

ALFRED DE VIGNY'S TREATMENT OF RICHELIEU
IN THE NOVEL "CINQ-MARS".

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A. B. Ottawa University, 1925.

Submitted to the Department
of Romance Languages and the
Faculty of the Graduate School
of the University of Kansas in
partial fulfillment of the re-
quirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS.

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May 31, 1927.

The writer takes pleasure in expressing her gratitude to those who have assisted her in preparing this thesis. Thanks are especially due to Professor Eugenie Gallo, who directed the work, to Earl N. Manchester, Director of the Library, and Mrs. Pearl H. Clark, secretary to the Director, for their assistance in procuring books, also to Professor. F. E. Melvin for many valuable suggestions.

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INTRODUCTION.

In the following discussion of Alfred de Vigny's "Cinq-Mars", no attempt will be made to deal with the novel from a literary standpoint, nor will the development of the plot be studied. The purpose of this thesis is an examination of historical facts relative to the important characters, in an effort to determine whether Vigny is justified in claiming, as he does in his "Journal", that "Ce qui fait l'originalité de ce livre, c'est que tout y a l'air roman et que tout y est histoire,"¹ or whether Sainte-Beuve's conclusion is justified:

"Le roman de Cinq-Mars est tout à fait manqué en tant qu'historique, et pour tout esprit ami de la vérité, il ne saurait se lire aujourd'hui."²

As we read the novel, we realize that the material is unquestionably historical. Almost from the first, however, we feel that the facts are being marshalled and controlled by the author in such a way as to create an impression of evil, of a sinister, lurking power, emanating from some person who holds the threads of Fate in his hands, and we soon perceive that this person is the cardinal de Richelieu.

To understand the reason for such a portrayal of Richelieu, it must be remembered that Vigny wrote "Cinq-Mars" with a definite thesis in mind. He was espousing the cause of the "vieille noblesse", which Richelieu purposely humbled;

the "classe toujours dévouée à la France et lui donnant ses plus belles gloires, achetant de son sang le plus pur le droit de la défendre en se dépouillant de ses biens pièce à pièce et de père en fils; grande famille pipée, trompée, sapée par ses plus grands rois, sortis d'elle; hachée par quelques-uns, les servant sans cesse, et leur parlant haut et franc; traquée, exilée, plus que décimée, et toujours dévouée tantôt au Prince qui la ruine, ou la renie, ou l'abandonne, tantôt au Peuple qui la méconnaît et la massacre; entre ce marteau et cette enclume, toujours pure et toujours frappée, comme un fer rougi au feu; entre cette hache et ce billot, toujours saignante et souriante comme les martyrs; race aujourd'hui rayée du livre de vie et regardée de côté, comme la race juive."³

Vigny uses the young Cinq-Mars and his friend de Thou to represent the courage, enthusiasm and idealism of this class, in hopeless conflict with the ruthless Cardinal.

- Leur dernier soupir, says Corneille, in the last chapter of "Cinq-Mars," a été celui de l'ancienne monarchie.⁴

In choosing Henri d'Efflat and François-Auguste de Thou to embody the principles he wished to uphold, the author had to face the historical fact that these young men had failed in their enterprises; his interpretation of the reasons which led to such a failure, and his treatment of Cinq-Mars, Marie de Gonzague, Urbain Grandier, François-Auguste de Thou, Father Joseph and the Maréchal de Bassom-

pierre, in their relations with Richelieu, have resulted in the definitely evil impression of the Cardinal which he wished to create.

It is the purpose of the following discussion to inquire into the veracity of Vigny's portrayal of Richelieu, by an unprejudiced examination of historical facts concerning the cardinal in his relations with the important characters of "Cinq-Mars". Before taking up a detailed study of these characters, a brief outline of the plot may be useful as a background.

Henri d'Effiat, marquis de Cinq-Mars, is called to court as a companion for the king, by the cardinal Richelieu, who has always been a friend to the boy's father, the late Maréchal d'Effiat.

The young man, although only nineteen years old, has fallen in love with the princess Marie de Gonzague, whose high rank makes their marriage impossible unless Cinq-Mars can attain to a position which will render him worthy of her. He is fired with ambition to succeed, but from the first the gloom of impending disaster hangs over the preparations for his departure. He is reluctant to enter upon a life which he vaguely feels will be one of hypocrisy and intrigues, and he is further disturbed by the unjust arrest of the ^{family} guest, the old maréchal de Bassompierre.

On the way to court, Cinq-Mars passes through Loudun, where his forebodings are increased by witnessing the trial and execution at the stake of the priest Urbain Grandier,

accused of sorcery, but really a victim of the jealousy of his fellow clergy and the enmity of Richelieu.

Louis XIII is engaged in the siege of Perpignan, where Cinq-Mars, because of the presence of mind and courage which he displays in a skirmish, is presented to the king under very fortunate circumstances, thereby incurring the displeasure of Richelieu, who is already unfriendly to Cinq-Mars's boyhood friend, Francois-Auguste de Thou, now at court.

Two years pass, and Cinq-Mars has made great progress along the road which his love-inspired ambition has marked out for him. He has been made Grand Écuyer of France, and his influence over Louis XIII apparently exceeds that of Richelieu.

The young man has decided that the cardinal is the greatest obstacle to his advancement, and in his blind determination to overthrow Richelieu, he plans to turn Louis away from his minister, if possible, but if not, to seek help elsewhere. To this end, a treaty with Spain has been prepared, signed by Gaston d'Orléans, by which Philip IV is to give money and supplies and the duc de Bouillon is to furnish Sedan as a base for operations during the Civil war which will follow.

De Thou, learning of the plot, strongly disapproves of it, but his deep affection for Cinq-Mars seals his lips. In his foolhardiness, Cinq-Mars even goes so far as to reveal some of his projects to the king, only to be overheard by Father Joseph, Richelieu's spy and confidant; the same

listener is concealed in the church where Cinq-Mars and Marie, who have become affianced, are so indiscreet as to discuss their plans.

The Grand Écuyer is at Perpignan, ready to give the signal to his followers for the outbreak of hostilities, when he receives a letter from the queen, urging him to give up his claims on Marie, whose hand is sought by one of her own rank, the king of Poland, and intimating that the princess would accept the proffered crown with less regret than he might imagine.

Crushed with despair, Cinq-Mars gives himself up, before Richelieu, who has secured a copy of the treaty with Spain, has time to strike; De Thou is arrested at the same time. Later, Cinq-Mars is visited in prison by Father Joseph, who offers to gain his release, with the understanding that when the Grand Écuyer shall have regained his influence with the king, he will obtain for the capuchin the position of cardinal. Cinq-Mars, welcoming death after the intimation that Marie is about to fall him, refuses Joseph's offer, and he and de Thou bravely meet death together.

CHAPTER I.CINQ-MARS.

Alfred de Vigny has, perhaps, painted no character more artistically than that of Henri d'Effiat, marquis de Cinq-Mars. Most historians have dismissed the young man with a few sentences, sometimes sympathetic, usually uncomplimentary, contenting themselves with a brief discussion of his part in the last conspiracy against the Cardinal de Richelieu.

With a background of incomplete or hazy historical knowledge, an uncritical reading of "Cinq-Mars" would surely leave one with an exalted image of the young man; he would stand out as a youthful idealist, martyred by love-inspired ambition, in a struggle, lost before it was begun, against the implacable tyrant, Richelieu. Louis Maignon says:

"M. de Vigny nous représente Cinq-Mars comme un noble jeune homme doué de tous les dons du coeur et de l'esprit. Il en fait une sorte de conspirateur vertueux qui joue héroïquement sa vie pour réaliser les rêves d'une grande âme et obtenir la main d'une maîtresse adorée; il lui prête non seulement de généreux desseins, mais encore des vues profondes. Dans sa munificence, il lui donne l'habileté d'un diplomate et l'imagination d'un enthousiaste. C'est là, sans doute, un beau portrait qui fait honneur au pinceau de l'artiste; il n'y manque rien que la ressemblance. Le Cinq-Mars de l'histoire est bien différent --- Ce jeune homme

noble, si généreux, si poétique enfin dans l'oeuvre de M. de Vigny, n'est plus ici qu'un courtisan frivole, jaloux des faveurs d'un maître imbécile. Le mobile de ses actions est une ambition sans grandeur, une vanité puérile qui le pousse à trahir son pays et à risquer étourdiment sa tête, pour renverser un rival puissant."⁵

Placed between two such radically different conceptions as those of Vigny and M. Maignon, one can come to a just conclusion only by a comparison of historical records concerning Cinq-Mars with M. de Vigny's treatment of him in the novel.

"Cinq-Mars" begins with a distinct note of sadness, due to the death, six months previously, of the maréchal d'Effiat. Since Vigny definitely establishes the date of the story as 1639, here, at the very outset, is an anachronism; the maréchal d'Effiat died in 1632.⁶

There is no reason to believe that Cinq-Mars's departure for court was an occasion for gloom and foreboding. Richelieu was a long-time friend of the maréchal; what more natural than that Cinq-Mars should expect favors in his turn? He was not anxious to give up his carefree life at Chaumont for the more exacting one of companion to the king, but he apparently realized that he was indebted to Richelieu for the opportunities that such a position afforded. He expresses his gratitude in a letter to the cardinal, written more than a year after his arrival at court.⁷

From beneath the seventeenth century formality of this letter, and of others written at about the same time⁸, seems to emerge the fact that Cinq-Mars considered himself indebted to Richelieu, and even granting that his gratitude is not lasting, there is nothing to prove that he went to court, as Vigny claims, with Richelieu's favor weighing heavily upon him.

Vigny very effectively develops the reasons for Cinq-Mars's distrust of the cardinal's influence in the life he is about to begin. History, however, cannot substantiate these reasons in so far as Cinq-Mars is concerned.

The maréchal de Bassompierre, whose arrest so angers the Cinq-Mars, had been in^{the} Bastille for eight years at the time of the young men's departure for court;⁹ Urbain Grandier, whose unjust execution so bitterly disillusioned Cinq-Mars by opening his eyes to the terrible effects of jealousy and enmity clothed in the garments of religion or politics, was burned at the stake in 1634, hence Cinq-Mars was not a spectator.¹⁰ It follows that Jeanne de Belfiel, whose demented prophecy that "l'homme qui'il avait frappe le tuerait"¹¹ accentuates the note of impending disaster, had no communication with him at that time, nor is it probable that the two met at any later date.

The siege of Perpignan lasted from June, 1641, to August, 1642;¹² therefore, Cinq-Mars met Louis XIII under no such circumstances as Vigny describes. As a result, we are

obliged to do away with Richelieu's unfriendly reception of Cinq-Mars after the supposed skirmish with the Spaniards on the bastion.

According to Vigny, the cardinal, already jealous and suspicious of Louis's apparent liking for the young man, instructs Father Joseph to watch him, to become his friend, to draw him in the direction Richelieu is determined that he shall go, or bring about his downfall.

"Qu'il me serve ou qu'il tombe!" cries the imperious minister.¹³

Father Joseph is to bring or to send to his master reports of Cinq-Mars's conduct, an order literally impossible for the capuchin to have received, since his death occurred in 1638, before Cinq-Mars was summoned to court.¹⁴

It seems rather improbable that the cardinal should, at the outset, have conceived any jealousy or suspicions of Cinq-Mars because of the King's apparent affection for the young man. Richelieu had brought Cinq-Mars to court with the definite purpose of substituting him, in the king's affection, for Mlle d'Hautefort;¹⁵ it is not reasonable to suppose that he regarded with displeasure the working out of his own schemes.

On the contrary, it was Richelieu himself who, for almost a year, strove to arouse Louis's affection for Cinq-Mars. The king did not at first fancy the young marquis, and Richelieu was obliged to use ingenuity and tact in order to turn the king's mind in the desired direction. The

cardinal instructed Cinq-Mars how to insinuate himself into Louis's good graces, with the result that the young man finally won the king over by his charm and his entertaining conversation, and then rose rapidly to the position of favorite.¹⁶

From this point, history informs us, dates the rise of Cinq-Mars's ambition, accompanied by a marked change in his feelings toward Richelieu, whom he soon came to regard as an enemy and whom he was determined to overthrow. Increasing ambition might have been expected in a young man so high in favor with the king, but since Cinq-Mars, as his letters show, at first felt grateful to the benefactor who had placed him in this fortunate position, what brought about the change? What occasioned the transformation of this natural gratitude into a hatred that culminated in a reckless and desperate effort to destroy the cardinal?

M. de Vigny would have us believe that there was no other motive than love - love for a princess, love therefore impossible of realization unless, by some supreme effort, the barrier of rank might be destroyed. This, reasons Cinq-Mars, can be done only by attaining to the position which the cardinal occupies; he believes Richelieu's policy to be harmful, and he justifies himself by contending that the minister's downfall will be a benefit to France.

History fails to substantiate such a motive; there is nothing to uphold Vigny's supposition that Cinq-Mars was acquainted with Marie de Gonzague when he went to court. On

the other hand, there is an abundance of material to show that the princess was not his only love during the early part of his new life.

Indeed, one of the very first occasions of disagreement between the king and Cinq-Mars was the latter's preference for the gayety and amusements of Paris, and his distaste for the more or less monotonous life of Saint-Germain. Louis's favorite diversion was hunting, a sport in which Cinq-Mars felt no interest, and as he was very young, he took no pains to conceal his likes and dislikes, even expressing them in the presence of the king.¹⁷ Surely, had he been the grave, determined, young man whom Vigny pictures, resolved if possible to realize his ambitions through the king's favor, he would never have been guilty of such imprudence.

To console himself, following disputes with his royal master, Cinq-Mars would mount his horse, after Louis was asleep, and ride to Paris to visit Marion de Lorme, with whom he was very much in love. Often he remained until nearly morning, hurrying back at dawn to hunt with the king. Small wonder that, as we are told, he was constantly exhausted, and increasingly ill-tempered.

Writers of "Mémoires" of the period are in accord on the subject of Cinq-Mars's affair with Marion de Lorme. One author even states that his mother feared that he would marry the woman, and procured "des défenses du Parlement."¹⁸ Marion, herself, names Cinq-Mars among the seven or eight men for whom she had felt some real affection,¹⁹ and we are

told that she was known as "Madame le Grand," because of her relations with M. le Grand, as Cinq-Mars was called.²⁰

This was not the only "amour" in which the young man was involved. "The greatest love of M. le Grand at that time", says Tallemant, "was Chemerault, today Madame de La Bazinière."²¹ Mlle de Chemerault is mentioned by several of her contemporaries as the object of M. le Grand's affections. La Rochefoucauld informs us that the princess Marie and Cinq-Mars were lovers, but at the same time she was attached to some gentlemen whose name La Rochefoucauld withholds, and M. le Grand "aimait éperdument Mlle de Chemerault. Il lui persuadait même qu'il avait dessein de l'épouser, et il lui en donnait des assurances par des lettres qui ont causé de grandes aigreurs après sa mort entre Madame la princesse Marie et elle, dont j'ai été témoin."²²

At the time of her liaison with Cinq-Mars, Mlle de Chemerault, known as "la belle Gueuse," was a "fille d'honneur" of Anne of Austria. She had been one of Mlle d'Hautefort's close friends, but she had abused this friendship by betraying to Richelieu all of Mlle d'Hautefort's confidences.²³

Finally, on account of her intimacy with Cinq-Mars, she was sent away from court to Poitou. La Porte, intermediary between the queen and Madame de Chevreuse, speaks of Mlle de Chemerault's sojourn at Poitiers and of her constant efforts to gain readmittance to court.²⁴ She appears to have been a light, untrustworthy character.

After Richelieu's death, she returned to Paris, having represented to the queen that she could make her fortune only by her beauty, and that more opportunities for conquests were to be found in Paris than in Poitiers. Her marriage with La Bazinière, "trésorier de l'Épargne," bore out her theory. Saint Simon speaks, lightly, of "le trésorier de l'Épargne qui avait épousé pour rien Mlle de Barbezières Chemerault, fille d'honneur de la reine."²⁵ We find that after her marriage she amused herself with several lovers, among them d'Éméry, a former lover of Marion de Lorme's²⁶.

In view of such facts, one can hardly accept M. de Vigny's theory that love for Princess Marie motivated all of Cinq-Mars's behavior at court; it is practically certain that the two were not acquainted until after the affairs with Marion de Lorme and with Mlle de Chemerault. Montglat says: "A la fin, son ambition croissant, il devint amoureux de la princesse Marie de Mantoue."²⁷

We are told by another writer that no sooner had Cinq-Mars been clothed with the dignity of Grand Écuyer than he tried to rise still higher, and had the temerity to aspire to a marriage with the princesse Marie de Nevers.²⁸

What a contrast between the grave, thoughtful young idealist whom Vigny pictures and the image that is created by this sentence: "On dit, à propos de cela, que quand des Yveteaux, intendant de l'armée de Roussillon, alla pour ouvrir les cassettes de M. le Grand, un valet de chambre

l'avertit qu'il trouveroit ce qu'il ne cherchoit pas: c'étoient des lettres de sa femme."²⁹

"Les dames pleurèrent sa perte, " says Mme. de Motteville, "et avec raison, car il avait beaucoup de vénération pour le sexe."³⁰

If, then, love for princess Marie entered into Cinq-Mars's projects later than Vigny's supposition, and must therefore be eliminated as the original motive of his ambition, what brought about the early discontent which crystallized into hatred of Richelieu and the determination to do away with him?

Cinq-Mars, as has previously been stated, entered upon his career half-heartedly as far as his association with Louis XIII was concerned. The two were almost diametrically opposed as regards tastes and habits. Louis was thirty-seven years old; Cinq-Mars was nineteen. The king retired early and arose early; Cinq-Mars, seeking diversion at Paris, found it difficult to adjust his schedule to the King's. Louis spent a great deal of time at Saint-Germain; the younger man craved the excitement of the city and the companionship of his friends, the members of the "Marais."³¹

Disagreements arose and Cinq-Mars, instead of displaying the discretion and far-sightedness which surely would have accompanied ambition such as Vigny attributes to him, proved to be irritable and impatient, never going out of his way to avoid a quarrel with the king and sometimes careless about effecting a reconciliation.

In the beginning, Richelieu intervened and soothed the ruffled feelings of both the king and his young favorite. The cardinal seems to have taken into consideration the youth of the Cinq-Mars, and no touch of jealousy or ill feeling appear in his remark to the king: "Il est impossible d'estre jeune et tout à fait sage."³³

As early as 1639, we learn from letters written by Louis to the cardinal³³, Richelieu was intervening in disputes between the king and his favorite. The quarrels became more serious throughout the following year, and Cinq-Mars, himself, wrote to the cardinal and to M. de Noyers, expressing his discontent with his situation.³⁴ Apparently, he still regarded Richelieu as a friend, although in 1639 a slight coldness had risen between them.

This came about because Cinq-Mars, having decided that the position of "maître de la garde-robe" was beneath his dignity, asked for something better. The king offered to make him "premier écuyer", but "la présomption de Cinq-Mars étoit déjà si grande, qu'il reçut cette proposition comme une injure."³⁵ With considerable difficulty, Louis succeeding in obtaining for him the post which he desired, that of Grand Écuyer, then held by the duc de Bellegarde. Richelieu disapproved of so sudden an elevation, but Cinq-Mars's favor with the king already equalled that of the cardinal.

In 1641, Cinq-Mars desired the command of the troops which were to conduct the "convois" to camp during the siege

of Arras, the most difficult command which he could have desired. The cardinal, who had not been consulted, learned of the matter and pointed out to the king that it would be unwise to intrust to a young, inexperienced man a commission which would tax the skill of the best generals. Louis persisted in his determination to grant his favorite's request, so Richelieu, himself, spoke his mind to Cinq-Mars, so emphatically that the latter consented to receive, instead, the command "des volontaires, des gendarmes et des chevaux-légers de la garde."³⁶ From this time on, strained relations existed between the cardinal and Cinq-Mars, the latter becoming more embittered because of several definite attempts by Richelieu to curb his too rapidly growing ambition.

The cardinal made his first effort to humble the Grand Écuyer's pride by commenting very sarcastically upon his conduct during the battle of Arras. These remarks, according to Fontenilles, "l'envenimèrent à tel point, et lui firent une si profonde playe dans le coeur, qu'il n'en guérit jamais depuis."³⁷

Burning with resentment, Cinq-Mars began to plan the formation of a party which should overthrow Richelieu and after the failure of the conspiracy of the Comte de Soissons, in which he was implicated, he lent his assistance to the duc de Bouillon in effecting the latter's reconciliation with the king, hoping to make an ally of the duke.

Richelieu's severity increased as the Grand Écuyer's

favor grew, and learning of the latter's aspirations to a marriage with the princess Marie de Gonzague, the cardinal further incensed him by treating such pretensions as ridiculous presumption.³⁸

Shortly afterward, Richelieu found occasion to rebuke Cinq-Mars even more sternly. The young favorite had, for some time, been accustomed to remain with the king during the latter's councils with his minister. Richelieu, annoyed at the presence of one so little suited to the serious consideration of State affairs, finally expressed his sentiments to Cinq-Mars in the severe, even harsh terms in which his reprimands were usually couched. Cinq-Mars, so Fontrailles tells us, wept with rage and anger, sobbed for a long time and found consolation only in his determination to stop at nothing in his efforts to ruin the cardinal, whom he now considered his enemy.³⁹

Richelieu, finally at the limit of his patience, and regarding Cinq-Mars as a troublesome child who had disappointed his expectations, made an effort to get him out of the way peaceably by offering him the governorship of Touraine, but the Grand Écuyer not only refused to abandon the position he held,⁴⁰ but also made tentative efforts at an alliance with the duc de Bouillon, intimating to him that Louis would welcome his assistance in getting rid of a minister who was becoming unbearable. However, the duc de Bouillon, who was not yet certain of a reconciliation after the

affair of the comte de Soisson, was careful not to commit himself.

It was easy for Cinq-Mars to involve the fickle, light-minded Gaston d'Orléans in a plot against the cardinal. By representing to him that Richelieu was constantly endeavoring to belittle him in the king's eyes, and by contrasting his present dependent position with the wealth and authority that would be his were the cardinal's influence removed, Cinq-Mars aroused Gaston to the point of approving a plan to enlist the duc de Bouillon's aid, so as to have Sedan as a base for operations.

At the same time, Cinq-Mars was on intimate terms with the comte de Fontenilles. Their friendship, according to Vigny, originates at the time of the duel between the abbé de Gondi and M. de Leunay, Fontenilles being Cinq-Mars's opponent. The latter purposely turns his weapon away from Fontenilles. "il e eu la bonté de l'ôter et de la tirer en l'air; je ne l'oublierai jamais, et je suis à lui à la vie et à la mort," declares Fontenilles.⁴¹

The count himself, in his "Relation", tells a different story. While in Gascony, he quarreled with M. d'Épernon, and Richelieu, suspicious of Fontenilles, ordered that he was to be taken, dead or alive. Cinq-Mars, altho only an acquaintance of Fontenilles's, answered for him, saying that he, Cinq-Mars, would render guarantee by his head that Fontenilles was a good servant of the king's. Their friendship dated from this episode.⁴²

Fontreilles seems to have been unscrupulous as well as courageous and prudent. He suggested from the beginning that assassination would be the simplest manner of doing away with the cardinal. He pointed out to Cinq-Mars that once before, in 1636, plans had been made for an attempt on the cardinal's person, that Gaston had favored the idea, and if there had been conformity among those who were to have carried out the plan, Richelieu would never have come out of the king's residence. This time, if Gaston could be got into a similar frame of mind, affairs could be managed so that the enterprise would not fail. Cinq-Mars, says Fontreilles, "en tomba d'accord, et prit cet expédient avec grande chaleur,"⁴³ a fact which M. de Vigny never introduces into his novel.

Fontreilles goes on to say that Cinq-Mars feared that Monsieur might be shocked at such a plan if it were proposed abruptly; later, he reported that he had sounded Monsieur on the subject several times, and that it would be necessary to get him into a favorable frame of mind by insinuation.

Fontreilles also tells us that Cinq-Mars was troubled by remorse; the memory of the obligations which the maréchal d'Effiat and his house owed to the cardinal often came to his mind, yet in his misguided ambition and his childish resentment at what he considered Richelieu's ill treatment of him, he persisted in his foolhardy enterprise. As Father Daniel aptly says: "L'ambition avoit enfin surmonté

dans le coeur de ce jeune homme le goût de la dissipation et l'amour du plaisir: elle sembloit même avoir fixé sa légèreté naturelle."⁴⁴

Whatever his reasons, Cinq-Mars devoted himself with energy to the task of ruining the cardinal. He had decided upon three methods of accomplishing his purpose. The first was to gain such an influence over the king that the latter would allow himself to be persuaded that Richelieu must be got rid of; the second was the assassination of the cardinal, and the third was the use of open force, based upon a union with Spain.

Cinq-Mars ceaselessly represented to Louis XIII the faults of his minister, insisting that it was weak and unworthy of a monarch to display such submission to so arrogant a tyrant. Louis appears to have wavered between affection for his favorite and appreciation of what Richelieu's support really meant to him; at any rate, although listening to Cinq-Mars's complaints and reproaches, and even sharing them, he never definitely promised that he would act against the cardinal.

The second plan, that of the assassination, was not carried out because Louis could never be induced to give his consent. According to Montglat, Cinq-Mars confided his design to some officers of the king's household, among them the sieur de Troisville, "commandant des mousquetaires," and the sieurs Tilledet, La Salle and des Essarts, captains in the "régiment des gardes." These men disliked Riche-

lieu and offered to assassinate him when he should come to visit the king. However, when Cinq-Mars went so far as to suggest to Louis this method of doing away with the cardinal, the king was horrified at the idea, and could never be persuaded that his own downfall would not follow that of the minister upon whom he had come to depend.

Without the king's consent, and without the presence of monsieur and the duc de Bouillon, both of whom had promised to meet Cinq-Mars at Lyons, and both of whom failed to come, because they feared lest they be involved in the proposed assassination, the Grand Écuyer saw no way of carrying out this plan and turned to the third alternative. Fontrailles, therefore, was dispatched to Spain with the treaty, whose terms are outlined in the notes at the close of Vigny's novel.

At this time, Cinq-Mars seemed to stand higher in the king's favor than ever before, and it appeared that Richelieu was completely abandoned. Montglat says: "Toute la cour en étoit si persuadée, que tout alloit à M. le Grand, et on ne pouvoit se tourner à sa suite, tant la foule y étoit grande."⁴⁵ Cinq-Mars himself assumed an air of haughty disdain toward the cardinal, no longer condescending to speak to him. At the same time, Cinq-Mars sought to render himself agreeable to everyone else, especially to the army. He flattered the officers and even the soldiers, promising his favor to all those who were not in the cardinal's good

graces or who would abandon his cause. He spent money lavishly, and enlisted so many in his interests that the army divided itself into two factions; those declaring themselves for M. le Grand, were known as "royalistes"; the others, in favor of Richelieu, were called "cardinalistes."⁴⁶

The loss of the battle of Honnecourt brought home the embarrassing truth to Louis XIII that he was greatly in need of Richelieu's advice. He began to feel his own weakness without the cardinal's support and he was wise enough to realize that such a man as Cinq-Mars could never fill Richelieu's place. The grand Écuyer, moreover, was beginning to irritate Louis by his over-confidence and his presumption. The king began to contrive so that he and his favorite were alone less often, in order to avoid the latter's constant complaints of the cardinal.

Cinq-Mars, realizing that a noticeable change in the king's attitude toward him would be fatal at this stage of the game, strove desperately to preserve an outward appearance of their usual intimacy. Louis, however, had no reason for dissimulation, and at times revealed to outsiders his distaste for M. le Grand, which, once conceived, seemed to increase as rapidly as had his former affection. Telle-mant quotes him as saying to Fabert:

"Il faut vous dire tout, monsieur Fabert, il y a six mois que je le vomis. Mais pour faire croire le contraire, et qu'on pensât qu'il m'entretenoit encore après tout le ^{que} _^

monde étoit retiré il demouroit une heure et demie dans la garde-robe à lire Arioste. Il n'y a point d'homme plus perdu de vices, ni si peu complaisant. C'est le plus grand ingrat du monde. Il m'a fait attendre quelquefois des heures entières dans mon carrosse, tandis qu'il crapuloit. Un royaume ne suffiroit pas à ses depenses. Il a, à l'heure que je vous parle, jusqu'à trois cents peires de bottes."⁴⁷

In connection with the extravagance of M. le Grand, it is Tallemant, also, who says: "Il a fait enrager sa mère quelque temps, car elle est avare, et lui, par dépit, changeoit d'habit quatre fois le jour et l'alloit voir autant de fois."⁴⁸

Another source of irritation to Louis was the fact that on Colonel Lestrade's return from Holland, the report began to circulate that the Dutch were making peace with Spain. Louis inquired of Lestrade the reason for Holland's sudden desire to separate herself from France's interests, and Lestrade replied that although Holland, until then, had depended upon France's protection because of her faith in the cardinal de Richelieu, she could not trust to further protection if it were true that Richelieu was to be replaced by Cinq-Mars. Louis flew into a rage, and declared that nothing was further from his thoughts than the replacement of the cardinal by such a person as M. le Grand.⁴⁹

Fontrailles, who had returned from Spain, perceived that Cinq-Mars's affairs were in a bad state and warned

Monsieur that he had better make arrangements with the duc de Bouillon for the proposed retreat to Sedan. He next visited Cinq-Mars, who was then at Perpignan, whence he and Louis had come from Lyons, the cardinal having followed as far as Narbonne. The Grand Écuyer had received a letter from Marie de Gonzague, not from the queen, as M. de Vigny would have us believe, in which she told him that "son affaire étoit sue à Paris, comme on y savoit que la Seine passoit sous le pont neuf."⁵⁰

Fontrailles, alarmed, advised Cinq-Mars to retreat at once to Sedan. The youthful foolhardiness and egotism of M. le Grand are clearly revealed at this point. He could have escaped, but he was unwilling to present himself to Monsieur as a fugitive, and desired to send M. de Montmort to Gaston, to agree upon a time and place for their meeting, so that their retreat to Sedan might appear to be a diplomatic act rather than flight.

In the meantime, the cardinal, then on the way to Tarascon, received a copy of the treaty with Spain. How and by whom the existence of the treaty was revealed has never been established, historians having contented themselves with suppositions which are either obviously false or without proof. Among the former belongs Vigny's theory of the capture of the treaty by Laubardemont from his son Jacques, the brigand, who was being used as a messenger by Fontrailles.⁵¹

Richelieu sent Chavigny to Louis with the treaty.

Anquetil says that when Cinq-Mars learned of Chavigny's arrival, he suspected something and wanted to have him assassinated before he could interview the king.⁵² What a difference between the attitude which Vigny ascribes to Cinq-Mars at the time of his downfall and that which history reveals to us. According to Vigny, Cinq-Mars, broken-hearted because of the queen's message, gives himself up;⁵³ according to Montglat, he fled, beside himself, when he realized that he could not prevent Chavigny's interview with the king.⁵⁴

Madame de Motteville says that he was warned that he had better flee, and he sent one of his attendants to see if the gates of the city were open. The man, instead of going to see for himself, asked a passer-by, who told him that the gates were closed.⁵⁵ Voiture confirms this account,⁵⁶ and Tallemant, in describing the incident, adds that had M. le Grand not been too indolent to find out for himself, he would have escaped, as one of the gates was left open that night for the entrance of the suite of the maréchal de La Meilleraye.⁵⁷

Cinq-Mars himself, during one of his "interrogatoires", asserted that he was given an anonymous note, containing the sentence "On veut à votre personne,"⁵⁸ and not knowing whether he was to be arrested or assassinated, he took refuge in the house of the sieur de Siouzac, whose wife concealed him there during the absence of her husband.

When it was reported to the king that Cinq-Mars could

not be found, he published "une défense sous peine de la vie, de receler le sieur de Cinq-Mars, avec un ordre à ceux qui savoient où il étoit, de le dénoncer sous la même peine."⁵⁹ When the sieur de Siouzac returned home and learned that the fugitive was in his house, fear for his own safety impelled him to give Cinq-Mars up.

M. de Vigny informs us that Richelieu took his two prisoners, de Thou and Cinq-Mars, from Tarascon to Lyons in a boat which he attached to his own. From the description of the journey and the accompanying comments, it is evident that Madame de Motteville is Vigny's authority. He says: "Jadis les soldats de César eussent cru voir l'inflexible batelier des enfers conduisant les ombres amies de Castor et Pollux."⁶⁰ Madame de Motteville says: "Il attacha leur bateau au sien, quand il remonta le Rhône, malade et mourant, de la même manière, et non plus avec la même gloire, que les consuls romains attachaient à leur char les rois prisonniers qu'ils avaient vaincus."⁶¹

It appears that Madame de Motteville, whose "Memoires" are not free from errors, is mistaken in her statement that the cardinal took both Cinq-Mars and de Thou in a boat from Tarascon to Lyons. Cinq-Mars was first imprisoned at Montpellier, and de Thou in the "Château de Tarascon"; each was subjected to a preliminary questioning, and then, according to reliable authorities, the cardinal took de Thou to Lyons by boat, on August 17, 1642, while Cinq-Mars was taken by another route.⁶² Richelieu's reason for making the trip in

that fashion was not, as Vigny asserts, to display his triumph over the conspirators, but because he was at that time so ill that "il ne pouvoit souffrir la litière",⁶³ and as de Thou was then in Tarascon, it was natural that Richelieu should have taken him to Lyons when he himself made the trip.

All the details of the trial are not relevant to our discussion. It should be noted, however, that from the beginning Cinq-Mars persistently denied all the charges made against him, even after he had heard the testimony of Monsieur and of the due de Bouillon. It was only through the promise that a confession would obtain clemency for him, and because he was told that de Thou had revealed everything that Cinq-Mars finally related all the details of the conspiracy. He was so sure that he would escape the death penalty that he constantly requested the permission to return to Pierre-Encise in order to take some medicine, as he was ill when he arrived in Lyons.⁶⁴

There is no historical foundation for Vigny's supposition of a plan of Cinq-Mars's friends to free him, by force, on the way to the scaffold.⁶⁵ In view of his efforts to escape arrest, and his later persistent denial of the charges, it is likely that Cinq-Mars would have been only too glad of such an opportunity for escape.

Richelieu dealt with Cinq-Mars's case as he would have dealt with any similar crime against the State. In signing a treaty with Spain, Cinq-Mars had laid France liable

to the danger of foreign invasion, with the horrors of civil warfare which would have followed. He was a traitor to his country, and as such, even setting aside the personal feelings in the affair, he could have expected no mercy from a minister whose guiding passion was France's welfare. In reply to a plea for mercy from Cinq-Mars's mother, Madame d'Effiat, Richelieu wrote:

"Si vostre fils n'estoit coupable que de divers desseins qu'il a faits pour me perdre, je m'oublierois volontiers moy mesme pour l'assister selon vostre desir; mais l'estant d'une infidelité inimaginable envers le Roy, et d'un Party qu'il a formé pour troubler la prosperité de son Regne, en faveur des Ennemis de cet Estat, je ne puis en façon quelconque me mêler de ses affaires, selon la priere que vous m'en faites. Je supplie Dieu qu'il vous console, et vous de me croire, etc."⁷⁵

So Henri d'Effiat, at the age of twenty-two, was condemned to death for high treason, not because, love-inspired, he sought to rise despite a power that had willed his downfall, but because, young, frivolous and reckless, he gave full rein to a misguided ambition which could be realized only by the ruin of a benefactor who had chanced to become an obstacle to this ambition.

CHAPTER II.MARIE DE GONZAGUE.

Not a little of the charm of Vigny's story is centered in the romantic figure of the Princesse de Mantoue, young, beautiful, child-like and innocent in her love for Cinq-Mars. Vigny emphasizes the child-like quality of her love, as contrasted with the intensity of Cinq-Mars's devotion, a passion which becomes the guiding force of his actions, driving him on in his reckless determination to realize his ambitions.

It is not without regret that one sees such an attractive portrait changed in the searching light of history, but in Vigny's treatment of princess Marie, there are striking fallacies and anachronisms.

At the beginning of the story, we are told that the princess is eighteen years old. Since historians and biographers have established the date of her birth as about 1612, it follows that Marie de Gonzague was twenty-six years old when Cinq-Mars went to court, eight years older than the young man himself.⁶⁷ With this knowledge, our whole perspective is changed, and her girlish actions appear less suitable and becoming.

Moreover, according to Vigny, Marie had known and loved Cinq-Mars for two years before he went to court. During their last interview, on the night of his departure, she says to him: "Depuis deux ans, j'ai lutté en vain contre ma mauvaise fortune, qui me sépare de vous."⁶⁸

Vigny stresses the fact that Cinq-Mars was Marie's first love, whereas, ten years before she had been the object of the transient affections of Gaston d'Orléans, to the alarm of his mother, Marie de Médicis.

The opposition of the Queen-Mother was not due to any particular objection to Marie herself, but was rather the result of her resentment toward Gaston because of his actions during previous marriage negotiations.

In 1629, Marie de Médicis had entered into arrangements for a marriage between Gaston, recently widowed, and a Florentine princess, a member of her own house. One court faction, however, headed by Coigneux and Puylaurens, considered that Marie de Médicis would have too much influence with Gaston were she to bring about his marriage with a princess of her own house, and the vacillating Gaston was easily steered in another direction, without the knowledge or consent of his mother.

He became enamored of princess Marie, who was then in France with her aunt, Madame de Longueville. The Queen-Mother, humiliated before the Florentine house, and enraged because of what she considered a personal affront, could not be induced to give her consent to the marriage. Louis XIII, influenced by his mother, likewise refused his authorization.

When the duc de Mantoue sent word that he desired his daughter to return home, Gaston was plunged into despair. Madame de Longueville delayed her niece's departure from

day to day, so as to afford time for Gaston to make up his mind to marry Marie without the king's consent. The princess and her aunt were at Coulommiers, and Gaston arranged to take Marie from there to Montmirail, where they would be married.

Unfortunately for his plans, his mother got word of the affair and saw no other way of preventing the marriage than that of detaining Madame de Longueville and the princess at Vincennes, not as prisoners, but in the apartments which the king himself occupied during his sojourns there.

Gaston, furious, demanded Marie's release, and for sometime persisted in his determination to go on with his marriage plans, but the equally determined opposition of his mother and of the king ultimately proved too much for his always feeble will power, and he agreed to give up all thought of the marriage.⁶⁹

The natural regret of the princes at the loss of such brilliant marriage prospects was followed, several years later, by a similar disappointment: the failure of negotiations for her marriage with Ladislas IV, king of Poland.

According to Vigny, the Polish embassy was in Paris in 1642, for the purpose of bringing about the marriage, thereby spurring Cinq-Mars to still more reckless endeavors⁷⁰. Here, again, is an event, which, although historically true, is chronologically incorrect, and so becomes the basis for erroneous conclusions.

Poland had for some time been a source of trouble between France and Austria. In case of Mussulmen aggressions, Poland might either serve as a protection for Austria, or might become her adversary; for this reason, Richelieu had long tried to keep the territory neutral, while awaiting an opportunity to withdraw it from the influence of Austria, to which Poland was attached by family alliances and by common interests. Now that France and Austria were directly hostile to each other, Richelieu considered it more than ever necessary to close Poland to Austria.

Ladislav IV, king of Poland, was to choose a queen before the diet of 1637 should meet, and three princesses were considered: Cecilia Renata, daughter of Ferdinand II of Austria, a daughter of the Prince Palatin, and Marie-Louise de Gonzague. Ladislav himself favored Marie, on account of her reputed beauty, and Richelieu and Father Joseph, always on the watch for an opportunity to check the ambitions of Austria, ardently desired the match.⁷¹ In fact, Richelieu had opened tentative negotiations for this purpose in 1635⁷². However, a powerful Austrian faction brought about the marriage, in 1637, of Ladislav and the archduchess Cecilia Renata. A son, Sigismund, was born in 1640, and Cecilia died in 1644,⁷³ so it is evident that at the time of the love affair of Marie and Cinq-Mars there was no further thought of the princess as future queen of Poland.

In order to provide a suitably romantic background for

the first association of Marie and Cinq-Mars, Vigny brings the two together shortly after the death of their respective fathers. Marie, explaining the situation to Anne of Austria, says: "J'habitais, vous le savez, le vieux château de Chaumont, chez la maréchale d'Effiat, mère de M. de Cinq-Mars. Je m'y etais retirée pour pleurer mon père, et bientôt il arriva qu'il eut lui-même à regretter le sien --- Comme j'avais été la première malheureuse, je me connaissais mieux en tristesse, et j'essayais de le consoler en lui disant ce que j'avais souffert, de sorte qu'en me plaignant il s'oublait. Ce fut le commencement de notre amour, qui, vous le voyez, naquit presque entre deux tombeaux."⁷⁴

Since the duc de Montoue died in 1637⁷⁵ and, as we have already said, the maréchal d'Effiat in 1632, the five years' interval between the death of the two fathers does away with the possibility of such circumstances as Marie describes.

Cinq-Mars and the princess doubtless met in Paris, where, we are told by several of her contemporaries, Marie resided periodically after the death of her father and of her aunt, Madame de Longueville. According to Tallemant, "la princesse Marie étoit tantôt à Nevers, tantôt à Paris; ses affaires n'étoient pas trop en bon état."⁷⁶

Madame de Motteville, also, speaks of the straitened circumstances in which the princess was living at the time of her affair with Cinq-Mars, adding that this fact toge-

ther with the scarcity of eligible suitors, caused her to favor his attentions. "Cette princesse, fille du duc de Montoue, avoit été belle et agréable; continues Madame de Motteville, elle l'étoit encore, quoiqu'elle eût déjà passé les premières années de cette jeunesse qui a toujours eu le privilège d'embellir toutes les dames."⁷⁷

Viewed in the light of historical facts, the love affair of M. le Grand and Marie de Gonzague appears to have been that of a woman uneasy because of her ever-lessening chances of making a suitable marriage, and a frivolous courtier, whose head was turned at the prospects of such a brilliant match for himself. At any rate, it surely was not the youthfully intense, spiritual love that Vigny pictures.

Historians seem to agree that the two planned to marry if Cinq-Mars should realize his ambitions. Marie, twice disappointed in her hopes of a throne, consoled herself with visions of Cinq-Mars as Richelieu's successor, and, according to Tallemant, "elle cabala avec M. le Grand, pour débusquer le cardinal, en résolution de l'épouser si elle le voyait premier ministre."⁷⁸

Throughout the novel, the lovers are separated by circumstances. Marie spends all her time with the queen, and to her only does she confide the secret of her love for Cinq-Mars. The occasional meetings of the two, who have become affianced, occur in the old church of Saint-Eustache, in the presence of the abbe Quillet. Marie, asked by the

queen if she often sees Cinq-Mars, replies proudly: "Rarement, Madame, et toujours dans une église et en présence d'un prêtre."⁷⁹

This statement is not in accordance with the testimony of Marie's contemporaries. She was residing in her own house at the time, and Tallemant says: "La nuit il (M. le Grand) le vint voir plusieurs fois. Il ne se pouvait pas, dans le dessein qu'ils avoient, qu'ils ne véussent avec quelque familiarité, mais on n'en a jamais rien dit de fâcheux."⁸⁰

Far from being, for two months, in ignorance of Cinq-Mars's arrest, as Vigny claims, Marie "fut avertie que M. le Grand étoit arrêté avant que personne le sût à Paris,"⁸¹ she had previously written to him, as has been mentioned before, (p. 24) to warn him that his affairs were public talk in Paris. When she learned of his arrest, she was greatly embarrassed, as he had a great many of her letters. She went to her friend, Mlle de Rambouillet, and begged her to speak to Madame d'Aiguillon, who succeeded in obtaining the letters.

After the execution of Cinq-Mars, the princess turned toward a religious life as a refuge from the distasteful notoriety which had come to her. She took a lodging at Port-Royal, where she spent some time, returning to her home at intervals, and going back again for a stay at Port-Royal. She was very fond of Mère Angélique, with whom she kept up a correspondence, even after an unexpected turn of

events placed the princess on the throne of Poland.⁸²

This fulfillment of Marie's ambitions came about some three years after the execution of the unfortunate Cinq-Mars. Ladislas, recently widowed, was desirous of marrying again, and, as before, three princesses were considered: Mademoiselle, the princess Marie and Mlle de Guise.

It appears that it was not Anne of Austria who so ardently desired the marriage of Marie and Ladislas IV; in fact, Vigny seems to have greatly overstressed the queen's friendship for Marie. Madame de Motteville speaks of the latter as one of the beautiful women then at court,⁸³ but she does not say that the queen regarded the princess almost as a daughter, as Vigny assumes. The fact that Marie was twenty-eight, instead of eighteen, renders such a supposition less probable.

The queen apparently preferred Mlle de Guise as a bride for the king of Poland, but, according to Madame de Motteville, "Madame la princesse avoit de l'amitié pour la princesse Marie; elle portoit ses intérêts avec chaleur, et s'appliqua soigneusement à faire réussir son mariage avec le roi de Pologne. Elle en parla à la Reine, et au Cardinal de Mazarin; elle fit agir en sa faveur le duc d'Enghien son fils, et toute sa cabale; elle sut enfin augmenter en la Reine le désir de la préférer à Mlle de Guise."⁸⁴

Mazarin was interested in the marriage for political reasons. He was anxious to place a representative in the

north, especially so that peace might be made with Sweden, Ladislas himself, remembering his previous inclination toward princess Marie, preferred her to the other two princesses. Marie, who had always fancied herself on a throne, and who is said to have remarked to Monsieur, "J'étois née pour être reine,"⁸⁵ readily accepted the proffered crown, even though Ladislas, old and homely and afflicted with the gout, was looked upon with disdain by both Mlle de Guise and "la Grande Mademoiselle." When asked if she wished to see a portrait of Ladislas, Marie replied that it was unnecessary, as she was marrying his crown.⁸⁶

Both Madame de Motteville⁸⁷ and Mlle de Montpensier⁸⁸ describe, in their "Mémoires", the Polish embassy and the ceremony by which the Prince Palatin, in the king's name, accepted the princess Marie as queen of Poland. Tallemant says: "la Reine, qui avoit assez d'amitié pour elle, la maria comme fille de France."⁸⁹ The affair aroused great interest on account of the rank of the princess, and the strange appearance and rich costumes of the Polish embassy.

The maréchale de Guébriant accompanied Marie to Poland, and was very much displeased at the manner with which Ladislas received his bride. He was disappointed in her appearance, and was rude enough to remark to the ambassador Bregi, "Est-ce là cette grande beauté dont vous m'aviez tant dit de merveilles?"⁹⁰ after which he arose and approached the altar, where he repeated the marriage vows that Marie had taken in France. It was only after the maré-

chale de Guébriant had expressed her displeasure at the queen's reception, adding that France would also be indignant at the report which would have to be made on the maréchale's return, that Ladislas began to treat his bride with less disdain. When the maréchale departed, Marie was beginning to feel more content, and, in keeping with her nature, "à se consoler avec les dons magnifiques qui lui venoient de tous côtés."⁹¹

Marie de Gonzague, viewed in the light of historical knowledge, is still an attractive figure, but her charm does not come from a youthful devotion to a misguided lover. On the contrary, her affair with Cinq-Mars was the least creditable episode of her career.

CHAPTER III.URBAIN GRANDIER.

One of the most puzzling episodes of Richelieu's ministry is the case of Urbain Grandier, curé of Loudun, burned alive as a sorcerer on August 18, 1634, after a trial of a more or less farcical nature, according to most historians, and after having been cruelly tortured in ^{an} effort to force him to reveal his accomplices.

In order to make this incident a part of his novel, Vigny sets its date five years later than that on which it actually occurred, and this, as previously pointed out, does away with the possibility of its influence upon the mind of Cinq-Mars.

Aside from the anachronism, there are other points in Vigny's treatment of the affair at Loudun which should be considered in the light of what history reveals concerning the matter. The disadvantage is that there is a dearth of material bearing on the case, most authors having contented themselves with deductions colored by their own prejudices in favor of or against the cardinal de Richelieu.

To begin with, it might be well to indicate Vigny's attitude, as revealed by his description of the trial, and by various references, throughout the novel, to the "possession" at Loudun.

Cinq-Mars, on his way to court, stops at Loudun to visit his former tutor, the abbé Quillet. The day of his arrival is the day on which is to be held the trial of Urbain

Grandier, "curé de l'église de Sainte-Croix", accused of having cast a spell over some Ursuline nuns who are now possessed by various demons.

Loudun is crowded with visitors who have been attracted by news of the "possession." The excitement is intense, and popular sentiment appears to be in favor of Urbain Grandier, although there are some, mostly of the illiterate class, who are awestruck at the details that are on everybody's lips.

The superior of the Ursulines, Jeanne de Belfiel, is one of those possessed by a demon. Incidentally, she is a niece of the "conseiller d'état" Laubardemont, whom Richelieu has vested with authority to conduct the prosecution; the judges are personal enemies of the accused, who is described as follows:

"--- la noblesse de son visage était remarquable, et rien n'égalait la douceur de ses traits; sans affecter un calme insultant, il regardait avec bonté, et semblait chercher à droite et à gauche s'il ne rencontrerait pas le regard attendri d'un ami."⁹²

At the trial, it is revealed that Urbain Grandier is the lover of a young girl of eighteen, Madeleine de Brou, for whom, in order to soothe her troubled conscience, he has written a treatise against the celibacy of priests. While the damaging document is being read, Jeanne de Belfiel and the sisters Agnes and Claire, two other "possédées" make their way into the court room, where Jeanne de Belfiel

publicly denies the fact of the possession. She asserts that, because her love for Urbain Grandier was not returned, she had listened to the suggestions of his enemies, seeking his ruin, and, together with the other nuns, had pretended to be under the influence of the evil spirit. Realizing now that her revenge will be more serious than she had imagined, Jeanne de Belfroi declares that all the charges against the priest are false, and that he is "pur comme l'ange, mais bon comme l'homme qui a siné."⁸³

This testimony, however, cannot prevent the horrible outcome of the tragedy. After the most revolting torture, Grandier is sentenced to be burned at the stake, and the sentence is carried out, in spite of the opposition of the now angry mob. A dramatic incident occurs when the priest violently pushes away an iron crucifix which is offered to him to be kissed, and Cinq-Mars, discovering that the crucifix has been heated red-hot, indignantly strikes Laubardeumont on the brow with it.

Alfred de Vigny's conception of the motives back of the affair is expressed by the abbé Quillet who, himself, is on the point of fleeing from Loudun because his indiscreet mockery of the "possession" has endangered his safety.

The abbé Quillet explains to Cinq-Mars that Grandier's sole faults have been "ceux d'une âme forte et d'un génie supérieur, une volonté inflexible qui a irrité la puissance contre lui, et une passion profonde qui a entraîné son cœur et lui a fait commettre le seul péché mortel que je

croie pouvoir lui être reproché --- L'éloquence de Grandier et sa beauté angélique ont souvent exalté les femmes qui venaient de loin pour l'entendre parler; j'en ai vu s'évanouir durant ses sermons; d'autres s'écrier que c'était un ange, toucher ses vêtements et baiser ses mains lorsqu'il descendait de la chaire. Il est certain que, si ce n'est sa beauté, rien n'égalait la sublimité de ses discours, toujours inspirés: le miel pur des Évangiles s'unissait, sur ses lèvres, à la flamme étincelante des prophéties, et l'on sentait au son de sa voix un cœur tout plein d'une sainte pitié pour les maux de l'homme, et tout gonflé de larmes prêtes à couler sur nous."⁹⁴

The abbé goes on to say that this attack of Grandier's enemies is the second. He had already been accused, some time previously, of having bewitched the nuns, but after having been examined by prelates, magistrates and doctors chosen by the archbishop of Bordeaux, he was unanimously acquitted.

This triumph roused the priest's enemies to fury, and their second attack was more craftily and elaborately planned. They began communications with the capuchin Father Joseph, Richelieu's agent, in the hope of finally inciting the cardinal against Grandier.

At about this time, a satire had appeared entitled "la Cordonnière de la reine mère," basely conceived and written, intended to injure Richelieu by its revelation of damaging facts concerning his birth and his person, his

policies and intrigues. The author of this pamphlet, which emanated from the queen-mother's faction, was unknown, but the capuchins of Loudun wrote to Father Joseph that Grandier was carrying on a secret correspondence with Hamon, a woman of Loudun attached to the queen's service, and that without doubt he was the author of the diatribe.

This was enough to seal his fate as far as Richelieu was concerned. Added to this crime was the fact that Grandier had disputed the cardinal's advancement when the latter was prior of Coussey, and such a splendid opportunity for revenge could not be overlooked. The charge of sorcery was renewed, and to accomplish his purpose with some semblance of justice, Richelieu established at Loudun a tribunal headed by Laubardemont.

Throughout the novel, Vigny develops his idea of Richelieu's malevolence toward Grandier. In an interview with the cardinal, Father Joseph reports that the affair at Loudun "s'est terminée heureusement."

- Quoi! heureusement! J'espère que Grandier est mort? cries the cardinal.

-Oui; c'est ce que je voulais dire. Votre Éminence doit être satisfaite; tout a été fini dans les vingt-quatre heures; on n'y pense plus. Seulement Laubardemont a fait une petite étourderie, qui était de rendre la séance publique; c'est ce qui a causé un peu de tumulte; mais nous avons les signalements des perturbateurs que l'on suit.

- C'est bien, c'est très bien. Urbain était un homme

trop supérieur pour le laisser là; il tournait au protestantisme; je parierais qu'il aurait fini par abjurer; son ouvrage contre le célibat des prêtres me l'a fait conjecturer; et, dans le doute, retiens ceci, Joseph; il veut mieux couper l'arbre avant que le fruit soit poussé ---"⁹⁵

Louis XIII, in a conversation with Cinq-Mars several years after the execution of Grandier, says to him:

---vous avez dit du cardinal qu'il avait fait brûler un homme injustement et par haine personnelle.

- Et je le répète, et je le soutiens, et je le prouverai, Sire; c'est le plus grand crime de cet homme que vous hésitez à disgracier et qui vous rend malheureux. J'ai tout vu, tout entendu moi-même à Loudun; Urbain Grandier fut assassiné plutôt que jugé. Tenez, Sire, puisque vous avez là ces mémoires de votre main, relisez toutes les preuves que je vous en donnai alors. Louis, having read, exclaims:

- Quelles horreurs! comment avais-je oublié tout cela? cet homme me fascine, c'est certain. Tu es mon véritable ami, Cinq-Mars. Quelles horreurs! mon règne en sera taché. Il a empêché toutes lettres de la noblesse et de tous les notables du pays d'arriver à moi. Brûler, brûler, vivant! sans preuves! par vengeance! un homme, un peuple ont invoqué mon nom inutilement; une famille me maudit à présent. Ah! que les rois sont malheureux!"⁹⁶

Again, in a conference with Father Joseph, Richelieu says: "Il reste encore au monde, je le vois sur mes notes, quatre des juges d'Urbain Grandier; tous les autres juges

sont morts misérablement; il reste Houmain, qui sera pendu comme contrebandier; nous pouvons le laisser tranquille; mais voici cet horrible Lactance, qui vit en paix avec Barré et Mignon. Prenez une plume et écrivez à M. l'évêque de Poitiers; and he dictates the following:

Monseigneur:

"Le bon plaisir de Sa Majesté est que les pères Barré et Mignon soient remplacés dans leurs cures et envoyés dans le plus court délai dans la ville de Lyon, ainsi que le père Lactance, capucin, pour y être traduits devant un tribunal spécial, comme prévenus de quelques criminelles intentions envers l'État."

Joseph having written as ordered, the cardinal says: Je vous ferai savoir comment je veux qu'ils disparaissent; car il est important d'effacer toutes les traces de cet ancien procès. La Providence m'a bien servi en enlevant tous ces hommes; j'achève son ouvrage. Voici tout ce qu'en saura la postérité." Et il lut au capucin cette page de ses mémoires où il raconte la possession et les cortilèges du magicien.⁹⁷

By the introduction into his novel of such a scene as the above, Vigny seems to betray the fact that Richelieu's "Mémoires" on the subject of Urbain Grandier's trial and execution were troublesome to him; he must in some way harmonize them with his theory. As they stand, they cannot be reconciled with Vigny's treatment of Grandier's conviction.

Richelieu says that Louis XIII, having by his justice pacified some of the disorders which the malice of men had produced in his kingdom, was again obliged to employ his authority in order to fortify the Church, and to remedy the trouble which the Evil Spirit had for some time been exciting in the Church, in the person of some Ursulines in the city of Loudun.

Beginning with the year 1632 (and the length of time involved is important) some of the nuns showed signs of possession, and the cardinal, having received news of the affair, had sent some persons of piety and ecclesiastical dignity to make an exact report of it. These persons learned, by the deposition of the said nuns, that in the night, after they had retired, the nuns had heard their doors opened and someone had entered in a sort of obscure, unearthly illumination. They all agreed in their description of the man whom they had seen in their rooms, and this description was an exact one of Urbain Grandier. The intruder, according to the nuns, made impure suggestions to them, and thereafter they found themselves possessed of the evil spirit. Their confessors and exorcists delivered them from the unholy influence, only to have the possession begin again.

Richelieu says, at this point: "Mais, comme en cette matière il y a beaucoup de tromperie, et que souvent la simplicité qui d'ordinaire accompagne la piété, fait croire à des choses en ce genre qui ne se trouvent pas véritables, le cardinal n'osa pas associer un jugement assuré sur le

rapport qu'on lui en fit, d'autant qu'il y en avoit beaucoup qui defendoient ledit Grandier, qui estoit homme de bonne rencontre et de suffisante érudition, bien que l'évêque de Poitiers l'eût, il y avoit quelque temps, condamné et obligé de se défaire de son bénéfice dans un temps qu'il lui limita; mais, ayant appelé de sa sentence à l'archevêque de Bordeaux, il fut renvoyé absous. Mais enfin, cette affaire devint si publique, et tant de religieuses se trouvèrent possédées, que le cardinal, ne pouvant souffrir davantage les plaintes que lui en étoient faites de toutes parts, conseilla au Roi d'y vouloir interposer son autorité, et d'y envoyer M. de Laubardement, conseiller de son conseil d'État, pour informer de cette affaire, et afin que la présence dudit Grandier, qui avoit crédit dans le pays, ne pût empêcher les témoins de déposer la vérité, de se saisir de sa personne et le faire mener dans le château d'Angers.⁹⁸

Richelieu goes on to say that Grandier was found guilty of sorcery, and a book was discovered which he had written against the celibacy of priests. He was condemned and sentenced to be burned alive on August 18, 1634, "sans qu'à la question il réclamât le nom de Jésus et de Marie, ni jetât la vue sur une image du fils de Dieu, ni une autre de la Vierge, qui étoient devant lui, quoiqu'on les lui représentât; mais, au contraire, ayant repoussé rudement de la main un des crucifix qu'un des pères qui l'assistoient lui

approcha, et sans s'être recommandé aux prières de pas un des assistans, toutes les paroles qu'il dit étant comme préméditées ou pleines de faste, ou pour demander à boire et à manger, ou pour se plaindre de l'état où il se voyoit, ou pour supplier qu'on moderât les peines de son arrêt; ce qui fut un témoignage épouvantable de l'abandon que Dieu fait à la mort de ceux qui l'ont abandonné durant leur vie, du mépris qu'il fait là haut de ceux qui se sont moqués de lui ici bas, et de la puissance rigoureuse que le diable exerce à cette extrémité sur ceux qui la lui ont donnée volontairement; de sorte que ceux-la mêmes qui, par un aveuglement du malin esprit, avoient jusques alors voulu douter de la vérité de son crime, en furent convaincus si pleinement qu'ils donnoient leurs suffrages publiquement à la justice de sa condamnation. Les religieuses, après sa mort, demeurèrent en quelque état un peu plus paisible qu'auparavant, et la plupart d'elles furent délivrées les années suivantes."¹⁰⁰

There is nothing in Richelieu's account of the affair which indicates any personal animosity toward Grandier. As for the circumstances surrounding the writing of that particular page of the cardinal's "Mémoires", there is no proof that it was written to blind posterity to his real sentiments. At any rate, if the account was written in 1640, as Vigny asserts, Father Joseph was not living at that time.

The motives back of Urbain Grandier's execution probably originated, in part at least, in his own actions and in

his attitude toward his fellow-priests in Loudun.

Urbain Grandier was born in 1590¹⁰¹, at Rovère, of a respected family. He studied with the Jesuits at Bordeaux, where he made good progress and won the liking of his instructors. It seems to have been through them that he received the benefice of "Saint-Pierre du Marché de Loudun". A short time afterward, he obtained the canonry of the church of Sainte-Croix, in the same city. The union of the two benefices in the hands of a stranger excited envy. With tact and modesty, Grandier doubtless could have pacified this resentment, but all historians seem to agree that he was haughty and overbearing, caustic and daring in his denunciations of some of his fellow-workers¹⁰². Even Anquetil, so bitterly certain that Grandier was the victim of a cowardly plot, says of him:

"Il avoit de l'esprit, de l'érudition, le talent de la parole, des manières polies et engageantes, qualités qui auroient dû faire son bonheur; et qui ne le garantiront pas de la plus effrayante catastrophe, parce qu'il y joignoit de la morgue, de la hauteur, un air de mépris insultant pour ceux qu'il n'aimoit pas. Sans distinction d'état ni de sexe, il se fit des ennemis entre les Prêtres et les Religieux par ses railleries; entre les femmes, les unes jalouses, les autres indignées de ses plaisanteries; entre les hommes, magistrats, bourgeois, gens instruits ou ignorans, tous également révoltés de sa suffisance. Comme

ils étoient presque tous parens, ils épousèrent les querelles les uns des autres."¹⁰³

Grandier's private life, according to reliable authorities, was far from being in keeping with the dignity of his position. He showed a too noticeable preference for the society of women, who, in their turn, were fascinated by his attractive appearance and his engaging personality. His "galanteries" became public talk.¹⁰⁴

Moreover, he encroached too imprudently upon the episcopal authority in the matter of granting or failing to grant dispensations. It was only a matter of time until complaints concerning Grandier's irregular conduct were addressed to M. de la Rochepozai, bishop of Poitiers. The canon Mignon, especially, complained of Grandier's actions, as did M. Triquant, "procureur du roi", whose daughter Grandier had outraged.¹⁰⁵

After a trial, in 1630, the priest was found guilty and condemned to fast on bread and water every Friday for three months; his benefices were taken away, and he was "interdit pour cinq ans dans le diocèse et pour toujours à Loudun."¹⁰⁶

Grandier appealed the case to the archbishop Sourdís of Bordeaux, and the decision was reversed. The archbishop, who knew his character, advised him to give up his diocese, where he could not expect to work successfully after such a scandal.

"Grandier n'y étoit nullement disposé; il revint au

contresire à Loudun triomphant, entra dans la ville un laurier à la main; et au lieu de chercher à adoucir ceux qu'il s'était aliénés, il les brava, et acheva de les irriter par son orgueil."¹⁰⁷

A short while before, a convent of ursulines had been established at Loudun, and at the death of their director, Urbain Grandier is said to have desired the position of director. "Était-ce", says the "Mercure" (Vol. XX), "pour en faire un deshonneste serrail, et sutant de sales concubines qu'il y auroit de belles vierges?"¹⁰⁸ Whatever his motives, he failed to obtain the position, which was given to Mignon, "Chanoine de Sainte-Croix", with whom Grandier had already had misunderstandings. This occurrence only increased their antagonism toward each other.

Shortly afterward, in 1632, rumors began to circulate concerning strange happenings in the convent. A branch from a rose bush was said to have been thrown into the building, and all those who smelled the roses believed themselves possessed by a demon. They declared that Urbain Grandier was the instigator of this possession.

Among those affected, according to Father Daniel, were "la dame Belciel ou Belcier, prieure des Ursulines, et la Dame de Razilly, qui étoit parente du cardinal de Richelieu, et quelques filles séculières qui demeuroient dans le couvent. Ce qu'il y a de singulier, c'est que tous les historiens du temps conviennent que Grandier n'avoit jamais vu aucune de ces religieuses."¹⁰⁹

This affair was first examined by the ordinary judges of Loudun, and a great amount of talk naturally ensued. It was at this point that Jean Martin Laubardemont, "conseiller d'état," came to Loudun to superintend the demolition of the chateau, carrying out the orders of Louis XIII that all chateaux of cities of the interior, which had served as refuges for the Calvinists, should be destroyed.

Since the superior of the Ursalines was a relative of Laubardemont's, it is natural that he the more readily lent an ear to current tales concerning the possession, and as the feeling was becoming more intense, he considered it his duty to inform the court.

Laubardemont received the order to arrest Grandier and to question him. As the priest had partisans in the city, Laubardemont judged that it would be safer to imprison him in the chateau d'Angers, to which he was conducted by Aubin, "lieutenant du prévôt de la maréchaussée de Loudun." Grandier's papers were seized, and among them was found a treatise which he had composed against the celibacy of priests, "qu'il adressoit à une de ses concubines; car il en avoit plusieurs, et tout le monde convient qu'il menoit une vie fort déréglée."¹¹⁰

According to Father Daniel, this work endeared Grandier to the Protestants, as did his refusal to accept the confessor who was offered to him, and his declaration that he would confess to God. The Protestants strongly defended him, and it is from some of their later accounts of the

affair that the idea has come of Richelieu's personal animosity toward Grandier.¹¹¹

After the hearing, held with difficulty because Grandier at first requested to be taken to Paris, Laubardemont collected the depositions and took them to court, where they were examined. The evidence was considered sufficient to warrant a trial, and the king, by letters patent dated July 8, 1634, named a tribunal of fourteen judges, presided over by Laubardemont. This fact is inconsistent with Louis's apparently vague knowledge of the affair, as described by Vigny, at the time of his conversation with Cinq-Mars.

Grandier was taken back to Loudun, where a prison had been made especially for him, and on August 18, 1634, the judges "le déclarèrent atteint et convaincu du crime de magie, maléfice et possession arrivé par son fait à personnes d'aucunes religieuses Ursulines et autres séculières." He was condemned to be burned alive "avec les pactes et caractères magiques qui étoient au greffe, et le livre manuscrit par lui composé contre le célibat des prêtres."¹¹²

The sum of one hundred and fifty "livres" was to be taken from his property for the purchase of a copper plate, upon which the sentence would be engraved, to be placed in the church of the Ursulines; before the execution, Grandier "seroit appliqué à la question ordinaire et extraordinaire."¹¹³

The sentence was carried out on the same day. The historian, Henri Martin, relates that a cord had been prepared with which it was planned to strangle Grandier before the

fire should reach his body, but one of his enemies had the horrible cruelty to knot the cord, so that the unfortunate priest was not spared the torture of the flames.¹¹⁴

That the execution was barbarous and uncalled-for cannot be denied; that it came about through Richelieu's desire for revenge on Urbain Grandier is much less certain.

The two points upon which Vigny and many historians base their assumptions are the circumstances of Grandier's alleged dispute with Richelieu during the latter's stay in the priory of Coussay, in 1617, and Richelieu's belief that the priest was the author of the injurious libel, "la Cordonnière de la Reine-Mère."

The important biographers of Richelieu do not mention a dispute between Grandier and the cardinal during the latter's sojourn at Coussey, following the Queen-Mother's exile to Blois. Richelieu himself, in his "Mémoires", says nothing about such a misunderstanding. He seems to have led the life of a recluse at Coussay; he refers to his stay there as "son ermitage"; his mind was occupied with thoughts of his recent misfortune and with plans for the recovery of his former position. It was at this point in his career that he composed his best-known literary works: "Les principaux points de la Foi de l'Église catholique, défendus contre l'écrit adressé au Roi par les quatre ministres de Charonton," and "l'instruction du Chrétien."¹¹⁰

If Richelieu did come into conflict with Grandier, it must have been over some minor ecclesiastical title, since

Richelieu does not consider it worthy of mention; had the matter been as important as Vigny assumes, the cardinal doubtless could have found occasion to humble Grandier directly he, Richelieu, rose to a position of power far surpassing that which he had lost before his exile at Coussay and Avignon.

As for the libel, there is no proof that Grandier was or was not its author, except that his style, in the few of his manuscripts that have been preserved, is quite different from the style of "la Cordonnère", in which the language is common and vulgar. The weakness in the supposition that the pamphlet furnished the motive for Richelieu's revenge is the long duration of the "possession" in Loudun. The first rumors of unusual happenings began, as previously stated, in 1632, and long after the execution of Urbain Grandier the possession continued.

La Porte says, in his "Mémoires", that in 1638 he and a friend, M. de La Berchère, went to see the "possédées" at Loudun¹¹⁷, and we learn from a letter written by Laubarde-
mont to Richelieu, in 1636, that the former remained at Loudun after Grandier's execution, directing the exorcists whom the cardinal had sent to the town. Father Tranquille, one of the exorcists, fell under the spell of the dreaded
demon¹¹⁸.

Apart from indicating the long duration of the "possession", this letter, by its mention of the mother superior of the Ursulines, does away with Vigny's fantastic invention

of Jeanne de Belfiel's madness and subsequent death in the mountains. The mother superior evidently remained in the convent and recovered, rather slowly, from the effects of Urbain Grandier's supposed sorcery.

Granting that Richelieu desired to bring about Grandier's downfall, such an elaborate and complicated plot would have been unnecessary, nor is it in keeping with Richelieu's character. Grandier was a mere priest; the cardinal was all powerful. Any simple expedient would have sufficed to ruin Grandier.

Had Richelieu believed him to be the author of "la Cordonnère", what could have been more logical than to have punished him under one of the very severe laws against libels which existed at the time? One reads in an edict given at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, January 17, 1561: "Voulons que tous imprimeurs, semeurs et vendeurs de placards et libelles diffamatoires, soient punis pour la première fois du fouet, et pour la seconde fois de la vie."¹¹⁹ The "ordonnance de Moulins," in 1566, confirmed these penalties, and in 1639 Chavigny, having published the "Cochon Mitré", a libel directed against the archbishop of Reims, was arrested and imprisoned in a "cage de fer" at Mont-Saint-Michel, where he spent thirty years. In 1694, a printer and a book binder were hanged in the place de Grève for having printed, bound and sold libels pertaining to the marriage of Louis XIV and Madame de Maintenon.¹²⁰

Richelieu, therefore, had at hand the pretext for a

very simple disposal of Grandier, in a way that would have served as a warning to other libellists, of the period, of which there was a large number. It seems, however, that he paid no attention to the pamphlet.

A study of the epoch reveals the fact that executions for the crime of sorcery and witchcraft were extremely common. M. de la Marre, in his "traité de la police," speaks at length of the trials of magicians and sorcerers;¹²¹ in 1625 the Sorbonne formulated responses to questions concerning the crime of magic and sorcery, proposed by the "lieutenant criminel" and the "procureur du roi", which contain principles that were followed in numerous trials similar to that of Urbain Grandier.¹²²

Five months before Grandier's execution, the "Chambre de Justice," established at the arsenal, convicted of the crime of magic a priest named Adrien Bouchard and one of his accomplices, named Gorgan. The two had been condemned to be hanged and then to be burned with their books and the magic characters written by their hands, and the sentence was carried out in Paris, without exciting any comments concerning the motives of the judges or of the prime minister.¹²³

The most natural explanation, as Henri Martin suggests is the one of which nobody seems to have thought. The possession, whether due, as seems probable to a form of hysteria spread by imitation, or to a carefully laid plot of Grandier's enemies, was handled by Richelieu and the court

as all other cases of the kind were then handled.

According to Grotius, Richelieu believed in astrology and in the philosopher's stone;¹²⁴ he also believed in witchcraft and in sorcerers, as so many great men, even among the Protestants, long continued to believe. Richelieu's book, "l'Instruction du Chrétien", is not inconsistent with such a belief, and in the light of facts relative to the case, there is no evidence to prove that his "Mémoires" do not express his sincere opinions concerning the affair of Urbain Grandier.

According to Father Griffet, "Il y a tout lieu de croire que la possession vraie ou prétendue commença sans que le cardinal en eût aucune connoissance; il en fut averti lorsqu'elle devint publique; il sut que Grandier étoit accusé; et s'il composa un tribunal extraordinaire pour le juger sur les lieux, on n'en sauroit conclure qu'il eût cherché lui-même à lui susciter des accusateurs."¹²⁵

Another interesting letter from Lauhardemont to Richelieu, written two days after Grandier's execution, contains no hint of any previous understanding between the cardinal and his agent as to the conduct of the trial, but seems to indicate religious zeal as the guiding motive.¹²⁶

In view of available evidence, the logical conclusion concerning the whole affair seems to be that Urbain Grandier by his overbearing manner and his immoral life, incurred the enmity of many of his associates; the "possession", whether an hysterical hallucination or a deliberate attempt

to ruin Grandior, afforded an opportunity for the complaints and accusations of his enemies; Richelieu, informed of the matter, ordered the procedure that was then customary in cases of sorcery. If grandier had previously offended the cardinal, it is probable that the latter was not displeased at the turn of events, but to say that he was the instigator of the whole affair is too serious a charge to be made in view of extant proofs.

CHAPTER IV.FRANÇOIS-AUGUSTE DE THOU.

There is no more pathetic figure in the novel "Cinq-Mars" than François-Auguste de Thou, son of the well-known historian, Jacques-Auguste De Thou. The unfortunate young man is from the beginning forced by the sacred obligations of friendship into a position which renders him an easy prey to the previously aroused animosity of Richelieu.

Throughout the novel, M. de Thou is pictured as calm, serious, gentle and honorable. At all times he is dignified and thoughtful; his nature is simple and devout. Free from evil himself, he never suspects its presence in others, and this same innate goodness leads him to sacrifice his life upon the altar of friendship.

The first note is struck by the abbé Quillet who, learning that Cinq-Mars is on his way to court, says to him:

"Mais vous aurez M. de Thou près de vous n'est-ce pas? C'est votre ami d'enfance, un peu plus âgé que vous; écoutez-le, mon enfant; c'est un sage jeune homme: il a réfléchi, il a des idées à lui."¹²⁶

The fact of an intimacy of long standing between Cinq-Mars and de Thou is stressed from the beginning. Only in this way could Vigny account for de Thou's blind adherence, against his better judgement, to his friend's cause.

The first indication of Richelieu's attitude toward de Thou appears after the skirmish between Cinq-Mars and his little band of followers with the Spaniards in the bastion.

Louis XIII, plesed with de Thou's modest protest against any credit in the affair, asks Richelieu if there is not some vacant "présidence" with which de Thou may be rewarded,

"Richelieu n'aimait pas M. de Thou," says Vigny, "et comme ses haines avaient toujours une cause mystérieuse, on en cherchait la cause vainement; elle se dévoila par un mot cruel qui lui échappa. Ce motif d'inimitié était une phrase des Histoires du président de Thou, père de celui-ci, où il flétrit aux yeux de la postérité un grand-oncle du cardinal, moine d'abord, puis apostat, souillé de tous les vices humains.

"Richelieu, se penchant à l'oreille de Joseph, lui dit:

- Tu vois bien cet homme, c'est lui dont le père a mis mon nom dans son histoire; eh bien. je mettrai le sien dans la mienne.

"En effet, il l'inscrivit plus avec du sang."¹²⁷

According to Vigny, de Thou knew nothing of Cinq-Mars's intrigues until, in 1642, he accompanied the latter on a visit to the queen, where Gaston d'Orléans and the duc de Bouillon explained to her the plan which they had evolved of civil war, with Spain's assistance, if the king could not be induced to break with the cardinal.

The knowledge of a proposed treaty with Spain comes as a shock to de Thou. Buried deep in his studies, the serious young man is never informed on public affairs until they are forced to his attention, and until an actual skirmish takes

place, he is unaware of the open hostility between Cinq-Mars and the Cardinals's factions.

Having realized the lengths to which the conspirators are prepared to go to bring about Richelieu's downfall, de Thou makes every effort to dissuade his friend from such an undertaking, but in vain. On his knees before Cinq-Mars he makes a last appeal:

"O mon oncle! mon seul ami! je vous en conjure à genoux, ne soyons pas parricides, n'assassinons pas notre patrie! Je dis nous, car jamais je ne me séparerai de vos actions; conservez-moi l'estime de moi-même, pour laquelle j'ai tant travaillé; ne souillez pas ma vie et ma mort que je vous ai vouées."¹²⁸

Cinq-Mars's resolution cannot be shaken, and de Thou warns his friend that he need expect nothing further from him, if the treaty with Spain is signed. Nevertheless, we find the two together at Perpignan, shortly before the conspiracy is discovered. Vigny explains at length de Thou's attitude.

All remonstrances having proved futile, de Thou has ended by allowing himself to be drawn into the intrigues of the friend whom he will not forsake. The habit of discussing the matter with Cinq-Mars has, through familiarity, rendered these projects less odious; a natural disapproval of the cardinal's policy weakens de Thou's objections; the powerful allies who are involved in the conspiracy have reassured him.

He has become able to hear without anger the discussions of the plans. "Il souffrait dans sa conscience; mais il suivait Cinq-Mars partout où il allait, sans vouloir, par délicatesse excessive, hasarder désormais une seule réflexion qui eût pu ressembler à une crainte personnelle. Il avait donné sa vie tacitement et eût jugé indigne de tous deux de faire signe de la vouloir reprendre."¹²⁹

So François de Thou, a martyr to the sacred claims of friendship, meets death courageously, even gladly, esteeming it a rare privilege to accompany his friend even to the scaffold.

Thus Alfred de Vigny has interpreted the character of de Thou. In the light of history, some different aspects are revealed.

François-Auguste de Thou was born in Paris, near the year 1607. In his childhood he was placed under the direction of the scholar Nicolas Rigault, and also under that of Pierre and Claude Dupuy, from whom he received admirable training. He early learned the ancient languages and made rapid progress in the sciences as well.

At the death of his father, in 1617, he succeeded to the position of the king's "maître de la librairie", but he was too young for such a position, so he made arrangements to have himself succeeded by Pierre Dupuy. At nineteen, he became "Conseiller au parlement" and shortly afterward "maître-des-requêtes."

Desirous of broadening his knowledge, de Thou visited

most of the countries of Europe. He spent some time in Constantinople, but history has left no account of his experiences there. On his return, he was made "conseiller d'état" and was employed in several positions of confidence.¹³⁰ It was at this point that he became involved in his first court intrigue.

Madame de Chevreuse having been exiled from court, de Thou took it upon himself to become the intermediary between her and the queen, with the result that Richelieu, learning of his part in the affair, ordered his arrest. De Thou heard about the order before it had been carried out, and he at once hastened to the cardinal in an effort to propitiate him.¹³¹ Had Richelieu really been seeking to avenge the slighting remark of the historian de Thou, what better opportunity could have presented itself?

As it was, de Thou "avoua sa faute au cardinal, qui voulut bien la lui pardonner, et qui lui promit qu'il n'en seroit jamais parlé."¹³² However, from then on he was, with reason, suspicious of de Thou and never again employed him in a position of confidence, although the latter attempted to obtain several. The result was that he conceived a dislike for Richelieu.

De Thou seems to have been noted for a restless changeable disposition. One writer describes him as constant in his affections, but so changeable in his habits and in his tastes that he had been nicknamed "Son Inquietude."¹³³ He desired a military career, hoping ultimately to replace the

minister of war, Sublet de Noyers, so he definitely renounced "la robe pour l'épée." The loss of his "intendance de l'armée", because of Richelieu's disfavor, embittered him still more, and he found himself attached to the court without employment, the worst of all conditions for an ardent spirit. His family, uneasy because they foresaw the danger of his fluctuations, often begged him to give up his visions and attach himself to something more substantial.¹³⁴

It was at this point that de Thou, in his uncertainty, became aware of Cinq-Mars's rapidly increasing favor with the king, and judged it prudent to ally himself with the apparently winning side. There is nothing to substantiate Vigny's portrayal of the two men as boyhood friends. Fontailles says: "M. de Thou était alors à la cour, qui, par l'aversion conçue contre le cardinal, lui (Cinq-Mars) témoignait être de ses amis."¹³⁵ Cinq-Mars, in his turn, "jeta les yeux sur lui pour faire de nouvelles propositions au duc de Bouillon,"¹³⁶ mainly, without doubt, because de Thou was a relative of the duc de Bouillon.

The duc de Bouillon was then at Sedan. He had just effected a reconciliation with Louis XIII after the downfall of the Comte de Soissons, and he was resolved to return to France with his family so that the king might be further convinced of his fidelity. De Thou advised him to remain a little longer at Sedan, to assure himself of the king's attitude toward him, hinting that his part in a battle

against the king would not easily be forgotten. De Thou then spoke of M. le Grand, assuring the duc de Bouillon that the grand Écuyer was the duc's friend and would be useful in reconciling him with the king, who was completely under his favorite's influence. The duc de Bouillon expressed his gratitude in moderate terms, and de Thou at once wrote to Cinq-Mars that the duc was extremely desirous of his
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 friendship.

Some time afterward, when the duc de Bouillon and Cinq-Mars met at Mezières, the latter thanked the duc for the sentiments that de Thou had attributed to him and again affirmed his desire of friendship. So began the association, brought about by de Thou, which was to end so disastrously for him and for his friend.

When Gaston d'Orléans, Cinq-Mars and Fontrailles had determined upon the treaty with Spain, it was decided that de Thou should go again to the duc de Bouillon to enlist his support. The "secrétaire d'État" Brienne, a relative of de Thou's, says: "M. de Thou ayant été choisi pour ménager une entrevue entre M. de Bouillon et le grand écuyer, y réussit si bien qu'ils se donnèrent parole l'un à l'autre."
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 It was not without protest, however, that de Thou embarked upon his mission.

Cinq-Mars desired him to be kept in ignorance of the true nature of the proposed meeting, and planned to tell him that the king desired M. de Bouillon's presence at court, as he had decided to do away with the cardinal. Fon-

trailles objected that it would be unfair to de Thou to engage him in so dangerous an undertaking without acquainting him with ^{the} details, and added that if de Thou did refuse to take part, he "était assez honnête homme et assez ennemi du premier ministre, pour que l'on pût compter sur sa discrétion."¹³⁹ It is interesting to note that it was Cinq-Mars who desired to deceive his friend, and Fontailles, ordinarily unscrupulous, who insisted upon straightforwardness.

The project was explained to de Thou, who was horrified at the thought of assassinating the cardinal, and declared that he would have nothing more to do with the affair. In keeping with his changeable nature, however, he allowed himself to be persuaded by Fontailles and set out for Révigny, where the duc de Bouillon was then residing on his estate.

De Thou informed M. de Bouillon that the grand écuyer requested him to return at once to Paris for matters of the utmost importance, adding that it was absolutely necessary that the two have an interview before the king departed for Catalonia. De Thou protested to the duc de Bouillon that he was in complete ignorance of the matters involved. He informed the duc that the king was in poor health and that Cinq-Mars stood in higher favor than ever.¹⁴⁰

When the duc de Bouillon arrived in Paris, it was de Thou who came to tell him that M. le Grand desired an interview before the duke should have seen the king or the cardinal. When the duke expressed a fear lest the latter learn of the affair, de Thou reassured him and took him to Saint-

Germain in his own carriage.

De Thou was not present at the interview itself, but he appears everywhere throughout the development of the conspiracy. It was he who carried messages from the queen to M. de Bouillon when the former, terrified at the report that her children might be taken from her care, asked to be considered as an ally; it was de Thou who brought the duke to Fontenilles's residence, where Gaston d'Orléans and Cinq-Mars were waiting to make the final agreement.¹⁴¹ The duke at first seemed disinclined to enter into the conspiracy, but several days afterward he consented to go to the hôtel de Venise, where the treaty with Spain was decided upon. Always moving in the interests of the conspirators, de Thou yet tried to appear aloof from them.

"M. de Thou était partout," says Fontenilles, "mais il ne vouloit rien savoir; ainsi il fut jusqu'à la porte de l'hôtel de Venise sans y vouloir entrer."¹⁴²

There is more than one witness to the fact that de Thou took an active part in the intrigues of Cinq-Mars. Brienne says that de Thou explained that he was espousing his friend's cause for the reason that he desired a position in the army, and believed that he would advance his fortune by attaching himself to one so all-powerful with the king. Brienne tried in vain to dissuade him; de Thou's mind was full of illusions. Later, believing the king to be fatally ill, he wrote to Brienne warning him that the cardinal was doing his best to win over the army officers, and that it was to the

queen's interest to make sure of them. He suggested that a letter from the queen, which he could show to the important officers, would have great influence, and as the letter ought to be couched in different terms, according to the persons who were to see it, he intimated that the queen should send signed blanks. Brienne refused to make such a shockingly bold suggestion.¹⁴³

La Rochefoucauld says: "M. de Thou vint me trouver de la part de la reine pour m'apprendre sa liaison avec M. le Grand --- M. de Thou me fit aussi beaucoup d'avances de M. le Grand, et je me trouvai dans ses intérêts sans l'avoir presque jamais vu."¹⁴⁴

Tallemant des Réaux informs us that de Thou sounded Fabert, later maréchal de France, in the hope of winning him to M. le Grand's cause. Fabert gave de Thou to understand that he knew many damaging things about the affair, and asked him not to say anything that he, Fabert, might be obliged to reveal.¹⁴⁵

The cardinal de Retz says: " --- quoique j'eusse lieu de me croire perdu à la cour, je n'avais jamais voulu être des amis de M. le Grand; et il est vrai que M. de Thou, avec lequel j'avais habitude et amitié particulière, m'en avait pressé et que je n'y donnai point, parce que je ne crus d'abord rien de solide, et l'événement a fait voir que je ne m'y étai pas trompé."¹⁴⁶

Gaston d'Orléans testified that de Thou made a trip to Vendôme to try to attach the ducs de Mercœur and de Beau-

fort to M. le Grand's interests, but without success. De Thou, when questioned, denied that he had made the trip in any interest save that of civility, and the duc de Beaufort substantiated his denial. However, as Father Daniel points out, monsieur had no reason for including such a statement, if false, in his declaration, whereas de Thou and the duc de Beaufort had every reason to dissimulate.¹⁴⁷

It is characteristic of de Thou that he would have preferred that Cinq-Mars gain his ends by more subtle means than active conspiracy. He often suggested to his friend that he insinuate himself into Louis's graces, cultivate his friendship and merit his confidence by a less dissipated life. Then, said he, there will come favorable moments for presenting to the king the faults of his minister and the ease with which he could get along without him.¹⁴⁸

As a matter of fact, Cinq-Mars did gain such ascendancy over the king's mind that he almost succeeded in persuading Louis that the cardinal was a hindrance to the welfare of France. Cinq-Mars pointed out that it was Richelieu who was keeping up war when both sides desired peace, and that the war would never end as long as the cardinal were looked to for the negotiation of a treaty. The only way of finding out the truth in such a grave matter, he said, was to write to Spain and demand an account of the communications, relative to the war, that had been going back and forth between Spain and France.

Louis agreed as to the wisdom of this idea, and when

he requested his favorite to suggest a wise and prudent man to write the letter, Cinq-Mars responded that de Thou was the very person for the task. De Thou, after a written order from the king, entered into negotiations with Rome and Spain, with the aim of agreeing upon peace terms.¹⁴⁹ No results seem to have come from the communications, but by such instances we are convinced that de Thou was far from being the passive bystander, the grave prophet of impending disaster, that Vigny portrays.

As for the treaty with Spain, Vigny assumes that de Thou is aware of its existence; in fact, he is early informed by Cinq-Mars that if all other efforts fail, the treaty will be signed.¹⁵⁰ Most historians, however, agree that de Thou did not know of the treaty until a comparatively late date in the conspiracy.

Fontrailles relates that on his return from Madrid he met M. de Thou, who said that he was aware that he, Fontrailles, had been to Spain, and that the reason for the trip was not a secret. Fontrailles demanded to know how de Thou had obtained his information, and the latter replied that he had it from the queen, in whom Monsieur had confided.¹⁵¹ De Thou, during his final questioning, insisted that Fontrailles had himself given the details of the trip, on his return, and that he, de Thou, had never heard of the trip to Spain nor of the treaty before that time.¹⁵²

It is probable that Fontrailles's account is true,

since he wrote his "Relation" after the death of Louis XIII, at a time when he could have had no motive for disguising the truth. De Thou, on the other hand, was speaking to the judges who were about to condemn him to death.

De Thou was arrested in Narbonne and imprisoned in the "Château de Tarascon." D'Ozonville, an emissary of the duc de Bouillon's, was also arrested. He had, had several conferences with de Thou, who blamed the delay and the irresolution of Monsieur. "Plût à Dieu," he said, "que je pusse parler à M. de Bouillon, pour lui faire entendre combien Monsieur est un étrange homme."¹⁵³ This remark was regarded as an evident proof that de Thou not only had, had a perfect knowledge of M. le Grand's intrigues but had participated in them as an accomplice, since he so ardently desired to see them succeed.

After his arrest, de Thou, much more cautious and reserved than Cinq-Mars, let no word escape which might implicate him in the conspiracy; when asked about the various trips that he had made in the interests of the plot, and his association with M. le Grand and with Fontenilles, he replied that he had never known or suspected anything criminal in their conduct; that he had gone to Périgord to visit his aunt, Madame de Bouteville; that he was Cinq-Mars's friend and had known Fontenilles for twelve or fourteen years, but that they had never told him of any conspiracy.

When he was reminded of his part in the intrigues of Madame de Chevreuse, de Thou replied that the cardinal had

been completely informed of the details of that affair at the time that it occurred, and had fully pardoned him. When asked if he knew of a law condemning as guilty of "lèse-majesté" those who fail to reveal treaties, conspiracies or enterprises against the safety and repose of the state, he replied that he did not know of a law expressly for such a case, and, moreover, that he could not have revealed something of which he had no knowledge.¹⁵⁴

M. de Vigny had made no record of such an attitude on the part of de Thou. According to the novel, de Thou confesses freely, welcoming that which he terms martyrdom. However, in a letter written by Richelieu to the two secretaries of state who were with the king, there is the statement that "M. de Thou, dans son premier interrogatoire, avoit suivi le style de tous les criminels, niant tout absolument."¹⁵⁵

Far from being eager for death, the two friends persisted in their denial until, falsely informed that de Thou had betrayed him, Cinq-Mars revealed the details of the conspiracy and the fact that de Thou had been aware of the whole affair, including the treaty. He was so indiscreet as to add that de Thou felt personal hatred for the cardinal, and the latter might beware if de Thou were released from prison.¹⁵⁶

When de Thou was told that Cinq-Mars had confessed, he ceased to deny the charges, and his conviction resulted. De Thou's contemporaries, with the exception of Tallemant, are

agreed that he met death piously and courageously, casting no reproaches on Cinq-Mars, who had led him into the affair. Tallemant's conclusion, while out of sympathy with de Thou's religious fervor at the time of his execution, is indicative of his character: "Je trouve qu'il mourut en pédant, lui qui avait toujours vécu en cavalier, car sa soutane ne tenait à rien. Les grands seigneurs et les grandes dames l'avaient gâté, et l'opinion d'être descendu des comtes de Toul."¹⁵⁷

The reason for de Thou's hatred of Richelieu, while doubtless due in part to the cardinal's attitude toward him after the affair of Madame de Chevreuse, may have been strengthened from another source.

It is agreed that he was the lover of the princess de Guéméné, or rather, one of her lovers. Tallemant says that Madame de Guéméné had several lovers, all of whom came to some bad end, for instance, M. de Montmorency, M. le Comte de Soissons, M. de Bouteville and M. de Thou.¹⁵⁸

Madame de Guéméné and Richelieu were on very bad terms. The cardinal de Retz says that Richelieu disliked Madame^{de} Guéméné because he was sure that she had crossed his early inclination for the queen, and also because she had been a party to the trick played on him by Madame du Fergis, "dame d'atour", who carried to Marie de Médicis a letter which he had written to the queen¹⁵⁹. Retz speaks also of the hatred which Madame de Guéméné felt for Richelieu.

This being the case, what more natural than that she

should have intensified de Thou's dislike of the cardinal? De Thou's letter to her, one of the two letters written by him shortly before his death, seems to bear out this theory. He says in part: "Je vous demande pardon de tout mon coeur, madame, de toutes les choses que j'ay faictes qui vous ont pu desplaire, et fais la mesme prière à toutes les personnes que j'ay haïes à vostre occasion."¹⁶⁰

Whatever motives may have directed de Thou's part in the conspiracy, a study of the facts cannot but convince us of very marked differences in the grave, prudent and sage character as portrayed by Vigny and the rather weak, selfish, changeable de Thou of history. On one point, however, both M. de Vigny and history are in accord; François-Auguste de Thou never wavered in his affection for the reckless, misguided Cinq-Mars.

CHAPTER V.FATHER JOSEPH.

Throughout "Cinq-Mars", the figure of Father Joseph, capucin monk, moves like an evil spirit, sly and sinister, always in the background, yet ever watchful for an opportunity to carry on his loathsome tasks. He is the cardinal's auxiliary, the servile instrument employed to perform the revolting deeds conceived by a more powerful mind.

Above all, he is ambitious, in the lowest sense of the word. His most passionate desire, according to Vigny, is to obtain a cardinal's hat, so that he may be in a position to supplant Richelieu when the time is ripe. The relations of the two men, ostensibly friendly, are odious. Each suspects and hates the other, yet they are united by a fear born of the knowledge each has of the baseness of the other. Richelieu, speaking of Father Joseph's nomination to the cardinalate, says to him: "je commence aussi à trouver que la pourpre t'irait bien, car les taches de sang ne s'y voient pas,"¹⁶¹ and the two begin to laugh, according to Vigny, "l'un comme un maître qui accable de tout son mépris le sicaire qu'il paye, l'autre comme un esclave résigné à toutes les humiliations par lesquelles on s'élève."¹⁷⁰

Nothing could be more revolting than the conversation between Laubardemont and Father Joseph, shortly after Cinq-Mars's warm reception by Louis XIII, on the day of the former's arrival at Perpignan. The judge and the capuchin dispute as to which of the two might be the more capable of in-

stigating the death of the young man whose cordial welcome by the king has rendered them uneasy. Each boasts of the base deeds he has committed until the cardinal, weary of the argument, orders them both away.

Joseph's principal role in the novel is that of a spy. It is he who reports to the cardinal the thousand and one details that he collects during his journeys over the country; he hides in the king's apartments to overhear Cinq-Mars speak his mind about the cardinal; he conceals himself in the "confessional" and listens to the confidences of Cinq-Mars and Marie de Gonzague.

The scene between Father Joseph and Cinq-Mars, the night before the trial of the conspirators, doubtless was conceived by Vigny as a fitting climax to Joseph's sordid part in the story. This scene, however, strikes one as bald; Vigny, in his effort to portray the character of the capuchin as he wished to present it, has overstepped himself. Father Joseph offers to save the two prisoners if Cinq-Mars will make him cardinal after Richelieu's death. He points out that the cardinal has not six months to live, and that Louis XIII, after the death of his minister, will be only too glad to restore his favorite to as powerful a position as before.

Joseph offers, if Cinq-Mars will agree to become his ally, to do away with Richelieu by means of a physician who is in his, Joseph's employment. "Il n'y a point de bienfaits en politique; il y a des intérêts, voilà tout,"¹⁶³ says the capuchin.

Strangely enough, in view of his own plan of assassinating Richelieu, Cinq-Mars is horrified at Joseph's base suggestion, and refuses with vehemence. We get a last glimpse of the capuchin at the trial, where he objects to Cinq-Mars's being put to the question, not from pity, but because of the cowardly fear that his proposal to Cinq-Mars may be revealed. From the evil portrait of Father Joseph that Vigny has given us, we turn with relief to history, knowing we can find no more repulsive picture, hoping we may find a more pleasant one.

To begin with, we must at once discard all of Vigny's situations built upon the relations of Father Joseph with Cinq-Mars and his conspiracy; Father Joseph died December 18, 1638,¹⁶⁴ the very year which saw Cinq-Mars's arrival at court. There remains for consideration Father Joseph's personal character, his relations with Richelieu and the latter's attitude toward the capuchin's nomination to the cardinalate.

François LeClere du Tremblay, born at Paris, November 4, 1577, early gave signs of unusual mental ability. In connection with doubts that have often been raised concerning the sincerity of his religious zeal, it is worth while to note that at the age of four years the child once interrupted the conversation at dinner, before guests, by climbing upon a stool to address the company on the subject of the Passion, which he had recently heard discussed by servants.¹⁶⁵ At the age of fourteen, he made a vow to enter

the order of Saint Francis, to combat the passions of his own nature. ¹⁶⁶

The young man distinguished himself at the University of Paris, where he finished his studies at the age of seventeen. He then attended an "académie" for awhile, where he could acquire the talents and knowledge of a gentleman, after which he traveled in Italy and Germany, and finally took up the profession of arms. ¹⁶⁷

During this time, however, François du Tremblay had never given up his idea of entering a religious order, and to the deep disappointment of his family, who expected great things from the talents he had shown, he abruptly renounced the world, in 1599, to become a capuchin monk.

At first, his mother actively opposed his design, going so far as to obtain a "défense du parlement," forbidding the capuchins to receive her son, and "lettres de jussion" from the king, commanding them to give the young man up to her. ¹⁶⁸ But her motherly love conquered her own desires when she realized what it would mean to François to renounce his plans, and after several years spent in preparation for his new duties, years of privation and of labor hard enough to have weakened a resolution based on anything but sincere religious zeal, he was ordained in 1604, took the name of Father Joseph and was made "lecteur de philosophie" at the convent of Saint-Honoré. ¹⁶⁹

Father Joseph later became superior of the convent, and in 1613 he was elected "provincial" of Touraine, a dig-

nity which ultimately led to his becoming mediator between the king, the papacy and the dissidents in the Gallican quarrel.

In 1614, Father Joseph founded an order which was to become one of the cherished enterprises of his life - the new order of "religieuses bénédictines du Calvaire". Father Joseph had for some time been the "directeur" of Madame Antoinette d'Orléans, coadjutrix of the abbey of Fontevrault, but being unable to bring about the desired reforms in this order, he took occasion to establish the new one, founding houses in Poitiers and Angers. It was approved by Louis XIII in 1617, and later had two houses in Paris, both founded by Father Joseph, one in 1620, the other in 1633.¹⁷⁰

The questions involved in the quarrel between Church and State, which occupied the greater part of the seventeenth century, were far-reaching; the fundamental issue was the distinction insisted upon by the Gallican party between temporal and spiritual power. The theory of the absolute independence of the crown as regards the Church was, of course, unanimously opposed by the first order of the State, to which belonged the Cardinal de Richelieu.¹⁷¹

At the meeting of the States-General in 1614, the third estate, probably instigated by the Prince of Condé, who desired to make a covert attack on some persons of the court, asked the king to declare, as a fundamental law of the kingdom, that he held his crown from God alone, and that no spiritual authority could deprive him of his

rights.¹⁷² This excited so much contention that the king ordered the States to leave the question to the Council.

Added to the troubles of the regency was the revolt of Condé, followed by that of the dukes of Mayenne, Vendôme, Bouillon and Longueville. Condé retired to Touraine, where Father Joseph, having just been elected for the third time "provincial" of Touraine, was obliged to visit his convents. Father Joseph's brother, Charles Le Clerc du Tremblay, was "gentilhomme de la chambre" of Henri de Bourbon, so Father Joseph was known to the Prince of Condé. He went to pay his respects to the latter, and also to the dukes of Mayenne and Longueville, both of whom were related to the duc de Nevers, always a friend of Father Joseph's. The capuchin preached to the discontented nobles that it was their duty to lay down arms, and the Queen-Mother, learning of his relations with the three, resolved to send him to the conference at Loudun, which began in February, 1616.¹⁷³

This was Father Joseph's first active political role. By adroitly influencing the chiefs of the rebels, the capuchin brought about the signing of peace terms in May, 1616. The insurgents were granted nearly everything that they demanded, and it was agreed that the third estate's former resolutions concerning the king's sovereignty would be considered.

During this time, Richelieu was in retirement at the priory of Coussay, not far from Loudun. Fagniez says that

Father Joseph, on his numerous trips from Loudun to Tours, often visited Richelieu, with whom he was completely in accord.¹⁷⁴ The two had become acquainted at the time of Father Joseph's intervention in the affairs of the abbey of Fontevault, near which Richelieu was then residing at the priory of Roches. When Father Joseph went to Fontainebleau, where the court then was, on business pertaining to the convent, Richelieu accompanied him, having previously requested the capuchin to speak a favorable word about him to Marie de Medicis.¹⁷⁵

Father Joseph did so, and during the years immediately following the two men were intimately associated. Father Joseph aided Richelieu in the installation of some capuchins at Lucon, and the abbé La Croix says that Joseph was Richelieu's confessor.¹⁷⁶ The latter seems to have felt admiration and liking for the capuchin, judging by a letter written to him by Richelieu in September, 1617, after Joseph's return from a trip to Italy:

"Mon père, je veux vous témoigner par cette lettre que j'ai de la confiance en vous, puisque, bien qu'il y ait plus d'un an et demi que nous ne nous soyons vus, je vous veux écrire avec la même franchise que si nous n'avions bougé d'ensemble. Je suis si gros de déplaisir --- que je veux vous ouvrir mon coeur ---."¹⁷⁷ Then Richelieu asks Joseph to take up his cause, to help him regain his former position.

Richelieu was wise in asking the aid of Father Joseph.

Although only a humble capuchin monk, he had already acquired influence and prestige on account of his religious zeal, as demonstrated in the founding of the order of the "bénédictines du Calvaire". Moreover, he had exhibited keen political foresight at the conference of Loudun.

The motives which induced Father Joseph to take up Richelieu's cause are simple when the nature of his ambitions is clearly understood. The interest which, for a great majority of the public and historians, has always been attached to Father Joseph, lies in the mystery with which his political rôle is surrounded. One sees him as Richelieu's collaborator in State affairs, and to most people the monastic robe is incompatible with politics.

In considering Father Joseph, it should be remembered that to judge a man fairly one must always try to replace him in the circumstances that governed him. Father Joseph grew up in the midst of the last convulsions of a civil war, following which French society entered into a period of religious and moral renovation. There was almost no matter into which religion did not enter, and no where was the intervention of a monk or a priest out of place, especially when he belonged to a family of high social rank.

The guiding motives of Father Joseph's life, motives of which many historians have made no mention, were the saving of France from heresy and the delivery of the Holy Lands from the power of the Infidels.¹⁷⁸ The vision of a crusade was ever before him. His ideal was always the pa-

cification of Christianity and the union of Christian nations against the Infidels; it was France's duty to impose this pacification and to conduct this union. Gaston Paris might see in Father Joseph's attitude another illustration of his statement that the French have always been more or less inclined to impose their ideals upon others, not from any unworthy motive, but because they believe in their ideals.¹⁷⁹

Be that as it may, Father Joseph at once realized that the reconciliation of Christian peoples had two almost insurmountable obstacles - the Protestants and the House of Austria. Spain's ambitions must be checked and Italy must be pacified, as an indispensable preliminary to the conquest of the Holy Lands.

Students of history will at once recognize the complete harmony of Father Joseph's interests with Richelieu's, although the two had different motives. Richelieu did not share Father Joseph's hopes concerning the crusade. He says of it: "---bien que cette entreprise fût mal fondée et sans apparence à ceux qui étoient soit peu versés en la connoissance des affaires du Levant."¹⁸⁰

It was, therefore, for the purpose of gaining a powerful ally, or rather, a leader, who could reasonably undertake the pacification of Christianity and the abasement of the house of Austria that Father Joseph undertook to aid Richelieu in regaining his former position. Judging from their correspondence, each of the two men admired and appre-

ciated the ability of the other. Father Joseph wrote to his brother capuchins:

"Tenez pour vray que le bon personnage duquel me parlez et auquel je fis ouverture de l'affaire de Dieu (the Crusade) est 'in visceribus meis ad convivendum et commoriendum.' Faites près de luy qu'il croisse chasque jour en la sainte résolution d'employer pour luy les talens considérables qu'il luy a donnés ---."¹⁸¹

When Richelieu became chief of the council, in 1624, he wrote to Father Joseph through the latter's brother, Charles du Tremblay, acknowledging his indebtedness to the capuchin. The text of the letter, preserved by Lepré-Balain, informed Joseph of the "faveur qu'il avait reçue du roi l'établissant chef de son conseil et du manient des affaires de son État, et comme, après Dieu, il (Father Joseph) étoit le principal agent duquel il s'étoit servi pour le conduire et élever à ce haut degré d'honneur, il le priaît de hâter son voyage à cause qu'il avoit d'importantes affaires dedans et dehors le royaume, sur lesquelles il falloît prendre resolution et qui pressoient qu'avant de les résoudre il lui vouloit communiquer."¹⁸²

Having decided upon the means of accomplishing his purpose, Father Joseph pursued his course without deviation. The cherished project of the crusade never went much further than an understanding with the duc de Nevers, Father Joseph's chief ally in Italy, that the former should be the leader, but the capuchin never gave up the hope that some

day his plan would be realized. Christian expansion in the Levant dates back, directly or indirectly, to him; he never forgot the humble missionaries in Syria and Persia, and it is evident from his correspondence that he considered lost all time not employed in the defense and extension of Catholicism. It was for this cause that he sought to augment the zeal and number of Richelieu's partisans.

The few authentic biographies of Father Joseph describe him as firm, determined and indefatigable in his efforts to carry out his plans. Father Daniel says of him: "Il avoit l'air doux et insinuant, et quoiqu'il epousât avec une extreme vivacité les intérêts du cardinal de Richelieu, il n'en parla jamais qu'avec modération; mais quand ils déliberoient ensemble sur les affaires du gouvernement, il proposoit toujours les avis les plus fermes et les plus rigoureux."¹⁸³

Another historian says: "C'étoit en effet un homme infatigable, portant dans les entreprises l'activité, la souplesse, l'opiniâtreté à les faire réussir ---. Hardi, absolu, peu sensible lui-même à la dureté du commandement, il ne l'adoucissoit pour les autres."¹⁸⁴

Those who have considered Father Joseph as an inferior agent, dealing only with spies, while the cardinal negotiated with ambassadors and princes, have disregarded the correspondence of the period. Father Joseph dealt with the most powerful nobles and officials; he had access to princes and generals, as Grotius puts it, Father Joseph "ébau-

choit les affaires et le cardinal y mettoit la dernière main."¹⁸⁵

Some historians have taken the stand that Father Joseph was the master mind in French politics during his association with Richelieu, and that the cardinal himself was the auxiliary. To this theory one may oppose the lack of evidence to substantiate it, as well as the fact that Richelieu's policy showed no change nor weakness after Father Joseph's death. Moreover, when comparing the capuchin's writings with those of Richelieu, one notices that the former's, although clear and forceful in style, have not the depth or the force of the cardinal's.

Father Joseph's character as judged by some of his contemporaries is indicated by two letters quoted by Leprô-Balsin in his biography of the capuchin.¹⁸⁶ The letters show only sincere admiration for Joseph.

A letter from Richelieu to Father Joseph, written during the latter's illness, shows the cardinal's affection for his friend and his anxiety over his condition:

"Ayant envoyé quatre ou cinq fois à Paris, pour apprendre des nouvelles de votre santé, sans que j'aye pû en avoir de certaines, la peine en laquelle je suis de votre mal, et le desir que j'ai de savoir précisément l'état auquel vous êtes, fait que je vous envoie encore de nouveau à cette fin. Si vous croyez mon conseil, vous quitterez les couvens, ou vous vous retirez, comme n'étant pas propres à y recouvrer votre santé, et viendrez en ce lieu, où

l'air étant meilleur, contribuera beaucoup à vous la rendre en peu de temps. Si vous suivez en cela mon avis, je vous enverrai ma litière, pour vous amener plus doucement et en attendant le bien de vous voir, ou du moins des nouvelles de votre part, qui soient telles que je les desire, je vous assurerai qu'il n'y a personne qui soit plus que moi, etc."¹⁸⁷

Richelieu's attitude toward Joseph, as portrayed by Vigny, is in striking contrast to that revealed by all available letters from the cardinal to his agent. In the novel, Richelieu is supercilious, condescending, sneering; his correspondence reveals only esteem and friendship for the capuchin. At Father Joseph's death, he is said to have exclaimed; "Je perds ma consolation et mon unique secours, mon confident et mon appui."¹⁸⁸

The reasons back of the Pope's unwillingness to grant a cardinal's hat to Father Joseph cannot easily be penetrated. Vigny assumes that it was Richelieu himself who thwarted the Capuchin's ambitions by secretly advising the pope against the promotion. The maréchal d'Estrées, about to depart for Rome, receives these instructions from Richelieu:

"Il n'est pas nécessaire de persécuter plus longtemps Urbain VIII en faveur de ce capucin que vous voyez là-bas; c'est bien assez que Sa Majesté ait daigné le nommer au cardinalat, nous concevons les répugnances de Sa Sainteté à couvrir ce mendiant de la pourpre romaine."¹⁸⁹

Records show that Richelieu, on the contrary, was very active in seeking to bring about Father Joseph's election to the cardinalate. As early as 1632, he had decided to

present him as a candidate, but the "nonce" Bichi, learning of Richelieu's design, informed him that it would be impossible for France to receive a hat in the next election, since the promotion of candidates of the crowns had just taken place, and the next was to be reserved to Roman prelates and the family of the pope.

The candidacy of the abbot Cremmünster, so warmly supported by the Emperor, was refused for the same reason. However, the "nonce" was informed that Richelieu would not stop at such objections, as he considered the success of this affair indispensable to the realization of his designs. In the meantime, Father Joseph was to receive the bishopric of Reims, which would serve as a stepping stone to the cardinalship.¹⁹⁰

France was not discouraged by the unfavorable reception of Father Joseph's nomination, and sent a special agent, the abbé La Barde, to Rome to second the instances of the ambassador Créqui. However, when the promotion was made, at the end of 1633, Father Joseph did not receive the coveted honor. The next year France renewed the presentation. Richelieu was seeking a bishopric for Father Joseph, and at the false report, in 1635, that the abbey of Saint-Evrault was vacant through the death of the "titulaire", Richelieu asked the king to give it to Joseph, offering, without fear of "simonie", to keep it for him until his elevation to the cardinalship should permit him to take it.¹⁹¹

The pope, viewing in a political light the struggle

which was dividing Europe, never closed his eyes to the religious consequences, never ceased to consider the formation of a third Catholic party which would check the power of the house of Austria and repel heresy. This party, in which Father Joseph and Richelieu hoped to place the center of gravity of Europe, was to be composed chiefly of France and the Catholic League, and its base had already been laid, under the auspices of the Holy See, by the alliance of the king and Maximilian of Bavaria.

The League, however, adhered to the Emperor, and France and the papacy were left the only representatives of the system in which resistance to the Hapsburgs was working toward European independence. However, France and the papacy could not look upon the affair from the same viewpoint. The pope was desirous of freedom from the yoke of Spain, but on the other hand he did not wish to become the docile instrument of France. Father Joseph was a sworn enemy to Spain, and the pope hesitated to push Spain too far.

In the face of the struggle which seemed imminent in Europe, Urbain VIII decided to abandon politics and concern himself only with religion. By a policy of seeming neutrality, he could thenceforth be considered merely as the chief of Catholicism. He was bending his efforts toward persuading the belligerents to suspend hostilities, and it would not have been consistent to admit into the cardinalate an acknowledged adversary of Austria. It would have amounted to a challenge to Spain.

Added to this, there were other reasons. The pope hesitated to increase the number of the regular orders, such as the capuchin, in the "sacré collège"; he was influenced by his brother, the Cardinal de San Onofrio, who did not wish to share the dignity of cardinal with another member of his own order, and by his nephew, Barberini, a partisan of Spain.¹⁹³

Perhaps the strongest reason of all was the fact that Father Joseph had an extremely unfavorable reputation at Rome. He was held responsible for all the troubles of Christianity, and the "Impériaux", declaring that he had loosed Gustavus Adolphus on Germany, threatened to become Protestant if Joseph were promoted to the cardinalate.¹⁹⁴

The enemies of France did not over-estimate Father Joseph's importance in the foreign politics of his country, but they did not comprehend his motives. The "nonce" and the pope alone understood the profound Catholicism of his politics. They knew that before becoming the adversary of Austria he had tried to establish European peace by uniting France and Austria against the enemies of Christianity; they understood his resentment at the manner in which Spain had betrayed the cause in order to carry out her own political plans. In the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus in German affairs, Father Joseph had gone no further than had the pope himself, and ^{had} opposed an invasion of Alsace and a premature rupture with the Emperor.¹⁹⁵

Nevertheless, the pope could not convince himself that

peace with Spain was not the better policy, and when Spain, in order to exclude Father Joseph, nominated Perotti, whom they knew to be his sworn enemy, the pope was in such suspense that he preferred not to make any promotions that year.¹⁹⁶

Richelieu, in his "Mémoires", speaks of the pope's feelings in the matter in a way not at all consistent with Vigny's interpretation of the cardinal's attitude toward Father Joseph's nomination.

"---plus étrange étoit l'opiniâtre refus qu'elle (Sa Sainteté) faisoit à Sa Majesté d'agréer la nomination qu'elle lui avoit faite de la personne du père Joseph au cardinalat. Il y avoit quelque apparence au refus que Sa Sainteté en faisoit, à raison de la renonciation que ceux de cet ordre font à toutes les dignités ecclésiastiques; mais il y avoit assez d'exemples de dispenses pour croire que sa Sainteté devoit passer par-dessus cette considération à la recommandation de Sa Majesté, qui affectionnoit ce bon père, tant pour sa piété singulière entre les religieux memes de son ordre, que pour les services qu'il avoit rendus à Sa Majesté aupres de la personne du cardinal."¹⁹⁷

Notwithstanding the pope's unwillingness to yield, France continued firm in her demands. Father Joseph's interests were entrusted to three agents: the maréchal d'Estrées, the cardinal Antonio Barberini and Mazarin. According to the correspondence of the maréchal d'Estrées, he carried out his orders loyally and with ardor, which he sure-

ly would not have done had Richelieu, as Vigny claims, given him orders to the contrary. In March, 1637, he was again commanded to urge the matter, and Louis XIII wrote to him, in definite terms, instructions as to the manner in which he was to proceed.

Understanding that the pope objected to Father Joseph's promotion on account of his order, the king declared that he was so well satisfied with the capuchin's services, and so conscious of his merit, that he, the king, intended to persist in his design of obtaining for Joseph the cardinal's hat. The king maintained that it was his place to name the candidates and the pope's to accept the nominations, provided that "ils ont le zele et les sentiments qu'ils doivent pour la religion Catholique, apostolique et romaine; qu'on ne sauroit accuser ledit pere de manquer en ces deux points, et par conséquent qu'il ne sauroit, avec raison, le ¹⁹⁸denier."

Louis takes up, point by point, the objections which the pope may raise. If he says that the order of capuchins will be ruined by making an exception to the law which excludes them from the dignities of the church, the marshal d'Estrees is to reply that the pope's brother, having been made a cardinal, has maintained the dignity and authority of the order; if the pope objects that Spain has already nominated the abbé Perretti, he is to be reminded that the abbé was born an Italian subject, and as such ought to be under the pope's control, and moreover, that Spain nominated him for particular reasons which Louis does not have, and the latter, being "fils aîné de l'Église", ought to re-

celve precedence over the king of Spain.

If the pope persists in making the promotion without filling France's place, the maréchal d'Estrées is to retire to a near-by city to await the king's further orders. Louis says: "Je vous dirai que le pape ne me sauroit obliger davantage, que de m'accorder ce que je lui demande pour le pere Joseph, et que vous ne sauriez me faire plus de plaisir que de vous employer en tout ce qui dépend de vous pour l'y porter, vous servant pour cela de toute mon autorité, et faisant agir le cardinal Antoine et le cardinal Ferberin en cette action avec la meme affection que je sai qu'ils me portent."¹⁹⁹

Urban VIII in order to ward off a decision, deferred the promotion, but in September and in October of the same year d'Estrées received similar orders. Before such steadfastness of purpose, the pope began to show signs of yielding, and during the last year of Father Joseph's life, the promotion was expected at any time.

The opinion that Richelieu was secretly opposed to Father Joseph's promotion should not be accepted without adequate proof. So far, no proof in its favor has been found in the manuscripts bearing on the affair. In view of the community of interests of the two men and the fact that Father Joseph as cardinal would have been useful to Richelieu, it is unreasonable to assume that he opposed the promotion. Moreover, since Father Joseph had the king's nomination, it is not probable that Richelieu would have wished

the place to remain vacant, as would naturally have resulted had he been secretly opposing the king's design.

On the contrary, Richelieu was so anxious to have the place filled that when Father Joseph was stricken with apoplexy, in October, 1638, the cardinal at once dispatched a messenger to Rome to inform the pope, so that France should not lose her nomination, in case Father Joseph were named before the news of his death, which seemed probable, could reach Rome.

Father Joseph suffered a second stroke in December, and the king and Richelieu decided, with much regret, that his nomination must be definitely withdrawn. Louis wrote to the pope:

"Très Saint-Père, C'est avec beaucoup de déplaisir que nous sommes obligés de faire savoir à V. S. que le Père Joseph est retombé pour la seconde fois dans une apoplexie, qui nous ôte entièrement l'espérance de sa vie ou des fonctions de son esprit, parce qu'étant très zélé et très capable de grandes affaires, il eût pu, dans la dignité de cardinal, servir très utilement l'Église et cet État --- nous supplions V. S. de trouver bon que nous revoquions par cette lettre la nomination que nous vous avons faite --- nous réservant de faire savoir promptement à V. S. le choix que nous aurons fait."²⁰⁰

It was not, however, until the very day of Father Joseph's death that Mazarin was named to replace him. Had Richelieu feared the rivalry of the shrewd and resourceful

capuchin, could he not have had as much reason to fear that of Mazarin? Throughout his career, on the contrary, Richelieu always seemed superbly sure of himself and of his ability to match wits with any rival who might have dreamed of supplanting him.

In view of available material on the life and the motives of Father Joseph, the logical conclusion appears to be that he was a man so inspired by religious fervor that he considered no "milieu" unsuitable for the work which might lead to the realization of his ideals. He reconciled in his person qualities which are usually considered incompatible: the meditation of divine truth and the leadership of men; religious cosmopolitanism and the national spirit; the highest abstractions and the art of finding expedients for the solution of concrete problems; in short, asceticism and politics.

CHAPTER VI.THE MARÉCHAL DE BASSOMPIERRE.

Although the maréchal de Bassompierre appears only at the beginning of "Cinq-Mars", and is mentioned once again toward the last, it is worth while to compare Vigny's portrait of the maréchal with that left by history, since Bassompierre, in the novel, typifies Vigny's conception of the spirit of the "bonne, vieille noblesse" during the reign of Henri IV.

We get our first glimpse of Bassompierre on the day of Cinq-Mars's departure for court. The maréchal is a guest at the Château de Chaumont, and at dinner, according to Vigny, "s'emparant, sans être prié par personne, du dé de la conversation, le tint avec un sang-froid imperturbable pendant tout le repas --- Il avait conservé sous ses cheveux blancs un air de vivacité et de jeunesse fort étrange à voir; ses manières nobles et polies avaient quelque chose d'une galanterie surannée comme son costume, car il portait une fraise à la Henri IV et les manches taillées à la manière du dernier règne, impardonnable aux yeux des beaux de la cour."²⁰¹

The burden of Bassompierre's conversation during the meal is his loyalty to the memory of Henri IV and his consequent fidelity to Louis XIII because the latter is the son of Henri IV. As for Richelieu, the maréchal says: "Quand M. le Cardinal-duc voit dans un coin trois ou quatre de nos grandes figures qui ne quittaient pas les côtés

du feu roi, il sent bien qu'il ne peut pas mouvoir ces statues de fer, et qu'il y fallait le main du grand homme; il passe vite et n'ose pas se mêler de nous, qui ne le craignons pas. Il croit toujours que nous conspirons et, à l'heure qu'il est, on dit qu'il est question de me mettre à la Bastille."²⁰²

The very evening of the day on which the maréchal makes this speech, M. de Launay arrests him by order of the king. Bassompierre submits with a firmness and disdain which embarrass M. de Launay to the point where it seems that it is he who has been arrested by the noble old man.

The carriage has scarcely left the grounds of the chateau when it is stopped by Cinq-Mars who, returning for a last farewell to Marie de Gonzague, has witnessed the maréchal's arrest. Enraged at such an insult to Bassompierre and considering the arrest of their guest an affront to the family, Cinq-Mars offers to deliver him from his guards. The maréchal, however, refuses to resist the king's orders, and continues the journey which leads him to the Bastille.

We hear no more of Bassompierre until the day of Cinq-Mars's execution, when the latter's friend Olivier d'Entragues gives the abbé de Gondî a letter to the young prisoner, written by the maréchal in the Bastille, to be delivered when the Grand Écuyer shall have escaped. The same prolixity and the same adherence to the old regime which Bassompierre had previously displayed are revealed in his letter.²⁰³

In associating the maréchal with Cinq-Mars, Vigny is again guilty of an anachronism. Bassompierre was sent to the Bastille in 1631, at which time Cinq-Mars was but eleven years old. Vigny's portrayal of Bassompierre conforms with descriptions given by the maréchal's contemporaries, but he makes no allusion to the most noted side of his character, nor does he rightly interpret the reasons which led to Bassompierre's imprisonment in the Bastille.

François de Bassompierre was born in Lorraine in 1579, of a fine family, descended from a branch of the house of Clèves. After having traveled in Italy, he appeared at the court of Henri IV, where his love of pleasure and his gallantry soon rendered him very popular. After leading a life of idleness for a time, he became ambitious for something better, and in 1602 he entered upon a military career in which he achieved distinction, especially in Hungary, where he served in the imperial army in a campaign against the Turks.²⁰⁴

After this expedition, he reappeared at the French court, "et bientôt son esprit, sa figure, sa naissance et son mérite, qui l'appelaient aux premières dignités militaires, lui permirent de prétendre à la main de Mlle de Montmorency, fille du connétable."²⁰⁵ Henri IV, having himself conceived a violent passion for Mlle de Montmorency, pointed out to Bassompierre that he must not permit this affair to spoil their friendship, saying: "si tu l'épouses, et qu'elle t'aime, je te haïrai; si elle m'aimeit, tu me haïr-

ais."²⁰⁶ Bassompierre yielded to the king's wishes and renounced his pretensions to the hand of Mlle de Montmorency.

Nobody at court was more gallant, more elegant or more agreeable than was Bassompierre. It is said of him that he "réunissait tous les avantages de la naissance, de la figure, de l'esprit et de la bravoure. Il avait étudié dans sa jeunesse, avec beaucoup de succès, la philosophie, le droit, la médecine, et tout ce qui a trait à l'art militaire."²⁰⁷

Bassompierre was noted for his "amours"; it was even said that he was in love with the Queen-Mother. One of his most talked of affairs was with Mademoiselle d'Entragues, to whom he made a promise of marriage. Bassompierre had a son by Mlle d'Entragues, and the latter tried unsuccessfully for eight years to force him to keep his word. The case was decided in Bassompierre's favor by the "parlement" of Rouen, but Mlle d'Entragues persisted in calling herself Madame de Bassompierre.²⁰⁸

The maréchal was notorious for his extravagance in dress. In his "Mémoires" he describes his chagrin because he had nothing new to wear to the baptism of the due d'Orléans, in 1606, having worn his best costume to a brilliant marriage in Lorraine. All the tailors and "brodeurs" were busy, but Bassompierre's tailor told him that because of the baptism a merchant of Anvers had brought to the city a cargo of pearls, and the tailor offered to make the maréchal a suit, with pearl trimmings, which would surpass all others.

Bassompierre says: "Je voulus qu'il fût de toile d'or violette et de palmes qui s'entrelaceroient. Enfin, avant que de partir, moi, qui n'avois que sept cents écus en bourse fis entreprendre un habillement qui me devoit coûter quatorze mille écus, et a meme temps fis venir le marchand, qui m'apporte les echantillons de ses perles, avec lequel je conclus le prix de l'once."³⁰⁹ The maréchal adds that he paid for the costume by money won at cards, and in addition he won enough to pay for a sword adorned with diamonds.

Because of his extravagance, Bassompierre was always involved in financial difficulties. In 1615, returning to Paris after a visit to his sick mother, he says that he found himself overwhelmed with debts. He owed 1,600,000 "livres", without any prospect of paying them. His creditors had expected to be paid from his estate, but his mother recovered. At the same time, Bassompierre was embarrassed because of trouble between a husband and wife on his account, and there was also a scandal over his relations with a girl.³¹⁰

During the latter part of the reign of Henri IV and during the life of Louis XIII, no courtier was more involved in plots and intrigues than was Bassompierre. The affair which finally resulted in his imprisonment was the outgrowth of an intrigue known as the conspiracy of Vendôme and Chalais, in 1626.

Gaston d'Orléans, the duc de Vendôme, who was a son of Henri IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées, the comte de Soissons and the duchesse de Chevreuse became the leaders of a plot to de-

pose Louis XIII, assassinate Richelieu and put Gaston on the throne. As might have been expected, a conspiracy involving so many persons became known, and Gaston, as usual, betrayed his friends. The comte de Chalais was executed; the duc d'Ornano was imprisoned; the ducs de Vendôme and de la Valette, the comte de Soissons and Madame de Chevreuse were banished.²¹¹

In 1630, when it was thought that Louis could not live much longer, the plot was revived. Marie de Médicis²¹² had resolved to ruin the minister whose influence with the king was supplanting her own; the duchesse d'Elbeuf hated Richelieu because of M. de Vendôme; the duchesse d'Ornano, sister of the duc de Mayenne, was his enemy. The two Marillacs were drawn into the conspiracy, and Gaston, as usual, was involved.

Bassompierre was attached to the interests of the plotters through his liaison with the princesse de Conti, a sister of M. de Guise, who had declared himself to be Richelieu's enemy. It is thought that the two were secretly married, and they had a son who was called La Tour Bassompierre.²¹³ Richelieu looked with suspicion upon the maréchal's association with the group whom he knew to be his enemies.

Bassompierre had previously incurred Richelieu's displeasure by his attitude during the king's illness at Lyons. The maréchal had received the charge of "Colonel des Suisses", and the cardinal, fearing that Louis's illness might prove fatal, asked Bassompierre to make sure of the allegi-

ance of the Suisses. The maréchal was unwilling to comply with this request and told Richelieu to make use of the governor of the city, M. de Villeroi, who could be induced by his cousin german, M. de Chateauneuf, who was Richelieu's confidant, to sound the loyalty of the Suisses.²¹⁴ Richelieu was convinced by such an attitude that Bassompierre was his secret enemy. He was also displeased at the maréchal's remark during the siege of La Rochelle, when Bassompierre, feeling that the capture of the city would too greatly increase Richelieu's power, said, "Je crois que nous serons assez fous pour prendre La Rochelle."²¹⁵

The famous Day of Dupes, November 11, 1630, put an end to the intrigues of the Queen-Mother and her faction. Marie de Medicis, confidant that Louis had decided to sacrifice his minister, had a rude awakening when word was brought to her of Richelieu's complete ascendancy over the king's mind. She was virtually imprisoned at Compiègne, and the duchesses d'Elbeuf and d'Ognano and the princesse de Conti were exiled.

Bassompierre drew upon himself even more suspicion because he was in no hurry to pay his respects to Richelieu at Versailles, after the latter's triumph on the Day of Dupes. When he finally came, and the cardinal invited him to dinner, Bassompierre was so indiscreet as to refuse, on the pretext that he himself had invited some guests to dine with him at Chaillot. This was interpreted as a sign of his attachment to the cardinal's enemies.²¹⁶

The duc d'Épernon and the comte de Soissons, having heard that Bassompierre was to be arrested, offered to assist him should he desire to make his escape, but the marshal refused, declaring that he preferred to accept whatever fate the king, his master, might have in store for him. He added that "il aimoit mieux vieillir et mourir dans une prison, étant déclaré innocent par la voix publique, et son maître convaincu d'être ingrat, que de faire croire à tout le monde par une fuite inconsidérée qu'il étoit coupable."²¹⁷

In this frame of mind, he went to Senlis and visited the king, who, dissembling, received him cordially and gave no indication of the decision which he had already made of having the marshal arrested.

"Le cardinal de Richelieu obligea le Roy à le faire, quelque repugnance qu'il y eust, sous le prétexte qu'ayant receu tant de bienfaits et de grâces de la Reine mère pendant sa régence, il estoit outre cela lié d'une sy étroite et ancienne amitié avec la princesse de Conty, qu'on ne devoit pas douter qu'il ne fust des plus avant dans leur party, ny croire qu'ayant une charge aussy principale dans la maison du Roy que celle de colonel general des Suisses, il n'en abusast s'il en trouvoit l'occasion."²¹⁸

On February 25th, Bassompierre was arrested by M. de Launay, who conducted him to the Bastille. The cardinal, in his "Journal", indicates that he believed Bassompierre had entered into relations with the marshal de Marillac. He says: "La lettre qui a été surprise, que Marillac écri-

voit d'Italie à M. de Bassompierre, qui avoit toujours été son ennemi déclaré, témoigne clairement qu'ils s'étoient réconciliés, et qu'ils étoient ensemble en extraordinaire confiance, ce qui ne s'étoit pas fait pour rien."²¹⁹

Madame de Motteville says that Bassompierre received no heavier penalty than imprisonment because Richelieu learned that when Marie de Médicis and her faction, thinking that they had gained the upper hand of the cardinal, were discussing the disposition that might be made of him, Bassompierre proposed only imprisonment. Richelieu later meted out to each conspirator the punishment that he had suggested for the cardinal, and the maréchal was put into the Bastille, where he remained for twelve years.²²⁰

After he had been in prison for several months, Bassompierre sent word to the cardinal, through du Tremblay, that it was an injustice to hold in prison one who had resisted the efforts of the duc de Guise, the maréchal de Créqui and the Marquis d'Alincourt, who had tried at Lyons to involve him in their intrigues. He added that at Paris messieurs d'Épernon, de Créqui and de la Rochefoucauld had planned to assassinate the cardinal, but that he, Bassompierre, had never entered into their designs. Richelieu listened to the maréchal's complaints, so little in keeping with the character that Vigny attributes to him but the cardinal could never be convinced that Bassompierre was as innocent as he protested to be.²²¹

Before his imprisonment, the maréchal, having been

warned that he was to be arrested, burned more than six thousand love letters, if one is to believe his own statement in his "Mémoires";²²² the princesse de Conti, learning of his fate, died from grief, and even in the Bastille, Bassompierre found occasion to exercise the fascination for women which he seems to have possessed. La Porte, in his "Mémoires", speaks of seeing the maréchal when he himself was imprisoned in the Bastille in 1637. He says:

"M. le maréchal de Bassompierre y avoit été mis pour les affaires de la Reine mère, dans le meme temps qu'elle fut arrêtée. Comme j'ai dit, son âge lui avoit fait perdre la mémoire; en sorte qu'il racontoit à tous momens aux memes personnes l'histoire de ses amours. Mais il n'en étoit pas pour cela moins galant; car il courtoisoit fort une mademoiselle de ---, aussi prisonnière, jusque-là que le bruit en courut à la ville et à la cour."²²³

This woman was madame de Gravelle, formerly Marie d'Estourmel, who had been imprisoned for intrigues. Bassompierre was not closely confined in the prison, being allowed the freedom of the terraces and the services of the domestics, so he found opportunity to enter into relations with Madame de Gravelle, who became his mistress. After his death, she wore the "bandeau de veuve" which only Bassompierre's wife could properly have worn.²²⁴

At the death of Richelieu, in 1642, Bassompierre was released from prison and restored to his former position of "Colonel des Suisses". He was still agreeable and of good

appearance, although he was sixty-four years of age. It is said that he had become "bien turlupin", and was ever desirous of expressing himself wittily, but he lacked the fire of youth, and what he intended for witticisms were more often "mauvaises plaisanteries."²²⁵

His health was good, but he constantly abused his stomach. Throughout his "Mémoires", Bassompierre speaks especially of the "bons dîners" which he so much enjoyed, and it was doubtless because of his intemperance that he died in 1646 at the comparatively early age of sixty-five.²²⁶

Bassompierre's death, one of his biographers has remarked, was timely, as he was financially ruined and could not have continued the kind of existence to which he was accustomed. His relatives renounced his succession, since after his death his creditors were unable to find enough to settle the twentieth part of his debts. "Les dames, cui ont aidé à le ruiner, l'ont regretté."²²⁷

An examination of the historical information relative to Bassompierre does not leave one with quite the same impression of the maréchal that Vigny has created. One's interest in him is not lessened, for Bassompierre is one of the most attractive court figures of the period, but it is no longer possible to visualize him only as Vigny portrays him - a proud, spirited partisan of the old régime, unjustly persecuted by Richelieu, but always firm and dignified in his opposition to the cardinal's policy. Bassompierre was not an especially strong character, as is established

by his affairs with women, and the fact that he was willing to betray his friends in an effort to gain his own freedom.

CONCLUSION.

The material which Alfred de Vigny used in writing "Cinq-Mars" is drawn from historic sources, but the use made of this material is not always accurate. In order to create the evil impression of Richelieu which his thesis demands, Vigny has associated characters of the period so as to produce the desired effect, even though anachronisms result. Three of these characters, Urbain Grandier, Father Joseph and the Maréchal de Bassompierre, had no connection with Cinq-Mars, since the priest and the capuchin died before he went to court, and the maréchal was in the Bastille from 1631 to 1642.

URBAIN GRANDIER, according to Vigny, was unjustly executed because he had incurred Richelieu's enmity; there is no historical evidence to substantiate such a supposition. Records show that Grandier's associates were angered because of his overbearing manner and his immoral life, and probably took advantage of an hysterical hallucination to ruin him. The evidence in the case was examined at court, and the sentence was consistent with sentences pronounced in other similar cases.

FATHER JOSEPH is portrayed by Vigny as a repulsive spy, an inferior agent who executes the base deeds Richelieu has conceived, while secretly plotting to overthrow his master. History shows that Joseph and the cardinal were united by the community of their interests; the capuchin's guiding motives were the pacification of Christian Europe and the

rescue of the Holy Lands from the infidels, to which program the House of Austria was an unsurmountable obstacle. Richelieu, determined for other reasons to abase Austria, found useful Joseph's keen political insight and his relations with persons of power and influence. Both Richelieu and Louis XIII, according to extant correspondence, strove to obtain a cardinal's hat for Joseph. There is no foundation for the assumption that Richelieu was secretly opposing the promotion; Father Joseph as cardinal would have been more useful to him.

BASSOMPIERRE is treated by Vigny as the embodiment of the spirit of the "vieille noblesse" under Henri IV, unjustly persecuted by Richelieu, but displaying to the end firmness and dignity in his misfortunes. Vigny, however, considers only one side of the maréchal's character, and this side is overdrawn. Bassompierre was one of the "galants" of the period, always involved in some discreditable "amour", extravagant, debt-ridden and intriguing. By his attitude during the king's illness and following the Day of Dupes, he aroused Richelieu's suspicions, and his imprisonment was the result of his connection with a serious conspiracy, not because of the cardinal's hatred of him. While in the Bastille, he attempted to gain his own freedom by betraying his friends.

CINQ-MARS'S motives are falsely interpreted. For Vigny, the sentiments of love and friendship are the forces of the conspiracy, in hopeless conflict with Richelieu's determination to crush his rival. History establishes the fact that

Cinq-Mars was under the cardinal's protection until he incurred the latter's displeasure by his conceit and inordinate ambition. Enraged at Richelieu's reprimands, Cinq-Mars carried his resentment to the point of plotting to assassinate his benefactor, hoping to succeed him and thus be in a position to marry Marie de Gonzague. He apparently was not in love with princess Marie when he went to court, as he was involved in affairs with other women.

MARIE DE GONZAGUE herself is treated, in the novel, as an innocent child. On the contrary, she was a woman of twenty-six, twice disappointed in the hope of a royal marriage and she encouraged Cinq-Mars's advances with the idea that he might attain to Richelieu's position.

DE THOU, according to Vigny, is a serious, noble young man, a "savant", who takes no interest in worldly matters; he deeply disapproves of the conspiracy, but he keeps silent because of his affection for Cinq-Mars. The testimony of de Thou's contemporaries reveals that he was of a restless, changeable disposition. He was barred by Richelieu from important positions because of his part in the conspiracy of Madame de Chevreuse, and consequently he disliked Richelieu. This dislike was probably augmented by his mistress, Madame de Guéméné, who was the cardinal's enemy. De Thou desired a military career, and believing Cinq-Mars to be in a position of power, he attached himself to his faction. Although trying to appear aloof from the conspiracy, he was active in

bringing the plotters together.

Vigny asserts that the two friends welcomed death as martyrdom to a noble cause. History shows that Cinq-Mars attempted flight when the conspiracy was discovered, and that both he and de Thou at first stoutly denied the charges, even in the face of overwhelming evidence.

Vigny's treatment of these characters is based on the distinction which he makes between "la vérité de l'Art et le vrai du Fait." He believed that it is permissible, in writing an historical novel, to "faire céder parfois la réalité des faits à l'Idée que chacun d'eux doit représenter aux yeux de la postérité,"²²⁶ to sacrifice the details, the "vrai anecdotique," in Vigny's own words, to the "ensemble idéal". The author must first "connaître tout le Vrai de chaque siècle, être imbu profondément de son ensemble et de ses détails --- Mais ensuite il faut choisir et grouper autour d'un centre inventé."²²⁷

While Vigny never goes so far as to say that facts may be changed, (although this is what he has done in many instances throughout "Cinq-Mars") in this case he definitely says that, although the underlying principle of a work is the most important thing, with regard to this novel he has, besides, the historical documents on which it is based, and which he has added to the book, because "il veut que les esprits curieux du vrai anecdotique n'aient pas à chercher ailleurs des documents qu'il avait écartés."²²⁸

By examining these documents, however, one discovers

that Vigny's material is *exparte* material; he has ignored everything save that which is unfavorable to Richelieu, and thus bears out the author's thesis.

For this reason, we are forced to conclude, after an impartial examination of all available material bearing on the affair, that Vigny's presentation of the character of Richelieu, in connection with Cinq-Mars's conspiracy, is not historically true, and that the "Docteur Noir's" expression of Vigny's own admission unquestionably applies to the novel "Cinq-Mars": "Mes histoires sont comme toutes les paroles des hommes, à moitié vraies."²³¹

NOTES.

1. Ratisbonne, Louis, Journal d'un Poète, Page 34.
2. Sainte-Beuve, Nouveaux Lundis, Vol. VI, p. 415.
3. Vigny, Alfred de, Stello, pp. 230-231.
3. Ibid, Cinq-Mars, Vol. II, p. 205.
4. Maignon, Louis, Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique, p. 255.
6. Richelieu, Mémoires, IIe Série, Vol. VIII, p. 395.
7. See Appendix A, 1.
8. See Appendix A, 2-4.
9. Richelieu, Mémoires, IIe Série, Vol. VIII, pp. 310-319.
10. Ibid, p. 319.
11. Vigny, Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 92.
12. Daniel, Le Père G., Histoire de France depuis l'Établissement de la Monarchie française dans les Gaules. (Histoire de Louis XIII), Vol. XV, p. 450.
13. Vigny, Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 178.
14. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 150.
15. Ibid, pp. 233-238.
16. Ibid, p. 199.
17. Montglat, Mémoires, IIIe Série, Vol. V, p. 125.
18. Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes, Vol. III, p. 75.
19. Ibid, Vol. V, p. 99.
20. Retz, Cardinal de, Mémoires, Grands Écrivains de la France, Vol. I, p. 108, Note 3.
21. Tallemant, Vol. III, p. 75.
22. La Rochefoucauld, Mémoires, IIIe Série, Vol. V, p. 389.

23. La Porte, Mémoires, IIIe Série, Vol. VIII, pp. 36-37.
24. Ibid, p. 38.
25. Saint-Simon, Mémoires, Grands Écrivains de la France, Vol. XXII, p. 226.
26. Tallemant, Vol. VI, pp. 112-115.
27. Montglat, Mémoires, p. 125.
28. Brienne, Mémoires, IIIe Série, Vol. III, p. 70.
29. Tallemant, Vol. IV, p. 181.
30. Madame de Motteville, Mémoires, IIe Série, Vol. X, p. 38.
31. Those who frequented the "Marais" at that time were "les plus honnêtes gens de la Cour qui avoient fait une cabale de gens --- qu'on appeloit messieurs du Marais, lesquels se rendoient tous les soirs chez Mme de Rohan à la Place Roysle." Lavisse, Histoire de France, Vol. VI, 2, p.447.
32. Ibid, p. 447.
33. See Appendix B, 1-4.
34. See Appendix B, 5 and 6.
35. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 238.
36. Ibid, pp. 307-308.
37. Fontrailles, Comte de, Relation, IIIe Série, Vol. III, p. 247.
38. Montglat, Mémoires, p. 126.
39. Fontrailles, Relation, p. 249.
40. Ibid, p. 249.
41. Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 142.
42. Fontrailles, Relation, p. 247.
43. Ibid, pp. 248-249.

44. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 398.
45. Montglat, Mémoires, p. 128.
46. Daniel, Vol. XV, p. 447.
47. Tallemant, Vol. II, pp. 217-218.
48. Ibid, Vol. III, p. 75.
49. Montglat, Mémoires, p. 129.
50. Daniel, Vol. XV, p. 459.
51. The only foundation which Vigny could have had for such a theory is the fact that the "conseiller" Loubardemont had a son who, according to a letter, which Vigny quotes, written by Guy Patin, in 1631, "vécut et mourut avec des brigands. Ne voilà-t-il pas une punition divine dans la famille de ce juge, pour expier en quelque façon le mort cruelle et impitoyable de ce pauvre Grandier, dont le sang crie vengeance?" Cinq-Mars, Vol. II, p. 113, Note 1.
52. Anquetil, Louis-Pierre, L'Intrigue du Cabinet sous Henri IV et Louis XIII, Vol. III, p. 112.
53. Cinq-Mars, Vol. II, p. 153.
54. Montglat, Mémoires, p. 129.
55. Madame de Motteville, Mémoires, p. 36.
56. Magne, Émile, Voiture et les Années de Gloire de l'Hôtel de Rambouillet, Vol. II, p. 279.
57. Tallemant, Vol. II, p. 222.
58. Daniel, Vol. XV, p. 465.
59. Ibid, p. 466.
60. Cinq-Mars, Vol. II, p. 156.
61. Madame de Motteville, Mémoires, p. 37.

62. Daniel, Vol. XV, pp. 494-495.
63. Ibid, p. 494.
64. Ibid, pp. 518-519.
65. Cinq-Mars, Vol. II, p. 175.
66. Aubéry, Mémoires pour l'Histoire du Cardinal-Duc de Richelieu, Vol. V, p. 455.
67. Biographie Universelle, Vol XVIII, p. 108.
68. Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 53.
69. Richelieu, Mémoires, Vol. VIII, pp. 32-42.
70. Cinq-Mars, Vol. II, p. 115.
71. Fagniez, Gustave, Le Père Joseph et Richelieu, Vol. II, pp. 343-344.
72. Bain, Robert N., Slavonic Europe, pp. 199-207.
73. Larousse, Dictionnaire du XIXe Siècle, Vol. III, p. 663.
74. Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 238.
75. Biographie Universelle, Vol. XVIII, p. 98.
76. Tallemant, Vol. IV, p. 181.
77. Madame de Motteville, Mémoires, p. 92.
78. Tallemant, Vol. IV, p. 181.
79. Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 239.
80. Tallemant, Vol. IV, p. 181.
81. Ibid, p. 181.
82. Sainte-Beuve, Port-Royal, IIIe Édition, Vol. II, pp. 209-210.
83. Madame de Motteville, Mémoires, p. 26.
84. Ibid, p. 92.
85. Tallemant, Vol. IV, p. 183.
86. Sainte-Beuve, Port-Royal, Vol. II, pp. 206-209.

87. Madame de Motteville, Mémoires, pp. 91-96.
88. Mlle de Montpensier, Mémoires, IIIe Série, Vol. IV, pp. 32-33.
89. Tallemant, Vol. IV, p. 182.
90. Madame de Motteville, Mémoires, p. 96.
91. Ibid, p. 96. Marie soon succeeded in gaining her husband's confidence, and she encouraged him in his plan of making war against Turkey. Ladislas died in 1648, and the following year Marie married his brother, Jean Casimir, who was at the same time elected king of Poland.

The nation regarded this match with disapproval, and during the remainder of her reign, Marie tried unsuccessfully to reconcile her discontented subjects with her policy. She displayed energy and firmness and shrewd political insight, and it was through her efforts that Jean-Casimir was prevented from abdicating the throne, as he desired to do. Marie died from apoplexy at Versovie, in 1667.

92. Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 45.
93. Ibid, p. 71.
94. Ibid, pp. 56-57.
95. Ibid, p. 107.
96. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 45-46.
97. Ibid, pp. 133-134.
98. Richelieu, Mémoires, Vol. VIII, p. 569.
100. Ibid, p. 569.
101. Larousse, Dictionnaire du XIXe Siècle, Vol. X, 1873, p.464.

102. Biographie Universelle, Vol. XVIII, p. 295.
103. Anquetil, 1^{re} Intrigue du Cabinet, Vol. II, pp. 400-401.
104. Biographie Universelle, Vol. XVIII, p. 296.
105. La Grande Encyclopédie, Vol. XIX, p. 191.
106. Nouvelle Biographie Générale, Vol. XXI, p. 645.
107. Biographie Universelle, Vol. XVIII, p. 296.
108. Nouvelle Biographie Générale, Vol. XXI, p. 645.
109. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XIV, p. 532.
110. Ibid, p. 533.
111. Ibid, p. 533.
112. Ibid, p. 534.
113. Ibid, p. 534.
114. Martin, Henri, Histoire de France, Vol. XI, p. 606.
115. Le Croix, 1^{er} Abbé, Richelieu à Luçon, p. 231.
116. Hanoteaux, Gabriel, Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu, Vol. II, p. 240.
117. La Forge, Mémoires, p. 37.
118. See Appendix C, 1.
119. Larousse, Dictionnaire du XIX^e Siècle, Vol. X, p. 464.
120. Ibid, p. 464.
121. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XIV, p. 534.
122. Ibid, p. 534.
123. Ibid, p. 535.
124. Martin, Histoire de France, Vol. XI, p. 606.
125. See Appendix C, 2.
126. Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 51.
127. Ibid, pp. 161-162.

128. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 31.
129. Ibid, p. 126.
130. Biographie Universelle, Vol. XLV, p. 511.
131. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 376.
132. Ibid, p. 376.
133. Martin, Histoire de France, Vol. XI, p. 555.
134. Anquetil, l'Intrigue du Cabinet, Vol. III, pp. 83-89.
135. Relation de Fontrailles, p. 249.
136. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 376.
137. Ibid, pp. 376-377.
138. Brienne, Mémoires, p. 72.
139. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 401.
140. Ibid, pp. 402-403.
141. Ibid, p. 409.
142. Relation de Fontrailles, p. 252.
143. Brienne, Mémoires, p. 75.
144. La Rochefoucauld, Mémoires, p. 389.
145. Tollement, Vol. II, p. 217.
146. Cardinal de Retz, Mémoires, Collection Michoud et Pouloulat, IIIe Série, Vol. I, p. 35.
147. Daniel, Histoire, de France, Vol. XV, pp. 428-429.
148. Anquetil, l'Intrigue du Cabinet, Vol. III, p. 103.
149. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, pp. 420-421.
150. Cinq-Mars, Vol. II, pp. 31-32.
151. Relation de Fontrailles, p. 254.
152. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 445.
153. Ibid, p. 466.

154. *Ibid*, pp. 484-485.
155. *Ibid*, p. 485.
156. *Ibid*, p. 507.
157. *Tallement*, Vol. II, p. 227.
158. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 146.
159. *Cardinal de Retz, Mémoires. Grands Écrivains de la France*, Vol. I, pp. 104-105.
160. *Cinq-Mars*, Vol. II, Notes, p. 238.
161. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 108.
162. *Ibid*, p. 108.
163. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 159.
164. *Daniel, Histoire de France*, Vol. XV, p. 150.
165. *Fagniez, G., Le Père Joseph et Richelieu*, Vol. I, p. 41.
166. *Ibid*, p. 42.
167. *Biographie Universelle*, Vol. XXII, p. 28.
168. *Fagniez, Le Père Joseph et Richelieu*, Vol. I, p. 51.
169. *Ibid*, p. 59.
170. *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Vol. VIII, p. 1007.
171. *Richelieu, Mémoires*, Vol. VII, pp. 79-80.
172. *Perkins, James Breck, France Under Richelieu and Mazarin*, Vol. I, p. 47.
173. *Fagniez, Le Père Joseph et Richelieu*, Vol. I, pp. 63-70.
174. *Ibid*, p. 70.
175. *La Croix, L'Abbé, Richelieu à Luçon*, pp. 168-169.
176. *Ibid*, p. 170, Note 3.
177. *Hanoteaux, Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*, Vol. II, p. 236.

178. Fagniez, Le Père Joseph et Richelieu, Vol. I, p. 120.
179. Paris, Gaston, La Poésie du Moyen Age, Première Série, pp. 104-107.
180. Richelieu, Mémoires, Vol. VII, p. 116.
181. Fagniez, Le Père Joseph et Richelieu, Vol. I, p. 98.
182. Ibid, p. 105.
183. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, pp. 151-152.
184. Anquetil, l'Intrigue du Cabinet, Vol. III, pp. 41-43.
185. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 153.
186. See Appendix D, 1 and 2.
187. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 140.
188. Ibid, p. 151.
189. Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 114.
190. Fagniez, Le Père Joseph et Richelieu, Vol. II, pp. 246-247.
191. Ibid, p. 256.
192. Ibid, p. 212.
193. Ibid, pp. 212-214.
194. Ibid, pp. 248-249.
195. Ibid, p. 253.
196. Richelieu, Mémoires, Vol. II, pp. 187-188.
197. Ibid, p. 187.
198. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XV, p. 146.
199. Ibid, pp. 146-148.
200. Fagniez, Le Père Joseph et Richelieu, Vol. II, p. 407; Note.
201. Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 16.
202. Ibid, pp. 17-18.

203. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 182-183.
204. Biographie Universelle, Vol. III, p. 505.
205. Ibid, pp. 505-506.
206. Ibid, p. 506.
207. Ibid, pp. 507-508.
208. Tallemant, Vol. IV, pp. 200-201.
209. Bassompierre, Mémoires, Collection Michaud et Poujoulat, IIe Série, Vol. VI, Paris, 1839, p. 50.
210. Ibid, p. 97.
211. Wakeman, H. O., The Ascendancy of France, London, 1897, p. 142.
212. There is no historical foundation for Vigny's supposition that Richelieu learned of the Queen-Mother's death before Louis XIII had been informed, and, knowing this, suggested that Marie de Médicis be allowed to return to court (*Cinq-Mars*, Vol. I, pp. 130-134). The placing of the Queen Mother's death in 1638 is an anachronism. Marie de Medicis died in Cologne in 1642.
213. Tallemant, Vol. IV, p. 202.
214. Bassompierre, Mémoires, Notice, p. V.
215. Biographie Universelle, Vol. III, p. 507.
216. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XIV, pp. 128-129.
217. Ibid, p. 130.
218. Fontenay-Marcueil, Mémoires, IIe Série, Vol. V, p. 233.
219. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XIV, pp. 132-133.
220. Mme de Motteville, Mémoires. p. 28.
221. Daniel, Histoire de France, Vol. XIV, pp. 132-133.

222. Bassompierre, Mémoires, p. 323.
223. La Porte, Mémoires, p. 35.
224. Cardinal de Retz, Mémoires. Grands Écrivains de la France, Vol. I, p. 161, Note 5.
225. Tallemant, Vol. IV, p. 207.
226. Alexandre Dumas père tells of an interesting tradition attached to a little inn near Berne, Switzerland, which has as its sign a boot.

In 1602, Henri IV sent Bassompierre to Berne as ambassador to the thirteen cantons, to renew an alliance made in 1582 between Henri III and the federation. Bassompierre succeeded in his mission, and at the moment of his departure, the thirteen deputies from the cantons came forward, each with a huge "wiedercome" in his hand, containing the equivalent to a bottle of wine, with which they toasted France.

Bassompierre, desiring to return the compliment, had his servant empty thirteen bottles of wine into a boot, and, holding it by the spur, "Aux treize cantons." dit-il; et il avala les treize bouteilles."

- Luguiens, Jules, Places and Peoples, pp. 9-10.
Dumas, Alexandre père, Impressions de Voyage, Vol I, p. 290.
227. Bassompierre, Mémoires, Notice, p. V.
228. Cinq-Mars, Vol. I, p. 3.
229. Ibid, pp. 4-5.
230. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 207.
231. Vigny, Alfred de, Stello, Paris, 1913, p. 215.

APPENDIX.

A. 1. "Monseigneur:

N'ayant pas estimé que le séjour de vostre Éminence deust estre si long, je n'avois pas osé jusques icy prendre la liberte d'envoyer sçavoir de nouvelles de sa santé.

Neantmoins, comme je suis l'homme du monde qui ay plus d'obligation à y prendre part, que vostre Eminence agrée, s'il luy plaist, que je luy rende par ce soin & en toute autre chose, ce que je luy dois, & ce que je me dois à moy-mesme, comme de vostre Eminence le tres-humble, &c."

Aubéry, Vol. V, p. 363.

2. "Monseigneur:

Je suis honteux d'interrompre les serieuses & importantes occupations de vostre Eminence par un soin & un devoir beaucoup plus veritable & respectueux, qu'il ne sçauroit estre considerable.

Mais je ne puis m'empescher de m'interessier dans toutes les prosperitez de vostre Eminence, de qui je tiens toutes les miennes. Le Roy est ravy de l'affaire de Monsieur de Lorraine, & me temoigna hier qu'il rendoit aux soins de vostre Eminence, la reconnoissance qu'il leur doit. Je ne crois pas en vous disant cela le pouvoir exprimer plus grande.

Que vostre Eminence souffre, s'il luy plaist, que j'ajoute à cecy mon tres-humble remerciement pour son ressouvenir, dont elle m'envoya des marques par Mon-

sieur de Roques.

J'asseure vostre Eminence, qu'elle ne scauroit avoir tant de bonté pour moy, comme j'ay de passion de luy temoigner que je scay bien que je suis obligé d'estre eternellement de vostre Eminence le tres-humble, &c."

Ibid, pp. 363-364.

3. "Monseigneur:

j'ay trop d'interest dans la santé de vostre Eminence pour estre plus long-temps sans apprendre avec certitude en quel estat elle est. Je proteste avec verite à vostre Eminence que je la luy souhaiterois telle qu'elle la peut desirer, aux depens mesme de la mienne, si elle y estoit utile; ne trouvant rien qui respondist mieux à ma passion & à ma reconnoissance, que d'employer ma vie à vous faire paroistre que je suis plus qu'homme du monde de vostre Eminence, le tres-humble, tres-obeïssant & tres-obligé Serviteur, Effiat-de Cinq-Mars."

Ibid, p. 364.

4. "Monseigneur:

Monsieur de Lenoncour dira mieux à vostre Eminence mes sentiments pour l'honorer & reconnoistre par mes tres-humble services toutes ses bontez, que je ne scaurois faire par cette lettre, que je prends la liberté de luy escrire, seulement pour asseurer vostre Eminence que comme je me croy la personne du monde qui luy est le plus etroittement obligée, que je feray aussi la plus reconnoissance.

Je soumetts cette veute & cette protestation à toute sorte d'épreuve, ne souhaittant rien au monde, comme de luy temoigner que je seray toute ma vie, Monseigneur, vostre tres-humble, &c."

Ibid, pp. 364-365.

B. 1. De Saint Germain, ce 26 novembre 1639.

Je vous remercie du soing que vous prenez denvoyer savoir de mes nouvelles je me suis un peu trouvé mal cette nuit ce qui ma contraint de prendre ce matin un petit remède peut-être prendrai-je médecine ce soir, vous verrez par le certificat que je vous envoie en quel état est le raccomodement que vous fistes hier, quand vous êtes mêlé dune affaire elle ne peut mal aller, je vous donne le bon jour - Louis.

Certificat en suite

Nous, ci-dessous signés, certifions à qui il appartiendra estre tres-contents et satisfaits l'un de l'autre et n'avoir jamais esté en sy parfaite intelligence que nous sommes à présent. En foy de quoy nous avons signé le présent certificat. Faict à St. Germain, ce 26 novembre 1639 - Louis.

Et par mon commandement - Effiat de Cinq-Mars.

2. To a letter to Richelieu, written at Varennes, May 20, 1640, expressing concern at news of his indisposition, Louis adds: "Je vous puis assurer que M. le Grand et ^{moy} sommes en tres parfaite intelligence."

The above letters are quoted from "Louis ^{XIII} et Riche-

lieu," by Marius Topin, pp. 342-348.

De St. Germain, ce 1 decembre 1640.

3. "Je vous prie de ne point adjouter de foi à tout ce que M. le Grand vous pourra dire de moy ou pourra faire dire jusques a tant que mayiés entendu - Louis.

Ibid, p. 357.

M. Topin, commenting on this letter, says: "Comme la sottte vanité de Cinq-Mars se devine sous ces lignes! On sent le jeune homme enflé d'orgueil par la faveur dont il jouissait, se croyant indispensable à Louis, et voulant en quelque sorte s'imposer à lui en s'appuyant sur Richelieu, son premier protecteur."

Ibid, p. 357.

4. De St. Germain, le 5 janvier 1641 a 4 heures du soir.

Mon cousin, je suis bien marri de vous importuner sur les mauvaises humeurs de M. le Grand, a son retour de Ruel il ma baillé le paquet que vous luy avés doné, je lay ouvert et lay lu je luy ay dit, M. le Cardinal me mande que vous luy avés tesmoigné une grande envie de me complaire en toutes choses et cependant vous ne le faites pas sur un chapitre de quoy je lay prié de vous parler qui est vostre paresse, il ma repondu que vous luy en aviés parlé, mais que pour ce chapitre la il ne pouvoit changer et qu'il ne feroit pas mieux que ce qu'il avoit fait, ce discours ma fasché je luy ay dit, un homme de vostre condition qui doit songer a se rendre digne de commander les armées et qui mavés

temoigné avoir ce dessein la paresse y est du tout contraire, il ma respondu brusquement quil navoit jamais eu cette pensee ni y avoit pretendu je luy ay répondu que si et nay pas voulu enfoncer ce discours, vous savés ce qui en est, jay repris ensuite le discours sur la paresse, luy disant que ce vice rendoit un homme incapable de toutes bonnes choses, et quil netoit bon que ceux du marais (See Note 31) ou il avoit ete nourry qui estoient du tout adonnés au plaisir et que sil vouloit continuer une telle vie qu'il falloit quil y retournast, il ma respondu arrogamment quil estoit tout prêt, je luy ay respondu, si je nestoit plus sage que vous je sais ce que aurois à vous respondre la dessus.

Ensuite de cela je luy ay dit que mayant les obligations quil ma il ne devoit pas me parler de la fason, il ma respondu son discours ordinaire quil navoit que faire de mon bien quil estoit tout prest à me le rendre et quil sen passeroit fort bien et seroit aussi content destre Cinq-Mars que M. le Grand et que pour changer de fason de vivre il ne pouvoit vivre autrement. Et ensuite il est venu toujours me picotant et moy luy jusques dans la cour du chasteau ou je luy ay dit quótant en lheur ou il estoit il me feroit plaisir de ne me point voir. Il ma tesmoigné quil le feroit volontiers, je ne lay point veu depuis, tout ce que dessus a este en la presence de Gordes - Louis.

Jay montré à Gordes ce memoire avant que vous len-

voyer qui ma dit ny avoir rien leu que de veritable."

Ibid, pp. 357-358.

5. "Monseigneur,

Jay une extreme honte de sçavoir les oreilles de vostre Eminence si souvent frappées par des plaintes contre moy: & pour y remedier plutost que recourir à une longue & inutile justification, encore que ma foute me soit inconnüe, je ne laisse pas de me confesser coupable.

Par là Monseigneur, je demande a vostre Eminence qu'elle n'escoute plus sa bonté pour moy, & au contraire qu'elle se laisse aller à la complaisance & au contentement que la colere de sa Majesté peut desirer, preferant son repos a mon propre avantage.

Que vostre Eminence ne receive point cecy comme un emportement duquel je puis me repentir: j'ay tout consideré, & luy proteste que je n'en apprehende aucun evenement porveu que vostre Eminence m'exempte de l'aversion du Roy, & qu'elle se ressouvienne toujours que je seray cternellement de vostre Eminence le tres-humble, tres obeissant & tres-oblige Serviteur Effiat de Cinq-Mars."

Aubéry, Vol. V, pp. 362-363.

6. The following letter is from Cinq-Mars to M. de Noyers:

"Vous pouvez juger de l'estat auquel je suis, par les extremitez ausquelles vous me voyez reduit a tous momens, Je vous conjure par tout ce que vous avez jamais eu d'amitié pour moy, de ne plus consentir à

une vie si miserable que celle que je mené, & voyez avec Son Eminence quels moyens de m'en retirer, en sorte que l'aversion du Roy ne me vienne point persecuter. C'est tout ce que je demande, & tout ce que je desire.

Effiat de Cinq-Mars."

Ibid, p. 363.

- C. 1. "Monseigneur, les pères exorcistes que vostre éminence a mis icy dans ce saint employ font toujours grande instance pour avoir l'ordre et permission de conduire la supérieure des Ursulines au lieu de la sépulture du bienheureux monsieur de Sales. Ils croient que le démon qui reste seul dans son corps est ordonné de Dieu pour estre chassé en ce lieu-là, (sic.) et disent qu'ils suffizantes, je les ay priez de présenter sur subiect leur requeste à Vostre Eminence aynsy qu'ils font par les lettres que je luy envoie cy-jointes. Je fairay en sorte en attendant l'honneur de vos commandements qu'ilz continuent leurs exorcismes avec leur ferveur accoustumée pour essayer de faire sortir cet esprit maling et touz ses compaignonz à Loudun comme si jamais il n'avait esté parlé de ce voyage. Ces bonz pères sont dans une sainte union et parfaite charité. Le Pere Tranquille, capucin, l'un d'eux à qui Dieu a donné une tres-grande force d'esprit et de corps souffre maintenant des memes vexationz que ces pauvres filles, son corps

est agité sanz aucune douleur d'une fasson du tout prodigieuze. Je n'ay monseigneur rien veu en toute cette affaire qui m'ait donné tant d'estonnement que l'accident arrivé à ce bon religieux, lequel en tire de grandz profficz et avantages pour le bien de son âme. J'espère monseigneur que Dieu versera si libérallement sa benediction sur ce travail que le soing que vostre Eminence en vout prendre sera recompencé de toutes sortes de graces; c'est ce que les bonnes filles et ceux qui les assistent luy demandent touz les jours avec beaucoup de dévotion. J'excite aussy selon mon debvoir et seconde en celle leur zelle et très-juste recoignoissance. Je ne scaurois monseigneur par aucune parole temoigner à vostre Eminence celle que j'ai des biens et faveurs qu'elle me despard à toutes occasionz, n'y l'en dignement remercier, je puis seullement dire en verite que je suis et serai toute ma vie avec une inviolable et très-fidelle affection, monseigneur, etc.

De Laubardemont.

A Loudun ce XVIII fevrier 1636. Biographie Universelle, Supplément, Vol. LXX, p. 358, Note 3.

2. "Monseigneur, Vostre Eminence a tesmoigné des sentiments si pieux et si charitables au mal des religieuses ursulines de cette ville et autres personnes séculières affligées des malings esprits, que j'ai creü qu'elle auroit a plaizir d'estre particulièrement informee de

ce qui s'est passé au jugement du procès que j'ai fait et instruit contre l'auteur de ce malefice, ayant prié le sieur Richart, conseiller à Poitiers, et l'un de ceux qui ont assisté à ce jugement, d'en aller rendre compte à Vostre Eminence, et, sous sa faueur, s'il luy plaist, au Roy, et comme c'est la vertu propre de Vostre Eminence de tirer tousiours le bien du mal, je m'assure, Monseigneur, qu'oultre le soulagement de ces pauvres créatures, auxquelles vous nous avez commandé de nous employer, avec les ministres de l'Eglise, qui y travaillent sans cesse, vous mesnagerez avec l'industrie et sage prouidence que Dieu vous a donnée les miracles que nous avons resceu et que nous attendons encor de sa main pour le bien universel de la religion catholique, ceste occasion, Monseigneur, a desia produit la conuerssion de dix personnes de différentes qualités et sexe, nous n'en demurerons pas la, s'il ploict à Dieu, puisque par la force de vostre courage et tres genereuze conduite il a entierement estainct la faction de les Hugonotz, il vous donnera la resollution de les convertir à luy, par l'autorité de ses miracles et de la puissance qu'il a donnée à son Église, j'oseraay vous dire que vous cognoissant, autent qu'en ma bassesse je puis cognoistre la grandeur de Vostre Eminence, je me suis promis pour la fin de ceste oeuvre la conuerssion de tous les heretiques du Royaume, les-

quels, apres des miracles si manifestes, n'auront plus besoin que du commandement du souverain pour retourner au giron de leur mère, qui a tousiours les bras ouverts pour les recevoir. Mais quoy? Monseigneur, je m'estang poutestre trop autant et au della des termes de ma commission: pardonnez, s'il vous plaict, a mon zelle et a l'ardent desir que j'ay pour vostre gloire, vous nous donnez tous les jours de nouveaux subjects d'admirer vostre vertu, je ne puis que je ne fasse journellement des voeux pour la prosperité de vostre administration, si vous auez agreable, Monseigneur, que je vous parle de nostre affaire, je diray a Vostre Eminence que nous avons icy vescu dans un grand ordre et police, et avec une telle union qu'il a samble que nous estions tous animés d'un mesme esprit. Nous n'avons eü qu'un adviz en toutes choses et mesme au jugement du procès, l'arrest a passé tout d'une commune voix, quoique chascun de ces messieurs, au nombre de quatorze, en ait dict les raisons avec tant de suffizance, que j'oze assurer qu'il n'a esté rien dict par aucun en ceste occasion qui ne fust tres digne de vostre audience, et mesme le sieur lieutenant général de Chinon nous a faict cognoistre, par ceste action, qu'il a des qualités qui surpassent infiniment les forces ordinaires de son jeune aage, Je vous assure, Monseigneur, que c'est un tres digne subject et qui merite d'estre approché du Roy et de Vostre Emi-

nence par quelque grand employ. Je crains, Monseigneur, de vous estre importun, c'est pourquoy je remest au sieur Richart de vous dire le surplus, s'il plaict a Vostre Eminence de l'entendre, comme je l'en supplie tres humblement, et de me permettre que soubz l'honneur de vostre aduiz je puisse me dire celluy que je seray toute ma vie avec une parfaite affection, Monseigneur,

De Laubardemont."

Biographie Universelle, Supplément, Vol. LXX, p.
358, Note 2.

- D. 1. "J'ay receu la lettre qu'il vous a plu m'ecrire touchant le feu R. P. Joseph. Je n'ay pas le talent ni le tems pour traiter dignement d'un si haut sujet ---. C'estoit un esprit renferme en soi-meme par nature et par etude, qui se relachoit peu au commerce des sens, hors le besoin, et qui, outre la regle de sa vocation, paroissoit s'en estre prescrit une particuliere. Ainsi jouissant à plein de toutes les facultés de son âme, qui n'estoit jamais occupée de tant de distractions qui font la moitié de nostre vie, et s'estant rendu la meditation familiere, il jugeoit plus ordonnément des choses et des affaires dont il se faisoit aussi informer avec grand soin ---. Ses affections étoient de la même trampe et modération tant pour ses proches que pour ses amis, ne les employans pas s'il ne les connoissoit utiles au bien public..."

Fagniez, Le Père Joseph et Richelieu, Vol. II,
pp. 441-444, Note 1.

2. The second letter is written by Don Tarisse, superior of the congregation of Saint-Maur, and is dated October 13, 1643:

"J'ous le bonheur de converser avec le R. P. J. Cap. seulement quatre ou cinq ans avant sa mort par l'occasion de quelques affaires régulières et fus enfin obligé de le voir et converser souvent et assez priverment. Mais je confesse ingenuement que je ne pouvois assez admirer de plus en plus comme un homme de son âge, dans une continuelle occupation d'affaires si fort importantes, capable d'occuper et de laisser plusieurs des meilleurs et plus fortes têtes, il pouvoit non seulement subsister, mais encore garder, dans un si grand embarras et presse continuelle de monde, une si grande tranquillité en l'âme et avoir l'esprit si present en chaque chose qu'il sembloit n'avoir que celle-là à faire, ayant un si grande multitude de rencontres épineuses, il se trouvât surpris et disoit quelque parole un peu seche, ou avec accent, il n'avoit pas presque achevé de le prononcer qu'à même moment vous lui entendiez modérer sa voix et on le voyoit sourire en sorte qu'on ne se retiroit point de sa presence sans satisfaction et edification---."

Ibid, pp. 442-443, Note 1.

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