell you that affairs being in the  
 state I wrote you above, there is no occasion for my  
 proposing a truce to the Spaniards, which I am  
 sure they would not accept, notwithstanding their  
 necessities for other reasons of more consequence  
 to them; which they have often explained to the  
 late cardinal Mazarin when he made them the  
 same proposal, even offering them my mediation  
 which they have always civilly refused; mean while  
 they might take several advantages from the very  
 proposal if made at this juncture; notwithstanding  
 if this could be brought in seasonably and natural-  
 ly, in discoursing on other matters, a word may  
 be thrown in as by the bye to the marquis de Fuente.

I pray, &c.

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To the King.

London Sept. 2, 1662.

**I** Received by an express, who says that he was  
 sent by the post-master to have overtaken the  
 ordinary post, your majesty's two dispatches of the  
 25th and 27th of August, which could not be an-  
 swered on Thursday; I saw the king of England  
 last night, and acquainted him as you command-  
 ed me, that your majesty was extremely obliged  
 to him for proposing to treat with you about  
 Dunkirk, and preferring you to the other bidders  
 for it; that your majesty would show how much  
 you thought yourself obliged to him, by em-  
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bracing with pleasure any opportunity to serve him, but that even the lowest price which he had put upon that place, still appeared to you excessively high, that it did not consist either with your interest or honour to accept of it on such conditions; after which, I went over again the same reasons contained in your majesty's dispatch, of which I had before made use to disgust him with the other expedients, for disposing of it; as also to lessen the greatness of the advantages which in his opinion you might reap from the acquisition of it; and at the same time I acquainted him, that I had an order to depart for Holland, as believing that nothing could be proposed after the last demand, that would content your majesty.

This answer surprised him, and obliged him to say, that two millions could not in a serious and honourable way be offered for such a place as Dunkirk, and that if you did not value it higher, he would fall upon a way to keep it. I then took occasion to tell him that I had power to go the length of two millions and a half. Our conference ended here, after agreeing that I should have a meeting with the chancellor, and that he would let him know his last resolution. I saw him that very day, and spoke to him in the same stile, and by that means threw him into the greatest astonishment. He signified, however, to me that he should be glad to see me again before Monday, that he was to go into the country for a fortnight, and therefore would be glad to put the last hand to that affair before that time; and if it was to be broke off to find out the method of doing it in the handsomest manner.

I shall wait to know what they have resolved before I offer to the height of what your majesty allows me, I shall manage them step by step, and

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not go to the utmost extent, but in the last extremity.

I made your compliments of thanks to the duchess of York for her behaviour to your majesty, on this occasion.

As to the advices which you desired me to inform the king of England of, he told me that he had never seen don Emanuel d'Auch, that it was a Catalan monk who proposed that enterprize to him, and as he had not come into it, he reckoned that the same monk, in order to draw money from the marquis de Fuente, had discovered the design to him, and had named don Emanuel d'Auch as the person who was to have put it in execution. He desired me to acquaint your majesty how much he thought himself obliged to you, for the pains you take in discovering what concerns him.

I am, &c.

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To the king.

Sire, London, Sept. 8, 1662.

I Wrote to your majesty the 2d of this month, that in the last conference I had with the king of England and the chancellor, I had not bid higher than two millions and a half, and that I forbore exceeding that sum, till I should discover what they would resolve; after I told them that it was as much as your majesty thought Dunkirk was worth; and in order to conform myself in the whole progress of this negotiation, to the orders I have to proceed with prudence and step by step; on Monday, when I again saw the king of England

England and the chancellor, I stuck still by my former offers, but as they seemed to me to be as far from complying as at first, nay on the contrary, so far from it, that they declared they would rather consent it should be put into the hands of the parliament, I thought it necessary to advance my offer to the extent of three millions, but still conditionally, that I might send a courier to your majesty, to have your approbation of my going that length; from Monday to Wednesday we had two more conferences, in which I still kept my former ground, and in the last, which was at the chancellor's house, where Mr. Beling and I were only with him, he told me that he was concerned to the greatest degree, that his good intentions to your majesty were so ill received; that he was in hopes to have found in the affair of Dunkirk, an opportunity of giving a proof of it; that he could not but be extremely surpris'd that it was made so light of, and that I treated it in so cold a manner, that he had endeavoured by all methods to prevail with those whom the king his master had called to deliberate on that business, to come down from seven to six millions; but finding I did not advance more, he could not persuade them to consent; that it was my business to explain to what length I had power to give, because as he would treat with me in confidence, as his friend, and the minister of a prince whose good will he desired to merit, he would tell me ingenuously, that there was nothing to be done, unless your majesty would come the length of five millions; this discourse of his was intermixed with so many protestations of sincerity, and he gave as a reason, that nothing could be abated of this sum; the great necessity, with which the king his master was pressed on all hands, that I thought I might adventure to make the last offer of four millions,

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on the conditions mentioned in your majesty's dispatch, and acquainting him, that after this, nothing farther was to be expected; that I would be as ingenuous with him, as he had been with me; that if the king of England was not pleased with this, I should immediately take my leave of him, and beg a ship of him to carry me to Holland; and to persuade him the more of this, I made Mr. Beling read in his presence, that last article of your majesty's letter, in which you fix the highest sum I should offer, to four millions. He told me, he had nothing to say to me on that subject, only, that he would speak to the king of it, and desired me to wait on him also. I found the king as the chancellor had informed me, still firmly insist on the sum of five millions, and told me further, that as he was to employ this money for the payment of his debts, he would have it in ready money. He entered with me into a detail of the particulars, one of which was, the expence of a squadron of ten men of war for the defence of Portugal, which would more than exhaust all this sum, and urged likewise the want of money in Portugal, which was reduced to so great a necessity, as to sell the plate of their churches, and to coin two millions of copper; that this had like to have raised a sedition in Lisbon, and that the troops run the hazard of being starved, if he did not speedily send them a sum of money, so that I might be very sensible, he should have immediate occasion for all the money he should get for Dunkirk, and that this was his only reason for selling it. I used in answer the same arguments I had frequently done before to persuade him that this place would not be of such advantage to your majesty as he imagined, and that however you had stretched to the utmost to purchase it, and at the same time to afford

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ford means to assist a kingdom whose preservation he so much desired.

And as to paying the money down, I told him that it was not in your majesty's power to collect such a sum all at once, that there was not an instance of such a thing being done in the history of past times, that a much less sum had not been furnished by any state in one payment, and that if every thing else was agreed, it was to be hoped that he would not insist upon this.

I afterwards visited the duke of York, who seemed to me to be in the same disposition, telling me, he thought he had done your majesty signal service, by bringing over his brother the king to be content to accept of this sum, which was very small, considering what the place was by estimation, and that he made no doubt but your majesty who always judged equitably, would be of the same opinion, and approve of the terms as soon as you was duly informed of them. That the king his brother intended after the place should be agreed on to be delivered up to you, to make you an offer at the same time of four régiments of foot, well armed and cloathed, which are now in garrison there, consisting each of ten companies and 1000 men each, composed of the best foldiers that ever went out of England; and as there was one of them called by his name, formerly commanded by colonel du Val; and had served a long time in France, he would be glad to have it in the same service again; that he hoped this affair would still go a greater length, and make stricter ties of friendship between your majesty and the king his brother. I made answer that without any such occurrence as the present negotiation, your majesty would always be disposed to enter into such friendships as the king of England might desire of you, as being of yourself so inclined, and that

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you would not alter, though this treaty of Dunkirk should not take effect, which I thought very probable, as you had opened to me your last resolutions, from which you would not depart; that I had orders if they were not accepted of to go for Holland, and could not longer put off my setting out, and to thank the king of England for his intencion, and him for his good offices in forwarding it. On this I thought proper to send a courier exprefs, to inform your majesty of this affair. It is fit I should also acquaint your majesty that I have taken this method, because I am obliged on account of one of my wounds opening anew, to take some remedy for a week, and that within the time I may expect him to return.

I should not omit to inform your majesty of the news which this court has received, that there has been a battle fought in Portugal, in which the duke d'Offuna has been intirely defeated, his cannon taken, as also a place he had fortified, and likewise a body of 1000 horse made prisoners, about eight leagues distance from thence.

I am, &c.

The king to count d'Estades.

St. Germain, Sept. 12, 1662.

**I** Received by the exprefs you sent, your letter of the 8th current, in which you give me a very exact account of all the steps of your negotiation pursuant to your last instructions, and the situation in which it now is, without your having any hopes of bringing the king my brother to come lower than the sum of five millions, neither to accept of an expedient that had occurred to you, if I should agree to it, that the king should accept

cept of the four millions which I offered, and I give up all the cannon, ammunition, and stores, now in the place, which he values at a million, so that he should have in money and value the sum of five millions demanded; as to which, I am to inform you that it is certain, as you have very properly told the chancellor, that I have wherewithal to furnish Dunkirk out of my magazines without any new expence; wherefore I would have you still insist and use your utmost endeavours to induce them to accept of this offer, by which you will add much to the merit and obligations I shall have to you for your service in this negotiation.

But if at last you find that this cannot be done, I am willing rather than break off an affair of this consideration, to agree with the reasons given by the chancellor that a million of ready money upon such an occasion, was of more worth than twenty times the value of all the cannon of Dunkirk, as the king would more easily do it upon that condition; so that when it comes to the last, and you find you can do no better, I empower you to offer in my name five millions, on condition that Dunkirk be delivered up to me, with the forts of Mardyck and that of Bergh in the condition they now are in, together with all the cannon, warlike ammunition, and provisions in them, at the time of this agreement.

Before you actually conclude and agree to what they desire of me, and upon the point of striking the bargain, I think you should ask for an exact inventory of all the artillery, ammunition, and stores in the place and forts belonging to it, as if your intention was, after a careful examination of it to comply with your instructions, what further length you could go, in order to a compliance with their demand; but in reality my view in this

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You are to present, and the prejudice of reasons down, and are to struggle to seem as if fair, on account tain three years of one million 500,000 livres lions be paid

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is to prevent the embezzlement of any of the arms, ammunition, and stores after the agreement is made, as the English officers will not scruple to do, without the king my brother's knowledge, unless this be guarded against by such an inventory being given in, and a clause added, that whatever is delivered short of the said inventory, shall be deducted out of what I am to pay to the king of England.

There remains after this, to settle the terms of paying the money, which is so essential a point, that if they should not be reasonable, the whole affair may blow up, even if every thing else be agreed on, for absolutely I will not engage in any thing I am not able to perform, and since they prescribe to me as to the sum, and I comply with it, it is but just I should prescribe to them in my turn, as to the terms of payment, and that they should acquiesce, as no body but myself is able to judge what is in my power, and what is not.

You are to tell them then, that all I can do at present, and that not without difficulty, and to the prejudice of my other affairs, is to pay two millions down, and for the other three millions, you are to struggle to the utmost of your power, and to seem as if you would break off the whole affair, on account of that single point, so as to obtain three years for the paying of that, at the rate of one million a year, at two equal payments of 500,000 livres each, so that the whole three millions be paid up before the end of the year 1665.

If, however, you cannot obtain this term of three years, if there be a necessity, I give you leave that payment shall be made in two years, at the rate of 500,000 crown each year, in four payments, the three first to be of 400,000 livres each, and the last of 300,000.

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This is all that is in my power, unless I would absolutely ruin my other affairs for the sake of a single one, which I am not resolved to do, and I protest to you in confidence, that it is not in my power to do more, and particularly, as to the first payment of two millions which I am to pay down on taking possession, for if I was to pay but 100,000 crowns more, I would not engage to do it, out of fear of not performing, and I would rather break off the affair altogether.

All this being adjusted in which I can see no difficulty, because, as to the sum, I have complied with their demand, and as to the terms of payment, I have gone to the utmost of my power, you must make it your care to concert it, and agree before signing. upon the methods of execution, so that each person may have a proper security for mutual performance, as to which I prescribe nothing, referring that intirely to your prudence. The chancellor is one so fertile in expedients, that he will not be at a loss to find out one on such an occasion, and you have too much judgment to be imposed upon, by accepting of any but what shall render me absolutely secure; I think each side should show compliances and civilities as much as may be; I would only have you take notice that the nature of the transaction is such, that we are not upon an equal footing, which you are to have an eye to, and to take the needful precautions, for I believe very well, that after you have signed the treaty, and I have ratified it, the king my brother shall also be as well assured of receiving the money in the terms agreed on, as the price of the place, as if he had it already in his coffers, and that he will not be so unjust as to believe, that I would receive what he sells to me without paying. But the case is different as to his part of the performance,

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mance, for although I have intire confidence in his sincerity and honour, so as to believe that he would not take my money without delivering me up the town, yet it may so happen, that he may not have it in his power to execute this, and that the garrison of Dunkirk, on some pretence or other, may refuse to obey his orders; the meaning of this is, that when you are upon concerting the form of executing the treaty, you should labour and aim at having the place delivered up to me before I pay the two millions.

If for reasons which I cannot foresee; any difficulty should be made as to placing an intire confidence in my signature, you may, if it should be necessary, offer to remain as an hostage yourself in the hands of the king my brother, till such time as he receives the two millions, after the delivery of the place; and that I should send an act ratified by me, declaring that I agree to your remaining an hostage, until the actual payment of the said sum of two millions; I believe he will be satisfied with your person as a security in this case, but if he insists on further security, as my intention is very sincere, I will not scruple to send to him some other young lords of distinction, subjects of mine, who under pretence of travelling into England for curiosity, shall be sent over to be acquainted that they are to remain as hostages till the two millions be paid.

I am not inclined to accept the offer which the duke of York told you the king his brother would make me, of taking into my service the four regiments of foot that are in the garrison of Dunkirk, having at present more forces on foot than I have occasion for, and I should think myself equally obliged to him, if he would send them into Portugal, where they may be employed much more usefully for the common good, than they

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would

would be in my service, to pass their time idly in some garrisoned town.

I have as yet no account from Madrid of the news you have at London of a battle in Portugal, in which the duke d'Osuna had been intirely defeated in Galicia, and this makes me a little doubt it; this advantage would have happened very seasonably for the Portuguese, to have given them fresh courage, the loss of Juremena having much dispirited and frightened them. I pray, &c.

### To the king.

Sire,

London, Sept. 21, 1662.

**Y**OUR majesty did me the honour to inform me by the return of the courier which I dispatched to you, your final resolutions on the negotiation I entered upon here by your orders concerning the sale of Dunkirk; on which I visited the chancellor, and represented to him all the strength of the reasons your majesty furnished me with in your dispatch; that as you had agreed to the sum demanded for the place by the king of England and him, it was but equitable that they should accomodate your majesty, by demanding no conditions but what were in your power to perform, and as there was no person but yourself who knew what you was able to do, you alone could regulate the measures; and after this, I proceeded to explain to him; all the conditions and terms of payment which you complied with; acquainting him also with the precautions I resolved to take, with regard to preventing any embezzlement of the artillery and stores; not yet offering the whole five millions, but upon condition that he made it appear by an inventory which he should give me of them, that they really amount-

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ed to a considerable value, so as to be near to the million in difference between us; representing to him at the same time with great earnestness, that your majesty had gone to the very utmost extent of what you was able to do in this article, and that the disorder which still subsisted in your finances, would not allow you to go any greater length, but that you would be so punctual in keeping your word, that the money might be as much depended upon, as if it was already in the treasury of England.

The chancellor made answer, that the king his master did not sell, but because of the necessity of his affairs, which could not be remedied but by ready money; that he had informed me of all the particulars of the expence he was put to at this very time, which will exhaust this sum of five millions and more.

Besides, that this affair being of a nature too delicate for the king of England, and for himself in particular, by the likelihood there was that it would not be approved of by the chief men of the kingdom, nor even by the parliament; he was obliged, as also all those with whom he had consulted about this matter, at least to procure advantageous conditions for an excuse of their having given their consent, and that present money was the only thing would please, because every one knew the king's necessities; that this was the only way to relieve them; and that he could not think your majesty would insist, considering the friendly disposition you appeared to have for the king his master, of which, you could never have so good an opportunity to give a proof, as on this very occasion. I made answer, that your majesty was influenced in this affair more by a desire to oblige the king of England, and to furnish him with means to relieve himself in this necessity of

his affairs, than by any advantage to yourself, but that it was not reasonable this inclination of yours should carry you so far, as thereby to ruin your other affairs, which would be the case, if you should agree to the conditions they would impose upon you; that I had remarked before to him, that there had been scarce any instance of a treaty made, where so great a sum was to be paid down; and that I prayed him to consider that the time was near, when we might hope that there would be no occasion for such extraordinary expences, and that before they would be pressed by the demands in relation to Portugal, the terms of payment of the other sums stipulated by this treaty, would come round; thus our conversation ended, he still persisting in his demands, and I in my former offers. I afterwards waited of the king and duke of York, to each of them I repeated what I had said to the chancellor, and found them both in his way of thinking, and I concluded no more with them, than I had done with him. This made me two days afterwards go to see the chancellor again, and to make him an offer of reducing the time of paying the three millions, from three to two years, but I found him no more moved with this offer than the former, and likewise the king and the duke of York as averse to it as he; insomuch that I thought proper at the same audience which I had of them, in particular to acquaint them, that my power went no farther, and that I had orders from your majesty, in case they were not pleased with these conditions, I should take my leave, and for that end I did take my congé then, and desired a yatch to carry me to Holland, which was granted me; and as I am of opinion that they will abate nothing of the ready money, there was no occasion to enter into a discussion of the reciprocal assurances, to be given for the punctual execution

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execution of the treaty, and I think of departing from hence the 23d or 24th, as not believing your majesty has any thing further to add after the terms in which you write me of your resolutions, viz. that the state of your affairs would not allow of your adding one hundred thousand livres to the two millions to be paid down, and that you would rather break off the affair intirely than comply.

I am, &c.

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To the king.

Sire,

London, Sept. 25, 1662.

I Informed your majesty by my last dispatch of the 21st of this month, how the treaty had broke off on account of the terms of payment, and the king of England having declared to me that he could not otherwise agree, neither could it suit him, as he sold Dinkirk merely out of necessity and for paying off what he owes; this conversation, he twice reiterated in two conferences, which I have since had with him, I made the same answers I wrote your majesty I had formerly done; I thought it proper to take my leave of him, the duke of York, the queen, and the chancellor, I shipped my servants and baggage on board a Dutch vessel, and as I was ready to depart, the chancellor sent Mr. Beling to me, begging to see me before I embarked; I went to his house where I found the king of England, who told me he was very much concerned that I should go away without concluding any thing.

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I told him that your majesty had been very fair and condescending in offering five millions for Dunkirk, two millions down, and the other three to be paid in two years time, which were the more reasonable terms as being a treaty between two kings, and that you had the satisfaction of having done to the utmost of your power, considering the present situation of your affairs.

The king of England told me he had thought of an expedient, which was to give him a security in London, so as that he may transact this affair, and raise money on it, on condition that your majesty and he should each pay half for advancing the money.

I told him I could not agree to this article, but that if he would be at the charge himself, I offered to send a courier on that condition to know your majesty's pleasure thereon.

After a good deal of reasoning pro and con on this head with the chancellor, and perceiving I would not yield, to this the king of England consented to bear all the loss by himself.

I thought proper at the same time, to clear up all the difficulties which relate to this treaty, and begun by demanding a guarantee in case the Spaniards should complain of this acquisition, and attack Dunkirk as belonging to their dominions; in which case your majesty expected him to assist you with all his naval force. That an exact inventory should be delivered of all the cannon and ammunition in the place, without allowing any part to be removed. That the town shall be put into your majesty's hands, or into the hands of such as you shall appoint, before payment of the two millions, which shall punctually be paid to any whom the king of England shall send to receive it.

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To which answer was made, that the king of England would every way guarantee Dunkirk for one year, and that if your majesty would enter into an offensive league, and mutual guarantee of each others rights, he would also enter into a perpetual guarantee of Dunkirk; but that he could not on any other terms, as being what the parliament would never consent to but agreed to the second and third articles.

Your majesty will please to write me by this courier your ultimate intentions on this affair, which shall be punctually executed by, &c.

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The king to count d'Estrades.

Paris Oct. 27, 1662.

**B**Ataillier arrived here the 29th past at night, and gave me an account what turn your negotiation had taken, as you was on the point of departing for the Hague, and upon what footing you have now put it; I send him back with the same diligence, and refer to him to inform you of the insuperable difficulties which have occurred, as was intended to engage the Simonites, Dibusti's correspondents upon any of the most advantageous terms of conditions that were offered to them. But their obstinacy has been the occasion of my sending another merchant not only more tractable, but of more credit than they are, as being one that may command the purses of the richest merchants in Amsterdam, and I believe also in London; so that I am persuaded, that either by the list of merchants given you by the chancellor, or others by which he may be as well satisfied, as

with them the business may be speedily concluded; for at least it is certain, that this man could easier raise one hundred thousand livres in one day, than Simonnet could a thousand pistoles. There will be only a slight alteration to be adjusted, which is what I wrote you, that the payments for the two succeeding years, be made at four equal terms quarterly, but the said merchant could not be brought to agree to this; but that the million and a half should be paid every year at one payment, on the last day of October each year. The said merchant takes post from hence, and will be with you as soon as Batailler, or the day after at most; and will deliver you a letter from the sieur Colbert, by which you will know him, and may give him all credence.

After you have discoursed with him, and the chancellor is satisfied, as I hope he will be about him, loose no time to have the treaty signed according to the powers given you, and immediately after send it to me by some courier that can make more haste than Batailler.

However, that you may fully know my intentions, I will inform you of all the measures which I have taken for the execution of this affair.

After I have received the treaty by the said courier, I shall order the ratification to be immediately expedited, which I shall send you with the same dispatch, and the same day without waiting till the ratifications be exchanged with you; I shall, to save time, order the two millions in specie, to be sent from hence, so that it may arrive at Calais in seven or eight days.

So soon as you have received my ratification, and have exchanged it with the king my brother, you are to advise me of it by another courier, and set out from London, and repair to Gravelines, and

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and from thence give orders to the troops in the Boulonese to march, whom I have appointed to garrison Dunkirk and its two forts, and to obey you in whatever you command. I desire that you yourself be the person who shall take possession of the place in my name, and for that end I shall with the ratification send you orders for the forces and a new power to receive the place, which shall be relative to the treaty and the date of it, which is the reason I cannot sooner send you these dispatches, besides that they will not be necessary until the time you can make use of them.

I had from the beginning of this negotiation, in case it should succeed, taken a resolution, for the same reasons you have hinted at in your letter to go in person to Dunkirk on this occasion, and I should have been glad to have received the place from the hands of my brother the duke of York, who has acted in this affair with so much affection; but you can judge, that difficulties may arise without my brother's being the cause, or delays in the execution, particularly as there is so much owing to the garrison, prudence will not allow me to stir from hence before I be advised that the place is actually delivered.

This will not hinder me from sending away some day, before my household and most of the court to Abbeville, to save so much time in my journey; which I give you notice of, because that if my brother the duke of York desires to see me, as I should be very glad to have the satisfaction to embrace him, he may know that he might expect me in a few days, and because my brother may not like to stay in Dunkirk, even though for so short a time, because there will be a new garrison in it by that time, he might remain on board his fleet, or even at Mardyke, which I agree, in  
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that case, should remain undelivered till my arrival; so that till then, he may still reside in a place of which he is master.

But of all this you are not to take any notice, but as you judge it prudent and necessary for considerations which one would avoid speaking of, as that of a suspicion that difficulties may happen such as may delay the delivering of the place. Moreover you are to assure the duke of York my brother, of all the honours and civilities possible, in case he chooses to stay at Dunkirk, and all the respect due to his quality, so as to have the power of giving orders to the garrison, as I shall put the same confidence in him now as when he commanded my armies.

As I buy a place fairly and honestly which however Spain has never made a cession of to the king my brother, and which he possesses at present only by the law of arms, and moreover, that I pay for it more than it is worth, you must at concluding the treaty endeavour all you can to engage the king my brother, to guarantee against all aggressors for as long a time as you can; that is to assist me with such a number of forces, either by land or sea, or both together as you can agree; however, if this cannot be obtained, I do not desire that it should hinder the signing of the treaty.

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## The king to count d'Estades,

Paris, Oct. 15, 1662.

I Have received your letter of the 9th, which informs me that Batailler arrived with you the 7th, and that you still waited the banquier who was to come to you. The post-stages are broke and ill served, which I shall soon remedy; this man writes from Abbeville, that he could only find three post horses to change from hence thither; I hope however, that he may have arrived at London by the 10th at most. I am glad to find that after the conference you had with the king of England since Batailler's return, you reckon that nothing can obstruct the conclusion of the treaty, provided the banquier gives the satisfaction he has assured the king my brother of as to the advance of the money; and as I am sure he has more credit than the Simonnites which chancellor Hyde would have accepted, I conclude from thence, that the business is quite finished; for as to the point of paying at one time every year a million and a half at the end of October in place of quarterly payments, I suppose this will be easily adjusted; I think it is not of such consequence as to break off an affair of this consideration, especially as the security is otherwise agreed to be sufficient.

I have some reason to doubt the truth of that negotiation, which chancellor Hyde told you Caracena had opened but a few days ago with him by means of an Irish colonel, who is serving in Flanders; I reckon it of a piece with the other little refinements, which you may remember.

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I have often taken notice of to you, with respect to the said chancellor: let him know nothing of this suspicion; but on the contrary, suit your answers on my part, as if you believed there was a real foundation for this pretended new negotiation; assuring him, that I think myself obliged to him for the free communication and confidence with which he spoke to you; but assure him, at the same time, that it is so great an imposition and so untrue, that I ever courted the Spaniards to enter into a league offensive and defensive, and desired a place to be named for treating of it; that the duke of Medina in a conversation with the archbishop of Ambrun above a year ago, having hinted at such a league which might be entered into between me and the king my father-in-law, even insinuating as if I should reap great advantages, much more than giving me one town. I wrote to the archbishop of Ambrun, in answer to the account he gave me of this conversation, that he should be on his guard not to fall into that trap; that he should never give an ear to such a project, because that no advantage for myself should ever make me fail in what I thought I owed to my honour, as the king of England had given me no cause to enter into a league against him; besides, that it would be such a novelty and inconsistency in the antient and received maxims of my kingdom, it having scarce been known that France and Spain, had ever been in a confederacy against other states; but frequently France and England against Spain, even if they were not at present united in one common interest, to wit the support of Portugal. Since that time the duke of Medina attempted to have brought the same subject into conversation, but the archbishop broke all his measures, by declaring that

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that he had express orders not to enter on the subject.

As to the same offensive and defensive league, which the chancellor told you was proposed to the king of England, at present by the king of Spain, with which this Irish colonel is charged; this fine project that could not enter into the head of any body but Caracenas, would not give me a moment's uneasiness; for on the one hand, the king of England, both from honour and interest, is tied up from entering into a league with a prince that would dethrone a king his own brother-in-law, as it cannot be imagined the Spaniards would give up their pretensions to Portugal, to purchase this confederacy, from whence they might with more facility conquer that same kingdom; on the other hand, the state of affairs in the kingdom of Spain, and the advanced age of the king my father-in-law, make me no way apprehensive that even if joined with England, they would think of breaking a treaty of peace which they had never consented to, but because of their weakness.

I pray, &c.

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To the King.

Sire,

London, Oct. 27, 1642.

**A**T last, after several delays, and getting over several difficulties, I have signed the treaty of Dunkirk, and send it to your majesty by this express; I ought not to omit that the chancellor was the person of all the others who suffered most during the contest which was formed by all the council on this affair. The commissioners laboured

boured most to break it off, and it may be said, that the reasons alledged were so strong, that the king of England, and duke of York, would have been staggered, had he not taken great pains to keep them to their first resolutions; this was apparent to all the court, and from thence they took occasion to blame him as the sole author of the treaty. His enemies and all the Spanish faction have attacked his conduct on that score, and cry loudly against him, that as he had very impolitically made the match with Portugal, before he had secured the protection of France; so he had as imprudently parted with Dunkirk, without being assured of that strict friendship and union, which he boasted of would be procured with your majesty by the treaty in relation to that place, that when you once found yourself master of it, without any stipulation or particular engagement with England, you would think your civility nothing but mere courtesy, which would not embark you in any affairs. That as his own interest had made him engage in the business of the match, to be revenged for some bad treatment from the Spaniards, and out of fear of being supplanted by the Spanish faction in England, so out of a view to his own interest by being supported by that of France, he had sacrificed the interest of the king his master, and given up a place which for the honour of England and its importance as to foreign nations, was more valuable than all Ireland.

In their discourse they still go a greater length, and make the chancellor apprehend that your majesty by being obliged to pay so great a sum for Dunkirk, understood yourself disengaged as to what you was bound to perform in relation to Portugal; all which but chiefly the last obliged him to speak to me with some fright, but at the same

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same time as if he would not be persuaded that he had taken wrong measures by this treaty, to procure a strict union betwixt your majesty and the King his master.

After I had quieted his mind on this subject, he desired I would speak to the king on the same, fearing lest the rumours which had been spread, and had come to a great height at court, might have changed the King's way of thinking.

I waited on him next day, and to say the truth he appeared to me in some alarm, telling me however, that after the confidence he had put upon your majesty's word in some of the most important conditions of the treaty, he never could allow himself to be imposed upon by the reports which were tending to inspire a distrust into him, and that he found himself disposed from inclination, not to entertain any such jealousy; and that as to Portugal, if your majesty should abandon it, though contrary to your own interest, and the engagements which you are under, he would resolve, as he could not support it alone, even to let it perish, and to console himself that he had done his utmost to prevent it; but if your majesty would prosecute what you had begun, he would contribute triple of what you would advance, and that with such an assistance, it was to be hoped that kingdom might again recover its liberty.

I made answer to this in general terms; telling him that your majesty's intentions in every thing which related to his interests, were very sincere; giving him leave to hope for every thing without engaging your majesty precisely in any one.

There has been so many turnings and windings in this affair to oblige me to speak again and again so often to the king, the duke of York, and the chancellor, that it would be tedious to give your majesty an account of them, but I must

must still do them the justice to say, that their manner of treating was the most honourable I ever saw, and I do not believe that there is an instance to be found in history where, in a negotiation to the value of five millions, or even a much smaller sum, one prince has been satisfied with the bare word of another for the payment of the money, especially being a prince, but lately restored to his dominions, whose prerogative is but small, and the authority divided between him and a parliament.

This uncommon procedure fully persuaded me that the king of England very earnestly desires to be in friendship with your majesty, and knows how useful it may be to him, and that the chancellor seconds and cherishes this disposition for his own particular interest, and that it is for this sole reason principally, that the duke of York goes to have an interview with your majesty at Dunkirk, to give you stronger assurances of this, and I believe he will be furnished by the chancellor with some informations which may be of use at any such time as your majesty may form any designs on Flanders; so that your majesty may not lay aside your proposed journey thither, on account of the season being too far advanced.

Upon the news of this treaty, there are already here letters from Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, which mention that as the king of England has abandoned them, they should be obliged to ask your majesty's protection, provided they be allowed to enjoy their privileges and freedom of trade; and that the king of Spain's sickness made them see that the time was nigh at hand, but if the worst should happen, they might unite with Zealand, if they should find themselves not sure of France.

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The presence of your majesty in this corner of the Netherlands, together with such caresses as may flatter and cajole these people on their privileges and trade, would produce, in my opinion, a wonderful effect on all the people of Flanders, and some tender expressions from you mentioned again in letters wrote from particular persons to others of the several towns, would make such impressions as might greatly forward the designs which your majesty may come to form in time, and would pave the way very much, to such as may be employed in your service in those parts. General Rutherford is here, to whom the king of England has already given orders to bring over two English regiments from Dunkirk, who begun to make some noise about this treaty. I shall concert measures about every thing with him, he is a person on whom your majesty may depend, and who will act with sincerity in preventing any embezzlement if you think proper to write to him on this subject, he will return to Dunkirk in a week. It is to be wished that the work carrying on on the side of Newport had not been stopt, because the winds blow the sands into the ditches, and in a week's time ruins the labour of a whole month: he told me that if your majesty would order him to go on with it, and would give directions to pay the gratifications to the soldiers, he would proceed in it with the same alacrity and application as he had formerly done. I am sure this would save a great deal of money to your majesty.

The duke of York begged me to write to you to take into your service his regiment of Irish, consisting of ten companies, making in all one thousand affective men. I told him that your majesty had already fixed the number of your forces

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that were to be kept on foot, and had been obliged to disband several old corps, as not being able to entertain any more, and believed that it could not be complied with.

He said, that if your majesty would grant him this favour, he would take care it should be no additional expence to you, as there were already in your service two regiments of Irish, to wit Jusquin, probably Inchequin, and Hellon, both very weak, which cannot be recruited; that if your majesty would incorporate them into his regiment, they would only be then one instead of two regiments, and the expence much the same, as he is very desirous to have a regiment in your service called by his name, and that he will take particular care to have it kept complete. He seemed by his speaking to have this so much at heart, that I thought myself obliged to let your majesty know all that he said on this subject, beside that he seemed to speak with so much candour, that I thought it might lessen your acknowledgment, if I should conceal any part of his so earnest request. I humbly beg your majesty to let me know by the return of this courier, what resolution you may take on this affair, because if you do not agree to take it into your service, he must be acquainted in time in order to its being brought over to England with the rest of the garrison.

Last night Sir Thomas Bennet was declared secretary of state; the king ordered him to go to the chancellor, and to live in good terms with him; but I believe the friendship between them will not be very sincere. I shall explain all the intrigues at this court, when I have the honour of seeing you, still hoping you have not changed your resolution of coming to Dunkirk, at so favourable a conjuncture. I am obliged to acquaint your ma-

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jeſty that M. Beling has had a great ſhare in the whole conduct of this negotiation, and I hope you will beſtow on him ſome mark of your bounty; if you think proper to give it in charge to my courier, I will give it to him before I leave this place, or he ſets out for Rome, whither he goes to ſolicit a cardinal's hat for the lord Aubigny, and to make the queen's compliments of obeiſance. As ſoon as I receive the ratification which I wait for and have exchanged it, I ſhall diſpatch another courier to your majeſty.

After ſigning the treaty, the chancellor told me that there was a report ſtronger than ever, both at court and among the people, that your majeſty would forget what the king of England had done to oblige you, as ſoon as you had Dunkirk in poſſeſſion, which had already excited murmurings againſt him; and they give out that the king would have no ſupplies from the parliament or people in caſe this affair ſhould occaſion any diſturbance in the kingdom, and as he had a greater hand in this than any perſon, ſo he would have the greateſt ſhare of the blame, and might happen to be the firſt who might be reproached by the king his maſter; that to deliver him from this apprehenſion, he ſhould be infinitely obliged to your majeſty if you would be pleaſed to write to him a letter, declaring a civil acknowledgment of the obliging manner of his proceeding in this affair, and at the ſame time, to make ſome civil offers in caſe this affair ſhould be followed by any bad conſequences, which offers ſhould not bring you under any engagements, but might notwithstanding be of uſe. If your majeſty agrees to this opinion, and think proper to ſend me ſuch a letter by the return of the courier, I foreſee that it will be of great ſervice to the king of England,

land, and that the chancellor will be thereby strengthened against the attacks of the malecontent faction.

He told me further this morning, that most of the merchants of the city of London, had come up to Whitehall to complain of this treaty, which is now made public and among the grievances they complain of, the chief is that Dunkirk will become the retreat of all the corsairs or privateers, as soon as it comes into your majesty's hands, and that thereby all their trade will be ruined. That the king had given them for answer, that he had made the treaty with a king, who was his relation and friend, who would deem it his interest to maintain a good correspondence with him and his subjects, and that he might assure them that nothing would happen of what they apprehended, but that to confirm this assurance, and to put a stop to all the rumours, he wished your majesty would publish a new ordonnance against privateers or corsairs, which the king of England would make proper use of to undeceive these people.

If this be what your majesty can do, as I see no inconveniency, once you are master of the place; and take occasion from thence to make an offensive article of it, in the first dispatch you honour me with, I shall thereby have an easy opportunity to oblige the king of England.

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The king to count d'Estrades.

Paris, Oct. 30, 1662.

**Y**Our courier arrived here at day-break this morning, who freed me from the uneasiness I was under for three days past, not hearing further after what you wrote me by your dispatch of the 23d, that all the articles of the treaty were concluded, and that there remained nothing to complete the whole, but the ceremony of signing: I understand by yours, the reasons of this being delayed longer than you expected, and comprehend the difficulties you had to surmount, which have retarded the final conclusion of it; and that none could have acted with more prudence than you have done, and shall take an opportunity to express more particularly my satisfaction, and how much I am obliged by this important service when I see you at Dunkirk, whither I purpose to go as soon as I have an account of my troops, having taken possession of it.

The sieur Tellier, sends you the ratification of the said treaty, but as neither in the copy you have sent, nor the original signed by the English commissioners, nor could I certainly know whether, in the other original, which is what I must sign in the same terms, you have made use of, there is any mention made in the preamble, that the proposal came first from the king of England. I have ordered two different ratifications to be made out and sent to you, that you may make use of that one which shall be most agreeable to the treaty which you have signed. For although I have used this precaution, that in all events the exchange of the ratification may not be retarded. I put no stress on this difference, and am indifferent whither it

be mentioned in both originals, that it was I who proposed buying, or the king of England my brother the selling of Dunkirk; provided that in your original, you have taken care to preserve your rank, in being named before the English commissioners, which I doubt not you have done.

I send you a copy of the letter I have wrote to the king my brother, to the end that you may know the contents of it before you deliver it, which I am persuaded is conceived, in the terms which the chancellor told you would be most for the satisfaction and advantage of the king his master.

I did not think proper to explain myself more fully as to Portugal, because of the delicacy of the subject, and for that reason, have referred him to what you should inform him of from me, to which I desire him to give credence; and that is to assure him, that notwithstanding what has been transacted as to Dunkirk, which has cost me so extravagant a sum, yet I will still abide by the assurances given him as to the succour of Portugal, and that I am extremely glad of the information you give me from the king my brother, that he will contribute triple what I do, by which means I hope Portugal may be supported in spite of all its enemies; the method of which may be concerted at more leisure.

I find the treaty to be very well drawn, and that you have thought of, and provided against, every thing as much as I could desire; there is only the article or paragraph relating to the time of payment of the money, which seems to me not sufficiently explained; but as this is one of the most essential points and most important, I suppose you have made some verbal agreement with the king my brother, or with the chancellor; and that it is this article you mean, in what you write to sieur

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I should make no difficulty to put the same confidence in the king my brother, he is willing to put in me, if I was as fully assured that it was in his power to put me in possession of the place, as he may be assured that I can pay the money; because he may send whom he pleases to see, and even to count the money at Calais; and I desire you would assure him, that I have the same opinion of him, as he has of me; but that he may very well conceive, that in the present case (as I think I have formerly wrote to you) that what each of us is to perform, is not equally in our power; because the execution of my orders, as the money is ready, depends only on me, and that of the king my brother depends on a garrison, which may occasion some difficulty, as he himself has owned to you, by the precaution he has taken already, by withdrawing two regiments of the garrison who had begun to murmur, upon the rumour of this treaty.

However, as a farther proof of my sincerity, and in return to the king my brother's candour, I agree and consent as I have hinted above, that he send what number of persons he pleases to Calais to count the money, to see it put into bags and embaled, to have a constant guard upon it, and not to lose sight of it, until it arrives at the gates of Dunkirk; and to be carried into the town at the same instant my troops enter, and to be put directly on board his ships.

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I wrote to day by express to the sieur Rutherford, recommending to him that nothing be embezzled, and to intimate to him, that he will do me pleasure, by continuing to carry on the works towards Newport, according to the information he gave you, and for that end, have sent by the same person money to pay the soldiers for their day labour. You may acquaint my brother the duke of York, that purely on his account, and not that I have occasion for them, I will take into my pay and continue under his name, the Irish regiment, according to the request he made to you. He has acted so obliging a part to me in this affair, that I should be glad to give greater proofs of the sense I have of it, waiting the time I can assure him of this by word of mouth. I think it needless to tell you, that this regiment is not to remain at Dunkirk, after the place is delivered to me, my design being to quarter it in some other garrisons of my kingdom.

This courier will deliver you a present for M. Beling, to whom you will signify, that I shall be glad on all occasions to testify my affection.

To conclude; you are to assure the king my brother, that I am about publishing so severe an order against privateers, that his subjects never shall have occasion to blame him for Dunkirk's being in my hands; and though for a long time, there has not been a privateer in any of my harbours, I am willing to give all satisfaction to the king my brother, to enable him to quiet his subjects on that head, &c.

Count

Sire,

**M**Y answer to the  
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Count d'Estrades to the king.

Sire,

Nov. 6, 1662.

**M**Y courier returned on Saturday the 4th, and brought your majesty's ratification, to answer the dispatch which came from your majesty by the said messenger; I must first acquaint you, that as I had made the acquisition of Dunkirk my principal object, and in order to that, accommodated myself to all the expedients and conditions which should be proposed to me by the English ministry, so far as they were compatible with your majesty's honour, and those decencies which ought to be observed in such negotiations; and as I had to encounter an opposition from every body except the king, the duke of York, and the chancellor, I thought it was for your majesty's service, not to insist on some circumstances, fearing least I might thereby rather increase the difficulties which were already but too many, and not to mind expression so much as reality.

Besides this, I was obliged to yield to a powerful reason which was often urged by the chancellor, to wit, that it was for his interest as well as the king's, that the treaty should be conceived in such terms as the parliament would not find fault with, and as it was to be canvassed by people moved by different inclinations and principles, the expressions therefore were to be softened, and the honour of England preserved as much as could be, of which the people and the parliament had very chimerical notions.

It was for this reason, sire, that I conceived the preamble to the treaty, so as your majesty sees it in the copy sent, which has been signed by the English commissioners; and that it would appear

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as if it had been your majesty who had first proposed buying the place, although it be very true that the proposal was made to, and not by, you. Monsieur de Lyonne will remember, that in the first draught of the treaty sent by me with Batailler in the last journey he made, it was conceived in a different manner; I likewise meant that the money agreed on, should not be paid before your majesty should be in possession of the place, and the article was drawn up in these terms, but the commissioners insisted that it should be paid immediately, and at the same time the place was delivered up, and there was a necessity to please them in this; but as I represented to the king of England and the chancellor, that the execution of this was impracticable, they agreed with me that all should be transacted with mutual confidence and good faith, and that the money shall be put on board his ships after you have the town put into your hands; and my present care is, to have such a person sent to receive it, as may not raise useless difficulties and scruples on the terms of the treaty, and may have a power sufficient for that purpose; and I am endeavouring to bring it about, that Mr. Carteret be the person, as he is the chancellor's confidant, and very well with the king, he will execute the orders he receives with calmness and temper.

To please the said commissioners, I was obliged to agree to that article of security in London, whereas they by giving this up and accepting your majesty's word, would have reflected more honour on their king; notwithstanding which, by a secret act by way of secret article, they give this up, and content themselves with my guarantee of the treaty of Herix and the ratification of it, which I have undertaken in your majesty's name; they have

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have taken this method, in order to please the parliament and people.

I have likewise been obliged to leave out of the first article, the word sea, which I had slip't in the list of parts and pendicles belonging to the place, by inserting the word sea and country thereupon depending; because this was touching them in the most sensible part, and I thought in such an affair we were not to give them the least jealousy, that we should ever have the least contest with them on that point. After I have mentioned the points on which I thought it for your majesty's service to appear condescending, I ought to take notice of such, as for the same reason I was stiff and inflexible, and would by no means give up.

The first was on the word sale, which they would have had altered, and about which we had great disputes; I judg'd this not proper to be complied with, it's true, if I had made use of a term more soft than this, in order to colour the affair, the other parts of the treaty would have sufficiently shown that it was actually a sale; but I thought the term sale was stronger, and convey'd a better title to your majesty, and gave you a handle with more reason to demand of them the warranting of the thing sold, as what followed from the nature of the transaction. They would however disguise even this, as your majesty may observe in the ninth article, by appearing to have consented to it at your request, which however comes to the same.

Against the guarantee they stickled long; alledging; that the king of England sold the place as it stood, and was no farther obliged than to deliver it in the condition it was in, and it was with great difficulty I brought them to the terms of two years mentioned in the treaty.

After

After this was over, they bethought themselves to ask of me a guarrantee against all the consequences which this alienation might occasion in England, and would have me obliged to engage your majesty to assist and succour the king of England, in case there should be any disturbance in his dominions on account of this sale, which should oblige him to make use of force to suppress. To which I answered, that without any such express stipulation in the treaty, I believed your majesty would be inclined to do this of yourself if the case should happen, knowing how well you was disposed to enter into any measures for the interest of the king of England; but that to enter into any engagement, without I had orders, was what I could not, and that this article would more properly be brought into a general treaty for renewing alliances, than into such a particular one as this of sale; besides that it was a thing never heard of, that a seller should demand warrantee, of the purchasers, for the thing sold; moreover, that I thought the demand so unreasonable that I dared not comply with it, and I convinced them at last by these reasons, on which they insisted upon it no more.

I would willingly have brought them to have engaged to furnish 20 men of war, but they would not consent, and would only grant 8; I thought it was better to leave the number indefinite, and to couch that article as your majesty may see.

I send your majesty a duplicate of the treaty which I have signed here, and delivered to the English commissioners; my secretary being very much in a hurry at the sending away of the courier, omitted to inclose it in the packet. You will see by the terms it is conceived in, and also by my signing, that I have been careful to preserve your majesty's right and pre-eminence.

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After having rendered an account to your majesty of the reasons of conduct in all this negotiation, I am next to acquaint you, that I delivered your letters to the king of England and to the chancellor; they received them with all the pleasure and acknowledgment I could wish, and they have produced the effects I expected, and the chancellor desired. I acquainted them also, how your majesty proposed to deliver the people of London from their vain and idle apprehension of the corsairs, and they seem to rest very well content with it.

I assured both of them of your majesty's good intentions with regard to Portugal, in the manner you ordered me by your dispatch, with which they seemed extremely satisfied; but the bad news which has come within these two days from that country, makes them afraid they will be of no use.

The particulars are, that the Spaniards have penetrated into the country and have burnt six score of villages, that the Portuguese have been defeated, that they have not above 2000 horse left, that the English have mutinied and refused to obey their officers; that upon this, lord Inchinquin and M. de Schomberg were preparing to return from thence, and had actually put their equipage on board two ships which were at Lisbon, and are now arrived here and have brought the news, this disorder must reduce that kingdom to the utmost extremity.

The duke of York received the news of your majesty's taking into your service his regiment with a very sensible joy, and charged me to return you thanks.

Yesterday 3 or 400 Janatical sectaries, who refuse to conform to the liturgy, were committed to prison for meeting at private houses to perform their

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their exercifes with their minifters, a few of them were prefbyterians; the king ordered his horfe and foot-guards two days ago, to be under arms day and night, and it is by them, that thofe people have been feized.

I only wait till the king of England's ratification be expedited, to make an exchange, and fhall fet out from hence foon after, which I hope may be on the 9th or 10th, and at the fame time fhall difpatch a courier to carry it to your majefty.

I have got Rutherford to fet out for Dunkirk, on the information I gave him, that your majefty had difpatched an exprefs with money to carry on the works; I am perfuaded he will do his utmoft.

I omit till I have the honour to fee your majefty, acquainting you of feveral particulars relating to the affairs of this country, and the intrigues at court; and in a particular manner thank your majefty for the honour done me, in appointing me to be your commissioner for taking poffeffion of Dunkirk, and commanding in it; which I fhall execute with all poffible zeal, and that duty I owe to your majefty's orders.

I am, &c.

The king to count d'Eftrades.

Paris, Nov. 15, 1662.

I Have received, with what pleasure you may imagine, the king of Great-Britain's ratification of the treaty concluded in my name by you, for the purchafe of Dunkirk; and I refer to our meeting at that place, to acquaint you by my own mouth, with my fatisfaction for the important fervice you have done to me on this occafion.

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Mean while - to lose no time, I have sent back your courier, who will deliver you the letter which I have wrote to the sieur Rutherford \*, to acquaint him that he will do me a very sensible pleasure in executing the orders of the king his master, to deliver up the place to me on the 20th without farther delay, and to remove all the difficulties which may obstruct this.

Your dispatch of the 4th, acquainting me of the new conspiracy against the king of England my brother, gave me great uneasiness, because of the concern I have in every thing relating to him; but yours of the 11th gave me much pleasure, to find that there was no danger to be apprehended, and that some acts of authority had been exerted in London, beyond what any of the kings his predecessors would have ventured on.

I have however according to my brother's desire, given order that the Irish regiment in my pay, should continue some time longer in Picardy, to be nearer at hand if there should be occasion; and you may assure him, that they shall be sent when he acquaints me of his desiring it.

I pray, &c.

\* Lord Rutherford, afterwards created earl of Tiviot, after being governor of Dunkirk, was made governor of Tangier in the room of the earl of Peterborough. He was created lord Rutherford in the year 1661, though here named only sieur; his patent was not only to him and his heirs, but to assigns, or whosoever he should name in Articulo Mortis. He was killed by the Moors in a sally.

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### Treaty of Dunkirk.

**L**OUIS by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, to all by whom these present letters may be seen, greeting.

The

The sieur count d'Estades, knight of our orders, and one of the lieutenant-generals of our armies, having, by virtue of a power which we have given him, concluded and agreed upon in our name at London, the 18th of the present month of October, with the deputies of our most dear and most beloved brother the king of Great-Britain, the treaty whereof the tenor follows.

The most christian king, desirous of confirming still more the friendship already subsisting between him and his majesty of Great Britain, thought himself obliged to hearken to the proposal made to him by the said king, to treat about the town and citadel of Dunkirk, upon reasonable conditions, and to embrace that proposal, as being a mean the most efficacious, to perpetuate that good intelligence which he desires to maintain with the king of Great Britain, which is so necessary for the good of his subjects, and the mutual quiet of both nations; and after several conferences held with count d'Estades, knight of the orders of the most christian king, formerly his ambassador in England, and at present named his extraordinary ambassador to Holland; it had been agreed on with the said count d'Estades, in the name of the most christian king, and with the following lords in the name of the king of Great-Britain, viz. the earl of Clarendon, high chancellor of England, the earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer, the duke of Albemarle, and Earl of Sandwich, by virtue of powers given them for that effect, hereto annexed, the articles which follow:

1st, It is concluded and agreed upon, that the town of Dunkirk, together with the citadel thereof, also the redoubts, old and new fortifications, and in general all the outworks, counterscarps, right of sovereignty, sluices, dikes and dams,

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ports and havens, right of soil, with all appurtenances and dependencies, with territory annexed or depending thereupon, all in the condition they are in at present, shall be delivered up into the hands of his most christian majesty, or the hands of whom he shall commission, by the king of Great-Britain, or such as he shall appoint for that purpose, and that within the space of 15 days, reckoning from the date of the ratification by his most christian majesty, or sooner if it can be.

And farther, all the bricks, lime, and stone, and in general, all the materials on the spot destined for the said fortifications, belonging to the said king of Great-Britain; together with all the artillery and warlike stores in number, quantity, and quality as specified in an inventory delivered by the said king of Great-Britain, before the conclusion of this treaty, copy of which is hereto annexed, without any of them being allowed to be diverted or embezzled by any of the officers commanding in the said town, or any who may have them under their charge.

And if any of the said particulars should be found short or wanting, of what is mentioned in the said inventory, the said king of Great-Britain obliges himself to pay the value, according to the estimation of merchants to be appointed of each nation, to be named for that effect.

There is to be delivered up at the same time into the hands of the most christian king, or any having his commission for that end, the fort of Mardyke, the wooden fort, the great and small fort situated between Dunkirk and Bergues, Saint Venex, all of them, together with the arms, ammunition, and artillery, in the condition they are at present.

The fore-said town and citadel of Dunkirk, together with all forts thereto belonging, right of sovereignty,

verieignty, artillery, and ammunition, together with appurtenance, as above recited, is hereby sold to the said lord the most christian king, and shall be delivered by the said lord the king of Great-Britain, or by persons having commission from him, in the foresaid specified time of 15 days from the date of the ratification of this present treaty, or sooner if it can be.

The said sale being made for, and in consideration of, the sum of five millions of livres, French money, as the same is current in France, to wit, the crown specie at sixty sols, of which sum two millions shall be paid ready money in the said place of Dunkirk, at the same time that it shall be put into the hands of the said lord the most christian king or his commissioners, which said sum shall be carried and put on board the ships which the said king of Great-Britain shall send to the port of Dunkirk for that purpose, and shall have the liberty of sailing from thence when they think fit. And the three millions remaining, to be paid in the space of two years immediately following, that is to say, 1,500,000 livres each year, at four different payments quarterly every three months, the three first payments to be of 400,000 livres each, and the last of 300,000, amounting in the whole to the sum of three millions aforesaid, in two years; which payments shall be made in the said town of Dunkirk, to such person or persons as the king of Great-Britain shall appoint; for the performance of which, security shall be given in the city of London.

It is stipulated and agreed upon, that the foresaid payments of the said five millions so regulated in the foregoing article, shall all be made in French money according to the present course and value, at the date of this present treaty, that is on the foot of sixty sols for each crown, and in case that

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that the most christian king should happen to make any augmentation of the specie of his kingdom, it is agreed upon, that this shall no way affect the payments stipulated in this present treaty.

And farther, because his most christian majesty has desired that the said king of Great-Britain should guarrantee to him the sale of the said place, it is covenanted and agreed upon, that the said king of Great-Britain, do guarrantee to the most christian king, the possession of the said town of Dunkirk, together with all its dependencies, for two years only.

For this end, he obliges himself, that, if during this time, it should happen that the king of Spain, from whom the place was taken by right of arms, or any other aggressor should dispute it with his most christian majesty, and should lay siege to it by open force, in this case the said king of Great-Britain obliges himself and promises for the said time of two years only, and not for any longer time, to defend the same in conjunction with the said most christian king; and engages himself to furnish a fleet of such a number of ships, as shall be judged sufficient to preserve the free entrance into the port, for introducing such succours as may be necessary.

And if it should happen, that notwithstanding any defence by the garrison of the place, or the efforts of the said two kings to relieve it, it should be taken by the king of Spain, either by open force, surprize, or intelligence, the said king of Great-Britain promises and obliges himself to contribute for the retaking of it, a considerable number of men of war, such as shall be judged sufficient to keep the entry into the port open towards the sea, and to concur with his most christian majesty, in an earnest manner in this design.

His majesty of Great-Britain engages himself, and promises, that the garrison at the leaving of Dunkirk, shall commit no disorders, by which the houses, churches, fortifications, and caserns, may be damaged, neither commit any violence upon the inhabitants, priests, or religious persons, and in case that, notwithstanding the good orders which his Britannic majesty may issue out for this end, the said garrison should commit any excess, whereby any loss should happen to the inhabitants, or damage to the said fortifications; his majesty aforesaid, promises to make reparation, by punishing the offenders, reimbursing the value of such damages according to an estimation to be made, by commissioners of each nation.

That all the passage debts contracted by the soldiers or officers of the garrison, to the burghers and inhabitants of Dunkirk, since the restoration of the said king of Great-Britain to his dominions, shall be acquitted when they leave the place, according as they shall be liquidated by lord Ruthersford, governor of the said place, on the part of the king of Great-Britain, and with the burgo-master and bailiff of the town; and that the said king of Great-Britain takes upon him, to stop the same out of the pay of such officers or soldiers, who do not voluntarily pay such debts owing by them.

And whereas one Gonat, a burgher of Dunkirk, has undertaken to build at his own expence, a bridge that passes from one side of the harbour to the other, and upon consideration of this, the king of Great-Britain has allowed him to exact a certain toll on all persons passing over the said bridge, until he be fully reimbursed of the charge and expence he has been at, and likewise promised to the said person, that in case he should dispose of the said town, he should oblige the prince

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to whom he should dispose of it, to continue to him the said permission of levying a toll, until he should be fully repaid; upon which consideration, the said most christian king does promise to continue to the said Gonant, to enjoy this right, in the same manner as it was to remain, if the town had continued in the possession of the said king of Great-Britain.

That the English merchants, and other subjects of the king of Great-Britain, shall be allowed to remove out of the place with all their goods and effects, and every thing belonging to them, excepting corn and other provisions, or warlike stores which they may not transport for the space of one month, but shall be obliged to sell them at the market price; and in case it should happen that they cannot dispose of them in that month's time, they shall be allowed to transport them where they please; and as to effects that are not moveable, they may dispose of them, and have three months allowed to do so, or a longer time if needful, it being always understood, that before leaving the place, or disposing of the said goods and chattels, they shall be obliged to pay their debts, or give security to the satisfaction of their creditors.

All which points and articles above recited, with all contained in each of them, have been agreed to, treated of, passed, and stipulated, to wit, between the said count d'Estrades, for, and in the name of, his most christian majesty, and the aforesaid earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of England, the earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, on the part, and in the name, of the king of Great-Britain, as being commissioned by their said majesties for that purpose, who, by virtue of their powers, have, and do, promise, under the obligation, hypothetich, of all the pos-

essions and dominions present and to come, of the said kings their masters, shall be observed and fulfilled inviolably by their majesties, aforesaid, and that they shall be ratified by them purely and simply, without adding, or diminishing, or retrenching; and to deliver and receive reciprocally the one to, and from, the other, letters authentic and sealed, in which all the present treaty shall be inserted word for word, and that within 15 days from the date of these presents, or sooner if it may be.

In witness whereof, we the abovenamed commissioners, have subscribed the present treaty, and have affixed to it the seal of our coat of arms, done at London the 27th day of October, 1662. Signed d'Estrades, and sealed with the seal of my coat of arms.

The power given to the count d'Estrades, named by his most christian majesty, as his commissioner for the purpose of the aforesaid treaty.

**I** Give a power to the count d'Estrades, knight of my orders, to adjust, conclude, and to sign a treaty with my brother the king of England, for purchasing the town of Dunkirk and its dependencies; and promise upon the faith and word of a king, to approve, ratify, and execute all that the said count d'Estrades shall promise by virtue of the present power; done at St. Germans en Lay, the 26th day of July, 1662.

Signed Louis, and wrote with his own hand.

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The power of the earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of England, of the earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer, of the duke of Albemarle, and of the earl of Sandwich, commissioners appointed by the king of Great-Britain.

**I** Give power to my cousins the earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of England, to the earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer of England, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Sandwich, to adjust, conclude, and sign a treaty with count d'Estrades, for the sale of Dunkirk and its dependencies, and promise on the faith and word of a king, to approve, ratify, and execute, whatsoever the aforelaid chancellor, treasurer, duke of albemarle, and earl of Sandwich, shall promise, in virtue of the present power; done at London, the 1st day of September, 1662.

Signed Charles Rex.

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An inventory of the artillery and arms now in the city and citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, together with the warlike ammunition, which ought to have been in the magazines of the said place, upon which the present treaty has been made, and which ought to have been made good and delivered with the said place.

The brass cannon now in the citadel and works of Dunkirk.

24 Pounders	6
10 Ditto	26
12 Ditto	12
6 Ditto	3
4 Ditto	9
3 Ditto	4
Culverins	2
Half culverins	6
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	68

Cannon of iron.

10 Pounders	6
12 Ditto	16
8 Ditto	4
6 Ditto	15
4 Ditto	3
3 Ditto	4
7 Ditto	2
Culverins	6
Half culverins	25
	—
	81

Cannons of iron in the fort.

12 Pounders	5
6 Ditto	2
4 Ditto	2
3 Ditto	1
Half culverins	8
Fauconet	1
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The contents of the present inventory, amounting to 68 pieces of brass, and 100 of iron.

About 1600 barrels of powder, each barrel weighing an hundred pounds, in all amounting to 60,000. 28 barrels and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of match, containing 8020 pounds. 706 barrels of musket balls. 12 barrels of carbine balls.

- 2445 Hand granadoes.
- 24218 Cannon balls of all sorts.
- 14800 More cannon balls at Mr. Laval's.
- 460 Brass cases for demi culverins.
- 140 Granadoes of 12  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 12  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and 12 inches diameter.

Arms.

- |                     |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1348 Muskets.       | 281 Carbines.           |
| 231 Broken muskets. | 245 Pair of pistols.    |
| 975 Bandeliers.     | 455 Pair of holsters.   |
| 916 Pikes.          | 160 Swords.             |
| 400 Half pikes.     | 30 Dozen of belts.      |
| 16 Partizans.       | 50 Arms for curassiers. |
| 145 Hallibards.     | 500 Arms for infantry.  |

Instruments and things useful for the works.

- 1474 Shovels tipped and not tipped with iron.
- 5321 Props and handles of oak in good and bad case.
- 2962 Great iron nails.
- 338 English shovels.

5 Ploughs

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- 5 Ploughs for the Downs.  
 800 Stakes.  
 280 Wheel-barrow good and bad.  
 340 Shovels.  
 12 Ladders for culverins.  
 24 ——— for demi culverins.  
 18 ——— for canon of 24 pound.  
 24 ——— for canon of 4 pound.  
 12 Spunges for culverins.  
 24 ——— for demi culverins.  
 18 ——— for cannon of 24 pounds.  
 24 ——— for cannon of 4 pounds.  
 500 Yards of canvass.  
 40 Dozen of needles.  
 900 Brass nails.  
 28 Pounds of saltpetre.  
 116c ——— of Lead in pigs.  
 4000 Nails of sponge.  
 225 Sheets of lead.  
 4232 Flambeaux.  
 14 Harnesses.  
 1100 Rests for muskets.  
 16 Two-handed saws.  
 60 Sacks of granadoes.  
 102 Dozen sacks of sand.  
 12 Dark lanterns.  
 29 Common lanterns.  
 12 Bars of steel.  
 14 Old small pieces of iron cannon.  
 20 Bridges of osier.  
 2 Bridges for horses.  
 150 Granadoes of 18 inches.  
 200 ——— of 12  
 82 ——— of 8  
 6646 Hand granadoes in the keeping of the master of the fireworks.  
 1776 Palissadoes.  
 8 Carriages for culverins.  
 4 ——— for demi culverins.

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The above mentioned power, together with the inventory of the arms, ammunition, and stores transcribed, are certified by us above named commissioners, and signed with the seals of our coats of arms at London, year and day above mentioned, signed

Clarendon.

Southampton.

Albemarle.

Sandwich.

We with advice of our council, and after causing to be read over to us, the said treaty word for word, have agreed to, approved, and ratified, and do hereby agree to approve and ratify the said treaty in every point, and all its articles, and signed the same with our hand, promising on the faith and word of a king, to fulfil, keep, and maintain, the same inviolably, without contravening or allowing it to be contravened directly, or indirectly, in any way or manner whatever, for such is our pleasure.

In testimony whereof, we have caused our seal to be put to these presents.

Given at Paris the last day of October in the year of grace 1662, and of our reign the 20th, signed

Louis.

And below by the king le Tellier, sealed and countersealed in yellow wax on a label of parchment.

A power

A power to count d'Estrades to take possession of the town and forts of Dunkirk in the king's name, and to command therein.

**L**ouis by the grace of god, king of France and Navarre, to all such as these presents may be seen, greeting. It being agreed to by the treaty past and made in our name the 27th of this month, by our dear and well beloved count d'Estrades, knight of our orders, and one of the lieutenant generals of our armies, with our most beloved brother the king of Great-Britain ratified the last day of this present month, that the town and citadel of Dunkirk, forts of Mardyke, &c. together with all the artillery and ammunition of war within the said places, should be delivered over to us to be put and remaining in our power, and to remain with us as our acquisition and property; we have thought fit to cause to be received in our name the said places, artillery, and ammunition by a person capable and having authority for that end with a power of settling in garrison in the said places, the troops which we have appointed for maintaining and defending the same; and judging that we could not make choice of a better or fitter person for these purposes, than of the count d'Estrades on account of the intire confidence we have of his capacity, prudence, valour, and experience in war, vigilance and good conduct; and by reason of his fidelity and singular affection to our service; be it known for these and other good reasons and considerations us thereto moving, we have commissioned, ordered, and appointed, and hereby commission, order, and appoint, the said count d'Estrades, by these presents signed with  
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our hand to receive in our name in consequence of the said treaty, from the hands of such person or persons, as shall have a power for that effect from our said brother the king of Great Britain, the town and citadel of Dunkirk, fort of Mardyke and others, and to take possession of the same together with all the artillery and ammunition of war therein, of which an exact inventory is to be taken by one of our commissaries of artillery in his own presence on the spot, and to have power to give a discharge or receipt to such person or persons, as shall deliver over to him the said places, artillery, and stores stipulated by the said treaty.

To cause enter into the said places, as soon as they are delivered the troops, which we have ordered for garrisoning them; and of all which he is afterwards to take the command upon him, until such time as we shall further provide for the government of the said places. Hereby ordaining for that end all the inhabitants of the said town and places thereon depending, and to all the military to do what they are bound to perform for our service, and to live in union and concord, and the soldiery in good discipline and order, according to the rules and ordonnances of war, and to chastise and punish such as shall dare to act contrary to the same, to have an eye to the safety and preservation of the said places under our obedience, and in general the said count d'Estades to do all that he shall see necessary and proper for the good of our service, and to enable him so to do, we give and have given him power, commission, authority, and special command by these presents. And we command and we recommend ordain all the inhabitants of the said town and its dependencies, and to all the military who may be in garrison therein, or in the citadel and fort of  
Mar-



The king's letter to the chancellor of England.

AS nothing could be more obliging than the king of Great-Britain, my brother's way of proceeding with me in the affair of Dunkirk, there would be something wanting in my acknowledgement of it, if it did not extend to a person who serves him so worthily as you do; be persuaded that I shall embrace every occasion to convince you, that I am well acquainted with the share you have had in this essential mark of that friendship he has shown to me, and referring to the count d'Estrades, to assure you more particularly of my affection and esteem. God keep you under his holy protection.

Wrote at Paris 30th of October, 1662.

Signed Louis.

F I N I S.

The parliament of Eng. warmly opposed this treaty, & the garrison refused to evacuate the place, wh. the Count having skillfully relieved considerable sums of money the governor & garrison embarked on their passage met the orders of the parliament not to give up Dunkirk

