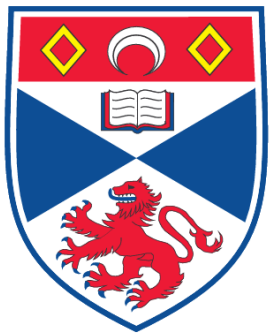
# FRENCH MILITARY OCCUPATIONS OF LORRAINE AND SAVOIE, 1670-1714

**McCluskey**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD**
**at the**
**University of St. Andrews**



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# FRENCH MILITARY OCCUPATIONS OF LORRAINE AND SAVOIE, 1670-1714

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# Thesis Abstract

Lorraine and Savoie were both occupied twice by French armies during the personal rule of Louis XIV. Lorraine was initially invaded and occupied in 1670 to support the French strategic and logistic position in the Dutch War, yet due to political expediency this developed into a policy of outright annexation. The French relinquished Lorraine due to international pressures in 1697, but partially reoccupied it from 1702 to 1714, again as a result of strategic and logistical necessity. Savoie was occupied from 1690 to 1696 and again from 1703 to 1713 as a response to successive breakdowns in Franco-Savoyard relations, and to guarantee the south-eastern frontier of the kingdom.

There was no pre-conceived or uniform policy practiced by the French when it came to the occupations of these territories, and these instead developed on the basis of events and pressures that were often beyond the control of the French government. In essence, the principal French approach to occupied territories was paternalistic, their main priority being to uphold Louis's newly-asserted sovereignty and pay the costs of the occupation while impressing upon the local elites the benefits of collaboration and the pitfalls of continued loyalty to their old ruler. The French became more sophisticated generally towards occupied territories as the reign progressed, at least as far as circumstances allowed. In sum, the key variables that influenced how the French handled these lands, other than time and place, were security issues, local loyalties, and the expectation of either retention by France or restitution to the original sovereign.

I, Phil McCluskey, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2005 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in June 2006; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2005 and 2009.

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# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AAE CP | Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Politique |
| ADMM | Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle |
| ADS | Archives Départementales de Savoie |
| AMC | Archives Municipales de Chambéry |
| AMN Ord. | Archives Municipales de Nancy, collection of royal *ordonnances* |
| AN | Archives Nationales |
| BMN | Bibliothèque Municipale de Nancy |
| BN | Bibliothèque Nationale de France |
| Col. Lorr. | Collection Lorraine |
| Mél. Col. | Mélanges Colbert |
| Man. Fr. | Manuscrits Françaises |
| SHDT | Service Historique de la Défense, Fonds de l'Armée de Terre |

# General Introduction

Until recently, few historians attempted to write the history of early modern military occupations, making them an untapped source for the social and political history of the period.[1] As well as offering new information on civil-military relations, such studies can also show how rulers used occupations to attain their war objectives. Military occupation was a new concept to the early modern period and its definition was imprecise. After 1500, it became widely accepted that rulers could further their war aims through the *temporary* domination of foreign territory. Prior to this, during the High Middle Ages, conquest alone made a change of ruler lawful and *lasting*. The term *occupatio bellica* appeared in the seventeenth century as part of the evolution from the medieval theory of just war (*bellum iustum*) to the theory of legal war (*bellum legale publicum*), which was occurring in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[2] The conqueror's rights to dispose of the territory were upheld by theorists such as Grotius. The rationale was that the conqueror was allowed to reap his just military rewards during the prosecution of war itself. Grotius conceded far-reaching rights and powers to the conqueror over the lives and the freedom of the people, and over the movable goods of the population of the conquered territory.[3] He nevertheless advised moderation in the treatment of conquered populations, and argued that it was better to leave the conquered to govern themselves as far as this did not interfere with the interests of the conqueror, as this would be beneficial to both parties in the long-term.[4]

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[1] Over the last few years, a new research agenda in the field has emerged, beginning with a conference held in September 2001 at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, and the related publication under the editorship of Markus Meumann and Jörge Rogge of *Die besetzte Res publica: zum Verhältnis von ziviler Obrigkeit und militärischer Herrschaft in besetzten Gebieten vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2006). More recently, a research group dedicated to the study of military occupations from the end of the Middle Ages to the late twentieth century has been active at Université Lille III since 2007, directed by Jean-François Chanet.

[2] H. Steiger, '"Occupatio bellica" in der Literatur des Völkerrechts der Christenheit (Spätmittelalter bis 18. Jahrhundert), in M. Meumann et al. (eds.), *Die besetzte res publica*, pp. 201-240.

[3] H. Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, ed. R. Tuck (3 vols., Indianapolis, IN, 2005), iii. pp. 1375-1377.

[4] *Ibid*., iii. pp. 1507-1510.

As so few studies of societies under occupation in the early modern period have been undertaken in any depth, it is necessary to draw on some of the methodological questions that have arisen in the study of military occupations in more recent eras.[5] A great many of the historiographical advances in this field have come from the study of France during the Second World War. One particularly useful development in the historiography of Vichy France is the ambition to open up a comparative study of territories under occupation. In the conclusion to their highly influential publication of the proceedings of a 1990 conference held in Paris, Jean-Pierre Azéma and François Bédarida suggested the importance of studying the comparative history of European countries during the Second World War: 'In short, far from wishing to erase the differences, comparative history has had as its principal function to bring them very much to the forefront'.[6] Moreover, in a recent article by Philippe Burrin, he states, 'a comparative method, in aiming to establish similarities and differences, requires an effort at conceptualization that may well lead historians to new questions'.[7] Burrin has also shown how Nazi Europe represented a patchwork, as Hitler settled each situation by the expedients dictated by the political, strategic and ideological interests of the moment, hence the variation in the forms of domination, exploitation and persecution.[8] Policies of occupation can vary greatly, as is evident if the Nazi 'patchwork' is compared with the relative (though by no means straightforward) uniformity of the occupation policies of Napoleon. Tim Blanning also followed this method in attempting to identify the most important similarities and differences between the experience of the Rhineland and that of other parts of French-occupied Germany in the 1790s. The role of the French army was central to that comparison: military exploitation was a common experience shared by all who came

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[5] The few early modern studies which exist, such as Jacques Humbert's *Une grande entreprise oubliée: Les Français en Savoie sous Louis XIII* (Paris, 1960), tend to focus too heavily on military history. The English occupation of Scotland under Oliver Cromwell is one that has attracted significant attention from historians, see e.g., F. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), and S. Barber, 'The formation of cultural attitudes: the example of the three kingdoms in the 1650s' in A. I. Macinnes and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *The Stuart Kingdoms in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 2002).

[6] J-P. Azéma & F. Bédarida, *Vichy et les Français* (Paris, 1992), p. 767.

[7] P. Burrin, 'Writing the History of Military Occupations' in S. Fishman et al. (eds.), *France at War: Vichy and the Historians* (Oxford, 2000), p. 78.

[8] P. Burrin, 'Vichy et les expériences étrangères' in Azéma & Bédarida (eds.), *Vichy et les Français*, p. 650.

under French occupation, but there was considerable variation in the political framework that came with it.[9] Such a comparative approach applied to the occupations of Louis XIV's reign will show whether the Bourbon monarchy applied a uniform structure to its occupations of foreign lands, or whether its methods varied according to time and place.

Recent historical interest in occupations has resulted in studies of peacetime occupations that also offer much insight to the historian of the early modern period. In 2005, for instance, Jacques Hantraye produced a study of the allied occupation of France from 1815-1818. This work concentrates on the meeting of different peoples, and the effects that this had on the collective psychology of both the occupiers and occupied, discussing the complexity of feelings, hesitations, and the confusion of attitudes caused by the new experience of invasion and occupation. As Hantraye put it, 'this dive into the mass of the population offers many suggestions to those who are interested in earlier occupations'.[10] Though the wealth of private letters and journals available to the historian of the modern period is not available for the early modernist, this nevertheless highlights the importance of attempting to reconstruct attitudes in order to understand the way occupations progressed. Historians of the *Grand Règne* have so far failed to adapt to these methodological developments. Consequently, studies of territories under occupation in this period still tend to focus almost exclusively on either the military, legal or administrative aspects of occupations.[11]

Lorraine and Savoie constitute ideal case studies for an initial comparative analysis of French occupations during the reign of Louis XIV. Both territories bore much in

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[9] T. Blanning, *The French Revolution in Germany: Occupation and Resistance in the Rhineland 1792-1802* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 317-319. See also Michael Broers' *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796-1814: Cultural Imperialism in a European Context?* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 175-207 on the political frameworks put in place across Italy under Napoleon.

[10] J. Hantraye, *Les cosaques aux Champs-Elysées: L'occupation de la France après la Chute de Napoléon* (Paris, 2005), p. 6.

[11] See for example H. van Houtte, *Les occupations étrangères en Belgique sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1930); I. Lameire, *Les occupations militaires en Italie pendant les guerres de Louis XIV* (Paris 1903). For a recent, purely administrative study of Louis XIV's occupation of Nice, see Pierre-Olivier Chaumet's *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice': Etude politique et institutionnelle d'une annexion inaboutie (1691-1713)* (Nice, 2006).

common with France in both language and culture, and possessed institutions similar to those in the French kingdom. They were also both exclusively Catholic and already came either wholly or partly under the jurisdiction of French bishops, which to a large degree precludes the need to factor religion into the analysis. In many ways, Lorraine and Savoie presented far fewer challenges to the French administrators than did Roussillon, Alsace or Flanders. In short, these territories have sufficient in common to make a comparative study of them manageable, while there are also sufficient differences between them to make such a study worthwhile. Furthermore, neither territory has been subjected to recent historical analysis for the period in question. An overview of the occupations of Lorraine and Savoie would therefore be valuable in itself.

Lorraine and Savoie were among the last territorial additions to mainland France: the former was officially annexed on the death of its last duke, Stanislas Leszczynski, in 1766, and the latter in 1860. French scholars have paid much interest to Lorraine, resulting in a sizeable quantity of scholarly works on the duchy. This interest must in part be ascribed to the importance of the region in the national psyche, arising from its loss to the German Empire in 1871, together with the long-held historiographical concern about 'natural frontiers'.[12] English-speaking scholars, meanwhile, have largely ignored Lorraine altogether, perhaps not fully understanding the situation of this sovereign duchy, which, like Piedmont-Savoy, was a state in its own right.[13] The occupation of Lorraine beginning in 1670 was for a long time distorted by the anti-French accounts written by Lorrain chroniclers of the eighteenth century, and historians who were later inspired by them. These made out that the occupation was almost an act of brigandage, perpetrated with as much bad faith as brutality.[14] Nineteenth-century historians, such as Haussonville, predictably focussed excessively

[12] The idea of 'natural frontiers' came to be represented by the River Rhine; there was no equivalent historical theory of French foreign policy being directed by a drive towards the Alps by means of the acquisition of Savoie.

[13] As Jonathan Spangler recently put it, this oversight is 'a clear example of history written by the victors': 'A Lesson in Diplomacy for Louis XIV: The Treaty of Montmartre, 1662, and the Princes of the House of Lorraine', *French History*, 17 (2003), p. 226.

[14] See for example A. Calmet, *Histoire ecclesiastique et civile de Lorraine* (4 vols., Nancy, 1728); J. Cléron de Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion de la Lorraine à la France* (4 vols., Paris, 1860). Haussonville believed that Louis XIV was determined to keep Lorraine only as long as the Dutch War lasted.

on the life and actions of the princes, rather than the situation in the duchies themselves. In 1931, Edgar de Lanouvelle published a re-examination of the official correspondence and a different tale began to emerge: the French governor Marshal Créqui, it was now argued, completed a thankless task with 'vigour and moderation'.[15] But this was still only part of the story. Guy Cabourdin provided an excellent synthesis of existing works on the French occupations of Lorraine in his *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine*, but an up to date account based on systematic archival research is still lacking.[16]

For Savoie, there exists no systematic study in French or English of the French occupations of 1690-96 and 1703-13. As one part of a larger composite state, studies of the duchy of Savoie as an entity in itself are few.[17] Finding things of relevance to the French occupations of the duchy therefore involves usually unrewarding consultations of locally written micro-histories with limited geographical and conceptual focal points.[18] Moreover, the tradition of local studies as part of French (and Italian) historiography, together with the political destiny which separated Savoie and Nice from Piedmont in 1860, meant that there were until recently few works that dealt with the Savoyard state as a whole: French scholars studied Savoie and Nice while their Italian counterparts studied Piedmont. Recent English-language studies of the Savoyard state, notably those of Geoffrey Symcox and Christopher Storrs, have begun to redress this. Though dealing with the territories of the House of Savoy as a whole, they attempt to devote some attention to the importance of the regions, where particularism still held sway against uniformity well into the reign of Victor Amadeus II. Storrs's work also assesses the impact of the French occupations

[15] E. de Lanouvelle, *Le Maréchal de Créquy* (Paris, 1931).
[16] Cabourdin's two volume *Encyclopedie illustrée de la Lorraine: Les temps modernes* (Nancy, 1991) draws on articles from local history journals, as well as numerous *mémoires de maîtrise* from the universities of Nancy and Metz, and provides an extremely useful and accessible synthesis of secondary sources.
[17] One noteworthy exception to this is Jean Nicolas's social and economic history, *La Savoie au 18e siècle: Noblesse et bourgeoisie* (2 vols., Paris, 1978), which takes into account the effects of external aggression (most notably the periods of French occupation) on Savoyard society.
[18] There are one or two short yet useful studies, e.g.: J.-C. Devos, 'Aspects de l'occupation Française en Savoie (1703-1712)', *Actes du Congres National – Sociétés Savantes Section D Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 85 (1960), pp. 35-48: drawing from documents in the war archives, this deals with some of the military and fiscal aspects of the occupation.

of Savoie on state formation. Both Storrs and Symcox's volumes therefore provide, up to a point, the necessary 'state-wide' context into which the duchy of Savoie must be placed.[19]

Studies of Lorraine and Savoie under occupation also have the potential to reveal much about the workings of the French state, through an investigation of the ways in which the local elites collaborated with the centre, on what terms, and why. Since the 1960s, revisionist historians have discredited the old doctrine of a powerful, autonomous, absolute monarchy reducing unruly society to obedience in the name of modernity and progress. While Louis XIV succeeded in drawing the state and France's elites closer together after the Frondes, he was a traditionalist who maintained stability entirely through the effective use of traditional modes of governance. As Peter Campbell put it, 'his absolute monarchy now looks far from absolute or centralized in terms of power, and the processes of bluff, negotiation and compromise, of ad hoc responses to wartime emergencies, all seem to characterize his rule better than a systematic transformation of France into a centralized modern state.'[20] Yet there remain sizeable gaps in the work of the revisionists: in particular, there is a lack of diversity in provincial studies. William Beik and James Collins have provided important studies of Languedoc and Brittany respectively, but both of these provinces were *pays d'états*, and there have been no equivalent political studies of the *pays conquis*, with the exception of Georges Livet's study of Alsace from 1956 and Darryl Dee's recent doctoral thesis on the Franche-Comté.[21] Another large gap in our understanding of the way French politics operated under Louis XIV arises from a still considerable neglect of the crisis-filled second half of reign. Nobody has adequately

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[19] C. Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy 1690-1720* (Cambridge, 1999); G. Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II: absolutism in the Savoyard state, 1675-1730* (London, 1983). In Chapter Six of Storrs's book, he focuses on the different regions within the Savoyard state, seeking to demonstrate the variety of experience, but Savoie and Nice are inexplicably absent.

[20] P. Campbell, *Power and Politics in Old Regime France 1720-1745* (London, 1996), pp. 305-314, citation at p. 305.

[21] See W. Beik, *Absolutism and society in seventeenth-century France: state power and provincial aristocracy* (Cambridge, 1985); J. Collins, *Classes, Estates and Order in Early-Modern Brittany* (Cambridge, 1994); D. Dee, 'The Practice of Absolutism: Franche Comté in the Kingdom of France, 1674-1715' (unpublished PhD thesis, Emory University, 2004); G. Livet, *L'intendance d'Alsace sous Louis XIV, 1648-1715* (Paris, 1956).

analyzed the effects of prolonged warfare on the development of the absolute monarchy; it may conceivably be the case, therefore, that the conclusions of the revisionists are only relevant to the first half of reign. The occupations of Lorraine and Savoie together span forty-four years of Louis XIV's personal rule, with Lorraine occupied around the time Louis was developing a new relationship with the *pays d'états* and Savoie occupied during the two great wars later in the reign. They therefore offer a platform from which to view any evolution in the crown's relations with the local elites, should any such evolution exist.

Another debate to which the study of these occupations can contribute is that of Louis XIV's policy towards France's eastern frontier. Historians in recent years have steered well clear of the issue. The topic has been imbued with so many erroneous agendas over the past century and a half, be they nationalist, étatist, whiggish, or simply emanating from an insufficient grasp of archival material, that many have been daunted by the task and decided to leave well alone. One of the longest running debates on Louis XIV's foreign policy has been on whether there was a conscious policy to extend France's boundaries to its 'natural frontiers'. The idea that this was the guiding principle of Louis XIV's foreign policy gained currency in the nineteenth century, in part influenced by nationalist German histories of Louis XIV's reign, which typically saw his foreign policy, (particularly the *réunions* of the 1680s), as a long series of aggressions against the German states which bordered France. From the French perspective there was a failure to distinguish between epochs in history, as republican enthusiasts of the Revolution pre-dated the foreign policy of the Revolutionary Convention of 1792 back onto the *ancien régime* monarchy. The idea had captured the imagination of most historians in the nineteenth century: Haussonville's celebration in 1860 that Lorraine was 'today so completely French' was a politically motivated validation of France's possession of Lorraine with its substantial minority of German speakers, at a time when the concept of frontiers was starting to be understood in linguistic dimensions.[22] The idea of Louis XIV pursuing a policy of extending France's borders to natural frontiers was still being taught as standard in French schools until the 1930s.[23] Turning back to the documents on

[22] D. Nordman, *Frontières de France* (Paris, 1998), p. 18.
[23] G. Zeller, *Aspects de la politique française sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1964), p. 91.

which the theory was based (notably Richelieu's *Testament Politique*), Gaston Zeller highlighted the rarity of references to natural frontiers prior to 1792. He thus broke with the 'exultant and emphatic' vision of the national past.[24]

Andrew Lossky claimed in 1968 that 'The research of the last fifty years has brought out clearly enough that Louis did not guide his foreign policy by any specific shibboleth such as the 'natural frontiers' formula'.[25] However, far from closing the issue once and for all, developments in methodology have meant that the debate over France's 'natural frontiers' still rumbles on to this day: Daniel Nordman has pointed out that Zeller ignored the importance of many publications in the seventeenth century, especially by Jesuits, which helped to make a Rhine frontier a common image which permeated all levels of society from the nobility to labourers. While this may not have directly influenced the policy of Louis XIV, Nordman argues that the wide extent to which it informed contemporary preoccupations towards territory and strategy should not be ignored.[26] Above all, the most recent treatments stress that Louis' ideas towards foreign policy were often disjointed or incompatible, and the changes in his views through his reign were profound. Historians nowadays tend to agree that no early-modern decision maker had any grand strategies for the conduct of foreign relations; as Lossky put it, 'Most were pragmatically willing to take advantage of developments to achieve whatever gains were possible'.[27] Given all the limitations we are aware of, we are left with an extremely fractured picture. An analysis of the occupations of Lorraine and Savoie might enhance our understanding of Louis XIV's foreign policy towards France's eastern frontier.

This thesis draws upon a wide range of sources, including archival material from Paris, Nancy and Chambéry, as well as relevant secondary literature. Yet, as with many comparative studies, the same quantity and variety of sources are not available for each case study. In the French war archives, the volume of ministerial correspondence grows exponentially during the 1690s and 1700s, but is comparatively scant for much of the earlier period of the occupation of Lorraine,

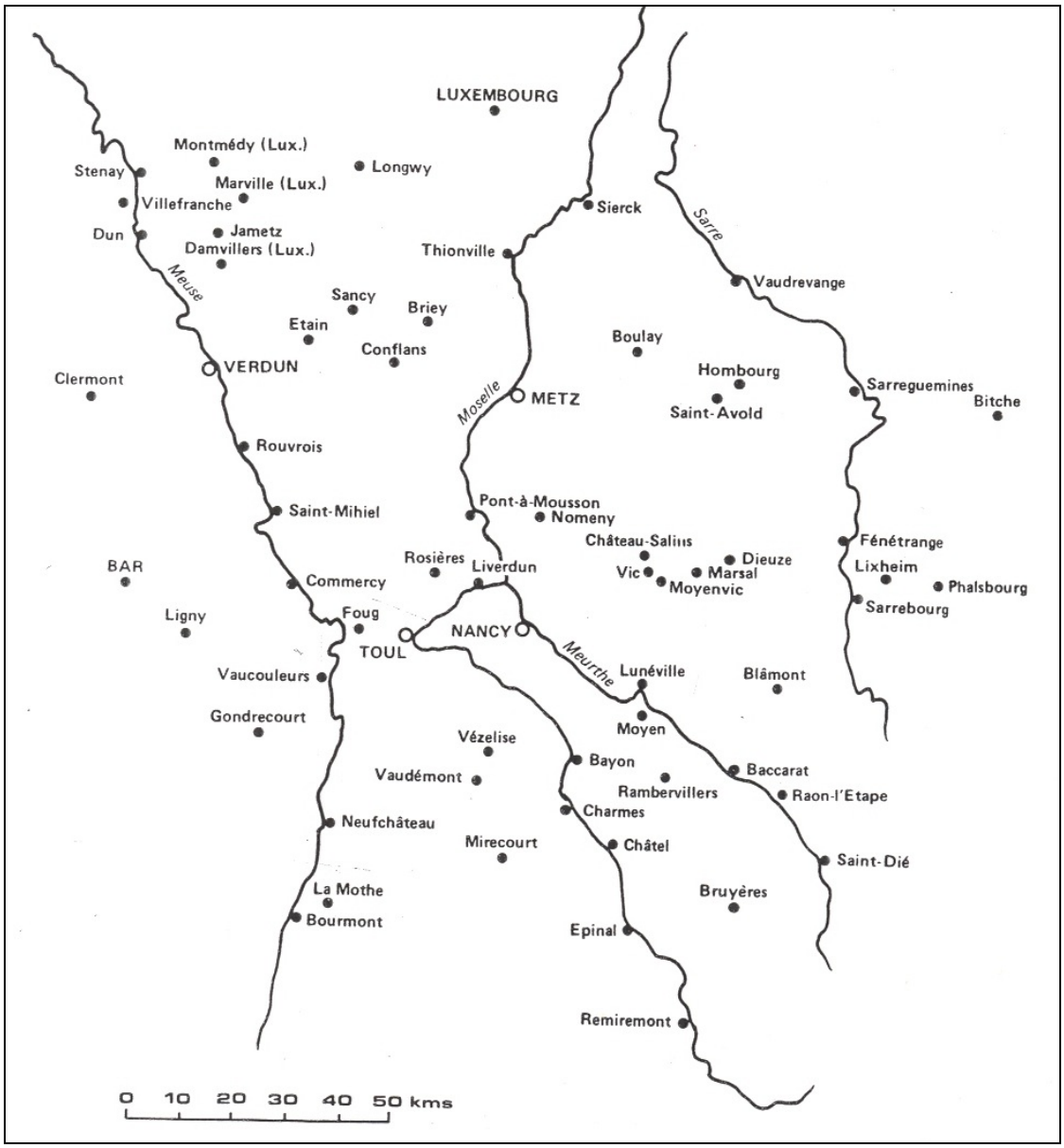
[24] Nordman, *Frontières*, p. 90.
[25] A. Lossky, '"Maxims of State" in Louis XIV's Foreign Policy in the 1680s' in J. Bromley & R. Hatton (eds.), *William III & Louis XIV* (Liverpool, 1968), p. 7.
[26] Nordman, *Frontières*, pp. 95-105.
[27] Lossky, 'Maxims of State', p. 8.

particularly between the Treaty of Nijmegen (1679) and the outbreak of the Nine Years War (1688). Furthermore, the suppression of the sovereign courts of Lorraine in early 1671 meant that the companies kept no records for almost the entire period of the French occupation, effectively depriving the Lorrain elites of any collective voice. By contrast, the periods of occupation of Savoie have left more abundant records, both from the French administrators and from the Savoyard sovereign companies. These disparities mean that the behaviour and motivations of both the French and the occupied populations are easier to understand in some periods than in others.

Constraints of thesis space do not permit a full discussion of the patterns of collaboration and resistance in these occupations. This thesis therefore focuses on the behaviour of the French government as occupier in these territories, and it refers to the attitudes and behaviour of the occupied only when these had an impact on determining French policy. During any occupation, matters gradually unfold and develop, and it is necessary to ascertain whether there are any sort of underlying dynamics to them through chronological surveys. Part One of the thesis therefore uses a narrative analytical method. The benefits of this approach are twofold: firstly, no such narrative exists in English for either territory, and those in French tend to be chronologically or conceptually limited, ignoring the need to blend diplomatic, military and political elements to paint a more comprehensive picture. Secondly, by providing these chronological outlines, the dynamic behind the occupations becomes much clearer, in that they often developed on the basis of events and pressures external to the territory itself. Part Two of this thesis then takes a thematic, comparative approach to the occupations, and tries to identify the similarities and differences between the way the French governed the territories and behaved towards the native population. Inevitably, there is some repetition between chapters, but this is kept to the minimum necessary to maintain a clear comparative perspective.

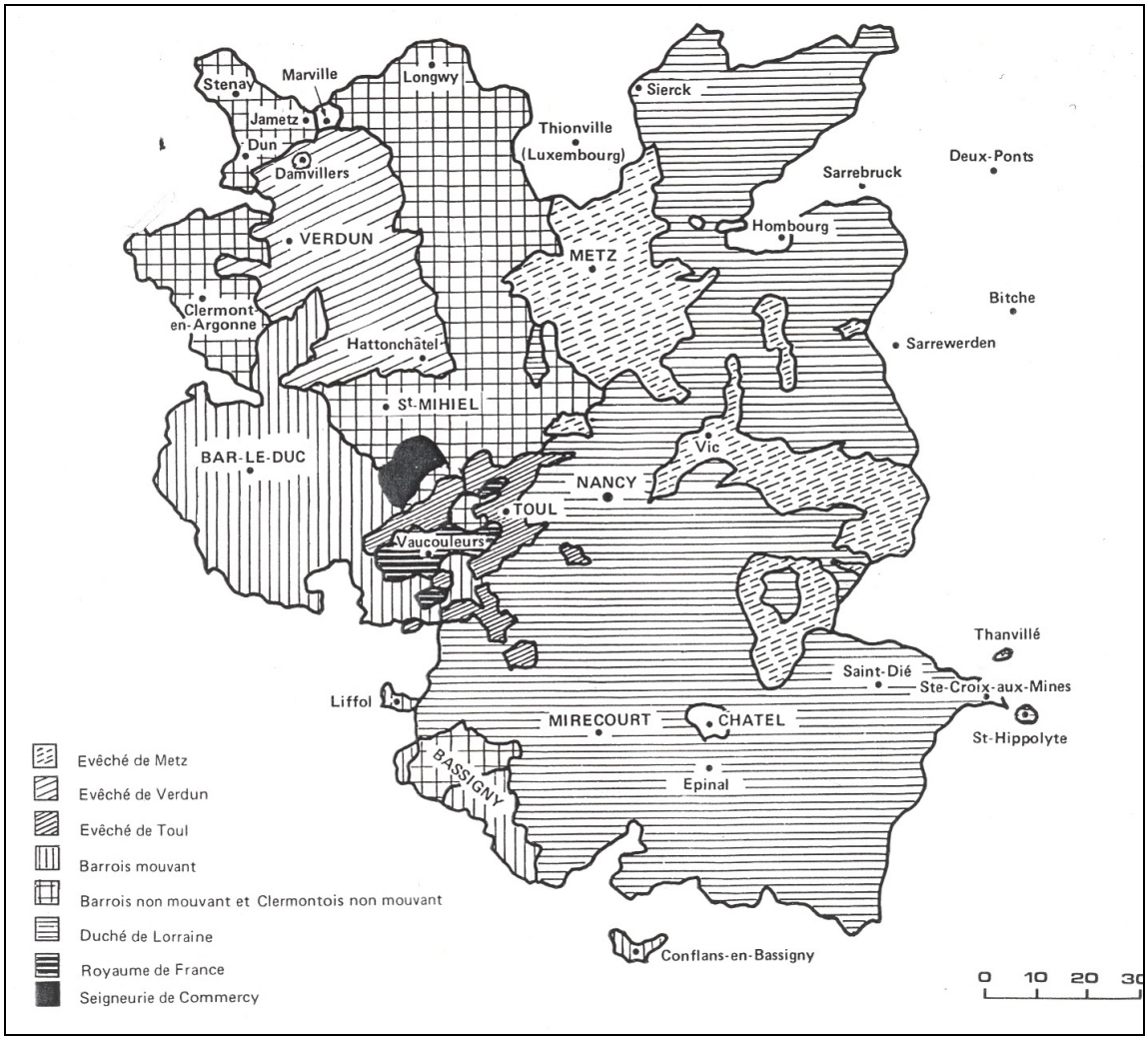
# PART ONE

# THE DYNAMICS OF INVASION & OCCUPATION IN THE 'PERSONAL RULE' OF LOUIS XIV



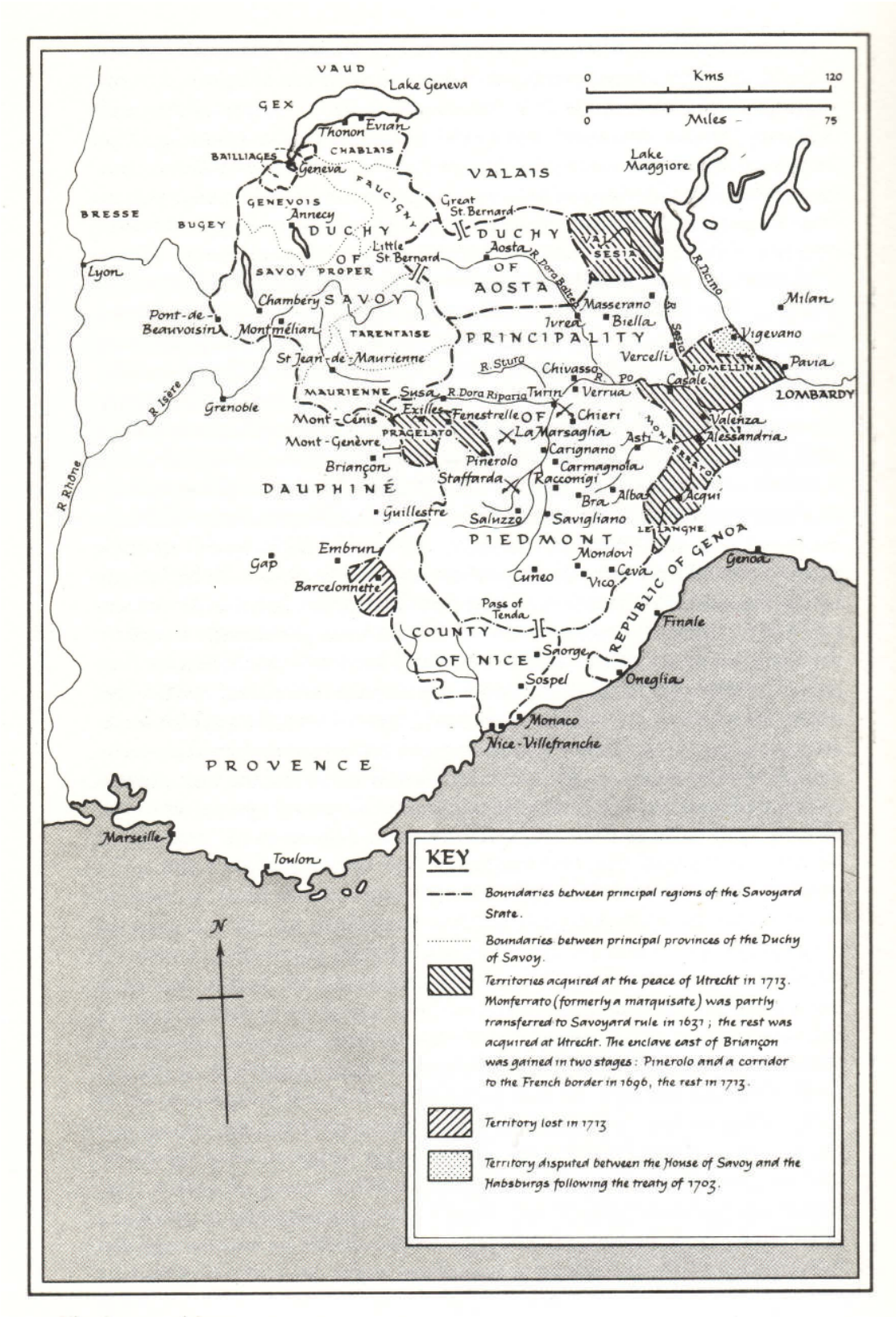

Map I: The Lorraine region

Source: G. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine: Les temps modernes* (2 vols., Nancy, 1991), i. p. 170




Map II: Political boundaries of Lorraine in the seventeenth century

Source: G. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine: Les temps modernes* (2 vols., Nancy, 1991), i. p. 6




Map III: The Savoyard State, c. 1713

Source: G. Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II: absolutism in the Savoyard state, 1675-1730* (London, 1983), p. 234

# CHAPTER I

## PRELUDE TO OCCUPATION:
## SAVOIE, LORRAINE & THE FRONTIERS OF FRANCE

*Introduction*

Historians of military occupations have demonstrated that in order to fully comprehend the priorities and attitudes of both occupier and occupied, it is necessary to have an understanding of the regime that preceded the occupation.[28] In addition, the factors leading to the conquest of a territory need to be examined. This chapter therefore provides an account of the political, social, economic and cultural conditions of Savoie and Lorraine in the age of Louis XIV. It begins with an exploration of the French government's policies towards conquered territories in this period, with the aim of identifying the priorities and mindset of the king and his ministers, before then tackling Savoie and Lorraine.

## PART I: FRENCH STRATEGY & THE *PAYS CONQUIS*

*French conquests c.1659-c.1680*

Following the Peace of the Pyrenees, the Spanish province of Rosselló and part of the Cerdanya region were annexed by France and became the province of Roussillon. In the north of France the border was gradually pushed back as parts of the Spanish Netherlands were annexed piecemeal at the Peace of the Pyrenees, the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668) and Nijmegen (1678), while Lorraine, the Franche-Comté, Strasbourg, Luxembourg and the other *réunion* territories were joined to the north-eastern frontier during the 1670s and early 1680s. Current thinking regarding the strategy behind these acquisitions is that Louis XIV was continuing what had been the principal concern of French rulers for centuries: extending the frontiers of the kingdom through the acquisition of buffer zones and more defensible frontiers.[29] The Valois and Bourbon kings had gained territories and fortifications on the Rhine and at

[28] See for instance: T. Blanning, 'German Jacobins and the French Revolution', *The Historical Journal*, 23 (1980), p. 990.
[29] J. O'Connor, 'Louis XIV and Europe: War and Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century' in S.G. Reinhardt (ed.), *The Sun King: Louis XIV and the New World* (New Orleans, 1994), p. 60.

strategic sites in northern Italy as a means of pursuing both offensive and defensive warfare more effectively. As Gaston Zeller put it, 'the ideal frontier was not only, nor even principally, that which sheltered the French from invasion; it was above all that which would permit them to carry their arms outside of the kingdom'.[30] The real *Leitmotiv* of Louis XIV's reign, it now seems, was ensuring the security of the Bourbon dynasty and the maintenance, if not strengthening, of the kingdom by boosting French prestige and influence. Partly this could be attained through the acquisition of territory to further develop these 'strategic frontiers', and partly through bringing surrounding smaller states directly into France's orbit.

The dominating figure during this period was François-Michel Le Tellier, marquis de Louvois. As Louis XIV's secretary of state for war from the 1660s until his death in 1691, Louvois had a profound influence on the development of French strategy both in the conduct of war and the administration of newly conquered territory. In the *louisquatorzien* system of government the three main secretaries of state each had personal responsibility for a number of provinces, with some of them corresponding to the nature of the ministry. From the early 1670s, Louvois directed the administration of many of the frontier provinces, as these tended to contain the bulk of the army.[31] Louvois's tenure of office was characterized by his astounding capacity for work coupled with an almost psychotic, and certainly unprecedented, micromanagement of his department; his correspondence is filled with demands for precise information on all subjects. The domination of Louvois in the administration of the frontier provinces as well as conquered provinces by the 1670s had a significant impact on policy. Peter Wallace has demonstrated the implications of this for the administration of the newly conquered province of Alsace: during the 1650s and 1660s, French policy towards Alsace was directed to a certain extent by the needs of foreign policy; as Louis XIV was a member of the League of the Rhine and keen to promote his image as the 'defender of German liberties', royal policy towards Alsace

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[30] G. Zeller, 'Saluces, Pignerol et Strasbourg: La politique des frontières au temps de la preponderance Espagnole', *Revue Historique*, 143 (1942), p. 110.

[31] By the mid-1670s the secretary of state for war supervised the provinces of the Dauphiné, Roussillon, Alsace, Lorraine, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Marche and Poitou. A. Corvisier, *Louvois* (Paris, 1983), pp. 424-425; G. Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest, 1661-1701* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 36-37.

was softened accordingly.[32] In 1673, however, the administrative supervision of Alsace (and also Lorraine) was transferred from the secretary of state for foreign affairs to the secretary of state for war, with the implication that diplomatic objectives no longer quite so much determined French policy in Alsace.[33]

*The machinery of 'absolutism' in the conquered territories*

Under Louvois, the fundamental principle of military and fiscal policy was that occupied territories had to support their own military burdens. The vast increase in the size of the French army under Louis XIV, alongside a fairly static tax base, created a massive shortfall between military needs and state support. One of the means by which the government tackled this problem was the levying of 'contributions' on neighbouring foreign lands. Administered by civil agents, these represented a considerable improvement over the previous system of exaction by brutal pillaging.[34] The system of 'strategic frontiers' facilitated this, as it allowed easy access to enemy territory, enabling French commanders to have their army live off the enemy instead of French civilians. The system of contributions became regularized after 1667, whereby formal agreements or *traités* would be negotiated between local officials and the French authorities. These were generally assessed and collected by the military intendants and their agents, which made the assessment and

[32] A vital element of Mazarin's diplomacy after the Peace of Westphalia, carried on by Louis, was the cultivation of a clientele of German states in the area around the river Rhine. The League of the Rhine was created in the 1650s, initially with the objectives of safeguarding 'German liberties' against Habsburg power, and of protecting French involvement in the Netherlands after 1648. But by the 1660s the League was increasingly used by Louis XIV as a means of securing allies for his offensive campaigns in western Europe. After the War of Devolution the League was dissolved, and France was viewed with a growing sense of suspicion and fear by its former allies in western Germany thereafter. O'Connor, 'Louis XIV and Europe', pp. 62-63; P.G. Wallace, *Communities and Conflict in Early Modern Colmar*, 1575-1730 (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1995), p. 108.

[33] *Ibid*., pp. 111-112.

[34] J. Lynn, 'How War Fed War: The Tax of Violence and Contributions during the *Grand Siècle'*, *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (1993), p. 288.

collection 'more analogous to taxation than to robbery'.[35] But as Lynn noted, 'for all their administrative propriety, contributions remained extortion, paid by a population that did not recognize the French king as its legitimate ruler and backed by the threat of immediate violence'.[36] Furthermore, sums outstanding had to be paid by communities even after the signature of peace treaties (with the exception of the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697). In addition to monetary demands, armies also demanded forage to feed their horses. Inside France this was purchased, while outside it could be seized.[37]

After conquest, contributions would be levied on a territory regardless of whether the French intended to keep it in the long term. Only after annexation was the fiscal administration of a new province taken out of the hands of the army. In the Franche-Comté for example, prior to its official annexation at the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1678, the *département de la guerre* controlled the administration of taxation, and all revenues raised in the province went directly to the *trésoriers de l'extraordinaire des guerres* (military treasurers). After 1678, the *contrôleur général des finances* took over the fiscal administration of the province, though Louvois still received copies of all correspondence.[38]

Aside from the levying of contributions, the French government had no fixed procedure for administering conquered lands, and their practice varied from one territory to another, depending on local circumstances and at what stage of the reign the conquest took place. There were, however, several institutional structures that were common to the administration of all the *pays conquis*. Louvois together with the king would appoint a military governor at the time of conquest, to represent the crown in the province. Almost always career soldiers from the *noblesse d'épée*, these

[35] Lynn, 'How War Fed War', pp. 297-298, 307. It is estimated that contributions accounted for around 11.5 per cent of the cost of land warfare: Rowlands, *The Dynastic State*, p. 366.
[36] Lynn, 'How War Fed War', p. 299.
[37] *Ibid*., pp. 299, 305.
[38] D. Dee, 'The Practice of Absolutism: Franche Comté in the Kingdom of France, 1674-1715' (unpublished PhD thesis, Emory University, 2004), p. 147. In times of peace, the two departments of War and Finance shared the administration of conquered frontier provinces (though the war minister retained control of overall policy in the province). M-L. Legay, *Les états provinciaux dans la construction de l'état moderne aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva, 2001), p. 48.

figures doubled as both the highest political authority in the province, as well as the military commander of all troops stationed there. Their precise role differed according to their commission, the needs of the moment, as well as the character of the individual, but in general the governor was more of a conduit for the provincial nobility's aspirations than a hands-on administrator. That task was given instead to the intendants: these were the crown's principal means of administering a newly conquered province.

The intendants administered a given area known as a *généralité*, but these were by no means uniform in terms of size, authority or workload. Indeed, on the frontiers of the kingdom they developed on an *ad hoc* basis, according to the particular circumstances and needs of the locality.[39] In the case of Alsace, for instance, the French monarchy took charge of the province little by little – both in terms of the territory, and of its administration. From initially being concerned solely with the army when it was first introduced in the 1630s, the *intendance* slowly took on a more administrative role.[40] From 1673 the intendant received his orders direct from Louvois, instead of Colbert, and this unification of the military with the administrative proved vital for the occupation of French troops in the province and ultimately the acquisition of Strasbourg.[41] The Franche-Comté meanwhile was territorially far more coherent, and its institutions formed a clearly defined political body when the French occupied the province in 1668 and again in 1674. The implantation of an intendant was therefore fairly rapid and simple, and the loss of credibility by the old governing elites allowed the intendant to fill a vacuum, though the French did struggle with strong attachments to local privileges in the decades to come. Just as in Alsace the intendant of the Franche-Comté had significant military responsibilities including supplying the army, building and maintenance of fortifications, and relations between troops and the civil population.[42]

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[39] A. J. Lemaître, 'L'Intendance en Alsace, Franche-Comté et Lorraine aux XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles', *Annales de L'Est*, 50 (2000) pp. 208-209.
[40] G. Livet, 'Royal Administration in a Frontier Province: The Intendancy of Alsace under Louis XIV', in R. Hatton (ed.), *Louis XIV and Absolutism* (Columbus, OH, 1976), p. 15.
[41] Lemaître, 'L'Intendance', p. 213.
[42] *Ibid*., pp. 214-15.

In terms of implementation, 'The monarchy defined policy, and the intendants executed it, after adapting it to the realities of their province, to its structures, or to its customs'.[43] The intendants often functioned as arbiters between the crown and the province, or between local institutions. In Alsace, for instance, the monarchy left the intermediary corps in existence and even accepted the Protestant faith that it had vowed to extirpate elsewhere, though the latter was still curtailed in its privileges and its status. The intendant above all had to work with the local elites through which the absolutist state functioned, and recent studies by Alain Lemaître and Collette Brossault of the intendancies of Alsace and the Franche-Comté have demonstrated that the *intendance* was an 'administrative tissue which progressively inserted itself between the central and provincial powers'.[44] By the personal reign of Louis XIV there were, below the intendants, *subdélégués* who were named by the intendant and were responsible to him, and their charges were his to revoke. The *subdélégués* varied from province to province and could be permanent or could last the duration of a specific task. Often they were drawn from local families, providing an important link between the administration and the administered.[45]

Many of the intendants of the frontier provinces during the personal reign of Louis XIV became specialized in the administration of conquered provinces, or at least frontier provinces, something which indicates an acknowledgement on the part of the government that these provinces were more difficult to manage.[46] The enormous powers of the intendants in their departments meant that their policies bore the imprint of their personalities, excluding the possibility of a veritable continuity.[47] They also tended to be long-serving: through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they served on average nine years in each *généralité*. This meant that they got to know their provinces particularly well. The depth of their knowledge of economic,

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[43] *Ibid*., pp. 221-22.
[44] *Ibid*., p. 207; C. Brossault, *Les intendants de Franche-Comté*, 1674-1790 (Paris, 1999), pp. 266-272.
[45] Lemaître, 'L'Intendance', p. 224; B. Grosperrin, *L'Influence française et le sentiment national français en Franche-Comté de la conquête à la Révolution (1674-1789)* (Paris, 1967), p. 25.
[46] From 1668 to 1715, the Franche-Comté had ten intendants, all of whom had experience in the administration of frontier provinces, Grosperrin, *L'Influence Francaise*, p. 24.
[47] *Ibid*.

demographic, religious and institutional conditions in their province is shown in the *Mémoires* for the instruction of the duke of Burgundy, composed in the later 1690s.[48] Often an intendant would start his career in a province in the interior of the kingdom, and be moved to a frontier province. A hierarchy existed in the eastern frontier provinces: Jean-Baptiste Desmarets de Vaubourg passed from Lorraine to the Franche-Comté in 1698, and the intendants of the Franche-Comté were often called to the *intendance* of Alsace.[49]

Intendants of the frontier provinces came to be drawn from the Le Tellier clientele.[50] This meant that the bond between the central government and the periphery was held together not only through loyalty to the king but also through personal and family interest. Indeed, recent studies have shown that clientage was the principal means by which Louis XIV's government extended its control over the provinces.[51] In addition to the governor and the intendant, both of whom came from outside the province, Louvois usually relied on certain members of the local ruling elites who would serve French interests by providing him with an inside knowledge of the province, including the personalities of its key power brokers, in exchange for his patronage and protection.[52] This group of local collaborators or 'administrative clienteles' formed part of a well co-ordinated network of loyal agents who would serve as the vital link between the local administration and the central power. When provincial elites proved unreceptive to their new French masters – as was the case in Roussillon in the early 1660s – the French resorted to encouraging immigration from outside the province: these 'new' elites, having no local ties in Roussillon, were totally dependent on the French administration for the maintenance of their privileges. The most

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[48] See e.g. M-J. Laperche-Fournel, *L'Intendance de Lorraine et Barrois à la fin du XVIIe siècle: edition critique du mémoire 'pour l'instruction du duc de Bourgogne'* (Paris, 2006)
[49] Lemaître, 'L'Intendance', p. 227.
[50] Rowlands, *The Dynastic State*, pp. 91-93; Dee, 'Practice of Absolutism', pp. 150-151.
[51] See, e.g.: S. Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 167-175.
[52] Dee, 'Practice of Absolutism', pp. 151-152.

important leaders were closely allied with the Le Telliers, and these 'new' elites served as intermediaries between Paris and the people of Roussillon.[53]

*French strategies: subjugation or co-operation?*

Of all the territories conquered or annexed by France in this period so far subjected to detailed study, none suffered a wholesale shutdown or replacement of the existing institutional apparatus. Conquests were usually followed by a confirmation of corporate and provincial privileges, signifying that the traditional contractual relationship of the ruler with his subjects was to be maintained.[54] The French therefore maintained the traditional forms of administration wherever possible, in order to keep the local elites on side. In 1661, for instance, a plan to suppress the *Conseil souveraine* of Roussillon and transfer its authority to Montpellier was opposed and ultimately dropped.[55] The policy of maintaining the existing apparatus was strongly championed by Louvois, and on the issue of provincial privileges he differed significantly from Colbert. The two clashed over the administration of Artois, Walloon Flanders and the Cambrésis, conquered successively during the first two decades of the reign; all possessed active provincial estates at time of conquest and Colbert's intention was to suppress them as part of a drive to improve commerce. Louvois, having the final say in the administration of frontier provinces, allowed the estates to be preserved as part of their respective provincial governments, and they continued to play important administrative roles. Thus, despite occasionally riding roughshod over many of their traditions, Louvois usually acted as protector of the traditional corporate bodies in so far as they did not harm security or impede revenue gathering.[56] In the Franche-Comté, similarly, the *Parlement* remained, albeit in a much altered form, having its powers restricted to justice.[57] Moreover, Louvois wrote

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[53] D. Stewart, *Assimilation and Acculturation in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Roussillon and France, 1659-1715* (Westport, CT, 1997), pp. 27-8, 44.
[54] For the Franche-Comté, see: Dee, 'Practice of Absolutism', pp. 124, 145; for Flanders, see: Legay, *Les états provinciaux* pp. 40-42.
[55] Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, p. 42.
[56] Legay, *Les états provinciaux*, pp. 50-51.
[57] Grosperrin, *L'Influence Francaise*, p. 20. Marie-Laure Legay has suggested that there existed an important distinction between financial and judicial provincial privileges: during integration, the crown would suppress or modify the former

to the intendant that if the estates of that province had been functioning at the time of conquest, he would have no choice but to retain them.[58] That the French were not opposed to the continuation of estates and other traditional bodies reflects the fact that co-operation with existing local elites was usually the most effective way of imposing royal authority, and that reckless suppression or subjugation could be dangerous and could undermine stability and order.

At first glance it may appear that the administration of a conquered territory changed very little whether it was 'officially' French (i.e. sovereignty had been formally ceded by treaty) or not. But a closer analysis reveals that the recognition of French sovereignty – or lack of it – had a decisive impact on both policy and authority. France gained Alsace at the Peace of Westphalia, but the specific nature of French sovereignty was deliberately left unresolved by both French and Imperial negotiators.[59] For a quarter of a century after Westphalia, France had no fixed political objectives towards the region, and as Peter Wallace has shown, this resulted in a series of conflicting policies leading to the breakdown of royal authority in the province in the 1670s. This was even clearer for former Imperial free cities such as Colmar and Besançon after their conquest by France. The strong urban patriciates in these cities blocked the demands of the state in the name of their privileges and liberties and defended the citizenry from the rapacious demands of the central government. But in both of those cases, serious change could not be attempted until sovereignty had been formally handed over to the French at Nijmegen – during the years of military occupation, the French authorities felt they should compromise to a greater extent with the existing institutions. But the lines of authority and power changed quickly after the war ended. As elsewhere, the local administrators now became an extension of the *French* provincial administrative hierarchy, and this was a bitter pill to swallow after centuries of freedom. The existing networks of loyalty, family ties and professional pride had to be woven into the fabric of French provincial governance.[60]

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according to its needs; the latter were allowed to survive as long as they did not conflict with royal interests. Legay, *Les états provinciaux,* p. 37.

[58] Dee, 'Practice of Absolutism', p. 229.

[59] Wallace, *Early Modern Colmar*, pp. 99-100.

[60] *Ibid*., pp. 138-141.

Society in conquered territories could be changed dramatically by French domination, particularly as the province could find itself transformed in order to feed and supply the French war machine. The energies of the intendants in the frontier provinces on the northern and eastern flanks of the kingdom were taken up by the presence of the army and during the war-torn reign of Louis XIV, a large part of the economies of these provinces were geared towards military needs. The intendants of the frontier provinces also had to organize the economies of their *généralité* for the military, which meant constituting a market which not only exploited but also dynamized local resources.[61] This may explain the fact that, with the exception of Roussillon, the frontier territories tended to be kept economically separate from the rest of France and were excluded from Colbert's tariff system: from 1669 Alsace and the Trois Evêchés were given the status of *à l'instar de l'étranger effectif*, keeping the liberty to trade freely with foreign powers and paying the same tariffs as foreigners when trading with the French interior. The Franche-Comté meanwhile was *réputée étrangère*, paying taxes on merchandises imported from the rest of the kingdom, and also on those imported from abroad.[62] This reflects the fact that the frontier was not only a limit of sovereignty, it was also a zone of exchange, far from the central power, which often belonged to economic networks foreign to France (Alsace being the most prominent example of this).[63]

The importance of the role played by the military in conquered territory is evident on many levels: aside from the governor and the intendant, the other representatives of the king in the provinces were the governors of towns and commanders of garrisons. These brought with them a suite of retainers, and this, together with the more standard presence of passing troops, meant that all levels of society would be exposed in some way to French values, habits and customs, varied though these themselves were. Furthermore, after conquest, territories would be forced to play host to a large force of infantry and cavalry. A population's reaction to this could vary drastically, depending on their past experiences, collective memory and their perceptions of the French

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[61] Lemaître, 'L'Intendance', pp. 208, 215.
[62] After the annexation of Roussillon, local trade with Catalonia was prohibited in an effort to encourage a reorientation towards Languedoc and Foix. Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, p. 45; Lemaître, 'L'Intendance', p. 218; Grosperrin, *L'Influence Française*, p. 34.
[63] Lemaître, 'L'Intendance', p. 208.

occupier. In the Franche-Comté, Dee found that, 'For the Comtois, with their bitter memories of the depredations of the Ten Years War, nothing was more dangerous and burdensome than the presence of foreign troops'.[64] But the French were invariably at pains to ensure the good behaviour of troops. Louis XIV and Louvois exerted a hitherto unknown level of control over the army and its commanders, and their intense disciplinary action stamped out many of the worst abuses which had marked the conduct of the army during the Thirty Years War.[65] The military – particularly in the construction of imposing fortifications and garrisoning of troops – was a powerful presence and a potent power symbol.[66] It was also the primary mechanism of injecting money into the new territories, not only in the feeding and supplying troops. Furthermore, the presence of the army offered the inhabitants of a territory (elite and non-elite) the opportunity to serve, and many did so in the pursuit of money or *gloire*. For many of the commoner inhabitants of these territories, there was little choice in the matter: having to do forced labour in *corvées* or being conscripted into local militias.[67]

A change of sovereignty had other serious repercussions for a frontier society, particularly when it touched an individual's personal interests. In some cases, for instance, it disrupted the political and legal structures which had ensured the old relations between debtors and creditors.[68] Many of Louis XIV's new subjects felt that their traditional rights were being violated as the long arm of the bureaucratic state increasingly changed their lives. This resentment manifested itself in various forms of active and passive resistance. Resistance to French rule was widespread in Roussillon the first two decades after annexation, and the introduction of the *gabelle* (salt tax) in 1663 sparked a rebellion which was not completely crushed until 1679.[69] Similarly, following the conquest of the Franche-Comté, the French faced a fierce guerrilla war against bands of peasants which continued for a decade.[70] Often

[64] Dee, 'Practice of Absolutism', p. 126
[65] Lynn, 'How War Fed War', p. 294.
[66] Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, p. 48.
[67] Militias were raised in increasing numbers from the late 1680s, e.g. for the Franche-Comté, see: Grosperrin, *L'Influence Française*, p. 29.
[68] Wallace, *Early Modern Colmar*, p. 193.
[69] Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, p. 7.
[70] Dee, 'Practice of Absolutism', p. 156; Grosperrin, *L'Influence Française*, pp. 43-44.

resistance could manifest itself in the provision of intelligence to France's enemies, joining the enemy army, or emigration. In Roussillon, as many as 2,000 people departed in the wake of the French annexation, many of whom were members of the rural nobility.[71] More passive resistance could entail the non-payment of taxes, smuggling, or discrimination against French people who lived locally.[72] In Arbois in the Franche-Comté, for instance, many local residents initially refused to speak to French soldiers or administrators, and innkeepers took down their signs so they would not have to serve French people. French responses were often severe and created further bitterness.[73]

If the inhabitants of a conquered territory acquiesced, the French were extremely careful to address the complaints of their new subjects, and ministerial correspondence shows that ruthless officials were often censured.[74] But in many cases the problems they faced were far more complex, and depended on the relation between cultural identity and political identity, a link which Louis XIV's government were well aware of. In annexed frontier territories, the French believed that there could be no shared political allegiance without shared cultural values. The state therefore appears to have made significant if halting efforts over the long term to 'francisize' provinces which were culturally different from the rest of France. Needless to say, the inhabitants of these provinces did not voluntarily abandon their old customs or languages. In Roussillon, native Catalans resisted the transformation of their provincial culture, a resistance which ranged from passive non-intercourse and smuggling to conspiracies, assassinations and even open rebellion. In response, the French used a variety of tactics to try to generate a new cultural identity: administrative reforms; the employment of the local elites; control of the local church; economic stimuli; and finally the use of military power.[75] The French regime sought to convert political self-identity from Catalan to French; in order to do this, education in French was mandated, commerce with the neighbouring French province of

[71] Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, p. 113.
[72] *Ibid*., p. 122; Grosperrin, *L'Influence Française*, pp. 43-44.
[73] In Arbois, the French ordered the demolition of the town's fortifications as punishment. Grosperrin, *L'Influence Française*, p. 43.
[74] Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, p. 139.
[75] *Ibid*., pp. 1-4.

Languedoc was encouraged, and the Catalan language proscribed.[76] In the German-speaking Alsace, the French language was similarly forced on communities.[77]

The religious character of a territory had a crucial role in the relations between the conqueror and conquered. Indeed, it was recognized by the French as being of primary importance.[78] There was not only the question of differing confessions: the divide between firmly ultramontane Tridentine Catholicism and the Gallican church could pose as many problems as that between Protestant and Catholic. If the allegiance of either secular or regular clerics was to another ruler, this would be highly detrimental to relations with the French given the hold that priests had over the thoughts and ideas of communities in this period. For this reason, it is possible to see long-term efforts by France to reorganize the religious make-up of the conquered provinces wherever it differed significantly from the Gallican set-up. Religious houses in Roussillon and the Franche-Comté, both firmly Spanish-aligned, were reoriented towards France and were forced to have French superiors.[79] Similarly, the see of Perpignan was transferred from the suffragan of Taragona to Narbonne. Other measures included the removal of dissident clerics by transfer or exile, and the introduction of French Jesuits to spread pro-French sentiment.[80] French religious policy in Colmar, for instance, was marked by a concerted effort to restore local Catholicism – in 1698, the Jesuit and Capucin orders were officially invited to establish houses there.[81] Given the limitations of the state in this period, these measures met only limited success – religious practice being the thing to which people were most stubbornly attached, and Louis could not push 'conversion' too hard or he would risk rebellion.

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[76] *Ibid*., p. 25.
[77] See for example: Wallace, *Early Modern Colmar*, p. 199. The crown's growing awareness of the importance of language in nation building can clearly be seen in Mazarin's foundation of the *Collège des Quatre Nations* in Paris in 1661. This was conceived as a means of assimilating the king's new Flemish, German, Catalan and Italian subjects and instilling in them a sense of French national identity. H. Ballon, *Louis Le Vau: Mazarin's Collège, Colbert's Revenge* (Princeton, 1999), p. 15.
[78] Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, p. 53.
[79] Grosperrin, *L'Influence Française*, p. 37; Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, p. 55.
[80] *Ibid*., pp. 57-60.
[81] Wallace, *Early Modern Colmar*, p. 245.

Finally, one of the greatest factors in determining French policy towards conquered territories was war. A heightened military presence was invariably necessary, to defend the province against enemies and possibly guerrilla war within. Wartime also brought the likelihood of a renewed programme of fortification. As Louis's reign progressed, the French found themselves embroiled in longer and more costly wars, and the financial expedients to which the state had recourse often had considerable political repercussions for its dealings with local elites.[82] Much of what had been French policy towards the conquered provinces through the early decades of the personal rule became skewed or was ditched altogether as a result of the fiscal and political crisis which gripped France from the 1690s. Venal offices were introduced in many *pays conquis* to provide a badly needed cash injection to pay for the army during the Nine Years War.[83] Indeed, the introduction of venality was a significant move: in most of the conquered provinces, the existing political and judicial institutions which the French had maintained were non-venal and had served French purposes very well, as such a system enhanced the requisite loyalty and obedience to the crown.[84] The introduction of venality in the 1690s fundamentally changed the way the central government interacted with the local elites, and was an important test of the loyalty of these elites, together with the depth to which the provinces had been integrated into the kingdom. In several cases it has been shown that this period was indeed crucial more widely for deepening the ties between the central government and the local elites. New fiscal demands dictated that the elites invested in the public debt, purchased venal offices and became involved with tax farming, making them increasingly tied to the French system in the long-term.[85]

*A pattern of government?*

David Stewart has claimed that the French had a clear pattern of government for the border provinces whereby change was slowly introduced, usually under the guise of traditional forms, while the French would use the local elites to catalyze the changes,

[82] Dee, 'Practice of Absolutism', p. 158.
[83] For Alsace see: Wallace, *Early Modern Colmar*, p.6; for the Franche-Comté see: Grosperrin, *L'Influence Française*, p. 22.
[84] Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, p. 31.
[85] See Wallace, *Early Modern Colmar*, p. 199.

all the while respecting, as far as possible, traditional forms and customs.[86] But his conclusion presupposes that change was the inevitable result of French domination. In fact, the integration of the conquered territories was done without any preconceived plan, and in each territory the French reacted differently to contingent needs, developing a varied rather than a uniform style. Nor does it appear that there was any long-term plan put in place for rationalization or centralization – many long-term policies began as pragmatic responses to problems.[87] In short, no pattern of government was possible – circumstance dictated all and a 'one size fits all' policy was impossible, particularly because of the diversity of the territories acquired. However, the French appear to have followed the practice of working with local elites wherever possible, in order to build favourable public opinion. In the Franche-Comté, as elsewhere, the French employed restraint in dealing with the local elites. Initially they guaranteed them their historic privileges and only had recourse to diminishing the authority of the elites when it was used to obstruct the will of the central government.[88] In terms of strategy, much also depended on the level of co-operation the French received from the local population – something which was governed by many complex factors. The degree of cultural similarity with France played a large part in this, as did the divisions of power in the province prior to the French arrival, and the degree of unity amongst the elites. Policy also changed through Louis's reign, depending on whether France was at war or at peace, as this affected relations with the provincial elites.

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[86] Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, pp. 144-145. Stewart's viewpoint is based on a simple comparison between Roussillon and Alsace and fails to take into account the experiences of conquered territories that were never formally annexed by France.
[87] Dee, 'Practice of Absolutism', p. 261; Wallace, *Early Modern Colmar*, p. 199.
[88] Dee, 'Practice of Absolutism', pp. 160-201.

# PART II: SAVOIE & FRANCE, c.1536-1690

*The duchy of Savoie and the Savoyard state*

In the late seventeenth century the Savoyard state comprised the county of Nice, the principality of Oneglia, the duchy of Aosta, the principality of Piedmont and the duchy of Savoie.[89] A composite state belonging juridically to the Holy Roman Empire, it grouped culturally and politically disparate territories in a dynastic union under the House of Savoy. The duchy of Savoie comprised the provinces of Savoie proper, the Genevois, Faucigny, the Chablais, the Tarentaise and the Maurienne, as well as the smaller *bailliages* of Ternier, Gaillard and Petit-Bugey. By the terms of the 1559 treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, France and Spain recognized that the existence of an independent Savoyard state, guardian of the passages of the Alps, was necessary to maintain the European equilibrium.[90] By its vital geo-strategic position the Savoyard state inevitably found itself uncomfortably sandwiched between France and the possessions of the House of Austria. Its dukes spent the latter half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries alternating between support of one or the other, resulting in two further, brief, occupations by France, by Henri IV in 1600 to 1601 and by Louis XIII from 1630 to 1631.[91] Following the death of Charles Emmanuel in 1630 and the signature of the treaty of Cherasco, the Savoyard state was placed in the political orbit of France. The French also gained the fortress of Pinerolo, twenty miles west of Turin, giving them a bridgehead into Italy and a powerful military presence near the ducal capital. First Cardinal Richelieu, and then Cardinal Mazarin and Louis XIV profited from the regencies and periods of influence of the dowager duchesses Marie-Christine (1637-1648) and Marie-Jeanne-Baptiste (1675-1680) to transform the Savoyard state into a satellite of the French crown.

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[89] In the interest of simplicity I will use the term 'Savoie' to specifically denote the duchy, while 'Savoyard state' and 'Piedmont-Savoy' will be used interchangeably to refer to the composite possessions of the duke of Savoy.

[90] J. Nicolas, 'Ombres et lumières: un siècle en mutation (1536-1684)' in P. Guichonnet (ed.) *Histoire de la Savoie* (Toulouse, 1973), p. 234.

[91] R. Devos & B. Grosperrin, *La Savoie de la Réforme à la Révolution française* (Rennes, 1985), p. 23; Nicolas, 'Ombres et lumières', pp. 246-247.

In 1563 Duke Emmanuel Philibert had abandoned Chambéry and moved his capital over the Alps to the relatively more secure setting of Turin. This decision was of great consequence as the divide between Piedmont and the duchy of Savoie became increasingly pronounced thereafter. Despite the dynastic union tying them together, the two territories were culturally miles apart: while Piedmont was Italian in both language and culture, the duchy of Savoie was influenced more and more by France – particularly since the occupation of 1536-1559.[92] Families sent their children to university in Paris, Valence and Montpellier.[93] Furthermore, Savoie was entirely orientated to the French economy, using the French unit of account (the *livre tournois*), while Piedmont had adopted the *lire* of 20 *sols* in 1632.[94] Though placed at a crossroads of international transit, Savoie was economically under-developed due to its lack of industry and produce.[95] The principal source of wealth in Savoie was land and its economy relied heavily on the movement of people and goods, its meagre commerce being based on cheese and seasonal fairs of livestock and horses. Many Savoyard peasants were forced to work part of each year in neighbouring Piedmont or the Dauphiné in order to make enough money to subsist. Though the duchy had been spared from invasion and occupation for most of the seventeenth century, its inhabitants were forced to pay to lodge French troops during periods of international conflict, and their tax burden could be very heavy. This was aggravated by economic and demographic crises, and the last two decades of the seventeenth century in particular saw prolonged periods of climatic catastrophes.[96] The condition of the peasantry of Savoie appears to have deteriorated over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a result of greater fiscal burdens. Misery, depopulation and

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[92] The French had used the occupation to impose administrative institutions after their own governmental model, most notably the introduction of a French-style *parlement* in Chambéry. L. Chevailler, 'L'occupation française de la Savoie (1536-1559): Réflexions sur quelques aspects politiques et institutionnels' in *Cahiers d'Histoire*, 5 (1960), pp. 321-328. On this period see also: J. Balsamo, 'Lorraine et Savoie, médiateurs culturels entre la France et l'Italie (1580-1630)' in G. Mombello et al (eds.), *Culture et pouvoir dans les Etats de Savoie du XVIIe siècle à la Révolution: actes du colloque d'Annecy-Chambéry-Turin (1982)* (Chambéry, 1985).

[93] Balsamo, 'Lorraine et Savoie', p. 273.

[94] J. Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle noblesse et bourgeoisie* (2 vols., Paris, 1978), ii. p. 649.

[95] J. Nicolas, 'Ombres et lumières', p. 239.

[96] Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle*, ii. p. 554.

the abandonment of lands, together with community indebtedness, became chronic.[97] In terms of finances, then, the duchy constituted only a small part of the duke's revenues: in 1689, 5.9 million *lire*, or 75 per cent came from Piedmont, while the duchy of Savoie brought 1.7 million (and the county of Nice a mere 16,000 *lire*).[98]

Despite its position between Geneva, Lyon and the Valdesi valleys, Protestantism failed to make inroads into Savoie. Indeed it became, like Lorraine, a bastion of Counter-Reformed Catholicism. It saw a remarkable expansion in new religious orders in the early seventeenth century, and a popular religious fervour manifested itself in the rebuilding of churches, the creation of chapels and oratories, and the widespread foundation of confraternities.[99] The duchy's ecclesiastical hierarchy was appointed by the duke, with the archbishopric of the Tarentaise comprising the sees of Saint-Jean-en-Maurienne and Geneva (based in Annecy since the Reformation). Chambéry and the province of Savoie, meanwhile, belonged to the diocese of Grenoble, whose bishops were appointees of the French crown. Since 1671 the see of Grenoble had been filled by the influential Cardinal Etienne Le Camus, a zealous reformer who made frequent visits to Savoie.[100]

*The Savoyard Elites*

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the duchy of Savoie contained 795 noble houses, or approximately 3,400 individuals out of a population of about 320,000 inhabitants.[101] Over half the Savoyard nobility lived in Chambéry.[102] Since the Estates General of Savoie ceased to be called at the end of the sixteenth century, the

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[97] Nicolas, 'Ombres et lumières', p. 256-257.
[98] C. Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy 1690-1720* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 77.
[99] Nicolas, 'Ombres et lumières', pp. 269-270.
[100] See: J. Lovie,, 'Le Cardinal Le Camus et le décanat de Savoie, 1671-1707' in J. Godel et al. (eds.), *Le cardinal des montagnes. Etienne Le Camus Evêque de Grenoble (1671-1707)*, (Grenoble, 1974).
[101] This represents 1.6% of the population, similar to that of France (1.4%). Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle*, i. pp. 11-12; J. A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1664-1714* (London, 1999), p. 28.
[102] Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle*, i. p. 16.

nobility's collective political role in the state had been diminished.[103] Links between the nobility and the sovereign were henceforth of a more personal nature – most notably in the strong tradition of military service in Savoie. At the turn of the eighteenth century, one noble in two had served or was still in uniform – those who had not served were mainly magistrates, priests, students or the physically disabled. Many had seen active service in the war against Genoa (1672) and the Salt War (1682), and some had served foreign princes including Louis XIV, the emperor, Venice, Lucca and Malta.[104] Some noble families had a traditional presence at the court in Turin, for example the family of the marquis de Sales, who functioned as the leader and representative of the nobility of the duchy of Savoie.[105] An enormous gulf separated leading landowners like de Sales from the poorer nobles who relied on fiscal privileges to sustain their social position. Social mobility allowed many among the bourgeoisie to purchase noble titles, with the result that a new robe nobility took the place of the impoverished feudal aristocracy.[106]

Political life in the duchy centred on the *Sénat* of Chambéry. Emmanuel Philibert created the *Sénat* in 1560 as a continuation of the *Parlement* established by François I during the French occupation of 1536-1559, and consequently it kept French usages, adapted to local customs. The *Sénat* had wide-ranging powers, having assumed the political powers of the Estates General after the latter ceased to meet in 1560.[107] Working alongside the *Sénat* was the *Chambre des comptes* of Chambéry, also raised to the status of sovereign company in 1560. In both companies, the magistrates' offices were venal, albeit a disguised venality which required the office holder to 'lend' the duke a sum of money while he exercised his charge. The offices were also inheritable, and brought the office holder substantial revenues.[108] Magistrates in the sovereign companies were exempt from paying contributions, lodging soldiers, and were guaranteed the right to trial by their peers. Furthermore, senators received with their charge the quality and privileges of the *noblesse ancienne*, meaning that they were not exposed to the fiscal burdens of the newly ennobled. This distinction placed

[103] *Ibid*., i. p. 44.
[104] Storrs, *War, Diplomacy*, pp. 235-236.
[105] *Ibid*., p. 192.
[106] Nicolas, 'Ombres et lumières', pp. 250-251.
[107] *Ibid*., p. 233.
[108] *Ibid*., pp. 254-255.

the senators above even the greatest noble families of Savoie.[109] Progressively in the seventeenth century, future magistrates went to the universities of Avignon and Valence, and the libraries of Savoyard magistrates were comparable with those of their provincial French colleagues.[110]

The divide between Savoie and Piedmont was exacerbated during the personal rule of Victor Amadeus, as Savoie became increasingly sidelined in the Savoyard state. Since the time of Emanuel Philibert, no native Savoyard had worked in local charges on the other side of the Alps, but increasingly in the 1680s Victor Amadeus employed Piedmontese as his representatives in Savoie.[111] In 1687 the duke appointed the Savoyard marquis de Bellegarde to the dual role of *premier président* of the *Sénat* and military commander of the duchy. Bellegarde proved himself the most loyal henchman in the programme of greater central control at the expense of the duchy's autonomy.[112] As part of this drive, new structures were imposed on the duchy. The first moves were made in 1686, with the installation at Chambéry of the comte de Tarin as *intendant général d'artillerie et des bâtiments*, with a right of inspection of bridges and roads. By his appointment, the *Chambre des comptes* at Chambéry was deprived of its traditional role in matters of bridges and roads, as well as fortifications and military provisioning. It subsequently lost its right of inspection of stopping places, as well as the farming of gunpowder and the management of vacant ecclesiastical benefices.[113] Quickly, through a combination of pride and self-interest, the *Chambre* associated itself more and more with the nobility of Chambéry and the duchy, and so the duel with the intendant took on other dimensions; it became the focal point of opposition to ducal policy, and the defender of Savoyard particularism.[114] Over the decades, the loss of pre-eminence in the Savoyard state hit the duchy hard, and there was a growing sense that its fortunes were in decline due to its neglect in favour of Piedmont. As Jean Nicolas put it, the seventeenth century was

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[109] E. Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat de Savoie et des autres compagnies judiciaires de la même province* (2 vols., Paris, 1864-65), i. pp. 312-314.
[110] R. Devos, 'Elite et culture. Les magistrats savoyards au XVIIe siècle' in Mombello et al (eds.), *Culture et pouvoir dans les Etats de Savoie*, pp. 219, 227.
[111] Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat*, i. p. 285.
[112] *Ibid*., ii. p. 88.
[113] In 1720 Victor Amadeus finally abolished the *Chambre des comptes* altogether. See Storrs, *War, Diplomacy*, pp. 179, 205; Nicolas, 'Ombres et lumières', p. 305.
[114] Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle*. ii. pp. 602-603.

a period of 'political obliteration and social paralysis' for Savoie.[115] By contrast its links with France, cultural, economic and religious, continued to develop.

*Louis XIV, Victor Amadeus II and the road to war*

Louis XIV's Foreign Ministry did not possess a monopoly on diplomacy with foreign states: the War Ministry under the marquis de Louvois was particularly dominant in relations with Piedmont-Savoy from 1675 until 1690.[116] Louvois's character, authoritarian and imperious, was therefore a large factor in determining France's relations with the Savoyard state. As John Lynn put it, 'in the 1680s Louvois's tendency to favour force over finesse in the international arena encouraged Louis to bully his adversaries in ways that were both unnecessary and unwise'.[117] The substantial body of correspondence between Louvois and the French envoy to Turin, and also with senior members of the Savoyard court, testifies to overbearing French influence in Savoyard affairs in this period.[118] Weak ducal authority allowed this to happen.

Victor Amadeus succeeded to the throne at the age of nine in 1675. He assumed power in 1684, ousting his mother, but soon became aware of the extent of French influence in the affairs of the Savoyard state. France had recently acquired a vice-like grip on Turin when in 1681 Louis XIV took control of the Gonzaga fortress of Casale in the Montferrato.[119] The permanent spectre of French intervention or interference was a source of much frustration for Victor Amadeus. On a personal level, the duke was pathologically secretive, and his desire for personal autonomy became, as Geoffrey Symcox noted, linked with 'a fundamental maxim of Savoyard policy: to undo the treaty of Cherasco, end French influence, and regain sovereign

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[115] *Ibid*., i. p. 30.
[116] Rowlands, *The Dynastic State*, p. 57.
[117] Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, p. 112.
[118] See e.g. J. Hardré (ed.), *Letters of Louvois* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1949), pp. 11-156.
[119] C. Storrs, 'Machiavelli Dethroned: Victor Amadeus II and the Making of the Anglo-Savoyard Alliance of 1690' in *European History Quarterly*, 22 (1992), p. 348; G. Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II: absolutism in the Savoyard state, 1675-1730* (London, 1983) p. 81.

independence'.[120] But he was driven most of all by dynastic aims – most significantly, the recognition of his house's royal status, and the expansion of his territorial base. Louis XIV showed himself to be stubbornly opposed to giving the duke and his family the *traitement royal*, as he saw the interests of the House of Savoy as subordinate to those of the House of France. He also had little faith in Italian rulers, believing that left to their own devices they might permit the resurrection of Imperial power in northern Italy 'by their own stupidity'. What was more, Victor Amadeus had a serious claim to the Spanish succession, and if he were allowed to become stronger he would pose a significant threat to the claims of Louis's son, the grand dauphin.[121] It was clear that as long as the French were a permanent presence east of the Alps, the duke's advancement would be frustrated.

In 1686, following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the French king forced him to expel the Protestant Valdesi from their Alpine valleys south-west of Turin.[122] Victor Amadeus complied, and personally directed the campaign, which exterminated or deported the majority of his Protestant subjects.[123] But this intrusion into his domestic affairs was bitterly resented. From 1687 the duke's policy became increasingly anti-French, as he searched for a chance to assert his aspirations and concerns. The opportunity came in 1688, with the outbreak of war between France and a coalition of the major European powers. Initially, the duke had wished to remain neutral in the conflict, but he was not allowed to do so.[124] For the French government, their own strategic needs and dynastic pride were far more important than Savoyard rights or even diplomatic niceties. In February 1689 Louis forced Victor Amadeus to send three of his infantry regiments to Flanders, and refused point-blank to return them later that year when they were needed to deal with the *Glorieuse Rentrée* of the exiled Valdesi.[125] Louis XIV was already deeply suspicious of Victor Amadeus and so these regiments were effectively hostages for their prince's good

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[120] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 70.
[121] G. Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo II and French Military Failure in Italy, 1689-96', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), p. 538-539.
[122] Storrs, 'Machiavelli Dethroned' pp. 349-350.
[123] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 94.
[124] R. Oresko, 'The Glorious Revolution and the House of Savoy' in J. Israel (ed.), *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 371.
[125] Rowlands, 'Louis XIV', pp. 539-540

behaviour.[126] Louis's intention was that the Savoyard state would remain politically and militarily dependent on France, and as such should focus on strengthening its fortresses along its border with the Spanish Milanese, leaving the direction of its army to the French generals.

The return of the Valdesi was crucial in the final breakdown of relations between Louis XIV and Victor Amadeus. The French provinces of the Franche-Comté, the Lyonnais and the Dauphiné were relatively poorly defended, and the presence of a large group of armed Protestants so close to the weak south-western frontier was a cause of much concern for the king.[127] Louis XIV also needed to secure the loyalty of Victor Amadeus in order to deal with the Spanish threat from the Milanese, after Spain joined the war in March 1689. But Louis's blatant insensitivity towards the duke and disregard for Savoyard interests in the spring of 1690 actually ended up by driving Victor Amadeus into the arms of Louis's enemies.[128] In March 1690 the king gave orders to Catinat to proceed to destroy the Valdesi, and then march through Piedmont to attack Spanish Lombardy – with or without the permission of Victor Amadeus.[129] In May, as Catinat pursued the Valdesi, word got to Versailles that Victor Amadeus was planning to sign an alliance with Spain and the emperor. Catinat was ordered to break off the pursuit of the Valdesi and to deliver an ultimatum to Victor Amadeus in Turin: the duke was to hand over 2,000 infantry and three dragoon regiments, as well as the citadel of Turin, and the fortress of Verrua further down the Po. He was informed that if he did not, he would be 'punished in such a manner that he remembers it for the rest of his life'.[130] After temporising to build up his forces and conclude the necessary alliances with the Spanish and Imperial envoys, Victor Amadeus announced the declaration of war against France on 4 June.[131] And, of all the European states of the Grand Alliance ranged against Louis XIV in the Nine

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[126] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, pp. 100-101.
[127] Rowlands, 'Louis XIV', p. 536.
[128] Christopher Storrs and Guy Rowlands have recently demonstrated that, far from being the Machiavellian operator 'waiting for his moment' depicted by Symcox, Victor Amadeus was in fact the victim of French bullying and was in the end left with no option but to join the allies. Storrs, 'Machiavelli Dethroned', p. 351; Rowlands, 'Louis XIV', p. 541.
[129] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 103.
[130] Louvois in Rowlands, 'Louis XIV', p. 541.
[131] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, pp. 104-105.

Years War, it would be the Savoyard state, a third-rank power in the 1680s, which was to cause him ‘a hugely disproportionate amount of trouble’.[132]

[132] Rowlands, ‘Louis XIV’, p. 536.

# PART III: LORRAINE & FRANCE, c.1630-1670

*The Duchies of Lorraine and Bar*

Lorraine sat at the crossroads of Europe – from the Middle Ages it had been open to influences from Germany, Italy, the Low Countries and France, flourishing culturally and artistically through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its geographical position, at a strategically vital point on the frontier between France and the Holy Roman Empire, further heightened its relative importance. The multiple influences and pressures upon it had also made the territory extremely complex in terms of its overlapping frontiers: feudal, administrative, judicial, financial and religious – Lorraine, as one historian recently put it, was 'not one, but multiple'.[133] Within what was termed 'Lorraine' were the duchy of Lorraine proper (which had been a 'protectorate' of the Empire since 1545), the duchy of Bar (through which the duke owed homage to the king of France), and various small territories in the Holy Roman Empire. Further complicating the picture was the status of the Trois Evêchés – the towns of Metz, Toul and Verdun, which had been conquered by the French in the mid-sixteenth century and which they officially received into French sovereignty at the Treaty of Münster in 1648. These three bishoprics and their hinterlands came to be organized into a French *généralité* with its own intendant and governor, and the presence of these French exclaves meant that the Lorraine region was officially shared between two sovereignties, a fact which would prove to be of great diplomatic and strategic consequence, as these sovereignties were bound, by their orientation and interests, to compete against each other.

The complexity and incertitudes of the political geography of the region did not predispose Lorraine to a centralized regime. Furthermore, the feudal nobility, naturally associated with public affairs thanks to the practice of holding yearly meetings of the Estates General, still wielded significant influence in the running of the state into the seventeenth century. The nobility traditionally administered much of the justice in the state through the feudal *Cour des assises*, over which the duke had very little control. Though the sixteenth century had seen conflict between the duke –

[133] M-C. Vignal Souleyreau, *Richelieu et la Lorraine* (Paris, 2004), p. 33.

who wished to exert greater control over the state and its institutions – and the old *ancienne chevalerie*, the continued existence of the tribunal of the assizes attests to the place the feudal nobility conserved for themselves in Lorrain society. In this, and several other ways, Lorraine perpetuated a way of life often falling away elsewhere.[134] Of a population of nearly one million people in the early seventeenth century, society was overwhelmingly rural. Towns were small in number and sparsely populated, and the scattered bourgeoisie scarcely constituted a political or social force. This was in contrast to the more socially complex Trois Evêchés, which enjoyed significant trade and was home to a fairly cosmopolitan bourgeoisie comprising a substantial number of Protestants and Jews.[135]

Lorraine itself was only sporadically touched by the Protestant Reformation, thanks in large part to the traditionalist spirit of the largely rural population. The duchies possessed a monastic density unknown elsewhere, dominated by Jesuits and Franciscans, leading to the propagation of a vigorous Tridentine spirit. Indeed, in the eyes of the Counter-Reformation papacy, Lorraine was one of the advance-posts of Catholicism, serving as both a bastion of defence and a base of combat against Protestants.[136] But the dukes had little influence over the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the state: the kings of France claimed the right to name the bishops of Metz, Toul and Verdun, and attempts by the dukes of Lorraine to erect a new bishopric under their authority were blocked by France.[137] Lorraine was therefore, throughout the early modern period, a vulnerable mosaic, a territory deprived of strength and unity by its overlapping jurisdictions. Furthermore, due to its position it found itself, from the sixteenth century onwards, in a precarious position between France and the Holy Roman Empire. In times of war it was exposed to raids and pillaging, its dukes were given very little room to manoeuvre, and complete neutrality was never an option.[138]

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[134] See M. Graves, *The Parliaments of Early Modern Europe* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 149-51.
[135] G. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine: Les temps modernes* (2 vols., Nancy, 1991), i. pp. 19-20.
[136] R. Taveneaux, *Le Jansenisme en Lorraine* (Paris, 1960), pp. 64-68.
[137] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. pp. 55-56.
[138] *Ibid*., i. pp. 47-48.

*Richelieu's Occupation*

A succession crisis in the duchy in the mid-1620s created tensions between France and Lorraine, which were significantly intensified in 1629 when Gaston d'Orléans went into open opposition to Richelieu and took refuge in Nancy. Given the increasingly volatile situation in Europe, the open hostility of Duke Charles IV towards France presented Cardinal Richelieu with the alarming prospect of a potential Imperial *place d'armes* in Lorraine. Attempts at negotiating treaties with the duke proved fruitless after he repeatedly showed himself to be unreliable and unable to adhere to French terms. An irritated Cardinal Richelieu decided to solve the problem of Lorraine with a pre-emptive strike. Louis XIII occupied Bar in August 1633, meeting very little opposition, and after a brief siege, Nancy fell in mid-September. The whole of Lorraine, including its fortresses, was in French hands by the middle of 1634.[139] As David Parrott has argued, Lorraine's importance for France originated in Louis's strategic, fiscal and logistic requirements. The aim was to spare France as much as possible the burdens of war, while increasing costs for the Spanish and the Imperials; the key to this policy was to seize large swathes of enemy territory.[140] These provinces could then serve as *places d'armes*: military zones in which occupying French armies could systematically plunder all resources they required from the local population, while also denying them to the enemy.

The *Parlement* of Metz had been created in January 1633, several months prior to the military occupation of the duchies. This new institution, which started work in August of that year, marked a major step in the development of the influence and control of the French government in the region.[141] The administration of the newly conquered duchies was briefly entrusted to a short-lived *Conseil souveraine* in Nancy, which was an attempt by Richelieu to abandon his previous brutal measures of assimilation in favour of collaboration with the Lorrain elites. Even though by 1637

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[139] *Ibid*., i. pp. 185-194.
[140] D. Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government, and Society in France, 1624-1642* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 77-83; this could be seen as the precursor to Louis XIV and Louvois's system of contributions.
[141] The main objective in establishing the *Parlement* was ultimately to separate the Trois Evêchés from the Empire. M-O. Piquet-Marchal, *La Chambre de Réunion de Metz* (Paris, 1969), p. 16; Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, i. pp. 189-90.

the hostility of the local population forced the French to transfer its competence to the comparatively safer surroundings of the *Parlement* of Metz, the creation of the *Conseil souveraine* in Nancy set the tone for French policy towards the local elites for the rest of the occupation.[142] After the suppression of the *Conseil souveraine*, the *Parlement* became the linchpin of French administration in Lorraine.[143] Central authority was bolstered with the creation of an intendant in 1637 residing in Metz.[144] Yet, the occupation rested very much on native services: the *Chambres des comptes* of Nancy and Bar were maintained, along with the *bailliages* (local courts) and *prévôtés*.

French administration of the duchies during the first occupation rested on the indigenous population – ducal functionaries who swore an oath of loyalty to the king were permitted to continue to carry out their functions.[145] Crucially, the French maintained local privileges, which allowed elite groups in society to continue much as before. Furthermore, thanks to the system of ecclesiastical appointments in the duchy, nearly all benefice holders were French, with the result that Lorrain religious communities were led by French superiors, who preached resignation to the French presence. Mixed marriages became more and more popular, and was an important means of fusion between French and Lorrain societies. The elites of the Barrois were already marrying into French society and becoming francisized in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the tendency was extended under the occupation. This was especially true for the younger generation, who were more willing to cast in their lot with the French, while the older generation were more likely to remain faithful to the duke, highlighting the importance of generational variables in the way a society behaves during foreign occupation.[146]

Cardinal Mazarin maintained the same system of administration in Lorraine as established by Richelieu: governors and intendants were superimposed on an

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[142] Vignal Souleyeau, *Richelieu et la Lorraine*, p. 224.
[143] The *Parlement* sat in Toul for most of the period of the war, until 1658.
[144] Vignal Souleyreau, *Richelieu et la Lorraine*, pp. 181-193; Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, i. pp. 220-221.
[145] A. Schmitt, 'Le Barrois mouvant au XVIIe siècle (1624-1697)', *Mémoires de la société des lettres, sciences et arts de Bar-le-duc et du musée de géographie*, 47 (1928-1929), p. 141.
[146] Schmitt, 'Le Barrois', pp. 144-145.

indigenous local administration, collecting established taxes and making troops live off the province.[147] Despite rapid initial military success, 'Croats de bois' or raiding parties ravaged the country and tied down many French soldiers. Beauvau claimed that these Lorrain brigands did far more harm to their compatriots than the French troops did, bringing famine and reducing the peasantry to a 'deplorable misery': 'one even saw many women reduced to the necessity of eating their own children so as not to starve'.[148] A new governor, the comte de La Ferté-Sénectère, was appointed in 1643 and during his 18 years in office he ruled Lorraine with an iron fist. Rapacious and avaricious, he re-imposed order on the duchies and put an end to much of the activity of the raiding parties, pointing to a shift in style from Richelieu's era.[149]

*After Westphalia*

The problem of Lorraine was not resolved at the Peace of Westphalia. Cardinal Mazarin was uncertain about what to do with the duchies, wavering between annexing them outright and returning them demilitarized to the duke.[150] The French therefore engineered the exclusion of the Lorrain envoys from the negotiations, and, as Charles IV was closer to the Spanish than to the emperor, the Imperial negotiators would not make the return of Lorraine a precondition of peace. Furthermore, the duke had to watch from the sidelines as the emperor handed sovereignty of Metz, Toul and Verdun to the French monarchy. As the war between France and Spain continued, no solution could be found, and Lorraine's fate was now more closely than ever tied up with the ongoing conflict. For the time being, the duke could do little other than continue to support the Spanish side, and Lorraine remained under French rule.

Despite certain trends, the assimilation of Lorraine remained fragile and superficial. The integration of Lorraine into France proved very difficult, and neither the political

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[147] *Ibid*., p. 139.
[148] H. de Beauvau, *Mémoires du marquis de Beauvau: concernant ce qui s'est passé de plus mémorable sous le règne de Charles IV duc de Lorraine & de Bar* (Metz, 1686), pp. 54-5.
[149] Schmitt, 'Le Barrois', p. 139.
[150] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, i. pp. 227-228.

or juridical authority of France succeeded in imposing themselves durably.[151] The French simply lacked the time and resources to make their control of the duchies complete. Though in theory they had superimposed a new top layer of administration while co-opting the rest of the duchies' traditional apparatus, this strategy was in practice frustrated by a laxity of control from Paris. Conditions were favourable to a clandestine maintenance of the ducal-aligned administration, alongside that imposed by the French. Wherever French garrisons were not close, Lorrain tribunals loyal to the duke continued to function and exercise justice in Charles IV's name, and still commanded much respect from the population.[152] Furthermore the *Cour souveraine* of Lorraine continued to sit in exile in Luxemburg, 'the soul of resistance to the French presence in Lorraine', continuing to judge cases and reciprocally annulling the decrees of the *Parlement* of Metz. It also raised contributions for Charles IV, showing the ineffective control exercised over the duchies by the French.[153] The example of Lorraine shows that French strategies of administering conquered provinces under the cardinal-ministers was clearly deeply problematic and required significant revision. It would be for Louis XIV and his ministers to study the mistakes of their predecessors and ensure they were not repeated.

Despite a brief, partial reconquest of Lorraine during the Frondes, Charles IV remained exiled, and for the second half of the 1650s, imprisoned by the Spanish. During the period of his captivity, the Lorrain regiments under the duke's brother Nicolas-François passed into French service, playing an important role at the siege of Montmédy in 1657, and the Battle of the Dunes the following year. As a result, fewer troops were quartered in Lorraine and the French authorities started a process of pacification and economic reconstruction.[154] In 1659 Charles IV was not permitted to send emissaries to the peace negotiations between France and Spain. By the terms of the Peace that year, Lorraine would be returned to its duke defortified, and the Barrois was to be annexed by France. Along with these humiliations, the French were to have military rights of access through Lorraine, and the duke was to be obliged to quarter

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[151] Vignal Souleyeau, *Richelieu et la Lorraine*, pp. 258-259.
[152] P. Braun, *La Lorraine pendant le Gouvernement de la Ferté-Sénectère (1643-1661)* (Nancy, 1907), p. 143.
[153] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 23.
[154] *Ibid*., ii. p. 26.

and provision French troops when necessary.[155] Outraged by the Spanish sell-out of his interests, Charles refused to accept the terms of the Peace of the Pyrenees, and upon his release went to Paris to put his case to Mazarin directly. He succeeded in getting Louis XIV and Mazarin to re-open negotiations for the future of Lorraine, and discussions continued through 1660. Finally, nine days before his death, on 28 February 1661 Cardinal Mazarin solved the 'Lorraine problem', by concluding the Treaty of Vincennes, the terms of which differed considerably from those of the Peace of the Pyrenees. Most notably, Charles IV was to receive back the duchy of Bar, while the French gained certain villages in Lorraine which created a 'French corridor', allowing their troops to pass from France into Germany without hindrance. Lorraine had regained its independence, but had lost much of its territorial integrity, even though this had been somewhat curtailed even before 1633. Henceforth the duchy of Lorraine would be undefendable, and at any moment French soldiers could intervene.[156]

Through the conflict, Lorraine had been ravaged by enemy troops, plague and brigandage.[157] As a consequence of nearly 30 years of occupation and hostilities, she suffered a demographic and economic catastrophe, perhaps losing as much as two thirds of her population.[158] It is a striking feature of this occupation that the miseries it brought affirmed 'le patriotisme lorrain'.[159] The cause of this was national sentiment and Lorrain dynastic pride, and the situation was envenomed by the confiscations of property of those who remained loyal to Charles IV. Mazarin's policy at Vincennes of preparing the way for a future annexation had failed. Indeed, the prospect now seemed more distant than ever; as Braun put it, 'thirty years of occupation, far from consummating the voluntary union of peoples which language, values and history had for a long time brought together, actually sowed in Lorraine the feelings of defiance, hostility and rancour... which did not disappear until the Revolutionary era'.[160] Though the Lorrains had ceased to look to Spain to protect

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[155] *Ibid*., ii. p. 17.
[156] *Ibid*., ii. pp. 20-22.
[157] Vignal Souleyeau, *Richelieu et la Lorraine*, p. 286.
[158] M-J., Laperche-Fournel, *La population du duché de Lorraine de 1580 à 1720* (Nancy, 1985), p. 202.
[159] Taveneaux, *Le Jansenisme*, p. 55.
[160] Braun, *La Lorraine*, p. 163

their interests after Westphalia, they were in no mood to throw in their lot with the French.

*Charles IV's restoration (1661-1670)*

As the French regime was dismantled, a power struggle developed between the restored duke and the old elites of the duchy. No sooner had Charles signed the Treaty of Vincennes than he was forced to deal with the *ancienne chevalerie* of Lorraine which had, without his permission, met in Liverdun to discuss how to recover their old rights and privileges, lost during the war. He had the newly reconstituted *Cour souveraine* – established to abase the powers of the assizes – issue an *arrêt* banishing the baron de Saffre – one of the principal leaders of the Liverdun assembly – and his family, giving them eight days to leave his states.[161] Charles dealt harshly with members of the old elites who resisted his assaults on their rights and privileges: exile and property confiscations were not uncommon.[162] The duke also created new senior officers whose competence covered both duchies, in an attempt to reinforce the links between them. But he further alienated the old nobility from 1663 by appointing lower nobles and recently ennobled bourgeois to new judicial offices.[163] They were also upset by Charles IV's refusal to call the Estates General. The abolition of the tribunal of the assizes deprived Lorrain noblemen of the possibility of supporting the interests of their corps, and Charles IV also divided them with the distribution of favours, appointing a new generation of nobles to state offices (a generation which had never known local liberties in their full existence).[164]

In February 1662 Louis XIV and Charles IV signed the Treaty of Montmartre, which was intended to unite Lorraine and France by peaceful means.[165] By its terms,

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[161] Beauvau, *Mémoires*, pp. 184-5.
[162] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 31.
[163] E. Gerardin, *Histoire de Lorraine: Duchés-Comtés-Evêchés, depuis les origines jusqu'à la réunion des Deux Duchés à la France (1766)* (Nancy, 1925), p. 277.
[164] J. Cléron de Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion de la Lorraine à la France* (4 vols., Paris, 1860), iii. p. 154.
[165] This and the following summary paragraph is drawn from Jonathan Spangler's article, 'A Lesson in Diplomacy for Louis XIV: The Treaty of Montmartre, 1662, and the Princes of the House of Lorraine', *French History*, 17 (2003), pp. 225-230. It is

Charles IV ceded his sovereign rights to the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, allowing France to annex the duchies on his death. In return he and his entire family would be aggregated to the royal family of France and placed in line to the French throne. The king was eager for *gloire* at this stage of his personal reign, and was more than willing to aggrandize the Lorraine-Guise family, for whom he had great respect, in exchange for strengthening the unstable north-eastern frontier. However, the treaty met with strong resistance in many quarters including the *Parlement* of Paris, the *Cour souveraine* of Lorraine, the Imperial Diet, the French *princes du sang*, not to mention the duke's successors Nicolas-François and his son Prince Charles, and the whole of Lorrain society.[166] Within a year the treaty had been completely abandoned as a dead letter due to the strength of opposition. The duke sent emissaries to the Imperial Diet to request the formal annulment of the treaty, but neither the emperor nor the German princes wished to upset Louis XIV, so the treaty was left in juridical limbo – something the French would later try to capitalize on.

In 1663, citing one of the clauses of the Treaty of Montmartre, Louis XIV invested the fortress of Marsal. The duke agreed to hand over the fortress, and French forces withdrew completely from Lorraine. With Marsal occupied, future occupations would be just a case of a simple march forward. France further increased its influence on Lorraine when in December 1664 Alexander VII granted an indult giving the right of nomination of the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun to Louis XIV, and this was extended by a brief of Clement IX in March 1668 to all benefices in the Trois Evêchés.[167] The growing antagonism was also seen in the uneasy relationship between Charles IV and the intendant of the Trois Evêchés, Jean-Paul de Choisy. On many occasions, Charles IV complained of Choisy's lack of deference to him, and the relations between the two men became increasingly uncomfortable, Charles IV dubbing Choisy 'the artillery', causing Louvois himself to rebuke the intendant for

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worth noting that Spangler neglects to take into account the Treaty of Vincennes, and claims that by 1662 'no settlement had been reached', p. 233.

[166] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 28. The treaty drove Prince Charles, who later became Duke Charles V, to move to Vienna and join the Imperial camp forever.

[167] See R. Darricau, 'Louis XIV et le Saint-Siège. Les Indults de nomination aux bénéfices consistoriaux (1643-1670)', *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*, 66 (1965).

his lack of respect.[168] Essentially this antagonism was the manifestation of a more fundamental anxiety for both France and Lorraine: that of assuring their respective sovereignty and security. The decade saw repeated clashes over territorial control of certain towns, over rival claims to the appointments of benefices, and over Charles IV's attempts to circumvent French ecclesiastical domination over his states by the creation of a new bishopric. More significantly still, at his arrival Choisy had orders to actively research all the titles and deeds which could prove the rights of the king in Lorraine, research which would ultimately prove the basis for the 'reunions' of the 1680s. If French intentions were driven by long-term interests such as this, the duke's methods were driven by ill-will towards France.[169]

The 1660s also saw a marked anti-French stance in terms of Charles IV's foreign policy. In 1667, during the War of Devolution, Louis XIV requested the help of Lorrain troops for the Flanders campaign. Charles was reticent about military collaboration with France, obliging Louis to send his envoy d'Aubeville to Nancy to apply more pressure on the duke.[170] Charles had little choice but to agree, but sent only a part of the contingent he had promised, composed of inexperienced and badly armed recruits. Meanwhile, he negotiated a treaty of neutrality that served to allow Spanish soldiers from Luxemburg to use the duchies of Lorraine as a base from which to pillage the Trois Evêchés.[171] From 1667, he also sought an alliance with England, Sweden and Holland to counter-balance the over-powerful position of France. Louis XIV's patience with Charles IV was dwindling fast, and in January 1669 he ordered the duke to disarm, threatening to invade his states if he did not comply. Confronted by an army of 15,000 French troops on his doorstep at Metz, Charles backed down and disarmed.[172] However, his intrigues continued, first negotiating a defensive alliance with the archbishop of Cologne and several German counts, and then attempting to obtain an alliance with the emperor and Spain.[173] The closer relations

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[168] N. Kaypaghian, 'Le duché de Lorraine et les Trois Evêchés entre deux occupations (1663-1670)' in *Cahiers Lorrains*, 33 (1981), p. 107.
[169] Kaypaghian, 'Le duché de Lorraine', pp. 108-110.
[170] Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion*, iii. pp. 172-174.
[171] Kaypaghian, 'Le duché de Lorraine', pp. 111-112.
[172] P. Sonnino, *Louis XIV and the origins of the Dutch War* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 50; A. Calmet, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Lorraine* (4 vols., Nancy, 1728), iii. pp. 654-656.
[173] *Ibid*., iii. pp. 661-662.

between Lorraine and the Dutch Republic, facilitated by Prince Charles of Lorraine's candidacy for the throne of Poland in 1669, was a further cause of worry for Louis XIV.[174] Faced with this, Louis XIV charged his secretary of state for foreign affairs, Hugues de Lionne, with providing a project to depose the duke. Choisy's advice to Lionne was annexation of the duchies, but Lionne's project envisaged replacing Charles IV with his brother Nicolas-François, and fixing the succession on the descendants of Prince Charles.[175]

The dire state to which Franco-Lorrain relations had sunk by the end of 1669 was compounded in 1670 by a string of provocations on the part of Charles IV. Ducal agents raised customs on the Trois Evêchés, paralyzing commerce. In reprisal, Louis XIV placed a trade embargo on Lorraine, interrupting communication. The duke's position was now desperate, and he appears to have counted on the success of negotiations with the emperor and Holland to save him. Matters came to a head in April 1670 when rumours got to Paris that Lorraine had joined the Triple Alliance, while popular unrest broke out in Metz as people suffered under new customs barriers.[176] By the end of June 1670, the duke had still not come to terms, but from the correspondence of the intendant with the members of the *Conseil du roi*, the decision had not yet been taken to occupy the duchies. Although it appears that Louis XIV let the situation deteriorate in order to find justification for military intervention, ultimately he was left with very little choice in this matter because of the stubborn attitude of the duke. As the situation in the Evêchés became more and more untenable, the position of the French government finally shifted, and military occupation was decided upon, either in late July or August.[177] With war against the Dutch Republic looming, it was impossible to leave a ruler as untrustworthy as Charles IV in possession of this strategically vital point for the security of the frontier with Germany, and also for the security of the French lines of advance down the Meuse and the Rhine. For this reason the occupation of Lorraine was a necessity for

[174] Kaypaghian, 'Le Duché de Lorraine', p. 113.
[175] Calmet, *Histoire*, iii. p. 662; Kaypaghian, 'Le Duché de Lorraine', p. 112; Sonnino, *Dutch War*, pp. 76, 105.
[176] Kaypaghian, 'Le Duché de Lorraine', p. 115-116; Sonnino, *Dutch War*, pp. 110-111.
[177] Kaypaghian, 'Le Duché de Lorraine', pp. 117-118. Sonnino argues that the king took the decision as late as 22 August, in a spontaneous fit of rage at having to postpone the Dutch War. Sonnino, *Dutch War*, p. 119.

Louis XIV. Yet it had never been an inevitable course of action. To the king and his ministers, the actions of the duke amounted to a succession of needless provocations, and Louis XIV, in his frustration, had little option in the end but to impose a military solution.

*Conclusions*

In some respects there might appear to be a striking similarity between Lorraine and Piedmont-Savoy, two small intermediary states situated between France and the Habsburgs. But this resemblance is superficial at best, when taking into account the geo-strategic situation of these states. As the duc de Saint-Simon put it:

> 'Savoy is ... independent without constraint, separated by the Alps, and always in a state to be powerfully supported by its neighbours... [This] is very different from [Lorraine] an isolated and enclaved country, invaded whenever France wishes, an open country without fortification, without liberty to have any fortification... a country which can only subsist at France's pleasure.'[178]

The two states were also extremely different in terms of their internal composition. Furthermore the experiences and attitudes of their inhabitants vis-à-vis France were poles apart: the traumatized population of Lorraine harboured a deep hostility to the French due to the previous occupation, retaining in its collective memory the devastation of Richelieu and Mazarin's occupation for decades to come.

Lorraine and Savoie bore at least one thing in common: both had the misfortune of bordering France in an era of almost continuous warfare. Their strategic positions made entanglement in Louis XIV's European conflicts almost inevitable. The involvement of France in these territories over the course of the personal rule reflects, as we shall see, the successes and failures of French foreign policy, as well as its material needs in terms of the war effort. If necessity dictated that these states were

[178] J. Voss, 'La Lorraine et sa situation politique entre la France et l'Empire vues par le duc de Saint-Simon' in J.P. Bled et al. (eds.), *Les Habsbourg et la Lorraine* (Nancy, 1988), p. 91.

occupied, it was up to the king and his ministers to devise a suitable system to administer them. This was no easy task, and their approach would have to take a whole range of factors into account. The administrative structures put in place by the French government in the frontier territories were of a special character, and this is reflected by the fact that the personnel were specially trained for the purpose. These men had to contend with cultural *milieux* and systems of reference which were foreign to the kingdom of France. By 1670, when the French embarked upon their occupation of Lorraine, Louis XIV and his ministers had had almost a decade to develop and improve their techniques of government. How far, and to what extent, their techniques and objectives changed over the following four decades will be seen in the following chapters.

# CHAPTER II

## FRENCH OCCUPATIONS OF LORRAINE
## 1670-1698 & 1702-1714

*Introduction*

This chapter provides a narrative analysis, largely from the French perspective, of the occupations of Lorraine that took place from 1670 to 1698, and from 1702 to 1714. It takes as its starting point the breakdown in Franco-Lorrain relations described in Part III of the previous chapter.

## PART I: LORRAINE 1670-1698

*The conquest*

As Louis XIV later explained it in his *Mémoires*, he had by 1670 become 'exhausted by the perfidy' of Charles IV.[179] In August 1670 he resolved, with the collaboration of Louvois, to kidnap the duke, occupy Lorraine, raze its fortifications, and quarter troops among its inhabitants.[180] Accordingly, an advance party of 7,000 French cavalry under the chevalier de Fourilles entered Nancy on the morning of 26 August, but the duke had been alerted of their approach and had escaped, preventing his capture. The main force of 15,000 troops commanded by Marshal Créqui then advanced into Lorraine. The invasion was launched without a declaration of war, and seems to have been something of a surprise, as the duchess was at a spa at Pont-à-Mousson, and had no time but to take refuge at the Monastery of the Visitation.[181] The conquest was carried out without much opposition – most towns capitulated immediately, and there were few fortified places; as one historian put it, the intendants presented it to Louvois as 'a military promenade on an idyllic day'.[182] In Nancy, the French disarmed the bourgeoisie, emptied the arsenal of cannon and arms,

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[179] The *mémoire* in question is printed in C. Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois et de son administration politique et militaire* (4 vols., Paris, 1877). Citation from i. p. 519.
[180] P. Sonnino, *Louis XIV and the origins of the Dutch War* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 119.
[181] SHDT A1 250 f. 2, Choisy to Louvois, 4 Sep. 1670.
[182] A. Schmitt, 'Le Barrois mouvant au XVIIe siècle (1624-1697)', *Mémoires de la société des lettres, sciences et arts de Bar-le-duc et du musée de géographie*, 47 (1928-1929), p. 211.

and carried off the duchy's archives to Metz.[183] Immediately after the invasion, Créqui issued an *ordonnance* that Louis XIV was taking Lorraine under his protection and safeguard, forbidding all finance officers from paying their receipts to the duke.[184]

After the duke fled from Nancy, he took refuge in the town of Epinal whose ancient defences were hastily put into a state of readiness for a French siege, and the town was defended by a motley group of Lorrain nobles, household troops and the local militia. Their resistance irritated Louis XIV and, despite the protestations of Lionne, Louvois ordered all militia who took up arms at Epinal be sent to the galleys.[185] The secretary of state for war wrote shortly after that, 'It is true that up to now the king was resolved to give up Lorraine, if not to Prince Charles then to another prince of his house, but presently as places are defending themselves I doubt if His Majesty will persist in the same resolution.'[186] Meanwhile Charles IV wrote to Louis from Epinal, offering to abdicate in favour of Prince Charles, his nephew, if the king ceased hostilities.[187] The offer was ignored. The duke feigned ignorance of the reasons for the invasion, lamenting to his nephew, 'It is the fashion of this king these days to accuse everyone, without saying of what.'[188] By mid-September he had fled to the Vosges mountains, and then went to Cologne.[189] Epinal capitulated on 27 September, followed shortly afterwards by Longwy and Massy, and French troops were put into winter quarters across Lorraine the following month.

Much of the hesitation of Louis XIV regarding military intervention in Lorraine, discussed in the previous chapter, must have come from the risks involved in

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[183] SHDT A1 250 f. 2, Choisy to Louvois, 28 Aug. 1670.
[184] AMN Ord., *Ordonnance*, 11 Sep. 1670.
[185] Lionne argued that, as natural subjects of the duke of Lorraine, they could not be considered as rebels. The order was revoked after Colbert, Lionne and Le Tellier all voiced their opposition to it in a meeting of the *conseil d'en haut* on 31 Sep.: Sonnino, *Dutch War*, p. 123; J. Cléron de Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion de la Lorraine à la France* (4 vols., Paris, 1860), iii. p. 186.
[186] SHDT A1 250 f. 64, Louvois to Choisy, 30 Sep. 1670.
[187] BNF Col. Lorr. ms. 18 f. 29, Charles IV to Louis XIV, 14 Sep. 1670; f. 30, Charles IV to Emperor Leopold, 15 Sep. 1671.
[188] BNF Col. Lorr. ms. 18 f. 31, Charles IV to Prince Charles, 15 Sep. 1670.
[189] SHDT A1 250 f. 44, Créqui to Louvois, 16 Sep. 1670; f. 88, Créqui to Louvois, 27 Sep. 1670; f. 177, Créqui to Louvois, 29 Nov. 1670; A. Calmet, *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Lorraine* (4 vols., Nancy, 1728), iii. pp. 679-680.

upsetting the German princes neighbouring Lorraine. This was especially sensitive in the run-up to the Dutch War, when Louis was trying to keep as much of Germany as compliant as possible. On the instances of Lionne, who had been otherwise reduced to a powerless spectator in the conquest of Lorraine, Louis XIV sent a circular to all his ambassadors and ministers in September containing a vague promise not to annex the duchy. Yet this did not succeed in calming the German princes. In October Choisy informed Lionne that everyone in Germany feared that Lorraine would be annexed and that it was only a precursor to the French takeover of towns in Alsace, and Strasbourg in particular. Louis then wrote to his envoy at the Imperial Diet, Robert de Gravel, to explain that Charles IV had left him with very little choice but to invade Lorraine, citing, 'The bad conduct of the duke of Lorraine towards me, his disloyalty, his contraventions of the treaties we have together, and his negotiations with every court against my interests'.[190]

Despite these assurances, uncertainty hung over the longer-term intentions of the king and Louvois. Many, including Lionne, still hoped that Lorraine would be handed over to Prince Charles, though his lack of affection for Louis XIV made this problematic. Créqui recommended a period of reflection and to 'suspend a resolution which would cost so dearly'; the neighbouring princes and all of Europe would be scandalized if the king were to keep Lorraine, but Créqui advised that the king should nevertheless make his 'just pretensions' known, and use this opportunity to display the good discipline of French troops to their neighbours.[191] Louvois replied on 29 October that the king was reflecting on whether to return Lorraine to its sovereign prince, and the conduct of Charles IV and Prince Charles gave him ample time to do so. In the weeks after this, a firm decision appears to have been made. On 19 November Louvois wrote to Créqui, 'The king does not consider Lorraine a country which he should leave any time soon, and understanding better every day how good it would be to annex this province to his kingdom, he is searching for expedients to conserve it'.[192] But Créqui was ordered to keep these intentions completely secret, in

[190] Sonnino, *Dutch War*, p. 121; Calmet, *Histoire*, iii. p. 673.
[191] SHDT A1 250 f. 135, Créqui to Louis XIV, 13 Oct. 1670; ff. 146-147, Créqui to Louvois, 19 Oct. 1670.
[192] SHDT A1 252 f. 114, Louvois to Créqui, 29 Oct. 1670; f. 134, Louvois to Créqui, 19 Nov. 1670.

order to keep the population paying for the subsistence of troops; indeed in January he was ordered to make it known that the army would soon be leaving.[193]

*There to stay?*

By far the most drastic change introduced by the French in the immediate aftermath of the conquest was the decision to transfer legal jurisdiction over the duchies to the *Parlement* of Metz. By an edict of 22 December 1670, the king ordered the suppression of the *Conseil privé* of the duke, the two chambers of the *Cour souveraine* (the one sat in Nancy, the other in Saint-Mihiel), and the *Chambres des comptes* of Nancy and Bar-le-Duc.[194] The affairs of the *Chambres des comptes* of Nancy were aggregated to the intendant, Jacques Charuel, while those of the duchy of Bar were transferred to the *Chambre des comptes* of Paris.[195] The officers of the *bailliages*, the *prévôtés* and the *seigneuries* were maintained, but henceforth justice would be given in the name of Louis XIV, rather than the duke of Lorraine, and appeals would be made to the *Parlement* of Metz. This shake-up in the judicial system of the duchies caused much consternation throughout Lorraine, as it indicated that the king wished to keep it.[196]

The suppressions also aroused great surprise in Germany, as it was felt that this was a prelude to the outright annexation of the duchies. The emperor had already sent the count of Windischgrätz in December 1670 as an ambassador to the French court to voice his opposition to the French occupation and to ask for the restitution of

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[193] SHDT A1 252 f. 150, Louvois to Créqui, 1 Dec. 1670; f. 183, Louvois to Créqui, 12 Jan. 1671.

[194] BNF Col. Lorr. ms. 18 f. 72, 'Déclaration du 22 Décembre 1670'. This order came from Louvois alone, as is clear from Lionne's *mémoire* to the king of Feb. 1671, 'to regulate the department of M. de Lionne against the pretensions of M. de Louvois'. Lionne complained that this suppression order constituted one of six recent intrusions into his department, which still officially supervised Lorraine and the Trois Evêchés. Sonnino, *Dutch War*, p. 138.

[195] G. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine: Les temps modernes* (2 vols., Nancy, 1991), ii. p. 44. The papers of the *Chambre des comptes* of Bar were taken to Paris on the orders of Colbert: ADMM 3F 5 no. 38, Canon to Charles IV, 20 Aug. 1671. The *Parlement* of Metz exercised the functions of a *Chambre des comptes* for the Trois Evêchés.

[196] SHDT A1 253 ff. 38-40, Créqui to Louvois, [Jan.] 1671.

Lorraine, and he was joined the following month by Charles IV's advisor, Claude-François Canon. Negotiations continued in Paris throughout the spring and summer of 1671, and there was much hope in Germany that they would be successful.[197] But by entertaining Windischgrätz and Canon for so long, Louis XIV appears to have been merely playing for time. The terms proposed to the duke were so harsh that Louis XIV knew he would not accept them, and the Imperial and Lorrain envoys finally lost patience and broke off negotiations in April and August respectively.[198]

Meanwhile, the French began to assert the king's rights over the duchies more vocally. At the Imperial Diet, the French envoy instructed the delegates that the invasion of Lorraine was entirely justified by a number of legal claims, and that 'the king is just as inclined to keep Lorraine as to give it to some other prince'.[199] The legal arguments for the conquest centred on the fact the Barrois was technically part of France, and Louis wrote to his ambassador in Vienna, the chevalier de Grémonville, explaining that the duke's states had been confiscated as the fief of a disloyal vassal. This was exactly the same argument that had been used 36 years earlier to justify Cardinal Richelieu's conquest of Lorraine.[200] In the first days of the occupation, the archives and accounts of the duchies of Lorraine and Bar were transported to the citadel at Metz, and Choisy immediately began an inventory of the documents. These, it was hoped, could prove further rights of the king over both duchies, as well as giving the French authorities a firm grasp of the fiscal situation there.[201] Choisy recommended at the very least using the documents to investigate the revenues of the ducal domains, so that if and when the duchies were handed back to a Lorrain prince, the new ruler could be made to pay indemnities to France for the

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[197] AAE CP Lorr[aine] 43 ff. 30 & 33, Créqui to Lionne, 26 Feb. & 8 Mar. 1671.
[198] ADMM 3F 5 no. 38, Canon to Charles IV, 20 Aug. 1671; Calmet, *Histoire*, iii. pp. 687-688.
[199] AAE CP Lorr. 43 f. 2, Créqui to Gravel, 9 Jan. 1671; SHDT A1 253 f. 43, Créqui to Louvois, 11 Jan. 1671.
[200] On 17 Sep. 1634 a royal edict declared the *réunion* of Lorraine and Bar to France, based on three factors: the 'very considerable and ancient claims' of Louis XIII, the 'current possession by treaties and by force of arms' and the 'extraordinary felony of the duke': M-C. Vignal Souleyreau, *Richelieu et la Lorraine* (Paris, 2004), p. 233; Schmitt, 'Le Barrois', pp. 208-210.
[201] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. pp. 44-45.

costs of the occupation. More ominously, he also prepared a memorandum on the duke of Lorraine's 'usurpations' on the Trois Evêchés.[202]

Though Charles IV was now claiming to be ready to do 'anything' to please the king, many observers felt that the old duke's reputation precluded any restitution during his lifetime.[203] This suited the agenda of Louis XIV, who, encouraged by Louvois, had by now settled on retaining Lorraine as long as possible.[204] By blaming the duke directly for the invasion, and then publicizing his own claims to the duchies in the aftermath, Louis hoped that by the time the duke died he would be able to dispose of Lorraine in a manner of his choosing. The uncertain succession within the House of Lorraine further helped this strategy: it was thought that after Charles IV's death, his states would be shared between his illegitimate son, the prince de Vaudémont, and his son-in-law the prince de Lillebonne, and neither would have the revenues or the credit to raise troops; Louis would then have no difficulty in annexing Lorraine definitively, or giving it to a prince who would be incapable of causing any trouble for France.[205]

During the summer of 1671, Lorraine was rife with rumours that an agreement had been reached with the duke. Neither the governor nor the intendant was made aware of the king's real intentions, and both were uncertain about the status of the negotiations. Créqui earnestly believed the news he received that Charles IV had accepted the king's conditions, which stipulated that he could appoint someone of his choice to govern Lorraine while retiring with a pension to a specified French town.[206] Charuel argued that before any treaty, the king should re-establish the officers of the *Chambre des comptes* of Bar, because if the duke found it suppressed he would most

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[202] SHDT A1 250 ff. 74-75, Choisy to Louvois, 25 Sep. 1670.
[203] SHDT A1 253 ff. 135-136, Créqui to Louvois, 15 Feb. 1671.
[204] Lionne continued to oppose the retention of the duchy, but he had little say in determining strategy vis-à-vis Lorraine, and he died in September 1671. The supervision of Lorraine was officially transferred to Louvois's department in 1673. Sonnino, *Dutch War*, p. 138; Corvisier, *Louvois*, p. 425.
[205] SHDT A1 253 ff. 135-136, Créqui to Louvois, 15 Feb. 1671. François-Marie de Lorraine, prince de Lillebonne (1624-1694) had married Charles IV's daughter Anne in 1660.
[206] Créqui reported that the duke had chosen the marquis de Mouy and the duchess of Lorraine, because of their docility. SHDT A1 253 ff. 306-307, Créqui to Louis XIV, 29 Jul. 1671.

likely leave it that way, thereby undermining French claims on the Barrois.[207] Such a precaution proved unnecessary: in early August Louvois finally confirmed to Créqui and Charuel that French troops would winter in Lorraine, and they were to make preparations to receive 8,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry.[208] The following month, Créqui suggested that it would be opportune to start work on re-establishing the fortifications of the old town of Nancy, so as to provide a base from which to exploit the province during the times when French troops were absent.[209]

*The Dutch War*

War with the Dutch Republic had been planned since 1668, and the conquest of Lorraine in 1670 had been a necessary part of the preparation.[210] Seizing Lorraine gave France considerable advantages for the conquest of the Netherlands, as it would now be more difficult for Spain and the Triple Alliance to help the Dutch now that the Franche-Comté was cut off. In addition, Luxembourg was now vulnerable, and the door would be closed to troops from Germany. Once the war began in April 1672, the occupation of Lorraine reflected the strategic preoccupations of the conflict. As part of a plan to build a new defensive network of fortresses along the eastern frontier, Louis dispatched the military engineer Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban in 1672 to rebuild Nancy's fortifications on their old foundations. Louis XIV inspected the massive building programme in person when he stayed for several weeks in August 1673.

After the crossing of the Rhine in 1672, negotiations were renewed on behalf of Charles IV, and Louis XIV gradually showed himself to be favourable to an

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[207] SHDT A1 253 f. 218, Charuel to Louvois, 10 May 1671. French claims on the duchy of Bar were much stronger than those on the duchy of Lorraine. On French attempts to exploit the particularist tendencies of the Barrois to their own advantage see Schmitt, 'Le Barrois', pp. 226-228.
[208] This decision was taken shortly after Lionne fell seriously ill, perhaps indicating that Louvois profited from this to push his own agenda. SHDT A1 252 f. 246, Louvois to Créqui, 7 Aug. 1671; SHD A1 253 f. 327, Créqui to Louvois, 19 Aug. 1671; ff. 314-316, Charuel to Louvois, 5 Aug. 1671.
[209] SHDT A1 253 f. 340, Créqui to Louvois, 13 Sep. 1671.
[210] Sonnino, *Dutch War*, p. 105.

accommodation.[211] The early French successes in the Dutch War had convinced Charles IV to seek an accommodation: he informed his envoy to the French court, Canon, that he was ready to cede the duchy to his illegitimate son, the prince de Vaudémont, and Canon believed Louis XIV's new foreign minister, Pomponne, would be more favourable than Lionne had been. The prince de Lillebonne was sent to Paris, offering a treaty by which Louis XIV would return Lorraine to Vaudémont, reserving the right to establish two fortified places. Yet these efforts were in vain: Louis was on campaign and would not negotiate.[212] However, the duke's negotiating position soon improved. The failure of the French expedition against Holland provoked an alliance in August 1673 between the emperor, the king of Spain and the United Provinces, who were joined by Duke Charles IV in October. The latter was engaged to raise 10,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, and the future of Lorraine was henceforth tied up in European coalition diplomacy.[213]

1674 saw Charles IV launch several incursions into the heart of his states, much as he had from the 1630s to the 1650s. Lorraine was, throughout the Dutch War, plagued by raiding parties sent by the duke and his allies. The French tried to assure communication by raising free companies to defend the frontiers, using Lorrain soldiers with captains chosen by king, from early 1673. By the summer of 1674 the situation had deteriorated to the point that Charuel remarked that the raiding parties came and went with such facility that communications would soon be cut altogether unless troops were sent against them immediately.[214] Bar-le-Duc found itself forced to repair its walls from the spring of 1674 to protect itself from raiding parties from Luxembourg.[215] The new governor, the marquis de Rochefort, and the *maréchal de camp* the comte de Bissy were obliged to post free companies of cavalry and fusiliers at vital points throughout the duchy in order to protect the communication with the

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[211] Calmet, *Histoire*, iii. pp. 690-691.
[212] ADMM 3F 5 no. 33, Canon to Charles IV, 12 Mar. 1672; no. 45, Charles IV to Hanneson and Canon, 22 Mar. 1672; Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion*, iii. pp. 192-193.
[213] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 64; Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion*, iii. p. 195.
[214] SHDT A1 344 no. 128, Louvois to Rochefort, 3 Feb. 1673; SHDT A1 413 no. 291, Charuel to Louvois, 19 Aug. 1674.
[215] Schmitt, 'Le Barrois', p. 218.

army. In spite of their efforts, the French post was intercepted on several occasions by ducal raiding parties in Lorraine.[216]

Charles IV gained the final battlefield victory in his long career in August 1675, defeating Créqui near Trier, before dying at Alembach the following month, on 18 September 1675.[217] The uncertain succession of Lorraine now came to the fore. The French had been pushing Louis XIV's claims in the years preceding the duke's death; on the appointment of Rochefort as the new governor of the duchy in 1673, he was instructed that 'His Majesty regards Lorraine as a country which belongs to him a little more than in previous years, and which might very well stay his'.[218] The plans to give the duchies to Vaudémont had come to nothing, as Rochefort explained: 'the nobility of this land ... regard Monsieur de Vaudemont as a bastard.'[219] In addition, the other princes of the house of Lorraine would not defer to Vaudémont's claims. After Charles IV's death in September 1675, the duke's nephew Prince Charles therefore faced little opposition to being recognized as duke of Lorraine from within his family, or from the members of the anti-French coalition, with whom his uncle's treaty of alliance was swiftly renewed.[220]

But the French rejected Charles V's rights of succession altogether. Rochefort attempted to summon a meeting of the nobility and clergy of the duchy at Nancy to constitute the Estates General of Lorraine. He argued that if the king promised to restore the old privileges of the *ancienne chevalerie*, the assembled nobles and clergy would elect Louis XIV as their prince, acting in accordance with ancient custom; he reported that he had spoken to many of the 'principal lords' the previous year and they had appeared to be in favour of this. Rochefort was given the sanction of the king to negotiate their recognition of him as their sovereign, 'the province belonging to His Majesty by virtue of the treaty made with Monsieur the duke of Lorraine in

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[216] SHDT A1 460 no. 145, Bissy to Louvois, 18 Aug. 1675; SHDT A1 461 no. 64, Charuel to Louvois, 17 Oct. 1675.
[217] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 64.
[218] '... comme un pays qui est un peu plus à elle que les années passées et qui pourra bien lui demeurer', Louvois to Choisy, 7 Jan. 1673, quoted in E. Lanouvelle, *Le Maréchal de Créquy* (Paris, 1931), p. 167.
[219] SHDT A1 346 no. 134, Rochefort to Louvois, 26 Apr. 1673.
[220] SHDT A1 460 no. 297, Rochefort to Louvois, 21 Sep. 1675; Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, p. 65.

1662'.[221] This attempt at invoking the Treaty of Montmartre, which had remained a legal dead letter after neither party had been able to ratify it, indicates that the French knew they were on shaky ground and would need solid legal justification for a full annexation of Lorraine. Meanwhile Charuel received reports that Charles V had convoked a rival meeting of the Estates of Lorraine at Bitche (then in allied control) to have himself recognized as duke. Charuel was instructed that if he discovered any member of the Estates of Lorraine going to meet Prince Charles, he was to make of him an example so severe that nobody would ever dare disobey the king again.[222] However Charles V's army kept the pressure on the French along the Saar, preventing Rochefort from returning to Nancy and convoking an assembly, and the plan was dropped.[223] While all other European sovereigns recognized Charles V as the legitimate duke of Lorraine, Louis XIV refused, and the French continued to refer to him until his death in 1690 as 'Prince Charles'.[224]

*Lorraine as a 'place d'armes'*

In the context of international conflict, of course what mattered more than constitutional disagreements were practical material and strategic affairs. Throughout the Dutch War, Lorraine was on a direct route used by French armies to cross the Rhine; in consequence the duchies were obliged to accommodate and feed these troops, and at the end of each campaigning season, give them winter quarters (usually December to April). It was, as it had been under Richelieu, a *place d'armes* – a military supply depot and a zone to quarter the army. The Barrois was generally richer than Lorraine and consequently found itself shouldering a heavy burden, especially in terms of winter quarters: the town of Bar was forced to accommodate 41

[221] SHDT A1 460 no. 297, Rochefort to Louvois, 21 Sep. 1675; SHDT A1 434 no. 462, Louvois to Rochefort, 26 Sep. 1675; Louvois sent Rochefort a copy of the treaty.
[222] SHDT A1 460 no. 308, Charuel to Louvois, 24 Sep. 1675; SHDT A1 434 no. 449, Louvois to Charuel, 25 Sep. 1675.
[223] SHDT A1 461 no. 60, Charuel to Louvois, 10 Oct. 1675.
[224] Louis XIV addressed Charles in correspondence as 'cousin' rather than 'brother', and on the death of the duke in 1690, Louis did not wear violet, as was practiced on the death of sovereigns, but black, as for simple subjects. J-L. Etienne, 'Charles V et les tentatives de recouvrement de ses Etats 1675-1679' (unpublished mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Nancy, 1968), p. 25.

companies in 1671, 47 in 1673 and 1675, and 25 in 1676.[225] During the war, the French were not the only ones attempting to exploit the duchies: from 1673 the allies began sending demands to the *prévôtés* of Lorraine to pay contributions.[226] As allied raiding became worse and communities became increasingly destitute, Charles IV proposed a contributions treaty to stop raiding in Lorraine in exchange for the payment by France of a fixed sum of money. Through his intermediary the sieur Durant, Charles's *secrétaire d'état* Le Bègue wrote that the duke was resolved to ask for a contribution treaty to cover Lorraine that would include the king of Spain, the Dutch and the elector Palatine. By the terms of the treaty, signed in Nancy on 3 July 1675, the French paid 180,000 *livres* annually to the duke, in exchange for him ordering the raiding parties to stop their activities.[227] This was an admission that France could not seal off its new acquisition.

The contributions treaty allowed the French to continue using Lorraine to quarter their armies.[228] But finances were still tight: in August 1677 it was reported that the 80,000 *livres* imposed on Lorraine to pay for meat for the infantry was not forthcoming.[229] The necessity of upholding the contributions treaty was made all the more obvious the following year when Charles V temporarily abandoned the treaty after the French claimed exorbitant sums from him in compensation for fires in the Verdunois, part of the Trois Evêchés. As negotiations to renew the treaty faltered, raiding parties recommenced with a vengeance and the collaborationist free companies were once more sent out against them, though they achieved limited success. Finally in June of that year a new contributions treaty was agreed, on exactly the same terms as the one signed in July 1675.[230]

The fortification works begun in Lorraine from the beginning of the Dutch War were also a major burden on the duchy. By 1677, the fortifying of Marsal, Thionville and

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[225] Schmitt, 'Le Barrois', p. 219.
[226] SHDT A1 351 no. 232, Charuel to Louvois, 5 Nov. 1673.
[227] AAE CP Lorr. Sup[plément] 10, f. 243, 3 Jul. 1675. Durant was the former *procureur général* of the *Cour souveraine* of Saint-Mihiel.
[228] J. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1664-1714* (London, 1999), p. 151.
[229] SHDT A1 564 no. 106, Bazin to Louvois, 7 Aug. 1677.
[230] SHDT A1 615 no. 3, Charuel to Louvois, 9 Jan. 1678; SHDT A1 606 no. 103, Créqui to Louvois, 8 Mar. 1678; SHDT A1 615 no. 163, *Traité de contribution*, 1 Jun. 1678.

the *ville neuve* of Nancy was well under way.[231] The fortification works in Nancy demanded the hiring of thousands of peasants, as well as over a thousand soldiers. The French used only peasants who volunteered to work for pay rather than employing coercion through the *corvées*, and consequently there were severe shortages of manpower. In October 1677, for instance, a thousand workers were needed to continue the work on the fortifications of Nancy, and Charuel reported that the entrepreneurs did not have credit for even one man.[232] The French also made the duchy pay the costs of construction: for one year alone, they demanded 210,000 *livres* for the fortification of Nancy, and 62,943 *livres* for necessary wood for Nancy and Marsal.[233] This reflects the increasing importance of, and worries about, the defence of Lorraine for the French high command: in September 1675, Louvois wrote to Marshal Luxembourg that the Prince of Orange was planning to give troops and subsidies to the duke of Lorraine as a means of entering his lands, establishing winter quarters there and putting the territory under contribution; this, it was feared, would be timed to coincide with an invasion of Alsace by the Imperial general Montecucculi.[234]

*Nijmegen and after*

Charles V proved a very successful general, becoming supreme commander of the emperor's armies on the retirement of Montecucculi in late 1675. In September 1676, as preliminaries began at Nijmegen for a peace treaty to bring the Dutch War to a conclusion, Charles successfully besieged the powerful Rhine fortress of Philipsburg. He followed this up in 1676 with a successful campaign along the Saar, and came within several kilometres of Nancy that summer. As Charles V and Créqui manoeuvred against one another, negotiations continued, and it appeared that Charles might soon regain his states by force of arms. Consequently the initial demands of the Lorrain representatives at Nijmegen were enormous: Charles V instructed them

[231] SHDT A1 568 no. 67, Charuel to Louvois, 7 Mar. 1677.
[232] SHDT A1 344 no. 150, Louvois to Rochefort, 7 Feb. 1673; SHDT A1 560 no. 246, Charuel to Louvois, 31 Oct. 1677. Nancy's fortifications were finally finished in 1679. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 47.
[233] SHDT A1 606 no. 102, Charuel to Louvois, 6 Mar. 1678.
[234] SHDT A1 452 no. 42, Louvois to Marshal Luxembourg, 11 Sep. 1675.

that he did not recognize the peace treaties of the Pyrenees, Vincennes or Montmartre, and they were to demand the restitution of the states with the borders inherited by Charles IV in 1624, as well as war indemnities from France.[235]

Louis XIV meanwhile placed as many obstacles as he could in the way of Charles V's participation at the conference. Initially Louis obstinately refused to accept the presence of any Lorrain representatives at all, but the allies would not negotiate without their inclusion. The envoys selected by the duke, Canon and François de Serinchamps, were then denied passports to pass through French territory on the grounds that Louis XIV did not recognize Charles V as being the legitimate duke. Louis XIV's ambassadors circulated a memorandum on 20 March 1676 stating that Lorraine had been acquired by the king through the Treaty of Montmartre, and he could not therefore attribute the title of duke to Charles V. Charles II of England, as mediator, assured the king that giving the duke his title would not affect French claims over the duchy. But it was only when the rest of the allies again refused to negotiate without Charles V's envoys that Louis backed down; he ended up accepting their presence without recognizing them officially.[236]

Ultimately, Charles V's failure to reconquer his states in 1677 meant that Louis XIV was free to impose his own solution to the 'Lorraine problem'. Aware of the dubious legal ground on which his claims to Lorraine stood, Louis had no choice but to offer the duchies to their legitimate owner. But the terms on which he offered them were such that he knew Charles V could not accept. On 15 April 1678, the king proposed two alternatives. The first was as per the Peace of the Pyrenees, with the Barrois ceded to France; alternatively, Lorraine could be restored with the 1670 borders, minus Nancy and four military roads of half a league in breadth. Knowing the temperament of Charles V, Louis was probably certain that the duke would never accept these dishonourable and humiliating conditions.[237]

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[235] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 66; Etienne, 'Charles V', p. 54-55; AAE CP Lorr. 43 f. 152 '*Mémoire de Prince Charles*', 5 May 1677; f.157, copy of Lorrain demands at Nijmegen, 3 Aug. 1677.
[236] AAE CP Lorr. 43 ff. 141-143, Créqui to Pomponne, 2 May 1676; Etienne, 'Charles V', pp. 44-47.
[237] Etienne, 'Charles V', pp. 101-118.

1678 was a mediocre year for the Imperial forces under Charles V, and the situation was made worse by the defection of the emperor's two most important allies, the United Provinces and the Spanish, who concluded separate peace treaties with France in August and September. The Emperor Leopold put increasing pressure on Charles V – who had married his half-sister the Archduchess Eleanora Maria in February 1678 – to accept the French propositions, and by the autumn of that year Charles was increasingly inclined to accept the second of the French options. The duke hoped that in doing so he would be able to obtain more favourable terms, in particular the restitution of Nancy, in the final treaty. He offered a compromise solution whereby the French could construct a citadel in Nancy, permanently guarded by a French garrison, if sovereign authority was left with him.[238] But the French were inflexible and would not concede over Nancy or the Four Roads. Ultimately the failure of Charles V's expedition to Alsace, in the late summer of 1678, forced the Emperor Leopold to accept the peace of Nijmegen on 5 February 1679. The clauses concerning Lorraine were included without the approval of Charles V.

The duke persisted in trying to reach a compromise with Louis: in March 1679, after the signature of the treaty, he tried in vain to send an envoy directly to the king in order to appeal for improved conditions. But as soon as the French heard about this they arrested the envoy before he had even left Nancy.[239] For Louis XIV, the question of Lorraine was now closed. On 20 April Canon formally renounced the treaty on behalf of the duke; Louis had imposed such harsh conditions that Charles V, were he to have accepted them, would have lost his independence and become, as Gérardin put it, 'a mere provincial governor'.[240] Later that year Charles V took the governorship of the Tyrol, and sent repeated pleas to the courts of Europe to remember that he was 'still the only dispossessed prince'. In the opposite camp, after Nijmegen, French frontier strategy, as directed by Louvois and Vauban, centred on the creation of the '*pré carré*', a more defensible geometric frontier that removed

[238] AAE CP Lorr. 43 f. 200, Croissy to Pomponne, 4 Nov. 1678; ff. 236-237, *Mémoire sur les affaires de Lorraine* [undated].
[239] AAE CP Lorr 43 f. 223, *Mémoire de Charles V à Guillaume d'Orange*.
[240] E. Gérardin, *Histoire de Lorraine: Duchés-Comtés-Evêchés, depuis les origines jusqu'à la réunion des Deux Duchés à la France (1766)* (Nancy, 1925), p. 282.

many bulges in order to create a more linear fortress barrier.[241] The great defensive barrier created by Louvois and Vauban on the Lorraine frontier comprised Phalsbourg, Longwy and Sarrelouis.[242] This was to be strengthened by Strasbourg in 1681 and Luxembourg in 1684.

*The réunions*

Louis XIV's foreign policy with regard to the north-eastern frontier became increasingly heavy-handed after November 1679, with the replacement of the moderate Pomponne with the blunt and aggressive Colbert de Croissy as secretary of state for foreign affairs.[243] During the five years which followed, the French embarked on what was essentially a policy of peacetime annexations or '*réunions*' of neighbouring states, which included Lorraine. The *réunions* originated in claims going back to the treaties of Westphalia, whereby the French had been awarded territories along with their 'dependencies'. The ambiguity of what this term actually meant and the lack of specificities allowed French jurists to investigate Louis XIV's claims. Louvois was central to this policy, pressing it on the king to compensate for the lack of territory acquired during the Dutch War.[244] His control over the region was cemented when, immediately after the fall of Pomponne, Louvois gained the king's approval to have the Trois Evêchés detached from the jurisdiction of the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and attached to his own department.[245]

Securing the eastern border had been a preoccupation of the kings of France ever since the acquisition of the Trois Evêchés in 1552. The bishoprics were vulnerable, as they were separated from France and enclaved within ducal Lorraine. Since Henri

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[241] AAE CP Lorr. 45 f. 45, Charles V to Estates General, 27 Apr. 1683; Corvisier, *Louvois*, pp. 369-373.
[242] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 49.
[243] Lynn, *The Wars*, pp. 160-161; G. Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest, 1661-1701* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 56.
[244] Rowlands, *The Dynastic State*, pp. 56-57.
[245] M-O. Piquet-Marchal, *La Chambre de Réunion de Metz* (Paris, 1969), p. 48. Louvois was unquestionably the biggest influence on Louis XIV's strategy formulation after 1675, with the death of Turenne and the retirement of Condé.

II successive monarchs used feudal law and jurisprudence to argue their rights over Lorraine, with the aim of acquiring more territory to build a more solid rampart.[246] A spate of literature on the subject was produced during Richelieu's occupation of the duchy in order to justify the conquest, but was never directly acted upon.[247] Following in this tradition, in 1664 Charles Colbert de Croissy, then intendant of the Trois Evêchés, produced a memorandum on the rights of the king over Lorraine. Croissy's work was continued by a commission named by the *Parlement* of Metz. Immediately after the conquest of Lorraine in 1670, this commission sent a report on the rights of the king over Lorraine, which were based on the 'dependence' of most of the duchy on the bishopric of Metz, and they recommended that these be used to permanently annex the duchy. Louvois corresponded with the commission from 1672 and gave it much encouragement.[248]

In 1679, this commission suggested extending the formula to all possessions ceded by the treaties of Westphalia, Aix-la-Chapelle and Nijmegen.[249] In October 1679, the process began: the king ordered the three bishops of Metz, Toul and Verdun to renew their homage to him and to present the status of their fiefs; they replied that their records were badly preserved, and that a tribunal would be needed to verify their possessions. By royal decree, the *Chambre royalle* of Metz was created on 23 October 1679. The *Chambre de réunions*, as it became known, was staffed by a *président* and ten councillors, all members of the *Parlement* of Metz, along with the *procureur général*, Roland Ravaulx. Their orders were to investigate all 'usurpations and alienations' on the Trois Evêchés by assembling the relevant documents to each case. Louvois (who had nominally trained as a *conseiller* in the Metz *Parlement* nearly 20 years earlier) was very active in the running of the *Chambre*, imposing sanctions against those who authored memoranda favourable to the duke of Lorraine. From its establishment until April 1682, the *Chambre* issued 42 *arrêts*, which collectively resulted in the bishops regaining possession of approximately half of

[246] Piquet-Marchal, *La Chambre*, p. 12.
[247] These inquiries were led by Cardin Le Bret, intendant of the Trois Evêchés from 1624, his task being to find as many 'usurpations' by foreigners of territories that owed their obedience to the king of France.
[248] AAE CP Lorr. Sup. 9, ff. 245-248, *Mémoire concernant le service du Roy et les droits de Sa Majesté sur la Lorraine*, 1670; Schmitt, 'Le Barrois', p. 223; Piquet-Marchal, *La Chambre*, p. 47.
[249] *Ibid*., pp. 44-46.

Lorraine and Bar. During the same period, the *Parlement* of Besançon and the *Conseil supérieur* of Alsace based just over the Rhine in Breisach also adopted an aggressive *réunion* policy, and in September 1681 the French army obliged Strasbourg to capitulate.[250]

Following further decrees of April, August and September 1683, the remaining parts of the duchies of Lorraine and Bar were reunited with France. France's neighbours grew increasingly alarmed as the *réunions* gathered pace. There was concern that France was out of control, annexing territory seemingly arbitrarily, and 'there was no sense of when and where the process would end'.[251] The emperor, pressed by the Imperial Diet, wrote to Louis in July 1680 to express his concerns about the policy. Negotiations followed at Frankfurt, and then in August 1683 the king profited from the siege of Vienna by proposing an armistice of 30 years. The emperor eventually agreed to a 20 year truce, which was signed on 15 August 1684 at Regensburg; by its terms France was allowed to keep the territories reunited prior to 1 August 1681, along with Strasbourg, Kehl across the Rhine and Luxembourg, while the duchy of Lorraine was passed over in silence.[252]

The *réunion* strategy became notorious and historians long condemned it as 'imperialism'. More recently, a more nuanced view has been expounded, whereby the *réunions* were not animated by indiscriminate greed, but as an extension of the strategy of defensible frontiers.[253] As John Lynn argued, 'The reunions mixed legal and reasonable claims with specious ones made not in the name of justice but in the name of strategic necessity'.[254] Many of the gains reflected a defensive logic: by acquiring Luxembourg, for instance, the French deprived their enemies of the ability

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[250] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. pp. 53-55.
[251] Piquet-Marchal, *La Chambre*, pp. 80-81
[252] This was in spite of heavy lobbying for the restitution of Lorraine by Charles V's ministers: ADMM 3F 5 no. 102, Canon to Charles V, 6 Aug. 1683; Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p.55; J. O'Connor, 'Louis XIV and Europe: War and Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century' in S.G. Reinhardt (ed.), *The Sun King: Louis XIV and the New World* (New Orleans, 1994), p. 65; Piquet-Marchal, *La Chambre*, pp. 95-96.
[253] See, e.g. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 52. Historians have also become more conscious of similar proceedings within the Holy Roman Empire by German territorial princes and by the emperor himself. It was not, therefore, uniquely pernicious behaviour by the French.
[254] Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 169.

to launch raids into northern Lorraine and Champagne and put the territory under contribution. But there was a general feeling that Louis had pushed things too far and the *réunion* policy smacked of arrogance. As Cabourdin put it, 'the process of *réunions* failed not because it rode roughshod over laws and consciences, but because its excess condemned it to a short lifetime'.[255] Moreover, its assault on a variety of European princes probably ensured a military backlash was inevitable sooner or later.

*Further integration into France*

As a result of the *réunions* the duchies of Lorraine and Bar lost what remained of their territorial integrity. The Trois Evêchés were added, along with Luxembourg and the county of Chiny, to the *pays réunis* of Lorraine and the Barrois under Charuel's jurisdiction to create a kind of 'super-intendance'. This was surely an attempt to destroy the memory of the duchies' independence by literally wiping them off the map.[256] Its purpose may also have been to streamline the administration of the whole north-east: efforts were made to improve fiscal efficiency under the initial aegis of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, and these were accompanied by a further reorganization of justice in Lorraine, whereby venality of office was introduced into the magistrature.[257] Lorraine was now, to all intents and purposes, if not legally, an integral part of France. As the king put it in his instructions to the comte de La Vauguyon, going to Vienna as French ambassador in October 1685:

> 'There is nobody in France who does not consider Lorraine as an inseparable part of the kingdom, and one could not propose the slightest detachment without arousing the indignation of all good Frenchmen.'

The province had been acquired, wrote the king,

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[255] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 55; Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 170.
[256] From an administrative point of view, this reorganization had precedent: between 1637 and 1639 the duchies were briefly united with the Trois Evêchés, the county of Montbéliard and Alsace, under the commission of the brothers Mangot: G. Livet, 'Royal Administration in a Frontier Province: The Intendancy of Alsace under Louis XIV', in *Louis XIV and Absolutism*, ed. R. Hatton (Columbus, OH, 1976) p. 49.
[257] See pp. 211-12.

> 'as much by right of conquest and confiscation as by the treaties made with the late duke and by the refusal of the present one to subscribe to the conditions that the Imperial ministers stipulated in his favour by the Treaty of Nijmegen.'

Furthermore, the duke should now be,

> 'disabused of any hope he may have of regaining any part of this duchy, which should now be regarded as a French province, inseparable from the crown.'[258]

But the dubious legal basis of France's possession of Lorraine remained a source of anxiety for the French government. By the early 1690s it was clear that the excesses of the *Chambre de réunions* of Metz had been counter-productive; a memorandum by the chevalier de Hautoy, the *bailli* of Longwy, argued: 'it appears that this work is very much opposed to the service of the king, and contains many contradictions.' In particular, it was difficult to understand why Ravaulx (the *procureur général* of the *Chambre*) adjudged so much territory to the three bishops; it would have been better to claim that Lorraine was a part of eastern France that had never been separated from the crown, while Bar belonged to the king by virtue of the Peace of the Pyrenees.[259] These principles, justified by the necessary titles and documents, could rectify all the wrongs perpetrated by Ravaulx. Yet despite the existence of these and other plans to execute a definitive annexation, Lorraine's future would once again be decided by the outcome of a European war.[260]

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[258] 'Mémoire du roi pour servir d'instruction au sieur comte de La Vauguyon s'en allant présentement à Vienne en qualité d'envoyé extraordinaire de Sa Majesté', 24 Oct. 1685, in *Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France depuis les traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution Française*, vol. I: Autriche, ed. A. Sorel (Paris, 1884), pp. 109-110.

[259] AAE CP Lorr. 45 ff. 94-98, 'Remarques sur les arrests rendus en la Chambre royalle establie à Metz par Edit du neufiesme novembre 1679 pour la réunion des Duchez de Lorraine et de Bar' by d'Hautoy, 10 Aug. 1693.

[260] AAE CP Lorr. 45 ff. 99-105, 'Project de déclaration du Roy pour réunir les Duchez de Lorraine et de Bar à la Couronne' [undated].

*Lorraine and the Nine Years War*

Louis XIV neither desired nor expected the conflict which he set in motion in 1688 to be long or protracted.[261] The outbreak of war led again to the militarization of Lorraine, but unlike during the Dutch War, Lorraine and the Trois Evêchés were not a major theatre of battle. It was, however, a strategic hub, a base of attack and supply, and saw the incessant passage of troops.[262] It therefore had to provide not only huge amounts of supplies for the French army, but also men. The first battalions of the new royal provincial militia were raised in Lorraine, as in other provinces, in November 1688; a second regiment of 15 companies was raised in late 1692. It was also once again the victim of enemy raiding parties, though this was less significant now that the border had been strengthened.[263]

It was not, however, invulnerable. In the summer of 1689, the main Imperial army under Charles V of Lorraine besieged Mainz, which surrendered in September.[264] The French defensive barrier which had guarded the Rhine was now compromised, and the way was open for incursions into France itself. In 1690 as Charles V got closer to Lorraine, Charuel was ordered to raise another militia; enrolments were carried out by force with communes held responsible for absences.[265] The duke's unexpected death in April 1690 caused consternation in Lorraine – the fall of Bonn and Mainz the previous year had raised hopes that Lorraine might be within his grasp. Indeed, the sense of agitation had been palpable: nobles had been confined to their chateaux and disarmed. Louis XIV's strategic adviser Chamlay described the news of the duke's death as, 'the best news we could have', and Marshal Lorge agreed that

[261] Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 199.
[262] M-J. Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant en pays de frontière: L'exemple de Jean-Baptiste Desmarets de Vaubourg, intendant de Lorraine et de Barrois (1691-1697)', *Annales de L'Est*, 53 (2003), p. 323.
[263] SHDT A1 1071 no. 91, Louvois to Charuel, 11 Jul. 1691; SHDT A1 1157 no. 176, Vaubourg to Barbezieux, 4 Oct. 1692.
[264] Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 201.
[265] Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion*, iii. p. 279.

there was nobody else capable of uniting the German princes or getting them to act in concert.[266]

The Nine Years War marked a turning point in the reign of Louis XIV; the Sun King now found himself engaged in a conflict he could only extricate himself from by offering significant concessions to his enemies. Lorraine, by now fully integrated into the kingdom, loomed large as one of these possible concessions. As early as 1693, according to the papal nuncio, Louis was prepared to relinquish Lorraine on the terms of the Treaty of Nijmegen.[267] But by 1694, it was clear that if the king wished to retain Strasbourg, he would have to restore Lorraine to its duke on the same conditions as 1661. Vaubourg wrote in March of that year that, 'the king will never consent to give up Strasbourg unless Nancy and the four roads remain his, because otherwise his frontier will be open and he will have great difficulty in future to support and conserve Alsace'. But if the emperor and the Empire were to give in over Strasbourg, the king might concede over Nancy and the Four Roads. This, wrote the intendant, reflected the aspirations of public opinion in Lorraine, and he told Croissy that he saw and heard discourse founded on relations between many Lorrains and the courts of Vienna and Innsbruck, which the French authorities could not prevent.[268]

The French hoped that through secret negotiations with Charles V's widow, they would be able to improve their bargaining position. In the spring of 1694, a Lorrain nobleman, Charles-François de Stainville, comte de Couvonges, was selected by Vaubourg to open preliminary negotiations with Eleanora Maria on behalf of her son, Duke Leopold.[269] By April of that year, he had opened communication with Le Bègue (the duke's secretary of state) and presented the French propositions: Lorraine could be returned, on condition that Nancy and the four military roads be retained by

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[266] SHDT A1 974 no. 26, Chamlay to Louis XIV, 1 May 1690; no. 47, Lorge to Louis XIV, 17 May 1690; SHDT A1 990 no. 77, Bissy to Louvois, 18 Jul. 1690; Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion,* iii. p. 273.
[267] F. Bonnard, *Les relations de la famille ducale de Lorraine et du Saint-Siège dans les trois derniers siècles de l'indépendance* (Paris, 1934), p. 295.
[268] AAE CP Lorr. 45 f. 290, Vaubourg to Croissy, 6 Mar. 1694.
[269] AAE CP Lorr. 45 f. 295, Vaubourg to Croissy, 15 Apr. 1694. Couvonges would later serve as *grand maitre d'hôtel* at the court of Duke Leopold, from 1704 until his death in 1709.

France.[270] After nearly two years of correspondence, Louis finally dispatched Couvonges to Innsbruck in February 1696. By this stage Louis was desperate to bring the war to a conclusion; the French felt that nothing could facilitate a general peace including the emperor more than the favourable treatment of his nephew the duke of Lorraine, if Vienna was reasonable on other points. It was immediately clear that the dowager duchess was unmovable; she had assurances from the Prince of Orange that he would not conclude peace with France without the return of Lorraine in its 1661 form. For William III, Strasbourg and Lorraine were crucial to a peace settlement, for as he wrote to the Grand Pensionary Heinsius in July 1696, 'the whole matter revolves around these two points.'[271] By May Couvonges was recalled to Lorraine, it having become clear that the dowager Duchess wanted completely different conditions to that which Couvonges had been allowed to offer.[272]

The Treaty of Turin in June 1696, signed with Victor Amadeus II, greatly accelerated the momentum for a general peace settlement.[273] On 9 May 1697, a peace congress opened at Ryswick near the Hague, with Claude-François Canon and Joseph Le Bègue representing the young duke of Lorraine, under the protection (and control) of the emperor. The publication of the *Testament Politique* of Charles V had a prodigious effect at Ryswick, and the allies were determined to atone for his abandonment at Nijmegen.[274] The treaty concerning France and the Empire was signed on 30 October 1697, and was ratified on 13 December.[275] By its terms, the duke was given the full reestablishment of the duchies as held by Charles IV in 1670, with the following exceptions: the king gave back the old and new towns of Nancy, on condition that the *ville neuve* was completely razed, at his expense; the French would evacuate Bitche and Homburg, whose fortifications were to be destroyed and never rebuilt; France would keep the fortress of Sarrelouis, and Longwy was ceded to

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[270] AAE CP Lorr. 45 f. 300, Vaubourg to Croissy, 20 Apr. 1694. Nancy was central to the Four Roads, which went from: Saint-Dizier to Nancy, Nancy to Alsace, Nancy to Vezou in the Franche-Comté, and from Nancy to Metz.
[271] AAE CP Lorr. 45 f. 352, Couvonges to Croissy, 20 Mar. 1696; f. 373, Croissy to Couvonges, 26 Apr. 1696; Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion*, iv. p. 24.
[272] AAE CP Lorr. 45 f. 387, Vaubourg to Croissy, 2 May 1696.
[273] Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 257; G. Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amadeo II and French Military Failure in Italy, 1689-96' in *English Historical Review* 115 (2000), pp. 564-565.
[274] Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion*, iv. p. 27.
[275] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 70.

France permanently, in exchange for a prefecture of the same size and value.[276] The roads reserved for France by Nijmegen were abolished; in their place, French troops were accorded free passage through Lorraine to the frontier without any obstacle: the duke would provide food and supplies for the troops, paid for by the king. Benefices were left in the possession of those appointed by the king; furthermore, all legal proceedings, sentences and *arrêts* given by the French regime since 1670 were still valid. The treaty also stipulated the return of the duchies' archives to the duke, and guaranteed free trade between Lorraine and the Trois Evêchés. As soon as the treaty was ratified, the duke's commissioners were to go to Lorraine to take possession of his states on his behalf.[277]

The terms of the Treaty of Ryswick concerning Lorraine were seen as fairly generous on the part of France. In terms of territory, Louis only kept Sarrelouis and Longwy, which, detached from the duchy of Bar, increased the size of the Trois Evêchés. Marshal Villars later reflected that the politicians were surprised that the French gave back the old town of Nancy fortified, along with 30 pieces of cannon. Villars later ascribed this to an act of kindness of Louis XIV towards his niece, whose marriage contract with the duke was negotiated at the same time.[278] But this moderation is more likely to have resulted from the fact that in 1697-8, Louis XIV, preoccupied with the Spanish succession, wished to keep the emperor and William III on his side. It was also envisaged that a division of the Spanish succession might entail a territorial exchange between Lorraine and Milan, allowing Louis to definitively incorporate Lorraine into his kingdom, even if this only became a serious alternative in the Second Partition Treaty of 1700. Nevertheless, for the moment, Louis XIV had succeeded in encircling Lorraine between France and Alsace.

[276] This was only achieved in 1718 when Rambervilliers was ceded to the duke of Lorraine.
[277] AAE CP Lorr. 46, ff. 27-33, Treaty of Ryswick.
[278] SHDT A1 1582 no. 8, Villars to Chamillart, 23 Jul. 1702.

# PART II: LORRAINE, 1702-1714

*The Return of Leopold*

Raised at the court of Vienna and only 18 years old in 1697, Duke Leopold was very much influenced by his uncle and namesake, the Emperor Leopold I. Despite his marriage to Louis XIV's niece Elisabeth-Charlotte in 1698, Leopold would always feel closest to his Habsburg relations in Vienna, and his upbringing gave him a strong German accent when he spoke French.[279] The emperor spent much time preparing his nephew for governing Lorraine, and the duke's choice of aides reflects his closeness to Vienna. The duke's former governor, Francis Taaffe, Lord Carlingford, headed the *Conseil d'Etat*; he was assisted by François Le Bègue, who had been responsible for the duke's religious instruction, and Claude-François Canon, the Lorrain envoy at Nijmegen and Ryswick.[280] In February 1698 Carlingford and Le Bègue arrived in Nancy to take possession of the duchies in the name of the duke. French troops were employed demolishing the fortifications of the *ville neuve* until August of that year, when the comte de Bissy, the French *lieutenant-général*, left Lorraine with the remaining French forces and Leopold arrived in his capital.

Soon after the arrival of the duke's commissioners in February 1698, the *Cour souveraine* of Lorraine and the Barrois was re-established, with Claude-François Canon as its *président*. The *Chambres des comptes* of Lorraine and Bar were re-established shortly afterwards. The *bailliages* were also re-established, and all existing local offices of justice suppressed. Despite these changes, the new ducal administration kept many of the financial innovations introduced by the French, including the monopolies on tobacco, stamped paper and the subvention (a general tax imposition). Efforts were made to encourage economic reconstruction and the repopulation of the duchies, with advantages accorded to foreigners who established themselves there.[281] In July 1701 Leopold published the *ordonnance de S.A.R. pour*

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[279] Cabourdin, *Encyclopedie*, ii. p. 79. Elisabeth-Charlotte was the daughter of Louis's brother Philippe, duc d'Orléans.
[280] *Ibid*., ii. p. 73. Carlingford was an Irish peer who had distinguished himself in the service of the emperor, attaining the rank of Imperial field marshal.
[281] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. pp. 74, 81, 95; Schmitt, 'The Barrois', p. 225.

*l'administration de la justice*, dubbed the *Code Léopold*. As well as fixing the rules of civil and criminal trials, the code regulated the powers of the officers of justice and fixed their salaries; furthermore, any lawsuits concerning ecclesiastical benefices were to be submitted to lay justice.[282] The document, favourable to the State and Gallican in conception, is seen by some as containing, for Lorraine, 'the first manifestations of the spirit of the Enlightenment'.[283]

By the partition treaty of March 1700, Spain would go to the Archduke Charles and Milan to the Dauphin. In the course of the negotiations it had been envisaged that Milan could be exchanged for Lorraine. Louis XIV wrote to William III claiming that this was not of great importance: 'The acquisition of Lorraine would add practically nothing to my power, as this state is so completely surrounded by my possessions that it is impossible for a duke of Lorraine to take sides against me.'[284] Despite this, Louis sent an envoy to Nancy to discuss the proposition with Leopold, who gave his consent to the project. Leopold's only condition was that the plan would need the consent of the emperor. But when Carlos II of Spain died in November, leaving his entire inheritance to Louis's grandson the duc d'Anjou, the proposed exchange was abandoned.

*The Outbreak of War in Europe*

In May 1702 the Grand Alliance of the Hague, which reassembled the king of England, the United Provinces and the emperor, declared war on France. By the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick, the duke of Lorraine was obliged to give the French army free passage across his territory, and also to provision it with subsistence supplies which would be reimbursed by the king. Already in 1701 Leopold had been forced to accept French troops re-supplying in the valleys of the Moselle and the Saar. The French were extremely anxious during this period about how Leopold would behave, and the intendant of the Trois Evêchés, Saint-Contest, was instructed to keep

[282] This last point led to the condemnation of the Code by Pope Clement XI in September 1703. The *Code Léopold* was eventually republished with modifications in May 1708, which partially met Clement's objections.
[283] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, p. 118.
[284] *Ibid*., p. 122.

a close eye on the duke's behaviour. In February 1702 Saint-Contest reported that the duke was stockpiling wheat; Leopold's officers stated this was for a coming famine, but the intendant noted that there was no sign of any food shortage in the duchies.[285] A letter written by an anonymous resident of Toul to the French foreign secretary the marquis de Torcy later that year seems to encapsulate the anxieties of the French; the letter warned of 'the dreadful consequences' with which the Lorrains threatened the people of the Trois Evêchés:

> 'It is well known that this nation is very badly intentioned towards France, and awaits an occasion to manifest its hostility by favouring the designs of the House of Austria. While we might believe that the duke of Lorraine conducts himself by other motives, and that the experience of his predecessors should restrain him, his conduct, however deferential to the king it might appear, still gives us just cause to doubt his sincerity.'[286]

Before war had even been declared, Markgraf Ludwig of Baden marched his troops towards Alsace and launched several raids across Lorraine into French territory. The sense of alarm was palpable: the governor of Toul warned that enemy raiding parties would be able to make their way undetected from Maastricht and other strongholds on the Rhine, and be able to raid the Trois Evêchés at will, due to the territories being enclaved within Lorraine.[287] In May 1702, a French officer, the marquis de Varennes, was captured by Imperial soldiers while in ducal territory. Despite the request of Leopold to Ludwig of Baden to free him, Varennes remained in captivity for six months.[288] Those around Louis XIV were now unanimous in their belief that the king should reoccupy the duchies. Villars wrote at the end of May, 'measures must be taken soon regarding Lorraine', adding that it was indispensable that they quarter the army there during the coming winter.[289] Saint-Contest agreed that without French troops in Lorraine, the Trois Evêchés would be as good as lost: enemy cavalry and dragoons could easily put the whole area under contribution, ruining commerce and

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[285] SHDT A1 1583 no. 48, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 28 Feb. 1702.
[286] AAE CP Lorr. 55 ff. 13-15, *Copie d'une lettre anonime ecrite de Toul le 27 Juin 1702*; also in SHDT A1 1606 no. 101, Anon. to Torcy, 27 Jun. 1702.
[287] SHDT A1 1574 no. 48, Casteja to Chamillart, 10 May 1702.
[288] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 123.
[289] SHDT A1 1568 no. 116, Villars to Chamillart, 29 May 1702.

depriving the French army of supplies as well as the 8-900,000 *livres* that the king took yearly in taxation.[290]

In June Leopold sent an envoy to Metz to negotiate with Saint-Contest for the neutrality of his states. But the manner of the neutrality was immediately contentious: the French wanted 'complete' neutrality – no raiding parties, French or Imperial, would be allowed to cross the duke's states. Leopold and Ludwig of Baden on the other hand favoured allowing the parties to pass on the condition that they commit no hostilities on his lands against any individual whether Lorrain, German or French.[291] 'Neutrality' in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a vague concept and far different to what it is today; as O'Connor pointed out, a treaty of neutrality might give a major power the right to peaceable passage through another state; it could involve permission to buy provisions, occupy fortresses, or carry out recruitment in their territory.[292] Saint-Contest argued that, given that the villages of the Trois Evêchés were totally mixed up with those of Lorraine, they would be subject to all sorts of incursions unless they were guaranteed against enemy raiding parties. He was confident that, if the French insisted on 'complete' neutrality, the duke would have to grant it, as the alternative would be putting his states under contribution; he also believed that the Imperials would find it preferable to a full French occupation of Lorraine.[293]

The Imperial siege of French-held Landau through the summer of 1702 caused further anxiety in the Trois Evêchés, as it seemed to arouse a high degree of anti-French feeling among the population of Lorraine. The French were continually suspicious that the raiding parties were composed of, or at least guided by, Lorrains. In one instance, a raiding party near Pont-à-Mousson had been harassing wagons coming

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[290] SHDT A1 1583 no. 100, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 27 May 1702.
[291] SHDT A1 1583 no. 115, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 13 Jun. 1702.
[292] O'Connor, 'Louis XIV and Europe', p. 61. According to Grotius, a neutral country was expected to 'behave themselves alike to both Parties; as in suffering them to pass through their Country, in supplying them with Provisions, and not relieving the Besieged'. H. Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, ed. R. Tuck (3 vols., Indianapolis, IN, 2005), iii. p. 1525.
[293] SHDT A1 1583 nos. 116 & 129, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 16 & 26 Jun. 1702. The neutralization of Italy in the late summer of 1696 seems to have been the preferred French model, not least because 'complete' neutralization of an area freed up troops for elsewhere.

from Metz; if the wagon drivers said they were Lorrain, they were released. In another case, a raiding party between Metz and Sarrelouis 'took the mayor of Ottonville, who, after telling them he was Lorrain, was immediately released.'[294] At the very least, these parties were finding the people of Lorraine very hospitable, 'they pay regularly for everything they take; our parties do not find the same facilities'.[295] Indeed, by contrast, the inhabitants of Lorraine were reported to be very reticent about providing goods for the French army. The marquis de Locmaria (governor of the Trois Evêchés), Saint-Contest and the bishop of Metz all told Villars that 'the hostility of the Lorrains in general, and the little court of Lorraine, is at a high point'.[296] More ominously, rumour had it that as soon as the king of the Romans appeared on the Rhine, the duke would facilitate the entry of the Imperial army into his lands. Saint-Contest wrote that if the enemy army was as superior as publicized and marched to the Saar, the duke's inclination for the Imperials would be supported by force, and would 'deliver him from the servitude which our *places de guerre* impose on him', adding that 'even though Leopold is a wise and circumspect man, I believe we have everything to fear'.[297]

*The negotiations for the 'neutrality' of Lorraine*

Negotiations for the neutrality of Lorraine continued through the summer of 1702, as raiding parties became more numerous, and French communications with the front line were threatened. This situation, on the weakest and most dangerous frontier of the kingdom, was untenable; Marsal and Toul were virtually undefended, and leaving Nancy between the two would run the risk of it falling into enemy hands. There was, Villars advised, now only one course of action possible: Lorraine must be put at the disposition of France for as long as the war lasted, and a French garrison installed in Nancy. Leopold would be paid exactly for what was taken, and his subjects would be treated 'even better than those of the king'. But Villars was still pessimistic about a

[294] SHDT A1 1606 no. 101, Anon. to Torcy, 27 Jun. 1702; A1 1582 no. 3, Villars to Chamillart, 19 Jul. 1702.
[295] SHDT A1 1583 no. 167, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 22 Jul. 1702.
[296] SHDT A1 1574 no. 61, Choisy to Chamillart, 29 May 1702; A1 1582 no. 3, Villars to Chamillart, 19 Jul. 1702.
[297] SHDT A1 1583 no. 167, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 22 Jul. 1702.

neutrality treaty working, as he felt the Imperials would observe it only when it was convenient for them to do so.[298] Leopold was equally sceptical about these proposals, pointing out that they benefited the king much more than the emperor, who was extremely unlikely to agree to them. Saint-Contest felt that the duke was stalling: 'It seems to me this court is suspect in the extreme and is watching how events are unfolding'.[299] Villars recommended increasing the pressure on the duke as time was of the essence, and that Nancy should be taken as quickly as possible so as to deny it to the emperor.[300]

On August 1, the French envoy, the comte de Guiscard, informed Duke Leopold that the king had no choice, for the security of France, but to occupy several posts in his states. On hearing this, 'the duke of Lorraine changed colour, and was seized for a moment by an extraordinary sweat'. He then responded that he was still hopeful of obtaining the emperor's agreement for a complete neutrality to cover Lorraine, and he 'could not, with honour and propriety, agree to something totally different and which would break the neutrality and expose his country to complete desolation'.[301] But Saint-Contest reported that the envoy Leopold sent to Vienna for the purpose of negotiating for full neutrality never got further than the army of the king of the Romans. Moreover, Guiscard was convinced that Leopold, along with his court, were 'totally for the emperor', and so advised the king to impose a French military presence on Lorraine immediately, with or without the duke's consent. The occupation of these posts was presented to Leopold as being beneficial to him; with the hint of a threat, Guiscard informed him that the king very much wished to leave the duchies in his hands, rather than having to take measures which would be 'less commodious and much more burdensome'.[302] The king now sent an *envoyé extraordinaire*, Jean-Baptiste d'Audiffret, to the court of Lorraine to monitor and report back on the duke's communications with the emperor and the king of the Romans. For Louis XIV, it was clear that the duke's birth and education would

[298] SHDT A1 1582 no. 3, Villars to Chamillart, 19 Jul. 1702.
[299] SHDT A1 1583 no. 166, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 21 Jul. 1702.
[300] SHDT A1 1582 no. 6, Villars to Chamillart, 21 Jul. 1702.
[301] SHDT A1 1571 no. 1, Guiscard to Chamillart, 2 Aug. 1702.
[302] SHDT A1 1574 no. 128, Guiscard to Chamillart, 10 Aug. 1702; A1 1583 no. 203, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 4 Sep. 1702.

incline him to support the emperor, but he also felt that his prudence would lead him to uphold the neutrality offered on France's terms.[303]

By early November Louis was growing increasingly suspicious at the regularity of communication between the duke and the Imperials, and he suspected that Leopold and the Markgraf of Baden, who was at that moment marching towards the Rhine, were colluding to allow the latter to take Nancy.[304] On 16 November, Louis XIV gave the order to Marshal Tallard to make preparations to occupy Nancy:

> 'I have resolved to send a courier to the duke of Lorraine to inform him that nothing can assure the tranquillity of his states more than to give his consent that my troops occupy the town of Nancy; that this will not diminish his authority or be prejudicial to his sovereignty; that my troops will be under his orders and will live with a most exact discipline; that if the Imperials took this place before me, I would have been obliged to employ my forces to chase them away, and his states would have become a theatre of war...'

If the duke opposed this, Louis authorized Tallard to take Nancy by force, and secret preparations were made to besiege the town.[305] Leopold was known to have four or five thousand muskets in his arsenal and 38 pieces of canon to defend his capital, but the French were confident that Leopold would not mount any defence of the town. On 1 December, François de Callières went to try to obtain Leopold's permission for a French garrison to take control of Nancy. As he was effectively denied any choice in the matter, Leopold reluctantly gave his permission, writing to the king that 'Your Majesty [...] is the arbiter of my fate [...] as I have neither the desire nor power to resist'.[306] He withdrew to Lunéville, where he and his court had to accommodate

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[303] AAE CP Lorr. 55 nos.17 & 21, Louis XIV to d'Audiffret, 25 Aug. & 7 Sep. 1702.
[304] AAE CP Lorr. 55 nos. 27 & 37, Louis XIV to d'Audiffret, 5 Oct. & 9 Nov. 1702.
[305] SHDT A1 1571 no. 1bis, Louis XIV to Villars, 16 Nov. 1702; no. 2, Chamillart to Tallard, 16 Nov. 1702; nos. 3 & 12, Chamillart to Saint-Contest, 16 & 22 Nov. 1702.
[306] ADMM 3F 8 [unnumbered], Leopold to Louis XIV, 1 Dec. 1702; SHDT A1 1571 no. 29, Callières to Chamillart, Nancy 1 Dec. 1702; no. 28, Tallard to Chamillart, 1 Dec. 1702.

themselves wherever they could: the old château, the *hôtel de ville*, and even in the homes of the townspeople.[307]

French troops entered Nancy on the morning of 3 December. But Louis XIV's advisers informed him that Nancy alone would not suffice to guarantee the frontier. Villars had been one of the most vocal supporters of a full occupation of Lorraine, and again pushed for this. He argued that unless all of Lorraine was occupied, Alsace would be as good as lost: 'You will be unable to count on any wheat or oat magazines, as these would be dependent on the will, often ill-disposed, of people over whom we have no control'. In addition, all letters which passed through Nancy would be carried by Lorrain postmasters, and it would be easy for them to break the seals and pass vital information on to France's enemies.[308] He advocated granting the duke the equivalent in cash of the revenues he received annually from his states, plus a 'bonus' of 100,000 *écus*, in exchange for putting Lorraine under the administration of a French intendant.[309] But Chamillart instructed Villars that, 'His Majesty does not believe we should presently undertake anything beyond what is absolutely necessary'.[310] Instead of a full occupation, the king instructed Leopold that it would be necessary to put French troops in Lorrain fortresses along the Saar (again without any infringement on his sovereignty). As with Nancy, Leopold would not formally agree to let the posts be occupied, but he told the French envoy that if French troops appeared he would order his own to leave.[311] At the end of December, Villars took Sarguemines, Fenestrange, Saralbe, Bouquenon, and later Boulay and Saint-Avold.

After the French had occupied the posts on the Saar, Markgraf Ludwig of Baden, at the head of the Imperial army, marched towards Lorraine and took the duke's possessions across the Rhine, Bitche and Homburg.[312] French troops were then put into winter quarters along the frontier to protect it from Imperial incursions. Yet the frontier was far from secure. By the spring of 1703, the French were plagued by

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[307] Leopold had only decided on rebuilding the château in early 1702; the new buildings were not completed until after 1729. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 89.
[308] SHDT A1 1582 no. 239, Villars to Chamillart, 22 Dec. 1702.
[309] SHDT A1 1571 no. 22, Villars to Chamillart, 29 Nov. 1702; no. 29bis, Villars to Chamillart, 3 Dec. 1702.
[310] SHDT A1 1571 no. 35, Chamillart to Villars, 7 Dec. 1702.
[311] AAE CP Lorr. 55 no. 47, Louis XIV to d'Audiffret, 21 Dec. 1702.
[312] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 123.

Imperial raiding parties, who used Lorraine for supplies and shelter, while launching raids into the Franche-Comté, Champagne and the Trois Evêchés. Furthermore, Tallard reported that many Lorrains were posing as Germans and had bought the uniforms of hussars in order to attack French people with impunity.[313] The freedom with which these parties crossed Lorraine infuriated the French. In May, Louis XIV was confronted with the news that a party of Imperial hussars had stopped the coach of the duke of Lorraine in order to salute him.[314] While the duke renewed his *ordonnances* forbidding the Imperials from buying supplies in Lorraine, and forbidding Lorrains to act as guides, he would not refuse entry to the raiding parties, as he saw this as an essential part of the neutrality of his states, given that French troops passed there daily.[315] It appears, therefore, that he was willing to court ruin rather than appear a complete dependent of France.

*French demands increase*

Changing French fortunes in the war did little to alter Louis XIV's intentions towards Lorraine. In August 1704 the French suffered a militarily disastrous and psychologically grievous defeat at the Battle of Blenheim. The French generals then took the opportunity to request a total occupation of Lorraine in order to, in the words of Marshal Villeroy, 'make use of it... as if it were a province of the kingdom'.[316] Louis XIV continued to resist these calls, but the duke of Lorraine's reticence about helping the French was becoming an increasing annoyance to him. That winter, as the Imperials were camping a large army between the Saar, the Rhine and the Moselle, Louis XIV ordered the establishment of winter quarters along the Saar for several squadrons of cavalry. These troops could not be supported in Alsace, and placing them on the frontier of Lorraine would, it was hoped, discourage any Imperial incursions.[317] Though the duke was assured of their good discipline, he would not consent to these troops quartering in Lorraine and thereby voluntarily compromise the

[313] SHDT A1 1664 nos. 9 & 35, Tallard to Chamillart, 16 & 29 May 1703.
[314] AAE CP Lorr. 55 no. 71, Louis XIV to d'Audiffret, 30 May 1703.
[315] SHDT A1 1671 no. 251, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 3 Jun. 1703; A1 1664 no. 94, Tallard to Chamillart, 11 Jul. 1703.
[316] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 124.
[317] SHDT A1 1754 no. 378, Chamillart to Saint-Contest, 20 Oct. 1704.

security of his states. The duke's first priority was to ensure that his states remained neutral. He could not, therefore, afford to give off any impression of giving assistance to the French beyond that which was absolutely necessary.

To ensure the continued neutrality of his states, in December 1704 Leopold sent envoys to the United Provinces and to England.[318] The Dutch were accusing him of supplying the French with whatever they asked for, and in February 1705 threatened to revoke the neutrality unless the French withdrew all their forces from Lorraine.[319] Louis saw this as a ruse to prepare for an incursion into Lorraine, and replied that it was absolutely out of the question that he should withdraw his troops. He pointed out that the Imperials were occupying several posts in the Venetian state, despite the fact that the Republic of Venice was officially a neutral country, and the emperor therefore had no right to complain about the posts that he was obliged to occupy in Lorraine. The following summer, Leopold multiplied his agents to further ensure that the neutrality of his states was respected, sending the sieur Martigny to the army of the duke of Marlborough, and the sieur du Ham to that of Villars. The information provided by this network allowed Leopold to learn of Marlborough's project to occupy Pont-à-Mousson in order to surprise Villars from the rear, and Marlborough was forced to renounce this plan.[320]

During the winter of 1705-1706, with the Imperial army under Baden still in Alsace, part of the French army was obliged to winter in the duke's states along the Saar. Leopold, as usual, protested against French troops wintering in his states, but he was told that it was essential for the security of the frontier that the French army stay there. Rumours circulated that the allied army was planning a big push on the Rhine the following season, in order to give free access to Lorraine, and the French were only too aware that Lorraine would provide a huge reservoir of men and supplies, and people 'strongly disposed in their favour' on their doorstep were the allies to take

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[318] SHDT A1 1754 no. 475, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 18 Dec. 1704.
[319] AAE CP Lorr. 61 f. 227, d'Audiffret to Louis XIV, 10 Jan. 1705; SHDT A1 1851 no. 161, Villars to Louis XIV, 7 Feb. 1705. Leopold advised his envoy to Louis XIV that if the Dutch did anything to contravene the neutrality of his states, he would threaten to enter the war on the French side. ADMM 3F 37 f. 45, Leopold to Barrois, 9 Mar. 1705; ADMM 3F 9 no. 139, Barrois to Leopold, 18 Mar. 1705.
[320] AAE CP Lorr. 55 nos. 254, 270 & 286, Louis XIV to d'Audiffret, 23 Jan., 19 Mar. & 19 Jun. 1705. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 124.

it.[321] Meanwhile, Imperial raiding parties continued to operate from within Lorraine. In the summer of 1706, the commander of Nancy reported that many of these parties contained a mixture of robbers and hussars, and that it would be impossible to give chase, except with several companies of dragoons. Up to that point, the only troops available in Lorraine to oppose the Imperial hussars were six companies of infantry and one of dragoons, which were largely inappropriate.[322] French policy finally shifted in July, when Marshal Villars dispatched the sieur de Verceil with 160 hussars to chase the raiding parties from Lorraine, though he was given very precise orders not to do anything which might displease the duke; the king approved, though he advised the use of 'all the restraint appropriate when one is obliged to enter the states of a neutral prince'.[323] By mid-August, Verceil reported that the enemy hussars had all fled across the Saar. But the parties soon returned: in November a force of 40 hussars passed the gates of the chateau of Lunéville, prompting the duke to write to the Imperial General Thüngen to have the commanding officer of the party arrested.[324]

Relations with the duke remained fairly good through 1707, despite Louis's refusal to intervene in favour of Leopold in the latter's ongoing quarrel with the pope.[325] But from 1708, as France's fortunes in the war deteriorated, the prospect loomed of the duke entering the war on the allied side. The French government was well aware of where Leopold's true inclinations lay: d'Audiffret warned in June 1708, as Prince Eugène appeared to be approaching the Moselle, that the principal courtiers at Lunéville were proclaiming that if Eugène should enter Lorraine he would find all manner of support there.[326] It was essential to France to keep Leopold in a state of neutrality. Louis XIV asked him to act as intermediary to open peace negotiations with Vienna, but the Lorrain envoys were coldly received. When negotiations began

[321] SHDT A1 1848 no. 26, Villars to Chamillart, 4 Nov. 1705; A1 1950 no. 147, Chamillart to d'Audiffret, 24 Jan. 1706; no. 227, d'Audiffret to Chamillart, 9 Feb. 1706.
[322] SHDT A1 1951 no. 373, Avejan to Chamillart, 17 Jun. 1706; A1 1952 no. 156, Chamillart to Gramont, 9 Aug. 1706.
[323] SHDT A1 1948 no. 249, Villars to Chamillart, 28 Jul. 1706; no. 231, Chamillart to Villars, 19 Jul. 1706.
[324] SHDT A1 1952 no. 198, Verceil to Chamillart, 17 Aug. 1706; A1 1953 no. 161, Avejan to Chammilart, 13 Nov. 1706.
[325] SHDT A1 2033 no. 143, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 13 Jun. 1707.
[326] AAE CP Lorr. 70, ff. 189-190, d'Audiffret to Louis XIV, 23 Jun. 1708.

at the Hague in 1709, rumours circulated that Toul and Verdun would be ceded by Louis XIV to Leopold; the king quickly refuted these. Meanwhile, the duke attempted to profit from circumstances: he sent his brother, the bishop of Osnabrück, to the emperor to present his complaints against France and his claims on Alsace and Luxembourg. While the emperor gave him vague promises, the issue of Lorraine was passed over without mention at the Hague.[327] Meanwhile, the environmental situation was deteriorating, with knock-on effects for the French war effort and the Lorrain duchies.

*Maintaining neutrality in the midst of crisis*

The harvest of wheat was already bad in 1708, and as was usual, governments including that of Leopold forbade wheat from leaving their country. In January 1709 a brutal cold hit western Europe, lasting in Lorraine from 6 January to 2 March: a bookshop owner in Nancy, Jean-François Nicolas, described it as 'the most cruel winter that any living man has ever seen'. The state of provisions on France's north-eastern frontier was critical by the spring of 1709: the Franche-Comté and Lorraine, both of which normally provided most of the supplies for the army, could barely meet their own subsistence needs. The duke reinforced his prohibition on taking grains out of Lorraine, threatening the Trois Evêchés with starvation.[328] The French multiplied their demands on the duke for him to lift the export ban, but to no avail: he wrote that he could not accord it without seeing his own subjects perish.[329] Saint-Contest argued that the export ban was contrary to the Treaty of Ryswick, which guaranteed freedom of trade between Lorraine and the Trois Evêchés, and could only lead to disorder amongst the French troops and undermine the security of the region; he added that the king's duty to protect his own subjects meant that procuring the subsistence supplies of the Trois Evêchés justified the use of his 'authority'.[330]

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[327] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 126.
[328] *Ibid*., ii. p. 100; SHDT A1 2166 no. 25, La Houssaye to Chamillart, 22 Apr. 1709; A1 2167 no. 34, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 29 Apr. 1709.
[329] SHDT A1 2163 no. 105, d'Audiffret to Chamillart, 23 May 1709; no. 106, Leopold to Chamillart, 23 May 1709.
[330] SHDT A1 2167 no. 150, Saint-Contest to Voysin, 18 Jul. 1709; no. 229, Saint-Contest to Voysin, 19 Sep. 1709.

The situation went from bad to worse in the summer of 1709, leading to further deterioration in Franco-Lorrain relations. Marshal Harcourt wrote to the new war minister Daniel Voysin in August that unless some means could be found of obliging the duke to lift the export ban, the French cavalry would perish. The war minister replied that the duke was still unlikely to lift the ban as he appeared increasingly indisposed to help the French; furthermore he was also continuing to allow enemy raiding parties to commit hostilities against French subjects with impunity. Shortly afterwards the king gave permission for his officers to once again attack enemy raiding parties on Lorrain territory, as the duke had failed to act, and 'It would not be fair that the consideration which the king has so far had for this prince only serves to procure more security to our enemies.'[331] The French continued to press Leopold to release more grains to supply the army, but he replied that he would sooner the grains were taken by violence than to give his consent to them leaving Lorraine, as this would be easier on his conscience. Fortunately, no such action needed to be taken: the winter of 1709-10 was not nearly as bad in Lorraine as in France. The duke permitted the French to buy substantial quantities of grains for the army, and in December published an *ordonnance* re-establishing the freedom of commerce in grains with the Trois Evêchés.[332] Finally, the appearance of good harvests in 1710 permitted Leopold to lift the interdiction on taking grains out of the duchies in March 1710.[333]

The fact that France, even in the hour of its deepest need, did not intervene militarily to seize supplies for the French army during this period shows a commitment to preserving the neutrality of Lorraine, when necessity seemed to dictate the contrary. Yet, their restraint was not rewarded. Leopold steadfastly refused to chase allied raiding parties from his states, or allow the French to do so on his behalf.[334] The

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[331] SHDT A1 2164 no. 52, Harcourt to Voysin, 14 Aug. 1709; no. 66, Voysin to Harcourt, 18 Aug. 1709; no. 69, Voysin to Reffuge, 18 Aug. 1709.
[332] SHDT A1 2169 no. 128, Valeille to Voysin, 5 Nov. 1709; A1 2167 no. 335, Saint-Contest to Voysin, 10 Dec. 1709; no. 159, Geoffroy to Voysin, 10 Dec. 1709; M-J. Laperche-Fournel, *La population du duché de Lorraine de 1580 à 1720* (Nancy, 1985), p. 155.
[333] SHDT A1 2241 no. 85, Saint-Contest to Voysin, 22 Mar. 1710; A1 2237 no. 114, Harcourt to Voysin, 30 Mar. 1710; Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. pp. 100-101.
[334] SHDT A1 2167 no. 177, Protin to Voysin, 9 Aug. 1709.

French became increasingly suspicious of Leopold, applying more pressure on him which in turn led to further mutual animosity. In early 1709 they demanded he withdraw the baron de Fournier, who Leopold employed as an observer on the Saar frontier. The duke refused, saying that as sovereign he had the right to choose his officers; he remarked also that the complaints made against his ministers and officers were often unfounded, and so they should not be the victims of bad evidence.[335] The French repeated that Fournier's removal was imperative, as there was evidence he had given information on the movement of French troops to the Imperial commander at Landau, who then informed General Zolleren. In the face of this evidence the duke eventually bowed to pressure and recalled Fournier in May.[336] The French also accused the duke of turning a blind eye to the fact that his subjects were acting as guides and provisioning the raiding parties within his states. Given his unwillingness to help, the French took matters into their own hands: Voysin wrote to the marquis de Reffuge in August 1709 that every time French troops were attacked in Lorraine, they were to pursue the enemy parties.[337]

During the summers of 1708 and 1709, Imperial forces under the elector of Hanover and General Mercy (a native of Lorraine) entered Alsace.[338] Leopold ordered local officials, under the pretext of a great hunt, to obtain lead and gunpowder from peasants, perhaps to supply the Imperial army. The French also received intelligence that the duke had carried out a census in his states to find out how many men were capable of bearing arms, though this was denied by the duke.[339] Mercy was defeated and recrossed the Rhine in August 1709, but Franco-Lorrain relations had been significantly strained as a result of his presence in the region. In September, Marshal Harcourt ordered the arrest of all couriers of the duke of Lorraine entering Alsace without a French passport.[340] Increased French intervention provoked further animosity from Leopold, who lodged complaints about the French pursuing enemy

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[335] SHDT A1 2162 no. 4, d'Audiffret to Voysin, 3 Jan. 1709.
[336] SHDT A1 2167 no. 62, Saint-Contest, 18 May 1709.
[337] The duke promised to act only when provided with proof. SHDT A1 2167 no. 22, d'Audiffret to Chamillart, 25 Feb. 1709; A1 2258 no. 55, Voysin to Reffuge, 18 Aug. 1709.
[338] Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 323.
[339] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 126; SHDT A1 2167 no. 37, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 1 May 1709.
[340] SHDT A1 2169 no. 307, La Bastie to Voysin, 16 Sep. 1709.

troops through Lorraine and making disorders in his states. The duke repeated his demands for the handover of an equivalent for Longwy and the resolution of the territory contested between Lorraine and the Trois Evêchés; behind the scenes, he made overtures to the British and Dutch to investigate his chances of gaining Alsace or the Franche-Comté as an indemnity for the loss of Longwy and the Monferrato in a forthcoming peace treaty.[341]

A growing sense of mistrust characterized France's relations with Lorraine after 1709, yet Louis stood firm in maintaining Leopold's sovereignty. Marshal Harcourt warned in May 1710 that if a surprise attack were launched against Besançon and the citadel were lost, the Franche-Comté would rise in revolt and Lorraine would enter the war on the allied side.[342] Meanwhile rumours reached Versailles that the duke of Lorraine had formed a secret alliance with the emperor, who would not consent to peace unless the Trois Evêchés reverted to being Imperial towns.[343] In addition, the situation in Lorraine became increasingly rancorous as France's position in the war became more desperate. The financial crisis meant that by 1710 the French were defaulting on payments to their officials responsible for supplying the network of *étapes*, or military staging posts, in Lorraine; in consequence many of these *étapiers* were forced to flee to avoid being pursued by their creditors.[344] French army officers were now calling for permission to reprovision themselves in Lorrain villages whilst pursuing the enemy raiding parties, as it would only be fair given the support the villages provided to the allies. Marshal Bezons wrote to Voysin in August 1710 urging a full occupation of Lorraine, for the support France could take from the duchies as well as

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[341] ADMM 3f 8 no. 50, Forstner to Leopold, 22 Apr. 1709; SHDT A1 2167 no. 248, Saint-Contest to Voysin, 17 Oct. 1709; no. 362, Voysin to Saint-Contest, 22 Dec. 1709. The emperor had awarded the confiscated Gonzaga territory of the Monferrato to Victor Amadeus II of Savoy in 1708. Leopold objected on the grounds that he had a stronger claim to the territory, being the closest living relative of the late Duke Ferdinando Carlo.

[342] SHDT A1 2237 no. 312, Harcourt to Voysin, 18 May 1710. The French had serious concerns about a possible uprising in the Franche-Comté during the War of the Spanish Succession. See B. Grosperrin, *L'Influence française et le sentiment national français en Franche-Comté de la conquête à la Révolution (1674-1789)* (Paris, 1967), p. 45.

[343] SHDT A1 2167 no. 231, Anon. to Voysin, [undated].

[344] SHDT A1 2241 no. 104. *mémoire de l'envoyé de Lorraine,* [undated].

to stop the 'daily abuse' of the neutrality of Lorraine committed by its inhabitants.[345] He also wrote that many Lorrains passed back and forth across the frontier to communicate with the Imperials with passports from the duke of Lorraine; this communication had to be stopped, as 'there is no sort of ill that we do not receive from this frontier of Lorraine'. Shortly afterwards Bezons reported that the duke of Lorraine was stockpiling weapons and that he was ready to arm between 16,000 and 18,000 men in very little time. In February 1711, the comte de Druy reported rumours that Leopold had formed a plan with the elector of Trier and the elector Palatine to invade Luxembourg.[346]

As Franco-Lorrain relations continued to deteriorate, preliminary peace negotiations to bring the war to a conclusion were held between March and July 1710 at Gertruydenberg, and then at Utrecht from January 1712. At Utrecht, Leopold's envoys reported that they were treated with open hostility by the French due to the duke's claims. 1712 also saw particularly heavy raiding in Lorraine: Harcourt reported to the king that it had become 'worse than ever'; the parties not only interrupted the French post but also the transport of supplies for the army, and the French were now obliged to provide escorts to ensure the communication between Paris and the frontier.[347] As the peace negotiations continued, Imperial troops continued the struggle in the north of France; thousands of these passed through Lorraine, though without making any exactions. Louis XIV found this 'moderation' extremely suspect. It seems that during the course of the war, Leopold adopted a policy that was increasingly pro-Habsburg, and Louis XIV was well aware of this. Yet, certain members of his court remained pro-French, most notably the *chargé d'affaires* the sieur de Protin, who passed on secret intelligence to Saint-Contest regarding enemy plans for troop movements.[348]

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[345] SHDT A1 2236 no. 154. Cheyladet to Voysin, 23 Jan. 1710; A1 2238 no. 210, Bezons to Voysin, 12 Aug. 1710.
[346] SHDT A1 2238 no. 227, Bezons to Voysin, 18 Aug. 1710; no. 274. Bezons to Voysin, 29 Aug. 1710; A1 2317 no. 71, Druy to Voysin, 26 Feb. 1711.
[347] SHDT A1 2391 no. 214, Reffuge to Voysin, 24 May 1712; no. 252, Harcourt to Louis XIV, 15 Jun. 1712.
[348] SHDT A1 2321 no. 284, Saint-Contest, 30 Nov. 1711; Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 126.

The Treaty of Utrecht, signed 11 April 1713, made no mention of Lorraine. As a separate peace had to be negotiated between France and the Empire, the duke dispatched an envoy to Vienna; but his first cousin the Emperor Charles VI had little interest in the problems of Lorraine. Leopold tried in vain to act as mediator between Vienna and Versailles, and did not receive any satisfaction when he attempted to obtain the perpetual neutrality of the duchies; the Treaty of Rastatt (6 March 1714) ignored them altogether. As soon as the Treaty of Rastatt had been signed, Leopold sent a representative to Versailles to request the withdrawal of the French troops in Nancy, and the last French regiment left on 11 November 1714. By the treaty signed at Baden in Switzerland in September 1714, Louis XIV promised, with the agreement of the emperor, to carry out the clauses of the Treaty of Ryswick which regarded Lorraine. These were finally resolved by the Treaty of Paris of 21 January 1718, by which Leopold confirmed the cession of Sarrelouis and Longwy, and received in exchange Rambervilliers. He also gained recognition of the title His Royal Highness, up to that point refused by France, which was part of the *traitement royal*, and highly coveted in the European dynastic system.[349]

*Conclusions*

Over the course of Louis XIV's personal reign, the French moved through several distinct phases of approach to Lorraine. Initially occupied to support the French strategic and logistic position in the Dutch War, Lorraine was retained afterwards on the basis of the refusal of Charles V to receive it on the conditions underwritten by the plenipotentiaries at Nijmegen. The absence of a sufficiently compliant prince to rule Lorraine at Louis's behest meant that a more *ad hoc* policy had to be adopted, which developed as a result of political expediency and the needs of the moment into one of outright annexation. This policy continued until Ryswick when the allied powers forced a French climb-down. France's policies toward Lorraine reflect the huge strategic importance of this region to the security of the kingdom. Evidence of this can be seen in the fact that in 1673, the administrative supervision of Lorraine was transferred from the secretary of state for foreign affairs to that of war, reflecting the

[349] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. pp. 127-128.

pre-eminence of strategic-logistic objectives in determining French policy in Lorraine. Lorraine, along with Alsace, and the entire north-eastern frontier, was now a ‘military zone’. France had, bit by bit, imposed its presence in the Lorraine region, and had isolated the duchies within its frontiers; in doing so, Louis XIV was essentially following similar policies to Richelieu and Mazarin. Though the French relinquished Lorraine in 1697, it was still weakened to the point that the occupation of Nancy and several strategic points from December 1702 could be undertaken with minimal resistance, in order to protect Alsace and Champagne and support the line of the Saar.

# CHAPTER III

## FRENCH OCCUPATIONS OF THE DUCHY OF SAVOIE
## 1690-1696 & 1703-1713

*Introduction*

Like the previous chapter on Lorraine, this chapter uses a narrative method to describe the occupations of Savoie from 1690 to 1696, and from 1703 to 1713. It continues where Part II of Chapter I finished, with the rupture between France and Savoy in the spring of 1690.

## PART I: THE DUCHY OF SAVOIE, 1690-1696

*Preparations*

As Franco-Savoyard relations went from bad to worse in the spring of 1690, the French realised that they would have to make contingency arrangements for the increasingly likely prospect that Victor Amadeus would defect to the Grand Alliance. The commander of the Army of Italy, Nicolas Catinat, wrote to the king in mid-May from Vigliano to suggest that they devise a plan to 'ruin Monsieur de Savoie', to 'devastate his states', and to 'take from his states so much money that they will be of no further help to him'. Since 31 March, the intendant of the Dauphiné, Etienne-Jean Bouchu, was also intendant of the Army of Italy. Together they would act to find out exactly what the duke took from his states, so as to be prepared to follow the king's orders.[350] When the declaration of war came in early June, Catinat lost no time in commencing the requisition of foodstuff and livestock and sent out orders to put the duke's states under contribution.[351]

For the duchy of Savoie, Louvois's wish was to take 'as much as we can, even double what the people give to Monsieur de Savoie'.[352] At the beginning of May, the war minister had ordered the marquis de Larray, the commander in the Dauphiné, to prepare to put the duchy under contribution, and told Bouchu to choose one of his

[350] SHDT A1 1009 no. 23, Catinat to Louis XIV, 14 May 1690.
[351] J. Humbert, 'Conquête et Occupation de la Savoie sous Louis XIV (1690-1691)', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Savoie*, 6e série, 9 (1967), p. 19
[352] Cited in *ibid*., p. 23.

most experienced *commissaires des guerres* to organize the contribution.[353] Larray proceeded to implement Catinat's plan for Savoie by putting as much of the duchy under contribution as possible, though this was no easy task, given the poverty of the country and the shortage of troops. To compound his difficulties, Savoyard peasants in the villages closest to France had abandoned their homes *en masse* and had taken their livestock to the mountains for safety, blocking the roads with rocks as they went. In consequence, it was only Chambéry and its hinterland which could be put under contribution. Added to the problem of the lack of troops, there was also no infrastructure in place to collect the contributions – there was not a single receiver in the Dauphiné capable of performing the task, and the intendant was currently out of the province.[354]

The lack of military preparation on either side became immediately apparent: Larray had only a regiment of cavalry at half strength and a militia regiment at his disposal. The French hastily assembled armed peasants to harry the countryside around Chambéry, while the commander awaited the arrival of more infantry and cavalry. The Savoyards, who according to Cardinal Le Camus were 'dismayed' at the course events had taken, were even less prepared to launch any incursions into France, only beginning to raise militias after the declaration of war.[355] Victor Amadeus placed the defence of the duchy in the hands of the *premier président* of the *Chambre des comptes* of Chambéry, the marquis de Lescheraine, to whom he conceded that most of the duchy, with the exception of the mountainous provinces of the Tarentaise and the Maurienne, was impossible to defend and should be abandoned in the case of invasion.[356] Most of the efforts of the Savoyards over the next month and a half were therefore geared towards building up supplies in the fortress of Montmélian.

Larray told Louvois with frustration that given the weak state of defence of Savoie, he could conquer the whole duchy with just two infantry regiments. Left any longer, Victor Amadeus would have time to build up his forces there. One of the main

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[353] *Ibid*., p. 19.
[354] SHDT A1 1009 nos. 104, 107 & 111, Larray to Louvois, 7, 9 & 10 Jun. 1690.
[355] Cardinal Le Camus provided much information on Savoy during the summer of 1690. He was well positioned to gather reliable information thanks to an established network of agents principally in and around Chambéry.
[356] Humbert, 'Conquête', pp. 30-31.

concerns of the French was that Victor Amadeus was planning to send troops into the Dauphiné to raise a possible Huguenot revolt there. Evidence shows, indeed, that William III recognized that the duchy of Savoie provided several routes through which the allies could invade France and join forces with Protestant rebels there, thereby offering the possibility of 'fomenting in the heart of France a mortal civil war'.[357] Louvois's first priority, however, was not the conquest of the duchy, but to advance to Briançon to secure the posts necessary to ensure communication with Pinerolo. He reminded Larray that the king had not yet given any order to commence hostilities against Savoie, at least unless the Savoyards themselves started any first. He would make arrangements to send 7,000 foot and 2,000 horse to the region, but in the meantime Larray was to remain on the defensive. This was perhaps in the hope that Victor Amadeus could be detached from the allies and a conquest of his states would be unnecessary.

It was only in mid-June that Louvois began to concern himself with the logistics of a conquest of the duchy. Acknowledging that he had 'absolutely no knowledge of this country, having only passed along the road which goes from Chambéry to Piedmont', he demonstrated his usual zeal for micromanagement by ordering Larray to provide him with a detailed state of the fortifications and communications of the duchy, and an estimation of how many troops would be able to winter there. But his ignorance of Savoie was near-total: he had to ask whether or not Chambéry had a castle, and whether or not there was a town below the fortress of Montmélian.[358] His request for such basic information indicates that the French never, during Louvois's tenure of office in the War Ministry, foresaw a need for occupying Savoie, and certainly had no strategy for doing so in 1690.

The apparent ease with which the inhabitants of Chambéry paid up 240,000 *livres* to the small group of cavalry and armed peasants which Larray sent towards their gates

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[357] R. Oresko, 'The Diplomatic Background to the Glorioso Rimpatrio: the Rupture between Vittorio Amedeo II and Louis XIV (1688-1690)' in A. de Lange (ed.), *Dall'Europa alle Valli Valdesi: Atti del XXIX Convegno storico internazionale: 'Il Glorioso Rimpatrio (1689-1989). Contesto-Significato-Immagine'* (Turin, 1990), p. 380.

[358] SHDT A1 1009 no. 114, Larray to Louvois, 12 Jun. 1690; A1 1011 f. 375, Louvois to Larray, 13 Jun. 1690.

on 11 June signified to him that it would not be at all difficult to take the town.[359] Moreover, 'there is not a single inhabitant who would not be perfectly happy that the king takes them and the rest of Savoie under his protection'. He was informed by 'many honest men from these parts' that with just a token appearance of a French army with some cannon, they would voluntarily open their gates; 'the nobility and the people desire totally to be under the protection of the king and perfectly hate their sovereign'. Moreover, Savoie may have been poor and on the verge of famine, but would still be very useful for winter quarters; Larray estimated the duchy could easily nourish 5,000 horse and 15,000 infantry. He warned, however, that the duke of Savoy was sending couriers to Switzerland and the Prince of Orange to try to solicit them to provide money and troops for the defence of Chambéry, warning that if the town was garrisoned with 'people of resolution' it would be much more difficult to take.[360] But the secretary for war stayed well informed of the situation in Savoie thanks to the network of informants of the French resident in Geneva, Iberville, who told him that there was no immediate threat from these quarters.[361]

*The conquest*

It was not until 18 July that the marquis de Saint-Ruth arrived in Grenoble with an order to occupy Savoie – even then, troops passed right by him, headed straight for Pinerolo. His orders were to occupy the duchy specifically to stop Victor Amadeus extracting any money from it, to stop him communicating with it, and to stop him having any hope of wintering his troops there. Given the delay in ordering the occupation, Saint-Ruth worried that the duke and his allies would occupy Chambéry before the French. Finally, at noon on 13 August, French troops entered the town. The inhabitants put up no resistance, and the arrival of Cardinal Le Camus, their bishop, to negotiate the terms of the capitulation had convinced them. The château surrendered at the same time. In it, the French found substantial stores of arms and foodstuffs, suggesting that the duke had planned an offensive and that the French had

[359] The French, knowing that the territory was impoverished, had the sum underwritten with the goods of several Savoyard merchants in Lyon.
[360] SHDT A1 1009 nos. 120, 133 & 140, Larray to Louvois 15, 21 & 24 Jun. 1690.
[361] Humbert, 'Conquête', p. 27.

arrived there in the nick of time. Annecy surrendered likewise without any resistance on 17 August, after having been advised by the Savoyard commander to 'capitulate as honourably as possible'.[362] It appeared to Saint-Ruth that 'these people would be delighted to belong to the king, if they were persuaded that he wants to keep them.'[363] On Saint-Ruth's initiative, the bourgeois of towns and the magistrates of the sovereign courts of Chambéry swore an oath of allegiance to Louis XIV. Within days the provinces of Faucigny, Savoie, the Chablais and the Genevois were under French occupation, the local militias also preferring to swear allegiance to the king of France rather than put up any resistance to Saint-Ruth and his army.

The French invasion of Savoie had so far been watched with unease from Switzerland, where William III's agents had been active in stirring up anti-French feeling. Saint-Ruth argued that it would therefore be of enormous benefit to occupy the area around Lake Geneva to control the passage of refugees and to intimidate Geneva and the canton of Bern, but his advice went unheeded. French resources in the south-east were already stretched to the limit, and Louvois made it clear that completing the conquest of the duchy of Savoie would take second place to building up the forces in Piedmont. Versailles could not agree to occupying such a vast number of positions around Lake Geneva as it would have been easy for inhabitants (given how few troops there were there) or militias loyal to the duke of Savoy to take them back; it was better to keep a corps of troops together, to be able to send reinforcements to Catinat who had more important operations to pursue.[364] This was indicative of the government's lack of enthusiasm for tying down troops in an occupation, and their lack of desire for keeping Savoie in the long term, compared with the enthusiasm of the commanders on the spot.

That the majority of Savoie had accepted the French invasion without resistance, had sworn an oath of allegiance to the king of France, and that the French saw no need for a military presence beyond Chambéry and Annecy implies a passivity on the part of the population which Saint-Ruth took for affection for the French. The French were so confident of the lack of security risks in Savoie that they did not even see the need

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[362] Humbert, 'Conquête', p. 34.
[363] SHDT A1 1010 no. 40, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 18 Aug. 1690.
[364] SHDT A1 1010 nos. 50, 51 & 55, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 22, 22 & 24 Aug. 1690.

to encrypt the mail to Lyon. The sense of optimism on the part of Saint-Ruth, who enthused that 'in treating them with gentleness, they will find that they love much better to be subjects of the king than Monsieur de Savoie', should be compared with Crequy's similarly optimistic comments of 1670 regarding Lorraine.[365] It would bring a commanding officer untold *gloire* to conquer in its entirety a province which might be definitively annexed to the kingdom. But for Louis XIV and Louvois, the only aim was to rid themselves of a potentially ruinous and certainly frustrating war in the Alps by bringing Victor Amadeus to terms as quickly as possible, by threatening him with the total loss of his states. Militarily, the occupation of Savoie was for entirely defensive purposes, to cover the Dauphiné and Bresse from invasion. Proceeding into the mountainous regions of the Tarentaise and the Maurienne immediately would be costly and, if Victor Amadeus could be brought to terms, potentially unnecessary.[366]

By the end of August, the conquest of the duchy still incomplete, Saint-Ruth became increasingly frustrated at its low priority. He observed regiments continuing to pass through the duchy on their way to Pinerolo, and noted with a hint of sarcasm: 'Monsieur de Catinat must have a great need of troops'.[367] Reinforcements finally arrived and in early September French troops advanced into the Tarentaise to engage with the militias of the marquis de Sales. On 12 September Saint-Ruth crushed the Savoyard forces, taking de Sales hostage and prompting the immediate surrender of the regional centre, Moutiers. The comte de Bernex took the remnants of the defending forces over the Alps into the Aosta Valley, and on 18 September Saint-Ruth could write to Louvois that at last the king was master of the whole duchy.[368] All that remained were the fortress of Montmélian and the state prison at Miolans, the latter capitulating in early October after the governor took a bribe of 10,500 *livres*.[369] The campaigning season at an end, the French set about quartering the army. Thirty-six infantry companies were quartered across the duchy during the winter of 1690-91, as well as three dragoon regiments.[370]

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[365] SHDT A1 1010 nos. 51 & 55, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 22 & 24 Aug. 1690.
[366] Humbert, 'Conquête', p. 35-36.
[367] SHDT A1 1010 no. 58, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 28 Aug. 1690.
[368] SHDT A1 1010 nos. 69 & 73, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 12 & 18 Sep. 1690.
[369] SHDT A1 1010 no. 85 Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 2 Oct. 1690.
[370] SHDT A1 1011 ff. 467-469, Bouchu to Louvois 7 Dec. 1690.

*Occupied Savoie*

French policy towards the duchy of Savoie was indicative of the government wishing to end the war with Victor Amadeus as quickly as possible, while using the duke's territory to try to ease some of the financial burden of the conflict and minimise the likelihood of an allied invasion of France. A memorandum to Louvois written in January 1691 warned of the immense sums the war would cost, as much by the transportation of wheat across the Alps as by the amount of equipment and manpower required, as the French would be continually obliged to leave considerable detachments in the region. The best way to end it would be to completely chase the duke of Savoy from his states, including Piedmont, 'making him lead the life of Monsieur de Lorraine' and forcing him to negotiate on the king's terms.[371] By April the French believed such an extreme course would not be necessary, and that Victor Amadeus was in such a predicament that they sent an agent to Turin with the following non-negotiable terms, by which Louis XIV would 'forgive' the duke: the French would keep the county of Nice; Montmélian would be handed over to the duke on the condition that he should raze it; the fortress at Susa would be demolished; Victor Amadeus would provide 2,400 infantry and three dragoon regiments to Louis XIV; and finally he would commit himself anew to the destruction of Protestants in his states. The envoy reported that the first condition, regarding Nice, had no impact on the duke, but after hearing the second concerning Montmélian, he refused on the grounds that, 'It is the only fortress I have in Savoie and which allows me to call myself duke of Savoy.'[372]

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[371] SHDT A1 1101 ff. 238-243, Feuquiere to Louvois, 5 Jan. 1691. The plan seems to have been to knock Victor Amadeus out of the war by a quick offensive strike. Shortly before the fortress of Nice fell in April 1691, Louvois ordered Catinat that if the fortress should prove difficult to take, the entire town should be razed to the ground. SHDT A1 1077 no. 141, Louvois to Catinat, 27 Mar. 1691.

[372] SHDT A1 1101 ff. 210-214, Louvois to Catinat, 22 Apr. 1691; SHDT A1 1093, Catinat to Louvois, 8 May 1691. While Louvois and the king fostered the notion that the county of Nice could be kept by France in the event of a peace treaty, there is no evidence of any similar designs for the permanent annexation of the duchy of Savoie at this time: SHDT A1 1077 no. 147, Louvois to Catinat 31 Mar. 1691.

The death of Louvois in July 1691 resulted in an important change of strategy on the part of Louis XIV. As Guy Rowlands has shown, Louis from then on decided to remain on the defensive on France's south-eastern frontier.[373] At the same time he renewed his attempts at encouraging Victor Amadeus to sue for peace by trying to get the pope to act as intermediary in order to rid himself of a war which Louis described as being 'as painful as it is ruinous'.[374] But the duke was in no mood to compromise, having staked everything. In late August, it appeared that an allied army might soon advance into Savoie, and the French were forced to keep the major towns well provisioned and in a state of defence. The French observed that the Imperials were passing arms into the canton of Bern for ultimate transfer to Savoie, and Protestants were assembling there ready to pass into the Chablais. To make matters worse, dysentery swept through the French army as a result of the catastrophic supply problems. The state of uncertainty caused panic among the people of Savoie. As Bonval reported, many Savoyards were convinced that the allies would soon retake the duchy, and, having been forbidden to export grain, were now threatening to seize it themselves by force. Bonval recommended the French soften their approach in this regard in order to calm things somewhat, 'without letting it seem that we pay attention to their complaints and threats'.[375] This crisis was also reflected in a softening of French terms in the negotiations which were carried out between Louis's agent the sieur de Chamlay and the duke of Savoy's agents at Pinerolo: the French now offered to indemnify Victor Amadeus for the war, and the fortresses would be placed in neutral hands until the end of the conflict.[376]

Some good news for the French came in December 1691 when the fortress of Montmélian finally surrendered, after a blockade and siege of 16 months.[377] The fortress of Nice had fallen in April of that year, leaving the French in possession of all

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[373] G. Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo II and French Military Failure in Italy, 1689-96', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), p. 547.
[374] SHDT A1 1078 no. 29, Louis XIV to Catinat, 15 Aug. 1691.
[375] SHDT A1 1113 no. 210, Bonval to Louvois, 28 Aug. 1691; SHDT A1 1100 no. 62, Bonval to Louvois, 4 Sep. 1691.
[376] Rowlands, 'Louis XIV', p. 547.
[377] The siege of Montmélian devastated the surrounding area. The month after the capitulation of the fortress, Cardinal Le Camus wrote of Savoie: 'poverty is everywhere... [with] famine caused by the troops, bad harvests and fire, filling the people with despair', quoted in J. Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle noblesse et bourgeoisie* (2 vols., Paris, 1978), ii. p. 555.

of Victor Amadeus's territories on the western side of the Alps. As Louis XIV informed Catinat, however, he was undecided about what to do with Montmélian: it would be very useful for maintaining the security of Savoie and finishing the war in Piedmont, but it would be very prejudicial in the long-term to have to give it back to the duke and to see it continue to exist so close to the frontier. If, on the other hand, the fortress was razed along with the fortress at Nice, he would permanently be the master of the area and could do anything he desired in the states of the duke of Savoy. His indecision on the matter is indicative of his response to the whole war in the south-east, and shows his inability to come to terms with his limitations and the realities of what was going on, preferring to cling to the idea that, as he put it 'anything could change', rather than admitting his limitations and bruising his pride.[378] In the order sent out to governors and bishops across France for the singing of a *Te Deum* for the fall of Montmélian, Louis reiterated that the conquest of the fortress, as well as the duchy of Savoie as a whole, had 'put my frontiers in a state by which we need fear nothing of the enterprises of my enemies, who always wish to try something around my province of Dauphiné'. It was, therefore, an entirely defensive regional strategy.[379]

Perhaps in the hope of furthering the chances of an accommodation with Victor Amadeus, and in any case because they were useful for pursuing the war, the French decided not to destroy Montmélian and Nice.[380] But hopes for an early peace came to little: despite continued negotiations through 1692, hopes foundered because of Victor Amadeus's insistence on receiving the *traitement royal* in the diplomatic sphere, and Louis XIV's continued refusal of this, despite his readiness to concede on many other points.[381] Only in 1695 did negotiations start to move: in July, the French agreed to the handover and demolition of Casale, and by November were ready to concede Pinerolo, but tried to get in exchange either the town and county of Nice, or the Barcelonnette valley.[382] In the end, they got neither: between April and June 1696,

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[378] SHDT A1 1078 no. 122, Louis XIV to Catinat, 16 Dec. 1691.
[379] AAE CP Sard. 94 [unnumbered], Versailles, 3 Jan. 1692.
[380] SHDT A1 1169 no. 33, Catinat to Louis XIV, 12 Mar. 1692.
[381] SHDT A1 1238 nos. 79 & 82, Tessé to Louis XIV, 22 & 29 Feb. 1692; no. 96, Catinat to the prince of Carignano, [1692].
[382] Rowlands, 'Louis XIV', pp. 555-557; AAE CP Sard 94, f. 275, *Mémoire*, Croissy, Nov. 1695.

Tessé negotiated the Treaty of Turin, whereby Pinerolo would be returned to the duke of Savoy on condition it was razed and never rebuilt. Montmélian and Nice were also returned, with no such conditions. Article 13 of the treaty stipulated that after a general peace Victor Amadeus would only be allowed 1,500 infantry west of the Alps in Savoie and Nice.[383] The treaty was ratified by both parties at the end of August, and in early September Bonval received instructions for the evacuation of Savoie. The duchy was handed over to the Savoyard commander Carlo Tana on 28 September, with the exception of Chambéry of which de Thoy kept the command for a week during the execution of the handover.[384]

*1696-1703 – recovery and reform*

The success of the Nine Years War enhanced Victor Amadeus's prestige, allowing him to press on with reforms aimed at expanding the state's military capacity. These included creating a uniform bureaucracy across the whole Savoyard state: the intendant system had been introduced into the duchy of Savoie in 1686, but the French occupation had interrupted its development. The financial plight of local communities, now one of the government's most urgent concerns, was the focus of much of the intendant's energy.[385] Giovanni Battista Gropello, one of Victor Amadeus's closest aides, his principal diplomatic agent in 1693-96 and the architect of the Savoyard state's new fiscal structure, was appointed *intendant-général* of the duchy of Savoie in 1696. Under Gropello, the state continued its offensive against the sovereign courts, begun before the French occupation. In 1698, the *Chambre des comptes* refused to approve new import duties proposed by the duke; in response, Victor Amadeus named Gropello as *premier président* of the *Chambre* enabling him to override their obstruction. By the following year it had lost its jurisdiction over the *taille*, customs and the *gabelles*. In 1700 the office of *intendant-général* of Savoie was systematized for the first time, giving the intendant wide-ranging powers to ensure that all taxes were paid on time and in full.

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[383] Rowlands, 'Louis XIV', pp. 559-560.
[384] SHDT A1 1375 nos. 59 & 78, Bonval to Barbezieux, 26 & 29 Sep. 1696.
[385] G. Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II: absolutism in the Savoyard state, 1675-1730* (London, 1983), pp. 118-121.

The re-established intendancy was also motivated by Victor Amadeus's desire to assert his authority over the duchy, particularly after it had co-operated with the French with a conspicuous lack of resistance. With this in mind, a special tribunal was established in 1696, comprising select members of the *Sénat* and *Chambre des comptes* and headed by Gropello, to judge crimes committed during the occupation. The precise function of this *Chambre de justice* was to 'examine the conduct of local officers, syndics, chatelaines and other persons who, during the occupation, ran the affairs of towns and communes and committed malpractice in their administration'. The tribunal sat every day until its suppression on 30 April 1699, and though there were few important sentences, the tribunal had an ugly character as it depended on denunciations; the church hierarchy was instrumental in this, getting the faithful to come forward with information under pain of ecclesiastical censure.[386] In addition, the duke also purged the *Sénat*, as well as the inferior judicial bodies of the duchy, of all magistrates appointed by Louis XIV. Of their number, two-thirds were Savoyards who had committed no crime but to administer justice with faithfulness in execution of their promises.[387]

[386] The two most serious sentences were a fine of 5,000 *livres* and banishment for a year.
[387] E. Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat de Savoie et des autres compagnies judiciaires de la même province* (2 vols., Paris, 1864-65), ii. pp. 105-110.

# PART II: THE DUCHY OF SAVOIE, 1703-1713

*The War of the Spanish Succession*

As Victor Amadeus embarked on further reforms in Savoie, events in Europe put the status of the duchy within the Savoyard state into question. During the negotiations for the partition treaties preceding Charles II's death, Victor Amadeus's main aim was the acquisition of Milan. But by the terms of the Second Partition Treaty of March 1700, Milan was assigned to Leopold, duke of Lorraine. In July, Victor Amadeus sent an emissary to Louis XIV and William III to propose that the duke of Lorraine instead be given Naples and Sicily, and that Victor Amadeus would receive Milan. In exchange he would cede an unspecified 'part of our states' – presumably Savoie or Nice, or both – to France. By this proposal, France would have gained both the contiguous territories of Lorraine and Savoie. As Symcox argued, 'From Victor Amadeus's point of view, Milan was far more desirable than his transalpine dominions: richer, more populous, geographically and linguistically easier to integrate into Piedmont'.[388] Milan could also have provided Victor Amadeus with a springboard for the creation of a kingdom of Lombardy. By mid-October an agreement had been reached with Louis XIV to cede Nice, Savoie and the Barcelonnette valley in return for Milan and the Monferrato, but these negotiations proved unnecessary for the French as Carlos II died on 1 November, bequeathing his entire empire to the Bourbon candidate.

Now encircled between two blocs of Bourbon territory, Victor Amadeus had little choice but to allow French troops to pass through his states to Milan. In April 1701 he signed an alliance with France, giving him supreme command of the combined Savoyard and Bourbon armies in Italy. But the terms of the alliance offered him no prospect of territorial expansion, and he maintained contacts with the Emperor, explaining to him that he had only joined the Bourbon alliance under duress. The following spring, the Habsburg position in Italy deteriorated, prompting the emperor

[388] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, pp. 137-138.

to offer significant territorial concessions to Victor Amadeus as a means of detaching him from the French and Spanish. The duke, fearing complete Bourbon domination of northern Italy, received an Imperial envoy in Turin in the summer of 1703 to begin negotiations for an alliance. As Symcox has argued, the decision to change sides (his second in seven years) was without doubt a 'prodigious gamble', upon which hung the future of Victor Amadeus's state and his dynasty.[389] Upon hearing of Victor Amadeus's intrigues, Louis XIV ordered his commander in the Milanese, the duc de Vendôme, to disarm the Savoyard regiments, and this took place on 29 September 1703 in Lombardy. Vendôme then marched to Piedmont to force Victor Amadeus to hand over his fortresses. Shortly afterwards the duke ordered the arrest of all French subjects in his states, and on 24 October he declared war on France.[390]

Unlike during the Nine Years War, when Italy was of secondary importance to France, it was of the utmost significance now, and Louis XIV was determined to knock Victor Amadeus out of the war in order to assure the security of the Milanese. Franco-Spanish forces therefore began a systematic conquest of Piedmont and Savoie.[391] Savoie would be of great strategic importance to France, since Victor Amadeus had closed the Mont-Cénis pass, making the duchy, along with the pro-French Swiss Republic of the Valais, the only routes by which reinforcements and supplies could reach Lombardy.[392] The theatre was equally important for the allies, as it offered a weak point in France's defences: from 1703 the Camisard rebels in Languedoc and the Cévennes were provided with English arms, money and officers, and plans were made to invade from Savoie and the Dauphiné, with the aim of depriving the French of their Mediterranean fleet.[393] The importance of this theatre to the allies is demonstrated by the fact that the Maritime Powers paid Victor Amadeus 80,000 *écus* per month as subsidy.[394]

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[389] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, pp. 139-144.
[390] Victor Amadeus concluded a formal treaty with the allies on 8 November.
[391] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 144.
[392] *Ibid*., p. 147.
[393] J. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1664-1714* (London, 1999), pp. 278-279.
[394] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 146.

*The second occupation of Savoie*

Following the defection of Victor Amadeus into the allied camp, desperate attempts were made to place Savoie into a state of adequate defence. The defenders of Savoie were at an immediate disadvantage due to the fact that there were no supplies or fodder in the duchy, as no troops had stayed there since the last peace.[395] In early October 1703, shortly after Vendôme disarmed Victor Amadeus's troops in Piedmont, letters arrived in Chambéry for the marquis de Sales giving him the power to do all that was necessary to preserve the duchy. An extraordinary meeting of the *Sénat* the following day registered the edict of Victor Amadeus raising new emergency taxes and exhorting the clergy, the nobility and the whole state to give him proofs of their fidelity, offering considerable privileges for those who voluntarily took up arms in his service.[396] The fortress of Montmélian had been the object of much of the duke's energy over the previous few months, having worked 'night and day' to repair its fortifications. De Sales's priorities were to provision it and raise militia wherever he could. Intendant Bouchu was of the opinion that it was strongly against the inclinations of the people of Savoie to join the militias, being 'little satisfied by the current domination'.[397] This may have been overly optimistic, as by 21 October de Sales had reportedly 5,000 men under his command forming near Montmélian, a figure which grew to 6,000 by the end of the month. The intendant of the Franche-Comté, Ferrand, supported Bouchu's opinion that these men were low quality and were forced into the militia against their will, the best men having been sent to rebuild the ducal army in Piedmont.[398]

Avoiding the Savoyard defence forces, the comte de Tessé marched into Chambéry in mid-November and met no resistance at all, the Cardinal Le Camus taking his familiar role of *moderator optimus* in negotiating the town's capitulation. As Tessé wrote back to the king, the fleeing Savoyard forces had taken everything they could: the

[395] SHDT A1 1701 no. 50, Ferrand to Chamillart, 13 Oct. 1703.
[396] SHDT A1 1690 no. 14, Anon. to Cardinal Le Camus, 8 Oct. 1703.
[397] SHDT A1 1702 no. 166, Berulle to Chamillart, 7 Oct. 1703; A1 1690 no. 13, Bouchu to Chamillart, 12 Oct. 1703.
[398] SHDT A1 1690 no. 33, Cardinal Le Camus to Bouchu, 21 Oct. 1703; A1 1702 no. 193, Père Bronod (of Chartreuse de Pierre le Châtel) to Chamillart, 26 Oct. 1703; A1 1701 no. 67, Ferrand to Chamillart, 28 Oct. 1703.

château, which in 1690 had been well-furnished, was now completely bare, 'without even a chair to sit on'. He also informed Chamillart that he was sparing the king the cost of sending the news of Chambéry's surrender by special courier, as he did not think it sufficiently important.[399] Within a few days French troops had marched into Annecy and the Chablais in order to cut off communication between Geneva and Piedmont. But the relatively low priority of its conquest, in the great scheme of the war, was abundantly clear. Once the key towns of Chambéry, Annecy and Rumilly had been occupied, no further advances into the duchy were made. Indeed, Louis XIV's response to Tessé on hearing news of the fall of Chambéry made it clear that he was far from overwhelmed by the news: he informed Tessé that it was overshadowed by the far more important victory on the Rhine and the recapture of Landau. Tessé was to wait a further six weeks before advancing into the rest of Savoie. This left French positions far from secure: de Sales was still at large in the duchy, and his communication with Piedmont could not be stopped.[400] In early December, the duc de La Feuillade arrived with reinforcements just in time to deal with a counter-attack by de Sales; the Savoyard commander managed briefly to retake Annecy, but was quickly routed by the vastly superior French force and fled over the Alps. The conquest of the duchy could then be completed: by the end of December 1703, the whole of Savoie – with the exception of Montmélian – was under French occupation. On 2 January Bouchu was able to write to Chamillart: 'There you have it, Savoie conquered and the troops at rest.'[401]

French policy was to cultivate the apparent goodwill which the population had so far shown them, and which seemed to have survived the last occupation remarkably intact. The French commanders for their part were eager to give a good impression and to foster this goodwill. When the duc de La Feuillade arrived to take over the command of Savoie in early December 1703, he assured the population of his good intentions in a declaration to the people of Savoie, informing them 'you have in me an

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[399] SHDT A1 1690 no. 177, Tessé to Louis XIV, 16 Nov. 1703.
[400] SHDT A1 1690 no. 188, Louis XIV to Tessé, 21 Nov. 1703; A1 1690 no. 199, Tessé to Louis XIV, 1 Dec. 1703.
[401] SHDT A1 1766 no. 1, Bouchu to Chamillart, 2 Jan. 1704; J. Devos, 'Aspects de l'occupation française en Savoie pendant la guerre de Succession d'Espagne (1703-1712)', *Actes du Congres National – Sociétés Savantes Section D Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 85 (1960), p. 36.

assured protector and faithful friend' and that he spoke to them 'on behalf of His Majesty, who regards you as good and true subjects'.[402] Tessé meanwhile remarked on de Sales' counter-attack of early December as if it was the French who had the true interests of the people of Savoie at heart: 'The duke of Savoy has the devil in him, caring less that Savoie be ruined and his people killed or made destitute, than I care about what goes on in the deserts of Arabia.'[403] His initial description of the Savoyard commander had been in similar terms: de Sales was 'some sort of madman... having no reputation of any worth', and who had orders to kill himself and all the people of Savoie sooner than abandon the Tarentaise.[404] The government also intended that the new province be treated well, though perhaps for different reasons from the military commanders.[405] French strategy with regard to Savoie was to follow the tried and tested methods of the last war: the duke was to be denied its revenues and men, which were instead to be taken by the French army.

Intendant Bouchu urged Versailles to act quickly to send an invasion force to conquer the duchy, pointing out:

> 'It would be vexing if the delay in acting created difficulties in mastering Savoie, which cost so little during the last war. The fall of this province would make it difficult for refugees to pass from Switzerland into France and Piedmont, and would make it much more difficult for the duke to pursue negotiations with the Swiss'.[406]

Victor Amadeus, aware of the weakness of his position in Savoie, had meanwhile embarked on a desperate attempt to save the duchy by diplomatic means. He sent the intendant Mellarède to propose to Bern and Zurich that Savoie be incorporated into

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[402] He also assured them that the king would make no differentiation between the *nouveaux convertis* and the *anciens catholiques*: SHDT A1 1690 no. 218, La Feuillade to the people of Savoie, Dec. 1703.
[403] SHDT A1 1690 no. 208, Tessé to Louis XIV, 7 Dec. 1703.
[404] SHD A1 1702 no. 64, Tessé to Louis XIV, 21 Oct. 1703. As Symcox notes, Tessé was writing for a much wider audience than the immediate recipient of his dispatches: he wrote to be quoted, and so his letters must be read with a certain reserve: *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 68.
[405] It is probable that the commanders wished to see the duchy annexed permanently, so that they could have the *gloire* of having added another province to the kingdom.
[406] SHDT A1 1690 no. 31, Bouchu to Chamillart, 21 Oct. 1703.

the Helvetic Confederation, and if that was not well received, he was to request that the duchy be included in Swiss neutrality.[407] However, due to divisions within the Diet of the Confederation, as well as the strenuous actions of the French ambassador Puysieulx, little progress had been made by the time Tessé invaded the duchy. After the conquest was completed, new efforts were made and Mellarède tried to convince the Diet that Louis XIV intended not only to occupy Savoie, but to annex it permanently. The cantons of Bern and Fribourg were firmly behind Victor Amadeus, fearing French encirclement. On 31 January 1704 Puysieulx informed the government of Zurich that Louis XIV was willing for the Chablais and Faucigny to be neutralized by the cantons, thereby assuring Geneva's security. Though initially receptive to the idea, the Diet was ultimately incapable of adopting a single independent line, and in fear of compromising itself, finished by putting off making any decision at all.[408] From May 1704, Victor Amadeus saw the question of neutrality as useless to pursue, and after the Battle of Blenheim (13 August 1704) the question of the neutrality of Savoie lost its importance for the Swiss, as the fear of French encirclement receded.[409]

*The 'Petite Guerre' in Upper Savoie*

As soon as La Feuillade and his army left Savoie in 1704 to take the fortress of Susa in the Alps, the governor of Montmélian profited from the absence of French troops in the duchy to send out raiding parties; one of these got to the gates of Chambéry in April 1704 before being beaten back.[410] During the following winter the situation deteriorated rapidly: in February 1705 a raiding party of 150 men from Montmélian took more than 33,000 *livres* from raids on the tax receivers of Faucigny and the Chablais. The resident in Geneva, La Closure, expressed his disbelief that the receipts of the province were left in open places with minimal protection. Worse, this situation could only degenerate, tying down many of the king's troops in the duchy, and depriving him of most of the taxes collected there. For La Closure, the blame for

[407] H. Fazy, *Les Suisses et la neutralité de la Savoie, 1703-1704* (Geneva, 1895), pp. 21-22.
[408] *Ibid*., pp. 110, 126-129, 180-183.
[409] Fazy, *Les Suisses*, pp. 187-200.
[410] SHDT A1 1764 no. 165, Tessé to Chamillart, 17 Apr. 1704.

this lay squarely with the *maréchal de camp* who commanded in Savoie, the marquis de Vallière:

> 'I believe Monsieur de Vallière to be a very good general officer for the war but apparently God has not given him the other talents necessary for commanding in a province, where there are many things one must do to govern well, and here, unfortunately, the opposite seems to be the case'.[411]

Despite the resident's caustic verdict on his abilities, Vallière was maintained in his position on the instances of La Feuillade, who was the secretary of state for war Chamillart's son-in-law from 1701. Within a month, Vallière had captured two raiding parties along with their ringleaders, and the local commanders tried to reassure Chamillart that the situation was under control. But La Closure's assessment of the situation was that given the success of these first raids, they would only become more numerous, leading to a protracted guerrilla war similar to that in the Cévennes.[412]

The resident's predictions proved sadly accurate. The security situation in Savoie grew increasingly unstable during 1705. Vallière agreed that this could soon degenerate into another Camisard war: as soon as the raiding parties were pursued they hid their arms with peasants and one hour later reassembled. Vallière wrote that the militia regiment which the king had ordered raised in Savoie the previous year was causing massive disorders, as deserters from it, together with the raiding parties from Montmélian, were now devastating the country. As he himself put it, 'The rats have infected this country'. To improve security, Vallière ordered the treasurers to choose one place in each province to bring receipts where troops would be stationed to guard them.[413] He also advised the necessity of stepping up the siege of Montmélian to completely seal it off; up till now it had been too lax, which allowed the raiding parties to become stronger and bolder. Rivalry between the chevalier de

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[411] SHDT A1 1873 no. 45, La Closure to Chamillart, 6 Mar. 1705.
[412] *Ibid.*; SHDT A1 1873 no. 327, Saint-Fremond to Chamillart, 18 Apr. 1705; no. 347, La Feuillade to Chamillart, 20 Apr. 1705.
[413] SHDT A1 1873 no. 117, Vallière to Chamillart, 16 Mar. 1705.

La Fare, who commanded the siege, and Vallière, who commanded in Savoie, meant that the siege took much longer than was anticipated.[414]

As the siege of Montmélian dragged on, security in Savoie continued to deteriorate: by the autumn of 1705, the duke of Savoy's ambassador in Switzerland, Mellarède, was amassing Piedmontese and Savoyard deserters. Many of these were prisoners from the garrisons at Ivrea and Verrua (which fell in September 1704 and April 1705 respectively), and had been distributed into various French foreign regiments.[415] They initially took refuge in Switzerland and were now passing back into Savoie and enlarging the raiding parties; according to the estimates of the resident in Geneva, there were now around a thousand of these vagabonds throughout the duchy. Their primary means of subsistence was raiding the offices of the tax receivers, but they were also reported to be robbing presbyteries, pointing to an increasing lawlessness. The leaders of these parties had the advantage of knowing the country well, placing them at a distinct advantage in the mountainous terrain.[416] In an attempt to put an end to this Vallière toured Savoie, but this had only limited use; after looting, the bands would disperse into the countryside around Geneva or the pays de Vaud. The French attempted to put pressure on the Swiss to root them out, but they were either incapable in the case of Geneva, or unwilling in the case of Bern to stop them.[417] La Closure was scathing of Vallière's efforts, and the information he presented to the war minister told quite another story from that of Vallière: in the autumn of 1705 a detachment from Montmélian occupied the château d'Yvoire in the Chablais; Vallière informed Chamillart in late October he was marching towards the château to retake it, but La Closure wrote to Chamillart on 13 November that Vallière had done no such thing, nor had he made any attempt to pursue the raiding parties. Chamillart had no

[414] After the fall of Montmélian, d'Angervilliers concluded that the intense rivalry between La Fare and Vallière, which had even split the population of Chambéry, was too divisive and La Fare was transferred elsewhere. Devos, 'Aspects de l'occupation française', pp. 36 & 42.
[415] SHDT A1 1966 no. 58, Chamillart to La Feuillade, 10 Feb. 1706.
[416] SHDT A1 1875 nos. 340 & 345, La Closure to Chamillart, 23 & 25 Sep. 1705.
[417] SHDT A1 1876 nos. 29 & 115, La Closure to Chamillart, 5 & 12 Oct. 1705.

way of knowing whose story to believe, but again rebuked Vallière for his negligence.[418]

In late November, La Fare obtained the capitulation of the fortress of Montmélian, on the condition its garrison was allowed to cross the Alps into Piedmont, and that it not be razed. After hesitating for several weeks, the king ordered its demolition on 21 December.[419] The citadel of Nice also fell in December 1705, depriving Victor Amadeus of any foothold over the Alps. As spring came, and Vendôme and La Feuillade closed in to besiege Turin, it appeared that Victor Amadeus would soon be completely dispossessed of his states, something which might lead to the French annexation of Savoie. But in the meantime the duke continued to support the raiding parties as a means of tying down French troops. After the fall of Montmélian Chamillart expected the security situation in Savoie to improve considerably.[420] But the bandits continued harrying French officials through the spring of 1706; what was more, he received troubling reports that the duke's emissaries in Switzerland were now financing the raiding parties. As La Closure wrote despairingly to the foreign secretary, Torcy, 'My Lord, this little war has already begun'. Preventing these raids would require a large military presence, something the French could not afford. Vallière was instructed to ensure the tax collectors sent their receipts regularly to Grenoble, and to provide them with escorts.[421] But bandits continued to raid and assassinate French officials, and French complaints to the Swiss Confederation fell on deaf ears, prompting the French to threaten military intervention. Even Geneva could not be made to act, due to pressure from the allies, and the French resident suggested placing a trade embargo on the town until they moved to chase the brigands from their territory.[422]

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[418] SHDT A1 1876 no. 221, Vallière to Chamillart, 26 Oct. 1705; no. 345, La Closure to Chamillart, 13 Nov. 1705; no. 392, Chamillart to Vallière, 18 Nov. 1705. Vallière eventually dispersed the men assembled at the chateau d'Yvoire in early December.
[419] SHDT A1 1876, no. 456, La Fare to Chamillart, 27 Nov. 1705; A1 1877 no. 16, Chamillart to La Fare, 3 Dec. 1705; no. 205, La Fare to Chamillart, 28 Dec. 1705.
[420] SHDT A1 1877 no. 108, Chamillart to La Closure, 16 Dec. 1705.
[421] SHDT A1 1968 no. 64, Chamillart to Vallière, 9 Feb. 1706; no. 164, La Closure to Torcy 12 Apr. 1706.
[422] SHDT A1 1968 no. 103, Chamillart to Vallière, 6 May 1706; no. 104bis, Chamillart to Borstat, 6 May 1706; no. 133, Chamillart to La Closure, 21 Mar. 1706; no. 164, La Closure to Torcy 12 Apr. 1706. The threats seem to have produced some effect: the following month the leader of a raiding party named Anselme, responsible

The French then turned to a new strategy to deal with the raiding parties. Deserters and looters were brought together into free corps in French pay, which d'Angervilliers assured would 'do more than six companies together'.[423] This use of local thugs is unparalleled in other French occupations of the period, and indicates just how difficult this occupation was. In the summer of 1706 the French stepped up their efforts to purge the country. From June, the shores of Lake Geneva were occupied and Vallière sent out detachments to make regular patrols of the area. Raiding party activity was reduced and La Closure reflected, 'if we had done this at the beginning of the occupation, we would never have had so much trouble'.[424] He was undoubtedly correct. The French also began stopping everyone who came across the border from Switzerland. But the problem did not stop entirely, and raiding parties continued to rampage across Savoie, stealing money even in places where troops were quartered. Chamillart again blamed Vallière's negligence and ordered him to redouble his efforts. But the situation did begin to show signs of improvement: though some bandits were still hidden and protected in Switzerland, the use of free companies by Vallière proved very effective. In September 1706 he captured an entire raiding party consisting of peasants from around the Chablais, and promised the war minister that the situation would finally be under control in less than two months.[425] But if the French thought their presence in the duchy would be peaceful from then on they were in for a rude shock. The failure of the siege of Turin altered the course of the war in Italy considerably – from then on, the French were on the defensive, and Savoie became one of the main theatres of conflict until the Peace of Utrecht.

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for robbing officials in the town of Saint-Julien-en-Genevois, was arrested in Geneva. A1 1968 no. 199, 'Declaration du Sr de la Place', 30 Apr. 1706; no. 200bis, Vallière to Chamillart, 3 May 1706; no. 210 Chamillart to La Closure, 8 May 1706.

[423] Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle*, ii. p. 556.

[424] SHDT A1 1968 no. 270, La Closure to Chamillart, 4 Jun. 1706; no. 297, Vallière to Chamillart, 7 Jul. 1706.

[425] SHDT A1 1968 no. 340, Vallière to Chamillart 6 Aug. 1706; no. 405, Chamillart to Vallière, 31 Aug. 1706; no. 407, Vallière to Chamillart, 3 Sep. 1706.

*After Turin - the tide turns*

The French defeat at Turin in the summer of 1706 was a critical moment in the war, and its repercussions were felt throughout Europe. It saved Victor Amadeus from the total loss of his states, and ensured that from then on the Habsburgs, rather than the Bourbons, would dominate northern Italy.[426] For Savoie, the implications of this were immense: as the allies took the offensive, the duchy became the regular theatre of war. Before the defeat at Turin, the French military presence in Savoie was sparse: Vallière had six companies of mountain fusiliers to defend French positions in the Chablais, and could call upon the militia of the Dauphiné if necessary. In September, retreating French soldiers flooded into Savoie. They were in a pitiable state having lost all of their equipment, for which Vallière was obliged to find funds for replacements as there was nothing in the treasury, he was obliged to ask 'friends' to loan him 10 or 12,000 *écus*. Moreover, as Piedmont was now lost, Savoie was obliged to quarter the entire army: seven battalions were placed around Chambéry, while the Tarentaise had to quarter 12 battalions, plus a further 12 dragoon regiments.[427]

From 1705, the French had feared an invasion and planned their strategy in the event of incursions from across the Alps. The huge number of mountain passes were impossible to defend; on top of this, there was also the possibility that the inhabitants would take up arms for Victor Amadeus and provide him with up to 4,000 mules. French strategy therefore depended on stopping him from establishing himself in Savoie and thereby being able to take resources from it.[428] This required significant forces to be stationed in Savoie. During the spring of 1707 it appeared increasingly likely that the duke of Savoy would invade the duchy by way of the Aosta valley, and the French commanders became increasingly worried that should Victor Amadeus get

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[426] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 144.
[427] SHDT A1 1968 no. 159. Vallière to Chamillart, 9 Apr. 1706; no. 429, Vallière to Chamillart, 24 Sep. 1706; A1 1972 no. 236, *Commissaire* Colonges to Chamillart, 24 Sep. 1706.
[428] SHDT A1 1880 no. 403 'Projet pour la défense de la Provence, le Dauphiné et la Savoy', Dec. 1705. In December 1705 Victor Amadeus sent officers into Savoie to 'arouse the zeal' of the people of the duchy. AAE CP Sard. 115 f. 123, 'Copie de la commission de M. le duc de Savoye pour exciter en sa faveur un soulevement en Savoye', 8 Dec. 1705.

through, the population would rise in his support. Tessé and Vallière were both extremely concerned that the Tarentaise was undefendable if invaded from the Aosta valley; the French army's knowledge of the area was still very limited, and Tessé conceded that, given the abundance of untapped resources in the region, if the enemy invaded with the intention of raising a rebellion or reconquest it was very possible they would succeed. Worse still, if the Tarentaise fell it was likely that Faucigny and the Chablais would rise in revolt the moment the duke's army appeared. Added to this, the border with Switzerland was not secure: the raiding parties may have been contained, but Vallière warned that there were several groups in Switzerland just waiting for commissions from the duke to start rampaging.[429]

The duke was very active in using Savoie as a recruitment ground, sending officers into Savoie to persuade deserters to return to his service, or to make Savoyard soldiers in French service desert. The duke's envoys were being guided by peasants from the Valais; in order to prevent this, the French went to the villages and sold the livestock of the guides for the profit of the captains who had lost soldiers in order to make an example of them. Chamillart also ordered the closure of the border with Piedmont. Stopping the flow of human traffic into Piedmont was a difficult task, especially as the French were eager to encourage soldiers from the army of Victor Amadeus to come back to Savoie so that they could be enlisted into French service. The duke took measures to prevent this, spreading word through his emissaries that the French would arrest and execute any man who crossed the Alps from Italy into Savoie or Geneva.[430]

*France's position deteriorates*

From 1707 the French position in Savoie appeared increasingly precarious. In changing the command structure of the duchy to place it in a more defensive posture,

[429] SHDT A1 2038 no. 59, Vallière to Chamillart, 28 Jan. 1707; no. 124, Chamillart to Vallière, 12 Feb. 1707; no. 209, Tessé to Chamillart, 10 Mar. 1707; no. 239, Vallière to Chamillart, 18 Mar. 1707.
[430] SHDT A1 1972 no. 284, Chamillart to d'Angervilliers, 12 Oct. 1706; A1 2038 no. 125, Chamillart to Le Guerchois, 12 Feb. 1707; no. 147, Le Guerchois to Chamillart, 22 Feb. 1707.

Chamillart and the king appear to have made serious oversights which created increasingly acrimonious squabbles between commanders. Since the start of the occupation Vallière had the commission to command in Savoie. But in April 1707, Chamillart, mindful of Vallière's mediocre military record in the duchy, named the comte de Saint-Pater as interim commander in the duchy, without changing the commission of Vallière. The latter complained to the minister, who attempted to clarify the situation by telling Vallière his commission was specific to the command of Chambéry, that he had never been responsible for the overall command of Savoie, and that it was normal to increase the number of officers as the duchy was now a theatre of war. Chamillart reprimanded him for having 'too much bad temper and not enough submission', told him that he should be very grateful for everything he had received since the start of the war, and warned that if he did not comply he would have Marshal Tessé to answer to.[431] But Vallière could not be cowed into submission: he sent the war minister a copy of his original order of command from the king, which did indeed cover the entire duchy. Chamillart merely repeated that it was because of the changed situation in Italy that the command structure in Savoie had been changed.[432]

Saint-Pater was subsequently replaced by the comte de Médavy as overall commander of the duchy in May, as the latter was charged with bringing back the remaining troops from Lombardy. When Médavy arrived in Chambéry his principal objective was to put the duchy in a state of readiness for the imminent enemy invasion. In an attempt to prevent the population of Savoie giving any assistance to the duke in the event of an invasion, he published an *ordonnance* in June 1707 that ordered the people to disarm, and requisitioned all mules, foodstuff and fodder. But he was frustrated in this task by obstructiveness on the part of Vallière, as well as his own inexperience for his new role. Vallière stubbornly asserted his claim to command over all of Savoie, meaning that Médavy only had control of the troops there and no authority over the communities of the duchy. Médavy was forced to issue the *ordonnance* in the name of Vallière and appealed to Chamillart to clarify the command situation; the latter duly informed Vallière that the king had chosen

[431] SHDT A1 2038 no. 298, Vallière to Chamillart, 7 Apr. 1707; no. 351, Chamillart to Vallière, 26 Apr. 1707.
[432] SHDT A1 2039 no. 29, Chamillart to Vallière, 10 May 1707.

Médavy to command in Savoie, and that he now was commander only of Chambéry.[433] Vallière's pride was wounded, and he jumped at the opportunity to denounce his rival later that month: Médavy, it was reported, had indiscreetly told several people in Chambéry that the French expected to see Victor Amadeus at the gates of Lyon or Grenoble with an army of 60 or 70,000 men. Word of this quickly got to Grenoble, causing many of its inhabitants to flee.[434] That the dispute over command rumbled on for so many months testifies also to the lack of authority of Chamillart as a secretary of state for war.[435] Further command confusion ensued during the autumn, when Médavy gave the military command of Chambéry – still supposedly in the hands of Vallière – to Monsieur du Vivier, after the same post had already been assigned to de Bonneval; Médavy was duly reprimanded for superseding the orders of the king.[436]

*Savoie and the defence of France*

The risk of invasion had passed by early July 1707 as it became clear that Victor Amadeus, at the behest of his allies, was instead planning an incursion into

[433] SHDT A1 2039 nos. 128 & 130, Médavy to Chamillart, 5 & 6 Jun. 1707; no. 171, Chamillart to Vallière, 13 Jun. 1707.
[434] SHDT A1 2039 no. 296, Vallière to Chamillart, 27 Jun. 1707. Vallière was probably motivated to embellish the story as he was under the impression that Chamillart was about to replace him with Médavy's brother as commander in Chambéry.
[435] In July 1707 Chamillart, aware of Vallière's hurt pride, and perhaps realizing at last how useful he was, reassured him that it was normal when a large number of troops come that a *lieutenant-général* comes to command them. SHDT A1 2040 no. 1, Chamillart to Vallière, 2 Jul. 1707. This is consistent with Emmanuel Pénicaut's view that Chamillart was generally ineffective at dealing with such matters: see his *Faveur et Pouvoir au Tournant du Grand Siècle: Michel Chamillart, Ministre et Secrétaire d'état de la Guerre de Louis XIV* (Paris, 2004), pp. 208, 415.
[436] SHDT A1 2040 no. 247, Bonneval to Chamillart, 14 Oct. 1707; no. 278. Chamillart to Bonneval, 20 Oct. 1707; no. 279, Chamillart to Médavy, 20 Oct. 1707. The structure of command during the occupation of Nice from 1705-13 was equally problematic: five different governors succeeded each other during the eight year period, and their competences were badly defined. See P-O. Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice': Etude politique et institutionnelle d'une annexion inaboutie (1691-1713)* (Nice, 2006), pp. 88-89.

Provence.[437] But Savoie's strategic position was now all the more important to France; for the subsistence of troops it was of huge benefit, and it covered part of the frontier with the Dauphiné. But the frontier that stretched from Savoie through the Dauphiné to Provence was weak and difficult to manage: wherever the enemy invaded, troops in the other provinces had a long march to meet them. The valleys were therefore sparsely guarded, and the defence of Provence was the highest priority.[438] During the summer of 1707 the Provençal and Dauphinois militias were raised in the expectation of a full invasion.[439] The allied force crossed the Alps at the Fenêtre pass and retook Nice in early July, advancing to besiege Toulon later that month and causing the loss of the entire French Mediterranean fleet. But in late August the siege was lifted and Victor Amadeus's incursion into Provence was aborted. An expected rising of the Camisards had failed to materialize, and there was also a serious divergence of interest between the duke and the British on one side, and the Imperials on the other. By early September he was in retreat, reaching Piedmont by 17 September, and retaking Susa shortly afterwards.[440]

In the autumn of 1707 Marshal Catinat was brought out of retirement to provide strategic advice on the defence of France's south-eastern frontier. He wrote that as the enemy was now firmly on the offensive, the defence of the Dauphiné must be prioritized over that of Savoie, as a false diversion into Savoie could lead to the loss of the French fortresses in the Alps.[441] The lack of strategic co-ordination in the duchy became apparent again that winter, when the bitter animosity between Vallière and Médavy flared up again after Chamillart requested Vallière's advice on which posts to occupy in Savoie. The resulting memorandum was sent to Médavy who dismissed it as being 'ridiculous', prompting Vallière to reply in worse terms to Médavy's own propositions. The war minister attempted to resolve the situation by

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[437] SHDT A1 2039 no. 318, La Closure to Chamillart, 29 Jun. 1707; A1 2040 no. 1, Chamillart to Vallière, 2 Jul. 1707.
[438] SHDT A1 2040 no. 7, 'Mémoire sur le Piémont, la Savoye, le Dauphiné et la Provence', 15 Jul. 1707.
[439] SHDT A1 2040 no. 50. Berulle to Chamillart, 6 Aug. 1707.
[440] SHDT A1 2040 no. 80, Chamillart to de Masselin, 16 Aug. 1707; no. 108, Chamillart to Tessé, 6 Sep. 1707; no. 126, Tessé to Chamillart, 18 Sep. 1707; Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 154.
[441] SHDT A1 2040 no. 331, Catinat to Chamillart, 6 Nov. 1707. Whatever Catinat's faults as a plains commander, as seen in 1701, he was the acknowledged expert on the southern Alps.

taking the decision out of their hands and letting Catinat decide instead.[442] But Catinat argued that such matters must be decided by local commanders with a good knowledge of the country.[443] Chamillart's weak attempt to patch over the deep rivalry in the command of Savoie did not work; his appointment of Médavy had been a disaster, and the administration and defence of Savoie was now riven with discord, preventing efficient co-ordination when it was most needed.

The French commanders in Savoie worked during the winter and spring to improve their defences, and place themselves in a state of readiness.[444] An army of around 35,000 men commanded by Marshal Villars guarded the frontier, while Victor Amadeus and the Imperial general Daun commanded an equal number of Piedmontese and Imperial troops on the other side of the Alps. Franco-Spanish troops hoped to block any invasion of France, and Savoie was an essential part of this defensive line that stretched from Lake Geneva to Nice, with the priority being to protect the Dauphiné and stop the enemy army from crossing the Rhone.[445] But the precise intentions of the enemy remained unclear until the last moment, and the French had no idea at which point the enemy would strike; Villars remarked that this was partly due to the fact that the peasants in Piedmontese territory did not dare speak to those across the border because the duke had forbidden them from communicating for the last week, on pain of death.[446] The French resident in Geneva meanwhile received intelligence that the canton of Bern was working with Victor Amadeus to allow his army to pass through their territory to retake Savoie; the duchy would then be placed under Swiss neutrality so the duke would not have to guard it.[447] But with so little reliable information, the French were at the mercy of the allies. By July, there was a strong sense of anxiety in Chamillart's correspondence with the military commanders in the region, as he feared that the French army would separate in terror

[442] SHDT A1 2040 no. 395, Médavy to Chamillart, 15 Nov. 1707; no. 390, Chamillart to Catinat, 1 Dec. 1707.
[443] Catinat recommended that both the *mémoire* and the reply should be burnt. SHDT A1 2040 no. 392, Catinat to Chamillart, 3 Dec. 1707.
[444] SHDT A1 2099 no. 98, Médavy, 19 May 1708. In May a second weekly post was established to carry letters from Chambéry to the front line. A1 2102 no. 101. Couppy to Chamillart, 26 May 1708.
[445] Villars instructed the governor of Savoie, de Thoy, to defend his positions to the last. SHDT A1 2100 no. 56, Villars to de Thoy, 7 Jul. 1708.
[446] SHDT A1 2100 no. 52. Villars to Chamillart, 8 Jul. 1708.
[447] SHDT A1 2099 no. 288, La Closure to Villars, 17 Jun. 1708.

when Victor Amadeus and Daun appeared. In late July the duke descended on the lower Dauphiné with the aim of taking Briançon, France's forward logistical base; Villars succeeded in driving them back into Piedmont, but he could not prevent the enemy army from taking the fortresses of Exilles and Fenestrelle as they returned.[448]

*Towards Utrecht*

By the autumn of 1708, Victor Amadeus had already fulfilled most of his war aims. During the previous campaign he had secured the enclaved French fortresses of Exilles and Fenestrelle in the Pragelato valley, thereby making his frontier more easily defensible. In March 1707 the emperor finally fulfilled his side of the 1703 treaty of alliance and gave him Alessandria, Lomellina, and the Val Sesia in the Milanese; and also the Mantuan Montferrato pending formal investiture.[449] But a recovery of Nice and Savoie would be more difficult, especially given the harsh winters of 1708 and 1709. From 1708 and up until the end of the war, Victor Amadeus's efforts were limited to incursions across the Alps, performing a vital function for the allies in keeping French forces tied up, but having limited real objectives beyond that. The duke's hopes for the recovery of his states over the Alps now rested on the peace negotiations which opened at the Hague in the spring of 1709, where he was firmly backed by the British. Throughout these negotiations, Louis XIV demonstrated a willingness to give up Savoie.[450]

In 1709, Berwick commanded the defence of Savoie and the Dauphiné in place of Villars. Daun entered Savoie with the ambitious intention of achieving a rendezvous in the Franche-Comté with the Imperial army of the comte de Mercy. Berwick, who placed the centre of his defence at Briançon, covered the Maurienne and the

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[448] SHDT A1 2102 no. 213, Chamillart to d'Angervilliers, 26 Jul. 1708; Lynn, *The Wars*, pp. 323-324.
[449] Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, pp. 153-155.
[450] Britain's support of Victor Amadeus against the emperor lasted until the end of the war, and was in part based on Britain's desire to increase its commerce in Italy, now threatened by Habsburg domination of the peninsula; it was also due to Queen Anne's desire to obtain a crown for Victor Amadeus, her second cousin. Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, pp. 155-164; B. Grosperrin, *La Savoie et la France de la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Chambéry, 1992), p. 17.

Dauphiné, but could not prevent allied forces led by Daun taking the Tarantaise in late July, followed soon after by Faucigny, the Chablais and the Genevois. In August Annecy fell. During the summer of 1709, Imperial troops under Daun foraged with little discipline, and Savoie found itself, in the words of Jean Nicolas, 'eaten by two armies'.[451] Furthermore, Victor Amadeus's agents raised militias in those parts of the duchy they controlled, in order to pass these men into Piedmont to form new battalions. But after Mercy's defeat on the Rhine, the prospect of an invasion of the Franche-Comté disappeared and Daun retreated to winter in Piedmont.[452] By the end of September, the last of the Piedmontese-Imperial forces had recrossed the Alps, and the French army now had to find winter quarters in a pillaged and destitute country. Intendant d'Angervilliers was forced to confront this fact, after Voysin instructed him to find quarters for 12 squadrons.[453] He told the secretary for war that it was absolutely impossible to find quarters for more than five squadrons, adding that it was not out of interest for the people that he said this, but in the interest of the troops: all the grain in the duchy had been consumed during the campaign, and the inhabitants were now reduced to eating oats, leaving none for the horses. He added that he thought it impossible to take from the people their only means of avoiding starvation. Nor was there any money to be taken from the inhabitants by force.[454]

Daniel Voysin tried in vain to resolve the confusion in the command structure of Savoie soon after his appointment as secretary for war in June 1709. In late November, Médavy learned that the marquis de Cilly had been appointed to the command of Savoie, under his orders; Vallière, by now on leave due to ill health, was to be further sidelined without being completely removed. His fate reflects the fact that he antagonized most people he worked with, but his vast knowledge of the country and his contacts throughout were second to nobody's, and this made him extremely useful.[455] In Savoie permanently during the campaign as well as through

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[451] SHDT A1 2171 no. 246, Médavy to Voysin, 31 Jul. 1709; Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle*, ii. p. 556.
[452] SHDT A1 2172 no. 27, Berwick to Voysin, 6 Sep. 1709; A1 2174 no. 41, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 14 Sep. 1709; Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 335.
[453] In June, Chamillart had been replaced as war minister by Daniel Voysin.
[454] SHDT A1 2174 no. 63, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 3 Oct. 1709; no. 65, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 6 Oct. 1709.
[455] SHDT A1 2175 no. 213, Président de Ponnat to Voysin, 6 Aug. 1709; A1 2172 no. 254. Médavy, 6 Dec. 1709.

winter quarters, his functions appear to have been to keep order in the duchy by using his two free companies (one dragoon, one infantry) to control the parties of robbers and bandits. But when Vallière died in July 1709, Berwick reported to Voysin that the command in Savoie was now vacant, indicating that Cilly had not been appointed after all. Voysin and the king decided not to replace Vallière, and Médavy recommended that the free companies be disbanded.[456] The structure of command in Savoie had become increasingly complicated and confused as a result of the change in the course of the war and the heightened strategic importance of Savoie. This chaos, which continued under Voysin, was a marked departure from the much clearer systems of Louvois and Barbezieux.

In 1710 Daun tried unsuccessfully to penetrate French defences by advancing on the Barcelonnette. Berwick was reinforced to 60 battalions and 36 squadrons during the summer, and was able to hold a line of defence which stretched from Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne through the Galiber pass, to Briançon and along the Var.[457] Victor Amadeus continued to keep his options open, holding negotiations with Berwick through the winter of 1710 and 1711, still apparently entertaining hopes that the French might be able to procure him the duchy of Milan in exchange for Savoie.[458] At the same time he hoped that the campaign of 1711 would give him a better bargaining position at the negotiations; as word circulated in the spring that Louis XIV and Victor Amadeus were not far from concluding a peace treaty, he ordered that anybody who discussed the issue in his states would be severely punished. The Imperial commander Schulemberg advanced into Savoie via the Aosta valley, while the main allied force under Daun and Victor Amadeus crossed the Mont Cénis pass on 8 July. The French were well aware that their position in Savoie was much weaker than before, and their militias were put on alert in Bresse, the Lyonnais and Provence.[459] Berwick, greatly outnumbered, concentrated his forces at Barraux, while the allied armies entered Savoie and sent detachments to occupy Annecy, Faverges

[456] SHDT A1 2248 no. 149, Berwick to Voysin, 10 Jul. 1710; no. 154. Médavy to Voysin, 12 Jul. 1710.
[457] Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 339.
[458] SHDT A1 2249 no. 159, Le Guerchois to Voysin, 5 Nov. 1710. Essentially, the duke was holding these negotiations as he was worried the recent change of ministry in London would undercut his position. Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, p. 162.
[459] SHDT A1 2325 no. 32, Le Guerchois to Voysin, 8 Apr. 1711; A1 2327 no. 85, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 9 Jul. 1711; Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 345.

and Chambéry. Victor Amadeus opposed a plan to directly attack Berwick, instead ordering his troops through the Galiber pass to attack Briançon. But Berwick managed to outmanoeuvre them and blocked their approach. The allies then encountered supply problems; eventually all their food and supplies had to be brought by mule from Piedmont, and rains made the roads difficult. They could not winter in Savoie, and in mid-September withdrew to Piedmont. All their efforts had come to nothing.[460]

Victor Amadeus, ever the sly operator, tried to strengthen his bargaining position with the allies by continuing secret negotiations with Berwick in 1711, and he did the same in 1712.[461] When the peace conference convened at Utrecht in January 1712, the British plenipotentiaries were ordered to strongly protect the interests of Victor Amadeus, restoring his states over the Alps and granting him the Alpine frontier he desired. At one point during the conference, the British put forward the proposal that Philip V exchange Spain for Savoie and Piedmont, along with Naples and Sicily, while Victor Amadeus would become king of Spain. Louis XIV agreed to this proposal, but Philip V refused it.[462] As negotiations continued, little of significance occurred in the Alps. Snows made manoeuvre difficult, and Berwick did not move until early June. In mid-July he had his main army camped at Oulx, on the road between Besançon and Susa. The allies assembled slowly around Susa in August but the two armies did little other than face off against each other during the rest of the summer. Berwick finally withdrew from Oulx in early September, detaching twenty battalions and ten squadrons to join French forces in Catalonia, with Savoie still being used to pay for these troops.[463] After this both sides took winter quarters. Despite the appearances of a coming peace, the French refused to take any risks during the winter:

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[460] SHDT A1 2325 no. 165, Berwick to Voysin, 3 Aug. 1711; Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 346.
[461] SHDT A1 2398 no. 74, Le Guerchois to Voysin, 12 Apr. 1712.
[462] In 1710, Victor Amadeus agreed in principle to exchanging his ancestral lands for Naples and Sicily. Another suggestion that was discussed involved the exchange of Savoie for Milan. Symcox, *Victor Amadeus II*, pp. 161-164; Grosperrin, *La Savoie et la France*, p. 17.
[463] SHDT A1 2400 no. 73, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 20 Nov. 1712; Lynn, *The Wars*, p. 355.

Voysin instructed d'Angervilliers to make preparations as usual, ordering army provisions moved to the frontier.[464]

On 14 March 1713, a suspension of arms was finally agreed between Louis XIV and Victor Amadeus, and a peace treaty was concluded at Utrecht on 11 April. Britain's backing had won him Sicily and the royal status he had coveted for so long. By articles III and IV of the treaty, the king immediately restored the duchy of Savoie and the county of Nice to Victor Amadeus, and the king also ceded the Pragelato valley with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelle, and in exchange the French gained the Barcelonnette valley. In this way, it was hoped that the summits of the Alps would serve as the future limits between France, Piedmont, and the county of Nice.[465] The French army evacuated Savoie in May. In a ceremony in Chambéry on 5 June, the French brigadier de Prade officially handed over possession of the duchy to Victor Amadeus's commander, the baron de Schulemberg, bringing the second French occupation to an end.[466]

[464] SHDT A1 2400 no. 81, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 8 Dec. 1712; no. 86bis, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 18 Dec. 1712.
[465] SHDT A1 2446: Treaty of Utrecht; the treaty named the 'watershed of the Alps' as the border between France and Piedmont-Savoy; this was the first time the principle of natural frontiers was enshrined in a major peace treaty. P. Sahlins, 'Natural Frontiers Revisited: France's Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century', *American Historical Review*, 95 (1990), p. 1434.
[466] AAE CP Sard. 117 f. 63, Louis XIV to de Cilly (commander in Savoie), 11 May 1713; AMC BB 125 f. 196, Minutes, 5 Jun. 1713.

# Conclusions to Part One

The most pragmatic and immediate concern of Louis XIV's government in terms of foreign policy was to ensure the territorial security of the kingdom. This could be achieved in part through the acquisition of more territory, and partly through bringing the surrounding smaller states directly into the French orbit. The latter policy functioned on the basis that these small states would benefit from French protection at the cost of surrendering their autonomy in matters of foreign policy, and in some cases, their domestic policy as well. But Louis's lack of sensitivity to the interests of their rulers ultimately led to its failure. Throughout his personal rule his tactics towards them were characterized by bullying and arrogance: during the War of Devolution he forced Duke Charles IV of Lorraine against his will to hand over a part of his army to fight alongside the French, and parallels can be seen in 1690 and 1703 when he made the same demands on Victor Amadeus II of Savoy. Louis's inability to show sufficient sensitivity to the ambitions of Victor Amadeus led to breakdown in Franco-Savoyard relations on both occasions, and then to the occupation of part of Victor Amadeus's states in order to guarantee the south-eastern frontier of the kingdom.

If Louis's primary intention with regard to both Lorraine and Savoie was to make them into friendly satellite states of France, he only began to learn how to do this when it was almost too late. The partial occupation of Lorraine during the War of the Spanish Succession, despite the significant extra cost and inconveniences incurred, demonstrates that by the end of the reign, Louis had begun to learn his lesson. Louis's preferred 'neutralization' of Lorraine was without doubt the more realistic and responsible of the two visions in 1702, and it was only as a result of events that he was forced to go further.

There were certainly other factors driving French foreign policy during the course of the reign. The politics of the frontier, for instance, evolved significantly during the period. Historians have long argued about the extent of Louis's desire to extend his territory, perhaps towards what were perceived as the 'natural frontiers' of France, namely the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine. Certainly there were those close to

Louis XIV who supported this idea; from the 1670s Vauban favoured a more linear frontier whereby the kingdom would become a bounded and enclosed space.[467] As Vauban wrote in 1693:

> 'All the ambitions of France should be contained within the summits of the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Swiss and the two seas: it is there that she should intend to establish her boundaries by legitimate means according to the times and the occasions.'[468]

Yet even if there was significant strategic value to a territory, there was not necessarily any attempt made to permanently annex it; in the case of Savoie, the temporary conquest of the duchy supported the war itself but no attempt was made to make this acquisition permanent. This was despite the argument of Vauban, who was in favour of the permanent acquisition of both Nice and Savoie; in 1696 he called for Louis XIV to cede Pinerolo and keep Montmélian, and in 1705 he was against the destruction of Montmélian, as he believed it should be kept as part of the *pré carré*.

To facilitate its strategic objectives, the French crown maintained an arsenal of jealously guarded claims to territories outside its borders, which needed to be kept alive, if hibernating, and could be activated whenever necessity dictated.[469] Just as Richelieu had done after his occupation of Lorraine, Louis XIV employed jurists and historiographers to publicize the legal basis of his claims to the duchy.[470] There was ample precedent of activating latent claims on titles to legitimize a French monarch's control of an occupied territory. Louis XIII was declared count of Barcelona when

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[467] P. Sahlins, 'Natural Frontiers Revisited: France's Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century', *American Historical Review*, 95 (1990), p. 1434.
[468] Vauban, 'Réflexion sur la guerre présente et sur les nouveaux convertis', 5 May 1693, quoted in P. Canestrier, 'L'oeuvre de Vauban dans les Alpes Maritimes', in *Congrès Vauban* (Beaune, 1935), p. 489.
[469] When Louis XIV heard through his envoy to the duke of Lorraine in 1704 that a ducal historiographer was writing a history of the duke's father, in which it was claimed that the succession to the duchy was transmitted in the male line at the exclusion of women (thereby bypassing Louis XIV's claims), Louis insisted that the envoy lodge an objection, as this point was 'far from decided'. AAE CP Lorr. 55 f. 188, Louis XIV to d'Audiffret, 19 Jun. 1704.
[470] For example, the professor of Law and Historiographer Royal, Jean Doujat, produced a memorandum on the subject in 1673: BN MF 4877 f. 74, 'Mémoire de l'Etat ancien et moderne de Lorraine...", 1673.

French troops assisted the Catalan Revolt in the 1640s, and in 1694 and 1697 the ducs de Noailles and Vendôme respectively were invested by Louis's command with the office of viceroy of Catalonia when they occupied the province. Louis XIV claimed Roussillon as part of his legitimate patrimony when the province was ceded to France at the Peace of the Pyrenees, and selective history was used to argue that Roussillon was not Catalan but historically and legitimately French.[471] At the time of the conquest of the Franche-Comté during the War of Devolution, the French government publicized its rights to the province through the rights of Queen Marie-Therèse, and this had a favourable effect on French influence there.[472] These rights were activated particularly when a territory was seen as being strategically useful for France: thus Louis XIV was given the title of 'count of Nice' during the occupations of the county in the 1690s and 1700s.[473] More subtly, during the occupation of Savoie in the 1690s, medals designed by the members of the *Académie Royale des Inscriptions* in commemoration of the 1690 battle of Staffarda depicted Louis XIV (as Hercules) who can be seen trampling the centaur (Victor Amadeus) and taking the ducal coronet.[474] Of course, there was considerable variation in how substantial these claims actually were, and the activation of claims, particularly in the cases of Nice and Savoie, did not necessarily imply a desire to annex a territory outright.

Chapters II and III provided a narrative of the two occupations of Lorraine and Savoie. What emerges from this is that there was no pre-conceived or uniform policy practiced by the French when it came to the occupations of these territories, and that they developed on the basis of varying events and pressures. Many of these pressures were born out of the strategic objectives of the French monarchy. Others came from

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[471] According to French legal arguments, when Louis XIII accepted the Accords of Péronne in Sep. 1641, he and his heirs had been accepted as the legitimate rulers of the Catalan people. Stewart, *Roussillon and France*, pp. 20-23.
[472] Grosperrin, *L'Influence Française*, p. 9
[473] The title *Ludovicus XIV Dei gratia rex Francia et Navarria comes Nisseae* was used in the seals of the *Sénat*, the idea being that the county was a dependency of Provence: Chaumet, *Louis XIV, 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 213.
[474] Another medal, struck in the early 1690s, contains the legend 'SABAUDIA IN PROVINCIARUM REDACTA', expressing the irrevocable annexation of Savoie to France. J. Jacquiot, 'La valeur d'information des allégories de médailles concernant l'Histoire de la Savoie dans la second moitié du XVIIe siècle' in G. Mombello et al. (eds.), *Culture et Pouvoir dans les Etats de Savoie du XVIIe siecle à la Revolution* (1985), pp. 148-50.

within the territories, stimulated by the occupied populations, and others still came from the rightful, but usurped, rulers. The following chapters will compliment this by investigating in further detail the way that the French administered the occupied territories, and the way the French authorities and the occupied populations interacted with each other.

# PART TWO

## FRENCH RULE IN OCCUPIED LORRAINE & SAVOIE

# CHAPTER IV

# ADMINISTERING THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES: STRUCTURES AND BURDENS OF OCCUPATION

*Introduction*

Having established in Chapters I, II and III what France's strategic aims towards these territories were, and how these aims changed over time, this chapter analyzes the way these aims were manifested in terms of administrative policy. The conquest of a territory brought with it the need to replace or modify the existing regime. In the first place, this meant confronting the issue of which French personnel would govern on behalf of the king. The precise functions of these individuals and groups would vary depending on multiple factors, corresponding to France's evolving bureaucracy, its military needs, and local circumstance. French strategy therefore varied greatly. Part I of this chapter will look at the structures of governance of each occupation, and investigates the factors that influenced the French approaches towards these territories. Part II then discusses the variations in the financial and other burdens placed upon the different territories.

## Part I: Structures

*I: The Ministerial Approaches*

The shifting patterns at the apex of government, and the evolution of the War Ministry, had a marked impact on the government and administration of occupied territories. Between 1670 and 1714 there were four secretaries of state for war under Louis XIV. Yet the position, and the *département de la guerre* as a whole, was so dominated and shaped by the marquis de Louvois that his successors have often been found wanting by comparison. After Louvois's death in 1691, his successors had to work within a system created by a man with almost super-human energy, and none could match his capacity for work or attention to detail. Louvois's obsession with detail is reflected in his correspondence, wherein French commanders were limited in their initiatives, and obliged to give detailed accounts of the most minimal questions. Many of Louvois's decisions were short-termist: he was obsessed with immediate results and was often indifferent to the long-term consequences of his decisions; this often put him at odds with the local commanders or administrators of conquered

provinces. The running of the War Ministry continued under Barbezieux much as it had under his father, though the exceptionally heavy demands of the Nine Years War strained the Ministry's administrative infrastructure, and Barbezieux's inexperience (he was only twenty-three years old in 1691) meant that he had difficulty coping with his immense workload.[475]

Chamillart's style of management of his department differed much from that of Louvois: from 1701 he had the unenviable task of overseeing not only the War Ministry but also the *contrôle général des finances*; in consequence he was overstretched and had little command of detail. Furthermore, in contrast with Louvois, Chamillart failed to build up a substantial clientele network to provide him with information from the frontier provinces under the jurisdiction of the War Ministry. Intendants of the army and *commissaires des guerres* had served as the breeding ground of the former Le Tellier clientele; Chamillart simply did not have enough time in office to replace these with his own clients.[476] There was, moreover, a general transformation of clans at the end of the reign, leading to a decline (but not disappearance) in the vast ministerial clienteles, together with a standardization and routinization in bureaucratic practice that meant that by the 1690s and 1700s, the intendants coordinated the administration of their *généralité* with much less guidance from ministers.[477] The link between the ministry and the provinces was therefore weaker than it had been under the Le Telliers, and this is clearly evident in Chamillart's attitude towards the administration of conquered provinces. It was now left entirely to the intendant to decide how to run a province: for the occupation of Savoie, it was over a year into the occupation, in February 1705, that Chamillart

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[475] G. Rowlands, *The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest, 1661-1701* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 64-72.

[476] Research by Douglas Baxter indicates that Chamillart did attempt to replace the Le Tellier clientele with his own: '*Premier commis* in the war department in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV' in *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History,* 8 (1980), p. 84.

[477] S. Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 230-231; Pénicaut, *Faveur et Pouvoir*, pp. 111-115; Sara Chapman has argued that by this time, relationships between superiors and inferiors were increasingly professional and less personal, hinging less on clientele networks: *Private Ambition and Political Alliances: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family and Louis XIV's Government, 1650-1715 (*Rochester, NY, 2004), p. 147; D. Dee, 'The Practice of Absolutism: Franche Comté in the Kingdom of France, 1674-1715' (unpublished PhD thesis, Emory University, 2004), pp. 394-395.

finally enquired of intendant Bouchu in what way the occupied duchy was being administered.[478]

When it came to the details of the occupying regime, much depended on where the energies of the king and his ministers were directed. The occupation of Savoie from 1703, for instance, appears somewhat half-hearted by comparison with that of Lorraine in 1670, and even more so with that of the Franche-Comté in 1668, which was directed by Louvois in person. Clearly, in the midst of the two major international wars in which France became embroiled in the second half of the reign, Louis XIV's war ministers had little time for the administrative details of occupied territories. It would therefore be the military commander who initially set the tone of these occupations; the intendant would then decide on the overall framework of the occupying regime, and the *commissaire ordonnateur des guerres* would deal with the day-to-day running of the territory.

*II: Royal Servants & The French Occupation Strategies*

Developments and innovations within the *département de la guerre* also affected how an occupied territory was administered. A comparison of the occupations of Lorraine and the Franche-Comté (both prior to Nijmegen) with Savoie and Nice from 1690 shows the evolution in methods used by the French to administer occupied territory. In the first two cases, intendants with experience of running conquered and assimilated frontier provinces were employed. Jacques Charuel was appointed intendant of Lorraine after the conquest in 1670. A *créature* of the Le Tellier family, Charuel had served as intendant of the Franche-Comté during the French occupation of the province in 1668, and subsequently as intendant of Ath and Coutrai in Flanders before he was given the task of administering Lorraine. There were four *commissaires des guerres* under Charuel, one for each of the four *bailliages* of Lorraine and the Barrois.[479] Louvois made sure that at least one of the *commissaires*

[478] SHDT A1 1879 no. 38, Bouchu to Chamillart, 20 Feb. 1705.
[479] SHDT A1 250 f. 183, Charuel to Louvois, 31 Oct. 1670. The *commissaires des guerres* had an exhausting workload in Lorraine, as their departments were very large and contained poor roads. SHDT A1 358 no. 81, Charuel to Louvois, 11 Feb. 1671.

had a good knowledge of the country, and the provincial provost of Metz was also dispatched to help Charuel with army supplies.[480] Louvois was therefore careful to appoint a group of men who together possessed a significant combined knowledge of the region as well as of the administration of newly conquered frontier provinces.

In Savoie, by contrast, the territories were added to the jurisdiction of the intendant of the Dauphiné, Etienne-Jean Bouchu, who had little knowledge of how to administer conquered provinces or deal with occupied populations. The Dauphiné was not normally a 'frontier' province in the military sense, and came under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry. As such, Bouchu was a *créature* of the foreign minister Colbert de Croissy, rather than Louvois, making his links with the war minister somewhat weaker than those of his counterparts on the northern and eastern frontiers of France. Despite this, at the outbreak of war with Victor Amadeus in 1690, Bouchu was also given the *intendance* of the army of Italy, a role to which he proved well suited and which he held until 1697, and again from 1701-04.[481]

In the absence of resident intendants, Nice and Savoie were run on a day-to-day basis by *commissaires des guerres*. After 1688 the new position of *commissaire ordonnateur* was especially suited to the task of administering territory which the French envisaged occupying on a short-term basis. This new role, granted official status by an edict of March 1704, was given to *commissaires ordinaires des guerres* of outstanding ability, who combined the administration of troops with the financial management of an occupied territory. Having direct correspondence with Versailles,

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[480] SHDT A1 250 f. 163, Saint-Pouenges to Louvois, 25 Oct. 1670.

[481] In 1704 Chamillart sacked him as intendant of the army of Italy due to an apparent mismanagement of its accounts, but he was retained as the intendant of the Dauphiné thanks to the intervention of La Feuillade. SHDT A1 1764 no. 165, La Feuillade to Chamillart, 17 Apr. 1704. But Bouchu's health problems convinced Chamillart to replace him in May 1705 with the intendant of Normandy, Nicolas d'Angervilliers. Chamillart had previously been an intendant of Normandy and the selection of d'Angervilliers for this post reflects his desire to draw upon a personal friend to fill this position. This is consistent with Emmanuel Pénicaut's view that Chamillart preferred to work with a group of old friends and relations smaller than that of Louvois or Barbezieux. E. Pénicaut, *Faveur et Pouvoir au Tournant du Grand Siècle: Michel Chamillart, Ministre et Secrétaire d'état de la Guerre de Louis XIV* (Paris, 2004), p. 94.

they were often seen by the occupied populations as an intendant.[482] The role varied according to circumstances: Guy Rowlands has pointed out that the *commissaires ordonnateurs* of the Franco-Italian border had very different competences from those based in the Spanish Netherlands. Even between Savoie and Nice there was a difference in the role: in Nice, there was no intendant, except briefly from 1695-96, only a *commissaire ordonnateur*. As Rowlands argued, 'The use of such individuals with a high degree of autonomy reflected the massive expansion of the war effort and the scale of responsibilities borne by the War Ministry in the middle decades of Louis XIV's "personal rule"'.[483] Generally, compared to the breadth of the administrative jurisdiction of an intendant, the position was in fact fairly limited. Nevertheless, the *commissaires ordonnateurs* did exercise a political role, sometimes seeking to submit the occupied population to obedience to the king: *commissaire* Jean Charles Gabriel Couppy purchased the office of *chevalier d'honneur* in the *Sénat* of Chambéry in 1706, presumably as a means of supervising the activity of the magistrates, and as part-investment. Similarly, in the *Sénat* of Nice, the *commissaire ordonnateur* Sainte-Colombe purchased the office of *second chevalier* in 1711: Chaumet argued that this was 'to better control the activity of the Niçois magistrates'.[484]

Savoie provides a good example of how the War Ministry deployed its agents. The functions of the intendant, covering finance and the administration of troops, were carried out from 1690 on a day-to-day basis by a *commissaire ordonnateur des guerres*, Nicolas de Bonval, who resided in Chambéry. Bonval functioned in effect as a *subdélégué* of Bouchu, though he corresponded directly with Louvois and had five *commissaires ordinaires des guerres* under his authority. Representing the crown directly in Savoie was a governor, the marquis de Thoy, under the overall command of the military *lieutenant-général* commanding the province, the comte de La Hoguette. Other figures connected with the *corps* of *commissaires des guerres* also doubled as members of the political, financial and judicial administration of Savoie:

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[482] To give one instance, the sieur Boringe, a Savoyard captain in the French *régiment etranger* of Mauroux referred to the *commissaire ordonnateur* Couppy as, 'M Couppy intendant en Savoie'. SHDT A1 2102 no. 158. Boringe to d'Angervilliers, 22 Jun. 1708.

[483] Rowlands, *The Dynastic State*, pp. 89-91, cited from pp. 90-91.

[484] See below, p. 205; P-O. Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice': Etude politique et institutionnelle d'une annexion inaboutie (1691-1713)* (Nice, 2006), p. 94.

the sieur de Flaucourt, for instance, held the *charges* of *trésorier général* and *commissaire ordinaire des guerres* during both occupations of Savoie.[485] From 1703, the *subdélégué général* of the intendant of the Dauphiné, a Monsieur de Basset, also held the charge of *président des finances* in the *Chambre des comptes* of Chambéry.[486]

*III: Military Commanders as Organizers of Territories*

The precise role of the military commanders in the administration of the occupied territories varied much. The commander of the French army that conquered Lorraine in 1670 was Marshal Créqui. Forthright to the point of arrogance, Créqui repeatedly clashed with Louvois, for whom he had little deference: when the war minister pressed him to determine the capacity of the duchies to quarter troops in September 1670, the marshal shot back 'In the midst of all our military activity, do not ask me for your lists.'[487] The conquest finished, Créqui demanded to supervise the intendant of Lorraine in matters of taxation, but was promptly refused by the king; his primary administrative role, like other provincial governors, was to deal with the local nobility. In April 1672 Créqui was disgraced for refusing to accept subordination to Turenne, and was replaced as governor of Lorraine by the marquis de Rochefort, a *protégé* of Louvois. Rochefort commanded the army of Germany until his premature death in 1676, when Créqui was once again given the governorship of the duchies. Créqui excelled himself against Charles V of Lorraine during the remainder of the Dutch War and, by now a firm ally of Louvois, commanded the siege of neighbouring Luxemburg in 1684. Throughout the French occupation of 1670-98, Louis XIV's appointees to the governorship of Lorraine were those commanders who operated extensively out of Lorraine, reflecting a pattern that continued throughout the reign in other frontier provinces.[488] Créqui was succeeded in 1687 by the marquis de Boufflers, who had been Governor of Luxembourg prior to then, and who went on to

[485] SHDT A1 1879 no. 313, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 29 Nov. 1705; no. 321, Chamillart to d'Angervilliers, 6 Dec. 1705.
[486] SHDT A1 1690 no. 87, Chamillart to Bouchu, 29 Nov. 1703.
[487] Cited in P. Sonnino, *Louis XIV and the origins of the Dutch War* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 120.
[488] Rowlands, *The Dynastic State*, pp. 310, 314.

command the small but vital army of the Moselle during the early 1690s; upon Boufflers's transfer to French Flanders in 1694, the comte de Lorge became the final French governor of Lorraine of the occupation, commanding French forces in the Rhineland until the Treaty of Ryswick. Boufflers in particular developed extensive links with elements of the local elites, in a notably short period of time. There were relatively few problems in Lorraine associated with these senior officers.

The role of the military commanders in the French-occupied Savoyard lands was less clear-cut than in Lorraine, in large part because it was the Briançonnais and Pinerolo that were the main French launching zones for warfare in the Po valley. Moreover, for nearly all of the periods of French occupation, there was nobody in the administration of Savoie or Nice who had experience of dealing with newly conquered populations. It was left to subsidiary military commanders to make contacts with the local population, and this explains why the marquis de Vallière was maintained in Savoie, despite his unpopularity with the other French officers in there, not to mention with the war minister himself. He became a popular figure among the inhabitants of Chambéry for intervening to reduce the number of troops being quartered in the town, and throughout Savoie for his generosity to poor families; by this means he was said to have gained the affection of the people and 'inspired them in a pro-French inclination'.[489] Vallière was also responsible for building contacts among the raiding parties and throughout the duchy; one of his tactics for dealing with these parties was to secretly allow them to return home on the condition that they turned informants.[490] It was also to him that members of the sovereign companies came when they felt aggrieved: to all intents and purposes he, rather than the *commissaires* or intendant, was the main point of contact between the local authorities and the central government.[491]

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[489] SHDT A1 2251 no. 419, bishop of Geneva to Voysin, 4 Oct. 1710; E. Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat de Savoie et des autres compagnies judiciaires de la même province* (2 vols., Paris, 1864-65), ii. pp.142-143.

[490] SHDT A1 2038 no. 59, Vallière to Chamillart, 28 Jan. 1707.

[491] After the second *ordonnance* of June 1707 concerning preparations for an enemy invasion, members of the *Sénat*, the *Chambre des comptes*, and syndics from across the duchy came to him with complaints that the *ordonnance* was almost impossible to fulfil: SHDT A1 2039 no. 296, Vallière to Chamillart, 27 Jun. 1707.

An episode arising from the command chaos in Savoie during the War of the Spanish Succession (described in Chapter III) serves to illustrate the importance of Vallière as an intermediary between the crown and the local population. In June 1707, the new commander in Savoie, the comte de Médavy, issued a series of *ordonnances* to limit Victor Amadeus's chances of reconquering Savoie. The second of these, issued without consulting Vallière, required all inhabitants of the duchy to carry all of their provisions, barring what they needed for their own subsistence, up to 20 leagues to Conflans or Fort de Barraux; Médavy would also be sending cavalry detachments into villages to force them to give up their arms. Vallière, dumbfounded, informed the war minister that the *ordonnance* was causing much upset across the duchy and many inhabitants were preparing to flee rather than meet its impossible terms. In his inexperience, Médavy had not followed the central credo of what been French strategy up to that point in the administration of occupied Savoie. Chamillart reminded him that Savoie had so far been of great importance for the subsistence of troops during winter quarters, and this was now in increasing danger due to his excessive severity.[492] The same problem was seen in the Chablais that summer: Marshal Tessé reported that the infantry brigadier charged with defending the frontier of Savoie, Le Guerchois, had published *ordonnnances* so harsh that they inspired terror, 'and terror often inspires the decision to flee'. He added, 'if I were Savoyard I would do exactly the same'. Tessé's view of the problem was that Le Guerchois was simply not equipped with the necessary experience to carry out his task; as he wrote back to the king, 'A man can excel at commanding a garrison and on the battlefield, and be totally unsuited to commanding in a province', echoing La Closure's diagnosis of the problem with Vallière.[493] Moderation in dealing with the populations of conquered provinces was something which had been central to the successful strategies of Louvois and Barbezieux in many of the *pays conquis*. Despite his shortcomings in other areas of command, Vallière acquired an in-depth knowledge of Savoie and a wide network of contacts. This was recognized by the other members of the regime in Savoie: even Médavy expressed relief that Vallière was staying because of his experience.[494] That Vallière was so underappreciated in this role by Chamillart

[492] SHDT A1 2040 nos. 2 & 3, Chamillart to Medavy, 3 & 6 Jul. 1707.
[493] SHDT A1 2038 no. 207, Tessé to Chamillart, 9 Mar. 1707. On La Closure and Vallière see pp. 111-12.
[494] SHDT A1 2039 no. 128, Medavy to Chamillart, 5 Jun. 1707.

is a further indication of his profound lack of understanding of how conquered provinces should be handled.

Many of France's problems during the second occupation of Savoie clearly stemmed from a personnel problem. By employing inexperienced military officers to govern the duchy instead of civilian administrators with the experience of the *pays conquis* intendants, the central element of the crown's policy towards conquered provinces after the 1680s – of moderation and sensitivity – was jeopardized, and this risked losing the goodwill of the population. The French were naive to think that the population of Savoie was so pro-French that the duchy could be temporarily joined to the Dauphiné and would pose no problems for them. They certainly lacked forethought: when the long-serving intendant Bouchu was replaced in 1705, his position was filled not by an intendant who had experience of dealing with 'conquered' populations on the frontiers of the kingdom, but with the intendant of Normandy. The inexperience of the military administrators meant that the French were extremely slow to deal with problems which were habitual for conquered provinces; moreover, these officers were responsible for several serious blunders that could have potentially triggered popular uprisings. The actual handling of the local structures of government therefore also needs to be considered.

*IV: General Systems of Governance in the Territories*

The way the French used, abused, reformed or abolished native institutions and officers will be tackled at greater length in Chapter V. But a broad outline of what happened in this regard is necessary here to understand the burdens France placed on the occupied territories. As described in Chapter II, Lorraine was initially occupied to secure France's north-eastern frontier in preparation for the Dutch War, and it functioned as a *place d'armes* to support the French army once the conflict actually began. During this period, the administrative structures imposed on Lorraine differed little from those established in other recent *pays conquis*. After the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1678, however, another distinct phase can be identified, whereby the French actively pursued the total integration of Lorraine into the kingdom. On an administrative level, this involved the physical dismemberment of the duchies of

Lorraine and Bar, which were carved up and 'reunited' with the Trois Evêchés of Metz, Toul and Verdun over a period of four years.[495] These political 'reunions' were followed by various far-reaching judicial and financial changes blatantly designed to assimilate Lorraine into France. It is the financial changes that mainly concern us here.

In the period after 1670, several similarities can be seen between the processes of integration that took place in Lorraine and those in the Franche-Comté, the sovereignty of which was handed over to France by the Treaty of Nijmegen. In both cases, the French reorganized the provincial fiscal and judicial systems to bring them into line with the rest of France.[496] This underscores the fact that all depended on what France's long-term intentions were for the province. Though the French government was denied international recognition of its sovereignty over Lorraine, it nevertheless proceeded to bring about the full integration of the province, in a marked and unambiguous fashion.

The *Cour souveraine* and *the Chambres des comptes* of Lorraine and the Barrois had been suppressed in early 1671, their competencies being transferred to the *Parlement* of Metz and the intendant, respectively.[497] In the 1680s, the French further reorganized the judicial system of Lorraine by creating new offices and introducing a measure of uniformity in the form of French law (though this itself was plural). On 1 July 1685 the *bailliages* of Nancy, Saint-Mihiel, Etain, Epinal, Vaudrevange and Mirecourt were suppressed. In their place, French-style *cours présidiaux* were established at Metz, Toul and Verdun. Venality developed, as officers had to acquit themselves of the *droit annuel* by paying an eighth of the value of their office; and as they now owned the offices they could be passed on to their heirs. The *droit annuel* was claimed for three years (1681 to 1683) and then again for nine years (1684 to 1692); if unpaid the offices were declared vacant.[498] In 1686, the French civil and

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[495] See pp. 68-69.
[496] B. Grosperrin, *L'Influence française et le sentiment national français en Franche-Comté de la conquête à la Révolution (1674-1789)* (Paris, 1967), pp. 28-37.
[497] See p. 56.
[498] AN G7 374 no. 330, 'Arrêt du conseil d'état qui ordonne que tous les officiers... pourvues par les Ducs de Lorraine, seront receus a payer le Droit Annuel pendant le temps & aux conditions portées par les Déclaration & Arrêt des 4. & 8. du présent

criminal *ordonnances* of 1667 and 1670 were introduced in the Barrois, further pointing to a policy of assimilation pursued by the French government.[499]

The administrative and judicial reorganizations of the 1680s in Lorraine, motivated by a desire to integrate the duchies into France, were accompanied by fiscal reorganization. As in all the *pays conquis* under the War Ministry's supervision, during peacetime the administration of finances was handed over to the *contrôleur général des finances*.[500] After a time the ducal domains themselves were directly absorbed by Louis XIV. An order of the *Conseil d'état* of 25 July 1681 suppressed the financial offices of *receveur, contrôleur* and *gruyeur* of the ducal domains in those parts of Lorraine so far 'reunited' with the Trois Evêchés.[501] But Charuel wrote to Colbert that these officers had been of great use during the Dutch War in organizing the subsistence of troops, as well as fortification works, convoys and supply magazines; it would be far more expedient, he argued, to maintain these officers than to replace them with men from outside the province who had no experience.[502] Despite this advice, and the protests of the *receveurs généraux* of Lorraine, the offices of *receveur*, *contrôleur* and *gruyeur* were suppressed in the rest of Lorraine from 1 January 1685.[503] Colbert further instructed Charuel to look into suppressing the taxes and duties of Lorraine established by the dukes; he explained that these charges were generally 'too heavy for the people'.[504] There was also the feeling that, given the ill-defined borders between France and Lorraine, the collection of taxes was confused, 'to the extent that an inhabitant calls himself Lorrain and pays

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mois de Mars', 15 Mar. 1681; G. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine: Les temps modernes* (2 vols., Nancy, 1991), ii. p. 45.

[499] A. Schmitt, 'Le Barrois mouvant au XVIIe siècle (1624-1697)', *Mémoires de la société des lettres, sciences et arts de Bar-le-duc et du musée de géographie*, 5ème série, 47 (1928-1929), p. 223.

[500] This is something that other historians of the French *pays conquis* have so far failed to grasp.

[501] AN G7 374 no. 325, 'Arrêt du conseil d'état qui supprime les offices de receveur, controlleur & gruyeur établis dans les lieux de Lorraine réunis aux trois Evêchés', 25 Jul. 1681.

[502] AN G7 374 no. 194, Charuel to Colbert, 19 Mar. 1682.

[503] On hearing of this decision, the *receveurs généraux* called for an emergency meeting in Nancy, 'where we will together take measures to prevent this fatal blow': AAE CP Lorr[aine] 44, f. 307bis, 'Circulaire des receveurs généraux de Lorraine', 6 Nov. 1684.

[504] AN G7 1 [unnumbered], Colbert to Charuel, 18 Dec. 1681.

the taxes of Lorraine, and another inhabitant of the same village pays the taxes of France'.[505] Charuel agreed that 'it is in the interest of the king to obliterate the rights and the pretensions of the dukes of Lorraine in order to strengthen and maintain those of His Majesty'.[506] In October 1684 they were suppressed and replaced by a general imposition or 'subvention' over the country, and all internal customs were removed to make Lorraine, the Barrois and the Trois Evêchés 'one single province'.[507] Further financial integration came with the devaluation of the *franc barrois* in 1692, and the introduction of the *livre tournois* in Lorraine.[508] Financial needs also saw the introduction of monopolies on sale of salt and tobacco, and the obligation to use stamped paper for judicial and notarial acts.[509] What this all meant for the burdens on the occupied will be discussed in Part II below.

By the 1690s the French had very nearly succeeded in literally wiping Lorraine off the map – a hugely important symbolic gesture in an era when the geographical depiction of a place was of vital political importance due to the otherwise lack of territorial unity in composite states. This trend was only reinforced when in September 1691 Jacques Charuel, the long-serving intendant of Lorraine, the Barrois and the Trois Evêchés, died and the *généralité* was divided into two: the *premier président* of the *Parlement* of Metz, Guillaume de Sève, was assigned Metz, Verdun, Luxembourg and the county of Chiny, while Jean-Baptiste Desmarets de Vaubourg was given Toul, Lorraine and the Barrois.[510] De Sève, who was enlisted to split the intendancies, warned that it might be dangerous to re-establish the territorial integrity of the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, 'which we believed to be in the interests of His Majesty to disfigure'. Furthermore the tax receipts for the two intendancies would be mixed up, much confusion would ensue about the limits of each of the new

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[505] AN G7 1 [unnumbered], Colbert to Charuel, 14 Nov. 1682.
[506] AN G7 374 no. 261, Charuel to Colbert, 22 Nov. 1682.
[507] AAE CP Lorr. sup[plément] 12, f. 2, 'Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat', 10 Dec. 1685.
[508] Schmitt, 'Le Barrois', p. 225.
[509] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 45.
[510] Vaubourg was the nephew of Jean-Baptiste Colbert and brother of the future *contrôleur général des finances* Nicolas Desmarets. He was a protégé of *contrôleur général* Pontchartrain and had already served as intendant in Navarre and Béarn (1685-1687) and the Auvergne (1687-1691). M-J. Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant en pays de frontière: L'exemple de Jean-Baptiste Desmarets de Vaubourg, intendant de Lorraine et de Barrois (1691-1697), *Annales de L'Est*, 53 (2003), p. 326.

*generalités*, and it would be necessary to separate a bishopric from the Trois Evêchés.[511] When the commission was given to Vaubourg in mid-November, covering 'the Barrois, the bishopric of Toul and dependant *bailliages* including Nancy', the word Lorraine was conspicuously absent from his commission.[512]

Savoie and Nice had very different experiences to that of Lorraine in 1670-97. Savoie was occupied from 1690 to 1696 in order to knock Victor Amadeus out of the war by depriving him of resources and by using the province as a source of money and supplies for the army. Here though, the French showed themselves to be more than willing to work with existing native personnel, maintaining both the sovereign courts and the subaltern officers of finance and justice in the duchy. In keeping the existing framework intact, the French were no doubt consciously saving themselves the extensive and expensive task of reorganizing the duchy's administrative and judicial apparatus. The initial warmth of their reception had probably convinced them that the local elites would be happy to work with them. They could therefore peaceably extract money from the duke's territory in order to fund the war against him. In fact, the French largely left the Savoyard financial regime intact, even at the level of farming contracts. Immediately after the conquest of Chambéry, Monsieur de la Marc, the *fermier général* of the *gabelles* of Savoie (and a Frenchman), presented himself to the new rulers with the *bail* he had made with Victor Amadeus, and the French were willing to allow him to continue up till the end of his contract, which was due to expire in 1693, on payment of 490,000 *livres*.[513] The same formula was used when the French occupied Savoie a second time in 1703. Again, many of the existing financial arrangements were left in place by the new occupying regime: the contract for the farm of powder and saltpetre was left in the hands of the existing holder; the contract for the *ferme générale* of Savoie, meanwhile, was negotiated in November 1703 to commence at the beginning of 1704 and was given to Jean-Jacques Gamba, a banker from Turin, for 624,000 *livres* annually.[514]

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[511] SHDT A1 1071 no. 118, de Sève to Le Peletier, 10 Oct. 1691.
[512] SHDT A1 1071 no. 166, Barbezieux to Vaubourg, 13 Nov. 1691.
[513] SHDT A1 1010 no. 31, Bonval to Louvois, 15 Aug. 1690.
[514] SHDT A1 1690 no. 91, Bouchu to Chamillart, 1 Dec. 03; no. 98, 'Mémoire sur les fermes de Savoie', 29 Nov. 1703.

The French occupations of Nice of 1691-96 and 1705-13 were, like those of Savoie, characterized by significant continuity with the regime of the duke of Savoy. The occupiers' administrative structures operated by the French in Nice and Savoie were remarkably similar, yet the French had a somewhat different emphasis in their motivations for occupying each of the two territories. During the Nine Years War, for instance, the permanent annexation of Nice was proposed on several occasions, even if it was not officially adopted as royal policy, while no equivalent unofficial plans existed to annex Savoie. Pierre-Olivier Chaumet has argued that during both occupations of Nice, the French pursued a conscious policy of administrative assimilation, and the return of Nice to Victor Amadeus in 1696 and 1713 amounts to a 'failed annexation'.[515] Yet a comparison with the occupations of Savoie demonstrates that what Chaumet labels as 'administrative assimilation' was in fact standard practice for French occupations in this period, and by no means implies a desire to keep the territory permanently. This is not to say there were no differences between the Nice and Savoie occupations. In Savoie, there was a sense – clearest during the first occupation, but present in the second – of financial opportunism whereby the French would make the most of their stay in Savoie, however long that would last. By contrast, the occupation of Nice was actually a drain on French financial resources: a memorandum of 1707 recommended abandoning the county, as to occupy it cost three times as much as the king took from it in revenues; if the county was put under contribution as enemy territory, the money raised would easily exceed what was taken in the *taille* and the other taxes from it as occupied territory.[516] Yet France's strategic interest in Nice outweighed the financial benefits of its occupation, and it was retained until the end of the war.

Strategic interest also outweighed financial considerations in the French occupation of Lorraine from 1702-14, as it had done in 1670-97, but this time the duchy was not at all restructured, either for political or material reasons. As we have seen in Chapter II, Lorraine was partly reoccupied to ensure the security of France's north-eastern frontier. This occupation was not at all like that which preceded it: it was limited to the Saar fortresses and to Nancy, where the ducal palace remained at the disposition

[515] Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 282.
[516] SHDT A1 2043 no. 208, Paratte to Chamillart, 26 Oct. 1707, 'Mémoire sur la comté de Nice'.

of the duke. The *Cour souveraine* and the *Chambre des comptes* continued to sit in Nancy without obstacle, and the administration and the exercise of justice remained in the hands of Duke Leopold's government.[517] The king's intentions were to 'maintain all the rights and all the prerogatives of the duke of Lorraine's sovereignty, and French troops will be in Nancy on the same terms as they are in the Spanish *places*'. In effect, Louis wanted the duke to view the French troops as auxiliaries to his own.[518] At the beginning of the occupation, Tallard made it clear to the townspeople of Nancy as well as to the duke's ministers Couvonges and Mahuet that nobody had anything to fear from the presence of the French troops, who would live there 'with more discipline than in the king's own *places*'. He requested that Chamillart send him the most 'exact and the most vigilant officers the king has' to enforce a particularly strict discipline among the troops there.[519] The comte d'Avejan was appointed commander of the garrison, with two *commissaires des guerres*, Le Sueur and Geoffroy. Louis XIV initially hoped that Leopold would return to Nancy once proof had been given of the good discipline of the French troops, and that, 'he be no less the master than he was before', but Leopold and his court remained in Lunéville until the end of the war.[520] Nevertheless, the French garrison fitted in with existing power structures: they dutifully saluted members of the duke's family when they came to Nancy, and they also took part in the honours for royal and ducal births and deaths. They were not to give the salute to marshals of France, unless specifically requested.[521]

Evidently, multiple factors influenced the way the French structured the administration of the occupied territories, from set-ups as the apex of government down to the particular conditions of the territory itself. The different styles of leadership of the War Ministry, along with the different pressures on the secretaries of state for war at different points in the reign, led to significant variation in the amount

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[517] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 123.
[518] SHDT A1 1571 no. 32, Chamillart to Tallard, 4 Dec. 1702; no. 33, Chamillart to Saint-Contest, 4 Dec. 1702.
[519] SHDT A1 1571 no. 30bis, Tallard to Chamillart, 3 Dec. 1702. Marc-Antoine de Mahuet held the office of *intendant* and was the member of Leopold's *Conseil d'Etat* with competence over war and much of the administration of the duchies.
[520] AAE CP Lorr. 55 nos. 45 & 47, Louis XIV to d'Audiffret, 14 & 21 Dec. 1702.
[521] SHDT A1 1661 no. 52, Avejan to Chamillart, 31 Jul. 1703; A1 1761 no. 21, Avejan to Chamillart, 29 Jan. 1704; A1 1852 no. 145, Chamillart to Avejan, 6 May 1705.

of ministerial direction. Furthermore, developments and innovations within the war department in terms of personnel meant that new positions emerged, most significantly the role of *commissaire ordonnateur des guerres*, which proved particularly well suited to the task of administering occupied territory. The extent of the authority of the military commanders also differed widely, as this depended on the location of the territory and its strategic importance. Finally, in the longer-term, the expectation of retention by France or restitution to the original sovereign was a major factor in determining the structures of governance.

# Part II: Burdens

*I: Lorraine, 1670-97*

The initial objectives of royal policy in Lorraine in the first few years of French rule were to cover the costs of the military occupation, but much depended in the longer run on whether the French would remain there. There was indeed something of a debate on what tactics to pursue regarding Lorraine resources. Marshal Créqui wrote to both Colbert and Louvois in October 1670 that if the king intended to keep Lorraine, its resources should be spared, the French should avoid harassing the tax farmers in their duties, reassure the population, exploit the ducal domains, and, in particular, take good care of the salt works. If not, they should make it more difficult for the dukes of Lorraine to hinder France in future by stripping the country of its resources and destroying its salt works.[522] Again in February 1671, when the return of Lorraine appeared likely, Créqui recommended destroying the salt works of Lorraine, as this would make the duchy dependent on the French salt works at Moyenvic, and would deprive the duke of its revenues for several years to come.[523] Haussonville argued that the French took as much as they could from Lorraine during the Dutch War in order to hand it back completely stripped of resources.[524] Yet, far from being the object of a brutal and methodical devastation, Lorraine was merely exploited like any other province of the kingdom. Créqui repeatedly argued that it was in the king's interests to wait until they left before ruining the place, and that in the meantime the government should moderate their demands on the population so as not to exhaust them too quickly.[525] Charuel initially tried to apportion the burden fairly, and place it on those who could most afford it. For the subsistence of troops in

[522] SHDT A1 250 ff. 146-147, Créqui to Louvois, 19 Oct. 1670; E. Lanouvelle, *Le Maréchal de Créquy* (Paris, 1931), p. 150.
[523] BN Mél. Col. 156 f. 144, Créqui to Louvois, 18 Feb. 1671. From 1670 the sale of salt in Lorraine was organized by a *ferme*; it became an important source of revenue, with production reaching 10,000 tonnes by 1697. M. Romac, 'Le commerce illicite du sel en Lorraine au XVIIIe siècle', *Pays Lorraine,* 71 (1990), pp. 16-17. In 1690, Bouchu recommended destroying the salt fountains of Savoie. Yet Louvois ordered that they be maintained, as this was cheaper: SHDT A1 1010 no. 89, Bonval to Louvois, 10 Oct. 1690.
[524] Cléron de Haussonville, J., *Histoire de la réunion de la Lorraine à la France* (4 vols., Paris, 1860), iii. p. 279.
[525] SHDT A1 253 f. 164, Créqui to Louvois, 26 Feb. 1671.

Lorraine in 1671, for instance, it was decided that the Barrois, being more prosperous than Lorraine, should shoulder most of the cost.[526] Moderation was the key, 'as that makes a country abundant and is the link which keeps the peasant attached to his miserable little house'.[527]

To this end, until 1684 the French continued to raise and collect the taxes and duties of the ducal regime, most notably the *aide Saint Rémy*, a direct tax similar to the French *taille*, levied on the inhabitants of all villages throughout Lorraine and the Barrois and paid every 1 October after the harvests had finished. This was raised at the 1669 level throughout the 1670s.[528] In addition, from 1 May 1671, impositions for the subsistence of troops were levied at 66,000 *livres* per month.[529] In these early years, however, there was the problem of uncertainty – caused in part by Louis XIV's dissimulation – about France's long-term intentions, which hampered the tasks of Créqui and Charuel. Charuel wrote to Louvois in July 1671 that the 66,000 *livres* imposed for the previous month was not forthcoming, as the inhabitants of Lorraine believed an agreement has been made with the duke, and that they did not need to pay anything further. He had to send in dragoons to divest them of this opinion.[530] In the summer of 1671 when it was announced that the French would be staying in Lorraine, moderation was again the order of the day, and Créqui reported that villages in Lorraine had been treated 'too violently' in being pressed to pay their debts; he ordered the restitution of livestock that had been seized. The *Parlement* of Metz was ordered to stop sending in bailiffs to 'torment' the communities, as this would be detrimental to the collection of money by the tax officials.[531]

Generally speaking, the French sought to make Lorraine pay all the costs of the occupation through the 1670s, including the lodging and feeding of troops: during

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[526] SHDT A1 253 f. 153, Charuel to Louvois, 22 Feb. 1671.
[527] SHDT A1 250 f. 208, Créqui to Le Tellier, 5 Nov. 1670; A1 253 ff. 38-40, Créqui to Louvois, [Jan.] 1671.
[528] After investigating the receipts of the tax collectors of the duchies, it was found that the total revenues for Lorraine and the Barrois were 781,493 *livres*, SHDT A1 250 f. 311, Charuel to Louvois, 26 Nov. 1670; Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant', p. 18.
[529] SHDT A1 253 f. 118, Charuel to Louvois, 11 Feb. 1671.
[530] SHDT A1 253 f. 255, Charuel to Louvois, 5 Jul. 1671.
[531] SHDT A1 253 ff. 352 & 357, Créqui to Louvois, 30 Sep. & 3 Oct. 1671.

winter quarters, its inhabitants had to provide bread, meat and wine for the soldiers and forage for horses; from 1674 the system of '*ustensile*' was introduced, designating the supplementary fees paid by communities to officers for the maintenance of their troops during winter quarters. During the winter of 1673-74, for the five month period of winter quarters the French imposed 600,000 *livres* on Lorraine and the Barrois.[532] In addition, the inhabitants had to provide the gunpowder to demolish their town walls, and the cost of new fortification works.[533] This last point aside, the rest of the burden on Lorraine was not unlike that of the French provinces, and was much less than that of a territory under occupation as a result of wartime conquest.[534] And in the early 1680s elements of the French government even worried that the burden was too great.[535]

When the French arrived they found Lorraine and the Barrois were enjoying a relative abundance. But any optimism about Lorraine's fiscal potential was short-lived. After less than two months, Charuel reported that Lorraine could not support the tax of 25,000 *écus* per month imposed by the king.[536] By March 1671, two or three of the *prévôtés* in Lorraine and the Barrois were starting to weaken and were incapable of paying taxes.[537] The weight of these charges, together with the activities of enemy raiding parties, meant that by the beginning of 1675 Lorraine was exhausted; the intendant wrote that it was unlikely the king would be able to raise any more money there, and in many places it was doubtful even that troops could be quartered. He added, 'I assure you that misery is greater than it appeared'.[538] Charuel advised

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[532] SHDT A1 351 no. 417, Charuel to Louvois, 24 Dec. 1673.
[533] Lanouvelle, *Créquy*, p. 150.
[534] The financial burden on Lorraine was roughly comparable with that imposed on Burgundy and Languedoc in the same period, after factoring in the difference in population and province size. W. Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 34, 260-261; J. Swann, 'War Finance in Burgundy in the Reign of Louis XIV, 1661-1715' in (eds.), W. Ormrod et al., *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth: Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130-1830* (Stamford, 1999), pp. 310-312.
[535] See above, p. 143.
[536] SHDT A1 250 f. 29, Saint-Pouenges to Louvois, 11 Sep. 1670; f. 168, Charuel to Louvois, 25 Oct. 1670.
[537] SHDT A1 253 f. 177, Charuel to Louvois, 4 Mar. 1671.
[538] SHDT A1 458 no. 72, Charuel to Louvois, 20 Jan. 1675. In November 1674 the French accorded a one-year suspension of debt repayments for the communities of

Louvois that the king should accept the offer of a contributions treaty from Charles IV, for, if not, the people of Lorraine would soon be completely incapable of supporting French troops.[539] The duke specified that he wished the contributions to be raised in his name, to show his people that he was acting in their interests, but the French ignored this. The importance of the contributions treaty to maintaining the economy of Lorraine during the Dutch War can be seen from the reaction of the intendant after the duke of Lorraine withdrew from the treaty in 1678. The French demanded that Charles V pay indemnities for fires in the Verdunois caused by raiding parties, but the sums they demanded were worth more than the advantages he took from the treaty. The duke instructed his emissary Risancourt to break the treaty in January 1678, throwing all the population of Lorraine into great consternation.[540] As soon as the intendant received news of this, he was eager for Risancourt to come to Nancy to negotiate, so as to 'avoid the miseries that a rupture of the treaty might bring'. In this manner Charuel claimed he was governing 'by the spirit of the people of this country' and was acting to avoid the desolation and the ruin of its inhabitants. The long-term effects of the rupture would indeed have been serious.[541]

If the 1670s had seen relatively moderate French demands, the end of the Dutch War brought a new era of far greater, increasing exploitation. In the 1680s, the financial resources of the communities of Lorraine were badly dislocated by the *réunions* and associated troops burdens, as well as the fiscal reorganizations described above, exacerbating the problem of chronic indebtedness.[542] Financially, then, Lorraine was already in a precarious state even before it was hit by the crisis of the 1690s. A series of economic disasters crippled France during the Nine Years War, and these inevitably increased the burden that the government placed on Lorraine. Charuel

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Lorraine and the Barrois; this was subsequently extended until October 1677. BMN 152(345) no. 8, *Ordonnance,* 1 Nov. 1675.

[539] SHDT A1 417 no. 134, Charuel to Louvois, 18 Apr. 1674.

[540] SHDT A1 615 no. 3, Charuel, 9 Jan. 1678.

[541] Charuel noted that it was Colbert who was pushing for an accommodation: SHDT A1 606 nos. 38 & 64, Charuel to Louvois, 27 Jan. & 13 Feb. 1678.

[542] From 1682-83 Charuel pressed Colbert to send reimbursements to the communities for the *étapes*; he wrote that the communities could no longer support the cost of the military tax, particularly those on the 'great roads', which were also obliged to support large numbers of troops in winter quarters as well as the *appointements* of the *officiers généraux* of Lorraine. AN G7 374 nos. 240, 280 & 288, Charuel to Colbert, 13 Sep. 1682, 25 Jan. & 20 Mar. 1683.

decided early on in the Nine Years War that it was absolutely necessary to organize markets of forage by enterprise instead of filling the magazines by imposition; 'as nothing in the world fatigues the people as much as making them transport their forage to distant towns'.[543] It was hoped that sparing the people of Lorraine the imposition of forage, they would be more able to pay their other charges and provide as much cash as possible to the French authorities. These charges included the *gabelle*, the subvention, the *étapes* (military tax for passing troops), the salaries of the *officiers généraux* of Lorraine, and the *ustensile*. To add to this burden, a series of bad harvests led to famine in 1693-94. In 1694 a unit of wheat which normally sold for 8-10 *francs* reached 80 *francs*. The villages of Lorraine, without grains for their own subsistence needs, were forced to send their wheat for the magazines of Alsace.[544] The dire situation of Lorrain communities was further compounded by the establishment of the *capitation*, a direct tax on nobles and commoners alike, in 1695.[545] The burgeoning of fiscal demands was such that in 1697 Vaubourg estimated that 'the king takes at present more than double' what Charles IV took from Lorraine in 1669.[546]

John Lynn has argued that by the 1690s quartering troops enriched rather than impoverished localities.[547] Yet, even allowing for special pleading, the correspondence of communities with the intendant shows this was far from the case. The magistrates of Epinal wrote to the intendant in December 1690 that their town was destitute and had been reduced to only 300 inhabitants, but was still being forced to garrison three companies of cuirassiers, and asked to be discharged of these

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[543] SHDT A1 971 no. 271, Charuel to Louvois, 25 Apr. 1690.
[544] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 52; Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant', p. 339.
[545] The *capitation* was based on the perceived social hierarchical structure of France, and had 22 tax 'classes'. It was abolished in France in 1699 and then reintroduced in 1702.
[546] Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant', p. 339.
[547] J. Lynn, 'How War Fed War: The Tax of Violence and Contributions during the *Grand Siècle'*, *Journal of Modern History* 65 (June 1993), p.307. The intendant's report for the duc de Bourgogne in 1697 also claimed that the passage of troops was beneficial for French communities. M-J. Laperche-Fournel, *L'Intendance de Lorraine et Barrois à la fin du XVIIe siècle: edition critique du mémoire 'pour l'instruction du duc de Bourgogne'* (Paris, 2006), p. 269.

companies.[548] Lunéville was situated on the two great roads from Alsace, and troops were obliged to pass through constantly. The syndics of Lunéville wrote in 1695 that the town was ruined due to the huge impositions: of 250 bourgeois there were now only 70, all of whom were insolvent. Each day they had to lodge troops, and the better-off families had fled. The town was charged with 4,600 rations of forage, 5,000 *livres* for the winter quarters, the subvention, and the verification of roles for the *capitation*. Furthermore, most were forced to 'take bread from their own mouth' to give to troops who were not satisfied with their own rations.[549] The intendant replied that he could not reduce their impositions without having to shift the charges onto other communities, which were no better off.[550]

France was also hit by a general financial crisis in 1694: credit was in short supply and the military contractors in Lorraine frequently defaulted.[551] As the French government's priority was to pay its armies, moderation on the part of the administrators was no longer a possibility. During the Nine Years War, as famine and bad harvests put the collection of money in peril as well as the submission of the people, the *intendance* of Lorraine was less inclined to dialogue and indulgence. Furthermore, in contrast with Alsace or the Franche-Comté, France was preparing to abandon Lorraine; keeping the good will of the people was now the least of their concerns. Vaubourg therefore met sedition with force: henceforth, violence perpetrated by the state replaced random violence committed by soldiers, and the *intendance* became the symbol of this new discipline.[552] Necessity also led Vaubourg, despite their protests, to leave the communities of Lorraine and the Barrois to their creditors. The communities were so indebted that they had been granted by an *ordonnance* of 30 November 1688 a new delay to pay their debts and hold the creditors at bay. As soon as Vaubourg arrived in Lorraine in late 1691, these suspensions were lifted as and when military necessity dictated.[553] As the 1690s wore

[548] SHDT A1 1071 no. 13, governor and magistrates of Epinal to Charuel, 19 Dec. 1690.
[549] AN G7 415 no. 266, syndics of Lunéville to Pontchartrain, 8 Apr. 1695.
[550] AN G7 415 no. 270, Vaubourg to Pontchartain, 28 Apr. 1695.
[551] SHDT A1 1284 no. 99, de Sève to Barbezieux, 14 Feb. 1694.
[552] Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant', pp. 344-345.
[553] The suspension of the debt repayments had been in effect since September 1684. BMN 152(345) no. 105, *Ordonnnance*, 4 Nov. 1686; Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant', p. 343.

on, the French increasingly played hard and fast with privilege in Lorraine in order to raise money for the war. In September 1696, after the return of Lorraine had already been agreed, the French attempted to 'sell' exemptions back to the *annoblis* who had been stripped of these privileges in 1671.[554]

*II: Lorraine, 1702-14*

The financial burden placed on Lorraine during the French occupation from 1702 was minimal, reflecting the king's desire to keep Leopold friendly and to dissuade him from joining the allied side in the war. Lorraine's principal function during this conflict, as far as the French were concerned, was to provide subsistence goods to the military warehouses in Alsace, and these were to be paid for rather than requisitioned: at the beginning of the occupation, Chamillart informed intendant Saint-Contest that the duke of Lorraine's ministers were to make these supplies available, either by entrepreneurs or a general imposition on the country. However, the French were prepared to take steps to ensure this arrangement functioned according to their needs: as the initial negotiations took too long, the intendant was authorized to force the inhabitants to provide the supplies, paying for them at whatever he considered to be 'a reasonable price'.[555] In 1703 the duchies provided 43,000 sacks of wheat and oats to supply the army of the Rhine.[556]

Lorraine also had to provide free lodgings for French troops on their way to the frontier, as per the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick. Every time a French army passed through Lorraine, the duke would send his commissioners to facilitate the passage of the troops and protect the interests of his subjects; the French then imposed the costs of the passage of the army on enemy territory.[557] The French also agreed to pay for the transportation of supplies to the army as it passed through Lorraine, paying four

[554] AAE CP Lorr. Sup. 13, ff. 66-68, 'Declaration du Roy, qui rétablit dans leur Noblesse les Annoblis par les Ducs de Lorraine, revoquez par l'Ordonnance du 4 Mars 1671', 18 Sep. 1696. See also p. 172.
[555] SHDT A1 1671 nos. 4 & 15, Chamillart to Saint-Contest, 2 & 15 Jan. 1703.
[556] Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie*, ii. p. 124.
[557] SHDT A1 1754 no. 244, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 28 May 1704.

*livres* per wagon per day during the summer, and six *livres* during the winter.[558] When French troops were put into winter quarters along the Saar in the winter of 1702-03, the local Lorrain officials refused to pay for the wood and candles used by the troops quartered amongst them (traditionally part of the *ustensile*), and after the intervention of the duke on their behalf, the king agreed to pay these costs out of the main French military treasury, the *extraordinaires des guerres*.[559] Thereafter, when the French wintered their troops in Lorraine, they paid indemnities to the duke, though the latter always lodged formal complaints about French troops wintering in his territory.[560] In addition the French paid all the customs duties necessary for transporting supplies: a wagon carrying five bags of barley from Verdun to Nancy would have to pay duties of 15 *sols* 9 *deniers*, on top of the 10 *sols* 2 *deniers* imposed by the town of Nancy for each 200 pound bag of grain.[561] Normally such supplies were duty-exempt when moved within France or into occupied territory, and this reveals the extent to which Louis was trying to make the occupation as palatable as possible for Leopold. Similarly, the fact that the French did not increase the burdens on Lorrain communities throughout the economic crisis of 1709-10 shows their commitment to maintaining the neutrality of Lorraine even in moments of the most dire necessity. In October 1710, the French commander of the garrison of Marsal informed Voysin of his urgent need for money to pay his soldiers to prevent pillaging: 'we are here in a Lorrain town where the bourgeois are our masters, being stronger than us'; moreover, he could not expect any help from the Lorrains, 'because they are surely our enemies'.[562]

*III: Savoie, 1690-96*

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[558] SHDT A1 1671 no. 172, Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 22 Apr. 1703; no. 187, Chamillart to Saint-Contest, 30 Apr. 1703.
[559] SHDT A1 1672 no. 576, Chamillart to Varennes, 6 Feb. 1703; A1 1671 no. 333. Saint-Contest to Chamillart, 27 Jul. 1703; A1 1672 no. 347, Chamillart to Saint-Contest, 2 Aug. 1703.
[560] ADMM 3F 8 no. 32, Leopold to Louis XIV, 29 Oct. 1704; SHDT A1 1954 no. 305, Chamillart to Saint-Contest, 29 Mar. 1706; ADMM 3F 8 no. 38, Chamillart to Saint-Contest, 12 Oct. 1706.
[561] SHDT A1 1851 no. 235, *Ordre de S.A.R.*, 25 Feb. 1705; A1 2236 no. 169, Geoffroy to Voysin, 25 Jan. 1710; no. 217, Voysin to Geoffroy, 2 Feb. 1710.
[562] SHDT A1 2244 no. 195, d'Arques to Voysin, 2 Oct. 1710.

The occupation of Savoie in the 1690s has many similarities to the situation in Lorraine that same decade. From the beginning of the occupation in 1690, *commissaire* Bonval's primary function was to take as much money from the conquered province as possible for the *extraordinaire des guerres*. Bonval felt that it would be far better to impose the *taille* rather than military contributions, being 'more to the taste of the people' and easier for them to fulfil. The interim military commander Saint-Ruth agreed, advising that those who had sworn allegiance to the king now regarded themselves as 'subjects of His Majesty', and the duchy should therefore not be distinguished from other parts of the kingdom. Saint-Ruth justified his moderation after the conquest of Savoie in 1690 to Louvois in similar terms, remarking, 'I believe we should treat these people with gentleness, as I am persuaded that it is in the king's interests to keep them for ever.'[563] Louvois responded initially that the king was indifferent as to whether the *taille* or contributions were imposed on Savoie, but eventually settled upon on an imposition of the *taille*, as it would upset the people less.[564] He also instructed Saint-Ruth that any revenues usually raised on behalf of the duke were now to be raised for the king. In Savoie, therefore, the French decided on a simple substitution of Louis XIV in place of Victor Amadeus, in order to foster good relations with the people so that they would continue to provide money and winter quarters for the army. This is in contrast to the much harsher treatment given to the more hostile population of Piedmont: Catinat was ordered to impose extensive contributions and to show no mercy to communities who did not pay what was demanded; and furthermore, as Louvois put it, 'The more your army makes disorders, the sooner Monsieur de Savoie will fall'.[565] Yet, as with Lorraine by now, the burden placed on Savoie was far from light, for Louvois was determined to maximize the short-term financial benefits of the occupation. Bonval acted in accordance with Louvois's order to Bouchu of 14 June to impose double what Victor Amadeus normally took from Savoie: the duchy was to pay an entire year's worth of

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[563] SHDT A1 1009 nos. 180 & 181, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 18 & 22 Jul. 1690; A1 1010 no. 28, *idem.*, 13 Aug. 1690.
[564] SHDT A1 1010 nos. 34 & 52, Bonval to Louvois, 17 & 23 Aug. 1690; nos. 40 & 61, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 18 & 30 Aug. 1690. The total receipt for the *taille* in Savoie, it was found, was 545,963 *livres*, 8,500 of which were found in the chest of the receiver in Chambéry. A1 1010 no. 31, Bonval to Louvois, 15 Aug. 1690.
[565] Quoted in J. Humbert, 'Conquête et occupation de la Savoie sous Louis XIV (1690-1691)', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Savoie*, 6e série, 9 (1967), p. 40.

the *taille* in the final six months of 1690, irrespective of what they had already paid to the duke. This was in addition to the contributions imposed on Chambéry prior to the conquest, and an exceptional supplementary payment of 100,000 *livres* to be raised across the whole duchy.[566]

The French desire to take as much from Savoie at as little cost to themselves as possible is also reflected in the economic management of the occupied duchy. On their arrival, they found abundant forage – perfect for quartering dragoons and cavalry – but resolved to leave it until the winter so as not to exhaust the grain stockpiles and destroy commerce, which depended on forage to feed draught animals. Despite these initial attempts at far-sightedness, the problems of supply for the army of Italy soon made such gestures impossible to repeat: grains were forbidden to leave the duchy, thereby depriving the people of their only source of money. By May 1691 Savoie had been stripped of all of its commerce – traders were forced to buy things in Geneva using cash as they had no merchandise of their own, using foreign coins that had circulated before the French takeover.[567] But with the *Chambre des comptes* of Chambéry prohibiting the removal of gold and silver from the duchy, traders were now forced to use *billets de commissaire* (from the *commissaires des guerres*) to avoid the total ruin of the duchy.[568] The French also quickly made use of what natural resources the duchy possessed: by August 1691, after a year of French occupation, saltpetre production had been increased from 20,000 pounds a year to 50,000, and Bonval expected that this could be pushed up to 60,000, all of this being sent to French warehouses in Lyon.[569] Throughout the occupation, the French continued to look for additional sources of revenue to take from the duchy. In 1695, for instance, after a tip-off from a nun, the French sent a *commissaire des guerres* to Beton to investigate claims of gold and silver and other precious metals in the mountains.[570]

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[566] *Ibid*., p. 43.
[567] Under Victor Amadeus, the duchy used *écus* of Bern and Geneva, or *ducats* of Milan and Venice. After the French conquest this caused problems with the receivers of the army, as none of these coins were used in France. SHDT A1 1010 no. 54, Bonval to Louvois, 24 Aug. 1690.
[568] SHDT A1 1093 no. 14, Bonval to Louvois, 3 May 1691. This suggests that the *commissaires des guerres* were acting like international bankers.
[569] SHDT A1 1239 no. 91, Bonval to Barbezieux, 21 Aug. 1691.
[570] SHDT A1 1331 no. 153, Bachivilliers to Barbezieux, 15 Jan. 1695. The *commissaire* found only copper not yet in maturity.

The period from 1694-96 was particularly harsh for the population of Savoie. On top of failed harvests and the crippling costs of quartering troops, the people had to pay the *capitation*, which was levied at 238,190 *livres* for the duchy, and a one-off imposition of 100,000 *livres* to pay for the fortification of Fenestrelle.[571] Savoie was exhausted, and the non-payment of taxes had become so chronic that the French made plans to carry out a census of all the people in the duchy.[572] Furthermore, a good harvest in 1694 had driven down the price of wheat in Savoie, and as the French prohibited its sale outside of the duchy, its people were unable to pay the *capitation* in 1695 as they had no money. The administrators therefore were forced to allow the sale of a limited amount to Geneva, in order to facilitate the collection of taxes.[573] The subsistence problems in Savoie were exacerbated in 1695 by bad weather: constant rain and snow had ruined the wheat and oats in the mountains, which was the principal source of subsistence for the people, and entire parishes were destitute. The harvest was particularly bad in the Tarentaise and the Maurienne, which had to accommodate five battalions, and communities there were incapable of paying their charges.[574]

*IV: Savoie, 1703-13*

Through the second occupation the ordinary taxes levied on Savoie remained fairly constant, though the duchy's ability to pay diminished substantially. With the imposition of 725,419 *livres* for the *taille*, 336,804 *livres* capitation and the fund for 'unexpected expenses' of 100,000 *livres*, the annual total came to approximately 1,200,000 *livres*, twice the 1690 level.[575] The province was also faced with the

[571] SHDT A1 1331 no. 27, Bouchu to Barbezieux, 16 Apr. 1695; no. 184, Bonval to Barbezieux, 30 Mar. 1695.
[572] SHDT A1 1331 no. 172, Bonval to Barbezieux, 2 Jan. 1695.
[573] SHDT A1 1331 no. 191, Bonval to Barbezieux, 19 May 1695.
[574] SHDT A1 1331 nos. 211 & 220, Bonval to Barbezieux, 16 & 22 Oct. 1695; A1 1331 no. 218, *Mémoire*, 1695.
[575] By 1709, the effective product of tax collection in Savoie (after expenses) reached 1,300,687 *livres*. SHDT A1 1690 no. 88, Chamillart to Bouchu, 20 Nov. 1703; A1 1879 nos. 184 & 254, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 14 Aug. & 26 Oct. 1705; A1 1972 no. 326, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 2 Nov. 1706; A1 2102 no. 313,

'extraordinary expenses' of winter quarters, which could vary more widely: for 1705 and 1706 this came to 688,799 *livres* (this was raised generally in order to indemnify specific communities for the costs of quartering and provisioning troops). But parishes faced with lodging troops were quickly exhausted as the cost of lodging troops was far higher than the indemnities they received, losing 11 *sous* per day for each cavalier or dragoon.[576] There were also the indirect taxes of the *gabelles* and customs to pay. In addition, the French demanded 'one-off' payments, such as the sum of 321,618 *livres* for compensation payments for losses caused by enemy raiding parties.[577]

A memorandum (probably by Chamlay) of October 1703 had initially set out reasons for treating the Savoyards softly: other than being *bons gens* and quite inclined to be pro-French, the king could take more from the province by this means, commerce could continue, and the duchy could stay continuously cultivated.[578] Certainly the regime maintained the traditional usages of the duchy in terms of financial indemnities for which the sovereign traditionally took responsibility.[579] From 1704, those Savoyards who had suffered the loss of their revenues in Piedmont, and had sworn allegiance to the king, received indemnities. But this exceeded the total revenues from confiscations of property of the duke of Savoy or his supporters. The intendant was therefore obliged to take 18,000 *livres* each year from the extraordinary imposition of 100,000 *livres* for unexpected expenses: clearly the French wanted to reward collaboration, even if it was minimal and symbolic. Furthermore, to compensate people for damages occurred during the siege of Montmélian, a sum of 60,000 *livres* was raised in 1706. The same year, when Savoie experienced violent

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d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 2 Nov. 1708; A1 2174 no. 81, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 14 Oct. 1709; AN G7 249 no. 342, d'Angervilliers to Rebours, 13 Jun. 1712; J. Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle noblesse et bourgeoisie* (2 vols., Paris, 1978), ii. p. 557.

[576] *Ibid*., ii. pp. 556-557.

[577] SHDT A1 1879 no. 198, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 30 Aug. 1705.

[578] By contrast, the same memorandum describes the Piedmontese as being 'as savage and wicked as the Germans': SHDT A1 1693 no. 166, 'Mémoire sur le Palatinat, le Piedmont et la Savoye', 20 Oct. 1703.

[579] Prior to the conquest, the sieur de Lasary had been paid 320 *livres* annually from the finances of Savoie. This was a debt of the House of Savoy, 'to which the king is not beholden', but d'Angervilliers felt that since it had been paid for over a century, and it was Lasary's only income, it should be continued. SHDT A1 1972 no. 22, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 7 May 1706.

storms, d'Angervilliers advised Chamillart it was customary in Savoie for the sovereign to support those who had incurred losses; the minister lowered the *taille* by nearly 50,000 *livres*, and another 30,000 *livres* was knocked off the *taille* to compensate those communities who had been victims of fire.[580] These reductions were both agreed to on the basis that the communities were so poor it was useless to force them to pay any of this, and the reductions would be covered by the 'unexpected expenses' fund. A reduction of 64,000 *livres* was similarly granted in 1709 for losses caused by the passage of enemy troops. D'Angervilliers reassured the war minister that this sum would not be exorbitant, given that they took over a million annually from the *taille* and *capitation*.[581]

All seemed set fair. In 1705 intendant Bouchu advised that, up to now they had employed the methods used during the last war, and that he believed this should continue.[582] But this approach – put into place on the assumption that the occupation could be conducted by the same methods as during the last occupation, during which the population of Savoie consistently co-operated with the occupiers – shows a certain naivety on the part of the intendant. The attitude of the population had changed, and the financial management of Savoie slipped into chaos by the summer of 1705. There were substantial shortfalls in the collection of the *taille*, and the treasurer of the *extraordinaire des guerres* for Savoie had a truly massive deficit of 584,263 *livres* of money spent against money received. By the summer of 1705, the new intendant, d'Angervilliers, reported that there was extreme confusion among the tax collectors in the duchy, and he was forced to call them all to a meeting in Chambéry in order to inform them of exactly what impositions they were to collect, and so to find out what was paid or unpaid. The collection of taxes was falling behind due to a combination of the pre-existing poverty of the country, as well as the fact that many of the receivers were simply not performing their duties.[583] Furthermore the collection of taxes was slipping further into arrears as it was proving increasingly difficult to

[580] SHDT A1 2045 no. 273, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 10 Dec. 1707.
[581] SHDT A1 2174 no. 182, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 13 Dec. 1709; J. Devos, 'Aspects de l'occupation française en Savoie pendant la guerre de Succession d'Espagne (1703-1712)', *Actes du Congres National – Sociétés Savantes Section D Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 85 (1960), p. 41.
[582] SHDT A1 1879 no. 38, Bouchu to Chamillart, 20 Feb. 1705.
[583] SHDT A1 1879 nos. 198, 200 & 240, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 30 Aug., 4 Sep. & 11 Oct. 1705.

recruit more collectors, no doubt due to the memory of Victor Amadeus's *Chambre de justice* which had investigated the activities of Savoyard finance officers during the previous French occupation.[584]

Before 1706, Savoie was spared a heavier burden due to the fact that it was not a theatre of war. It was not so fortunate after the French defeat at Turin: from 1707, Piedmontese and Imperial troops regularly entered Savoie and took everything they could from the already poverty-stricken communities.[585] By the summer of 1708, there were significant sums of unpaid taxes due for the years 1706, 1707 and the two quarters of the present year. As an invasion by the Piedmontese-Imperial army made the total loss of Savoie appear increasingly likely, d'Angervilliers and Chamillart agreed on contingency measures to make sure that these unpaid sums would not be lost. Marshal Villars was instructed in the event of an abandonment of the duchy to arrest all of the receivers as well as all notables in Chambéry; it was normal, wrote the intendant, to take hostages when abandoning conquered territory to ensure outstanding debts would be paid.[586] The abandonment of the duchy proved unnecessary, but vast sums remained outstanding. Harsh methods were still the order of the day: though the French government knew many communities were unable to pay, the war minister ordered that detachments of troops who were wintering in Savoie should be sent into communities to enforce the payment of their debts.[587] This method of using the troops wintering in Savoie to make collections solved two problems at once: the problem of the lack of tax collectors was solved, and the troops, in being substituted to this task, in doing so paid for their own subsistence. This tactic was repeated in subsequent winters.[588]

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[584] SHDT A1 1971 no. 20, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 10 Jan. 1706. On the *Chambre de justice*, see p. 105.
[585] E.g., SHDT A1 2325 no. 194, Berwick to Voysin, 17 Aug. 1711.
[586] SHDT A1 2102 no. 217, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 30 Jul. 1708; A1 2100 no. 285, Chamillart to Villars, 5 Aug .1708. The French also included in the terms of the tax farming contract that the farmer was to pay any outstanding sums to Grenoble within four months of a peace treaty.
[587] SHDT A1 2102 no. 313, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 2 Nov. 1708; no. 343, Chamillart to d'Angervilliers, 11 Dec. 1708.
[588] SHDT A1 2327 no. 115, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 28 Oct. 1711. This was an unusual example of the classic sociological notion of the extortion-coercion loop; Roy McCullough has shown this was normally far subtler, in his *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV's France* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 34-42.

As times became harder, the French became less willing – and less able – to reduce the tax burden on Savoie. In March 1710, the *procureur général* of the *Chambre des comptes* of Chambéry asked d'Angervilliers, on the basis of usage in Savoie, to discharge the province of Faucigny of the 55,000 *livres* which had been paid to the duke of Savoy's army during the previous campaign. But the French would not compromise: these communities, d'Angervilliers wrote, owed so much from previous years, and were now saying that they had settled all their debts to the duke of Savoy's tax receivers. Whether or not he believed them, they would have to pay twice.[589] In January 1711, the syndics of Annecy requested the 3,313 *livres* paid to the intendant of the duke of Savoy's army during the time they were under occupation in 1709 be struck from the town's imposition. D'Angervilliers wrote to Voysin that it was unlikely the syndics could receive any reimbursement 'in our present rigour'. Voysin replied that the king would not allow any reimbursement to Annecy, as it was 'not in his custom to pay the expenses of his enemies'.[590]

For all that the duchy had suffered excessively since 1706 by the quartering of troops, the French continued to wring it dry. When, in August 1710 the intendant imposed 352,038 *livres* on Savoie to pay for the winter quartering of the army the previous year, the *Chambre des comptes* of Chambéry pleaded that the burden be paid through the *capitation* or the *taille* instead of a new imposition.[591] In October the syndics of Chambéry offered to cancel the king's debts to the communities if he would stop the new imposition; the intendant agreed, as the outstanding debts would have to be paid after peace to the duke and it was better to have them liquidated now. But the syndics had no authority to make such an offer, and things were left as they were. The same month, a further imposition of 632,000 *livres* was levied to pay for cavalry, dragoons and infantry for the year 1710 to 1711.[592] Also in 1710, an increase of 150,000 *livres* on the *capitation* was imposed on Savoie in lieu of the introduction of the *dixième*,

[589] SHDT A1 2250 no. 37, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 14 Mar. 1710.
[590] SHDT A1 2327 no. 14, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 20 Jan. 1711; no. 19. Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 29 Jan. 1711.
[591] SHDT A1 2251 no. 318, de Ponnat to Voysin, 1 Aug. 1710.
[592] SHDT A1 2250 no. 154, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 19 Oct. 1710; no. 157bis, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 25 Oct. 1710.

introduced in the rest of the kingdom in October that year.[593] The two sovereign companies of Savoie sent the *maître aux comptes* de Montfort to d'Angervilliers to protest that the duchy was incapable of paying, but the intendant replied that he could not reduce the burden, and that they should be grateful the *dixième* was not being imposed as this would have been even heavier.[594]

Savoie's economic woes were compounded by a string of agricultural disasters from 1708. The passage of troops during the summer months contributed to a much diminished harvest; in ordinary years, Savoie never produced enough grain to feed its inhabitants and the duchy was obliged to import three months-worth from the neighbouring Dauphiné and Bresse. 1708 had seen very bad harvests in those provinces, and this was made worse by the fact that the cavalry and dragoons wintering in Savoie had eaten most of the rye because of a shortage of oats. Vallière therefore asked permission to buy enough grain from Marseille to feed the duchy, and the capital would be provided as an interest-free loan from four individuals in Chambéry. But there was no grain to spare in Provence, and the war minister could only recommend arranging the import of wheat from abroad for Savoie.[595] This message – that Savoie would have to make its own arrangements by importing grain – was repeated in March when the town of Chambéry was denied permission by the *contrôleur général* Desmarets to purchase 20,000 bags of grain from Bresse.[596]

1709 witnessed 'the greatest climate drama of the century', and by July wheat in Chambéry was retailing at 54 florins per unit, compared with an average price of 12 florins a year earlier.[597] This was aggravated by an Imperial counter-offensive in the summer, as allied troops employed a scorched-earth policy around the areas they controlled. For the French this spelt disaster: since 1 January 1709 no further

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[593] The *dixième* was a personal tax on various forms of income, evaluated by self-assessment. It met with much opposition from taxpayers in France, limiting its effectiveness. See R. Bonney, '"Le secret de leurs familles": The Fiscal and Social Limits of Louis XIV's Dixième', *French History*, 7 (1993), pp. 383-416.
[594] Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat*, ii. p. 148.
[595] SHDT A1 2102 no. 349, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 21 Dec. 1708; A1 2173 no. 1, Chamillart to d'Angervilliers, 1 Jan. 1709.
[596] SHDT A1 2170 no. 148, Médavy to Chamillart, 9 Mar. 1709; no. 192, Desmarets to Chamillart, 24 Mar. 1709.
[597] Nicolas, *La Savoie au 18e siècle*, ii. p. 567.

impositions were levied on the Dauphiné or Savoie 'so as not to reduce the people to the last extremity'. But as d'Angervilliers pointed out, this meant that by November the army would be without any resources.[598] These problems were compounded by the fact that Savoie was being flooded with counterfeit coinage by inhabitants trying to capitalize on the monetary crisis and undermine confidence in the French regime.[599] With the regular sources of money drying up, the intendant was forced to turn his gaze on more unusual sources. In 1709 he ordered the seizure of 13,237 *livres* from the revenues of the vacant bishopric of the Tarentaise so it could be used by Marshal Berwick to pay his troops; the intendant had to replace the money in the winter.[600] From 1709 until the end of the war, the supply of money and provisions was a constant source of anxiety for the intendant. What little money was coming in went straight to the army, and as a result the whole apparatus of the occupation teetered on the brink of collapse. By February 1710, the members of the *Sénat* had not been paid their wages for 14 months, warning that they would soon be reduced to the extremity where they would be unable to perform their functions.[601] A remonstrance sent to the king by the syndics of Chambéry on behalf of the third estate of Savoie warned that if they were not relieved, Savoie would be faced with total desolation.[602]

Savoie's importance in aiding the French war effort during the War of the Spanish Succession should not be underestimated. By 1710, the French army was living hand-to-mouth, and the intendant reported that the *gabelle* farm of Savoie now supported 'everything' in his department, as this account always contained 'a sure and prompt fund', bringing in 52,500 *livres* to Grenoble monthly.[603] The contract of the farm of Savoie, due to end in January 1709, had been extended for a year due to the terrible winter but needed renegotiating for 1710 onwards. As it was far from certain how much longer the French presence in Savoie would last, nobody could be found to take over the contract. The farmers general of France were substituted to the contract of

[598] SHDT A1 2174 no. 46, d'Angervilliers to Desmarets, 19 Sep. 1709.
[599] SHDT A1 2175 no. 291, Vallière to Voysin, 29 Nov. 1709.
[600] SHDT A1 2174 no. 17, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 18 Aug. 1709; Devos, 'Aspects de l'occupation française', p. 43.
[601] SHDT A1 2251 no. 73, de Ville to Voysin, 17 Feb. 1710.
[602] SHDT A1 2250 no. 68, Syndics of Chambéry to Voysin, 1710.
[603] SHDT A1 2250 no. 193, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 28 Dec. 1710; A1 2327 no. 18, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 29 Jan. 1711.

the farmers of Savoie for the year 1711, highlighting the importance of Savoie as a vital source of revenue.[604] Overall, the experience of Savoie in 1703-13 shows that even if French rapacity knew its limits, the French were eager to squeeze everything they could out of the duchy.

*Security, Order & Discipline in the Occupied Territories*

In exchange for bearing the costs of these occupations, the French military commanders assured the occupied territories of order and security and exact discipline. Maintaining discipline meant that people would be able to go about their business unhindered, and the economy would be able to support the French impositions; everything therefore hung on this. In Lorraine in 1670, Louvois made it clear that it was imperative that discipline in the army be maintained, so that the peasants who had fled during the invasion would return to their homes and the king would be able to pay for the occupation from Lorraine itself rather than the royal treasury.[605] In order to induce the peasants to return to their homes, they were to be menaced with the confiscation of their possessions and the burning of their property if they did not comply.[606] Vaubourg, just as Charuel had done, ensured that the troops lived in good relations with the civil population. In May 1695, four workers at the salt works at Dieuze were taken as recruits against their will by the seigneur de Vitrimont, *cornette* in the Bourbon cavalry regiment; this was immediately denounced by Vaubourg, who severely reprimanded those carrying out recruitment by violent means.[607]

In order to guarantee good relations between the military and the civil population, the French government was selective in which troops it would use to garrison the occupied territories. For instance, the Irish troops who had been used in the conquest of Savoie in 1690 were withdrawn the following year, partly because of language

[604] SHDT A1 2102 no. 351, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 21 Dec. 1708; A1 2327 no. 2, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 5 Jan. 1711.
[605] SHDT A1 252 f. 68, Louvois to Créqui, 3 Oct. 1670; A1 253 f. 26, Charuel to Louvois, 31 Dec. 1670.
[606] SHDT A1 252 f. 78, Louvois to Saint-Pouenges, 4 Oct. 1670.
[607] Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant', p. 341.

problems, and because they had a terrible reputation for poor discipline. Similarly, in December 1702, the king ordered Villars to replace the battalions of Nice and Pery in the garrison of Nancy with two French battalions 'as a means of guaranteeing the inhabitants against inconveniences'.[608] But inevitably, conflict did break out. In July 1707 Avejan had to imprison a French lieutenant after he struck a groom of the duke of Lorraine during a swordfight.[609]

John Lynn has argued that although the 'tax of violence' against French subjects continued into the 1670s, it declined significantly by the end of that decade.[610] And the occupations of the second half of the reign certainly saw better discipline and better civil-military relations, although there were some flare-ups. Chamillart reprimanded the marquis de Varennes in January 1703 for having quartered his troops in Saint-Avold and Boulay 'with reckless violence and with much disorder, like one would do in enemy territory', and the war minister explained that 'nothing is more contrary to the intentions of the king'. Several months later Varennes was instructed that if there was the least disorder in the occupied parts of Lorraine, the king would order his commanders to recompense the duke of Lorraine in double.[611]

Times of economic trouble also had detrimental effects on military discipline. For the whole of 1694, the army of Italy was supplied on a hand-to-mouth basis.[612] From September, Catinat sent troops into Savoie to subsist until they could go into winter quarters, causing strain on the already impoverished communities of Savoie.[613] Inevitably, an underfed army quartered in Savoie caused havoc with the population, and it came to the king's attention that his troops had lived there the last year 'with much licence', though the French commander in the duchy, Bachivilliers, denied any disorder, claiming he had managed to keep a very strict discipline among the troops.[614] Similarly, during the crisis of 1709, Voysin gave his permission to Marshal

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[608] SHDT A1 1571 no. 35, Chamillart to Villars, 7 Dec. 1702.
[609] SHDT A1 2035 no. 63, Avejan to Chamillart, 19 Jul. 1707.
[610] Lynn, 'How war fed war', p. 293.
[611] SHDT A1 1672 no. 564, Chamillart to Varennes, 18 Jan. 1703; no. 661, Chamillart to Varennes, 18 Jun. 1703.
[612] G. Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo II and French Military Failure in Italy, 1689-96', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), p. 555.
[613] SHDT A1 1275 no. 11, de Thoy to Barbezieux, 23 Sep. 1694.
[614] SHDT A1 1331 no. 167, Bachivilliers to Barbezieux, 6 Dec. 1695.

Harcourt to send his troops to find forage in the Lorrain villages near his camp, rather than let them perish.[615] As the crisis intensified, unpaid and underfed French troops in the region began to cause increasing problems: in July 1709 a French regiment pillaged the market at Marsal; in Nancy, the *commissaire des guerres* Geoffroy wrote in August that the soldiers of the garrison there were due an entire two months subsistence, and the payment of officers was long overdue.[616] During the following winter the unpaid garrison of Marsal pillaged the surrounding Lorrain villages.[617]

The French authorities took pre-emptive measures to minimize the risk of conflict between the military and the civilian population. They routinely disarmed the inhabitants of towns in occupied territory at the time of conquest.[618] This was extended to the entire territory if there was a particularly high security risk. In April 1671, Créqui banned the inhabitants of Lorraine, with the exception of the nobility, from carrying arms. At the beginning of the Nine Years War, the French authorities went even further, banning everybody from carrying arms without exception from September 1689.[619] Similarly, the French attempted to disarm Savoie and Nice completely in the summer of 1707 in light of the Piedmontese-Imperial offensive that was underway.[620] Curfews were also enforced in the towns to prevent confrontation between the military and the civilians, or seditious behaviour.[621]

Pre-emptive action could also entail exemplary justice to discourage people from helping France's enemies: in 1690, the *prévôt* of Saint-Dié sentenced a party of robbers to be broken on the wheel and hanged; he also confiscated the property of the head of the robbers to set an example which would intimidate the people. The comte

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[615] SHDT A1 2164 no. 74, Voysin to Harcourt, 20 Aug. 1709.
[616] SHDT A1 2167 no. 150, Saint-Contest to Voysin, 18 Jul. 1709; A1 2169 no. 75, Geoffroy to Voysin, 19 Aug. 09.
[617] SHDT A1 2241 nos. 14 & 56, Saint-Contest to Voysin, 7 Jan. & 4 Mar. 1710.
[618] SHDT A1 1010 no. 50, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 22 Aug. 1690.
[619] AMN Ord., *Ordonnance*, 10 Apr. 1671; SHDT A1 990 no. 77, Bissy to Louvois, 18 Jul. 1690.
[620] In Savoie, a fine of 25 *écus* was imposed on all those who did not give up their arms to local officers (noblemen did not have to give up their arms, but they did have to declare them). SHDT A1 2039 no. 130, Médavy to Chamillart, 6 Jun. 1707; Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 84.
[621] This was the case for Nice, and in Nancy prior to 1698. Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 83; BMN 152(345) no. 14, *Ordonnance*, 17 Oct. 1676; no. 57, *Ordonnance*, 5 Nov. 1680.

de Bissy (the French military commander in Lorraine) approved, noting that 'such an example at the start of a war will give much tranquillity in all of the mountains of Lorraine'.[622] To further minimize the likelihood of sedition, identity controls were established at the gates of important towns, and the French authorities assembled lists containing the name and status of every foreigner staying in the town. During the occupation of Nancy from 1702, the French had no jurisdiction over the town and consequently could not control who came and went. In 1709 the commander of the garrison noted that there were new people in Nancy all the time, especially Germans, and 'all sorts of suspect people' were being received by the inhabitants of the town; this, he feared, could easily lead to a surprise attack on the garrison.[623] All this indicates a degree of vigilance, anticipation and sensitivity in the 'police' of these territories, but – as with the financial burdens – the moderation of the occupiers could give way to harsher security burdens, should circumstances appear to require it.

Overall, the evidence from Lorraine and Savoie suggests that French policy was to mollify the elites as far as was possible, to encourage collaboration. But they also wanted to take as much as they could from the territories. It was therefore the commoners who bore the brunt of the occupations, though the government appears to have had a good sense of how far people could be pushed without completely ruining a territory's fiscal potential or provoking a popular rising. Indeed, the French only abandoned their relative fiscal restraint in the occupied territories when they really had to in the 1690s and 1700s, especially from 1707 onwards. When it came to the elites, the crown did not want to risk alienating them by disrupting the traditional socio-fiscal arrangements. Only in 1695 with the introduction of the *capitation*, and again during the crisis of 1709-10, did the monarchy turn up the fiscal heat on the privileged groups in these societies. The following chapter investigates in further detail how the French behaved towards the local elites of the occupied lands, many of whom had important stakes in the financial and judicial structures discussed earlier in this chapter.

[622] SHDT A1 990 no. 69, Bissy to Louvois, 4 Jul. 1690.
[623] SHDT A1 2169 no. 79, Labatut to Voysin, 27 Aug. 1709.

# CHAPTER V

# WORKING WITH THE OCCUPIED ELITES

*Introduction*

As the previous chapters suggest, there was no pre-conceived plan for how to govern in any of the territories France occupied, and the administration of these territories was put together on a kind of 'best-fit' basis. Recent studies in the history of absolutism in France have highlighted the fact that the efficiency of Louis XIV's government rested on a mutually beneficial co-operation between the central government and the provincial elites within a more broadly authoritarian framework than before. How far was this the case in these newly conquered territories? This chapter looks at the way the elites were treated in Lorraine and Savoie, and, comparing this with several other relevant case-studies, attempts to investigate how far the French attempted to work with the elites, and to what ends. The chapter looks in turn at the French government's and occupying authorities' relations with the nobilities, the sovereign courts, the subaltern officers of justice, finance officers and municipal corporations, and finally with the Church.

## Part I: The nobilities

In late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Europe, the noble elite was crucial in all areas of human activity: social relations, political and religious life, and economic enterprise.[624] When the French occupied a territory, therefore, circumspection and sensitivity in their dealings with the local nobilities was usually more expedient than a policy of repression. An analysis of France's tactics in dealing with the noble elites in Lorraine and Savoie shows that they employed differing strategies, and met with varying degrees of success. In this period many of the noblemen of Savoie and Lorraine had been, or were still, in uniform.[625] For the French occupier, therefore, the principal means of winning over the nobilities of conquered provinces was to appeal to their service ethic by offering them positions in the French army. Yet the French

[624] H.M. Scott & C. Storrs, 'Introduction: The Consolidation of Noble Power in Europe, c.1600-1800' in H.M. Scott (ed.), *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, vol. I: Western Europe* (London, 1995), p. 2.
[625] Christopher Storrs puts this figure at one in two for Savoie. There is no equivalent figure available for Lorraine. C. Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy 1690-1720* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 235-236.

could not force foreign or domestic noblemen to join the army, and many were therefore permitted to stay at home after swearing an oath of allegiance to the king. The French also resorted to coercive measures, in particular property confiscation, to dissuade noblemen from leaving the territory and joining France's enemies. But it was hard to strike an appropriate and effective balance, and much depended upon the nobility's relationship to its original sovereign.

The most urgent priority of the French government with regard to Lorraine from 1670 was to make the province pay the costs of its military occupation. To do so, the crown was obliged to suppress financial privileges that they found particularly obstructive. First among these were the large group of nobles whose titles had been created by Charles IV, and who now claimed exemption from the French impositions. By an *ordonnance* of March 1671 these were deprived of their nobility with immediate effect, and lost their exemption.[626] The *ordonnance* did, however, confirm the privileges of those noblemen who held titles prior to 1611, and on the local level the French administration in the person of Marshal Créqui continued to treat the nobility with moderation and respect. As 1671 progressed and the French appeared to be staying in Lorraine longer than initially predicted, many, and possibly most, of the noblemen who had left with Charles IV came back to Lorraine to sort out their domestic affairs; they were granted one month passports from Créqui, and were told that if they wished to stay longer they would have to promise to do nothing against the service of the king, or leave without authorization.[627] The French even allowed a certain freedom to the duke's closest aides: during the summer of 1671, several individuals attached to Charles IV, including the former governor of Nancy the marquis de Gerbevilliers, were accorded permission to stay in Paris for several months to tend to their affairs. Créqui reported that he accorded this permission on the grounds that he believed it to be in the interests of the king. Louvois, however, often overrode the softer approach of the governor, particularly when it came to members of the ducal family: in 1671, for instance, he forbade the duchess of

[626] SHDT A1 252 f. 176, Louvois to Charuel, 2 Jan. 1671; AMN Ord., *Ordonnance*, 4 Mar. 1671.
[627] SHDT A1 253 f. 357, Créqui to Louvois, 3 Oct. 1671.

Lorraine and the princess de Vaudémont to enter Lorraine.[628] The real difficulty, though, was over the military activity of the Lorrain nobility.

Duke Charles IV of Lorraine fled his states in September 1670 with a small band of retainers, leaving his army of roughly 3,000 cavalry and 1,200 infantry in French-occupied Lorraine.[629] Though this force offered little resistance to the French invasion, the cavalry, which was composed of members of the old feudal *chevalerie* of Lorraine,[630] proved particularly difficult for the French to deal with in the aftermath. The French governor, Créqui, wrote shortly after the conquest that unless they were disarmed and dismounted, their continued existence on a war footing would take up vital resources, which the French needed for the subsistence of their own troops, and out of their own financial necessity they would sooner or later return to the service of Charles IV. Furthermore, as the intendant noted, 'the repugnance they might have to serve any other prince than the duke of Lorraine could very well oblige us to dismount them and take away their horses'.[631] Créqui decided shortly afterwards to take into French service the Lorrain officers who had already served, though he made sure precautions were taken not to put them together in the same companies, in order to avoid possible subversion.[632] Louvois was suspicious, however, that these officers would join the French army only to return fully equipped to Charles IV. Despite his misgivings, he ordered that the prisons of Lorraine be emptied of noblemen and officers who had resisted the French invasion, and that those who were in a state to serve should be enlisted into French service; the others were warned that if they returned to fight against the king they would be punished with death.[633]

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[628] SHDT A1 253 f. 309, Créqui to Louvois, 2 Aug. 1671; E. Lanouvelle, *Le Maréchal de Créquy* (Paris, 1931), p. 152.
[629] These figures are from intendant Vaubourg's *mémoire* for the duc de Bourgogne written in 1697: M-J. Laperche-Fournel, *L'Intendance de Lorraine et Barrois à la fin du XVIIe siècle: edition critique du mémoire 'pour l'instruction du duc de Bourgogne'* (Paris, 2006), p. 285.
[630] Many cavaliers were noble, though the exact proportion is not estimable.
[631] SHDT A1 253 f. 4, Créqui to Louvois, 28 Dec. 1670; f. 16, Charuel to Louvois, 28 Dec. 1670.
[632] SHDT A1 250 f. 127, Créqui to Louvois, 12 Oct. 1670.
[633] SHDT A1 252 f. 78, Louvois to Saint-Pouenges, 4 Oct. 1670; f. 164, Louvois to Créqui, 17 Dec. 1670.

In February 1671 several Lorrain cavaliers who had earlier been released from prison had indeed returned to fight alongside Charles IV. This resulted in stricter passport controls at the frontiers on the Saar and with the Franche-Comté and Trier, and Créqui advised that the king should raise troops in Lorraine to stop the duke from being able to encourage these cavaliers to return to him.[634] But French policy suddenly became more fierce. Several days later, the governor ordered the arrest of every man in Lorraine who had served the duke in the previous three years, in order to prevent the levy of troops that Charles IV was attempting.[635] But for Charuel, the remaining Lorrain cavalry showed little sign of wanting to go to join their duke; few were still mounted, and most were too poor. That most were married and had property to lose meant that they had little inclination to leave. They were therefore freed immediately after swearing the oath of allegiance to the king. These Lorrain cavalry, around 2,000 in number, were according to Charuel, 'delighted to have a pretext not to have to abandon their houses', though this soon proved to be wishful thinking on his part.[636] The following September, Créqui admitted to Louvois that these cavaliers, still confined to their homes, were a security risk; they could easily cross the border into Luxembourg, and Créqui had received intelligence that most were ready to join the duke. The officers of the *prévôté* where each cavalier lived were told to keep a watchful eye on their movements, and to find out what they owned as a means of containing them.[637] In addition, French captains were now raising companies throughout Lorraine. Yet the French authorities still feared that the Lorrain cavalry would join French service only to return fully equipped to the duke; consequently, they could only be enlisted with the express permission of Créqui on a case-by-case basis.[638]

During the Dutch War the French renewed their efforts to enlist Lorrain officers to stop them joining the service of the duke. To achieve this they actively sought out the senior noblemen of the duchy in the hope that this would encourage others to join

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[634] SHDT A1 253 ff. 95-96, Créqui to Louvois, 4 Feb. 1671.
[635] SHDT A1 253 f. 98, Créqui to Louvois, 8 Feb. 1671.
[636] SHDT A1 253 f. 139, Charuel to Louvois, 15 Feb. 1671; f. 148, Créqui to Louvois, 18 Feb. 1671.
[637] SHDT A1 253 ff. 347-348, Créqui to Louvois, 26 Sep. 1671.
[638] SHDT A1 253 f. 340, Créqui to Louvois, 15 Sep. 1671. The archives give no indication of how many were enlisted in this fashion.

them. This gives a strong sense of how clientage within the nobility was perceived by the French as important for officer recruitment. In January 1673 the king resolved to raise a cavalry regiment of ten companies to be composed of Lorrain officers, cavalry and men, and provided 9,000 *livres* for the levy of each company.[639] Rochefort proposed to put at the head of this regiment either the marquis d'Haraucourt or the prince de Lillebonne, as both were of high birth, the latter belonging to a cadet branch of the House of Lorraine.[640] Haraucourt initially offered his service, and it was felt that this would break the ice and many other Lorrain noblemen would join him, he being 'a man of quality, merit and valour'.[641] But for some reason he changed his mind, and those who had presented themselves as captains for the regiment withdrew. With Haraucourt went France's best chance of getting the Lorrain nobility to join their cause; not a single Lorrain presented himself as an officer in the regiment, which had to be composed instead of Champenois. As Fourilles remarked, 'It is necessary to understand the Lorrains better', adding that the fault lay with the intendant, who did not have sufficient grasp of such matters.[642]

As the nobility of Lorraine refused to collaborate, the French became increasingly heavy-handed towards them: in April 1673, Créqui ordered the officers of the *prévôtés* of Lorraine to send him the names of all Lorrain cavaliers and officers residing in the towns and villages under their jurisdiction. These cavaliers and officers were confined to their places of residence; if they joined the service of the enemies of France their houses would be razed, and if they were caught they would be hanged.[643] Meanwhile the French continued to try to find other means of containing

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[639] SHDT A1 344 no. 66, Louvois to Rochefort, 19 Jan. 1673; nos. 210 & 234, Rochefort to Louvois, 21 & 26 Feb. 1673.

[640] Lillebonne was a grandson of Henri IV, and had fought for France during the 1650s. Louis XIV consistently showed a special regard for the cadet branches of the House of Lorraine in France, see J. Spangler, *The society of Princes: the Lorraine-Guise and the conservation of power and wealth in seventeenth-century France* (Ashgate, 2009), pp. 37, 73, 117. Haraucourt belonged to one of the oldest noble families in Lorraine, and had been captain of the guards of Charles IV; he is not to be confused with the comte d'Harcourt, a Lorraine prince and brother of the comte d'Armagnac.

[641] SHDT A1 344 no. 2, Fourilles to Louvois, 1 Jan. 1673.

[642] SHDT A1 344 no. 173, Fourilles to Louvois, 12 Feb. 1673; no. 175, Rochefort to Louvois, 12 Feb. 1673.

[643] These admonitions were extended in April 1676 to the superiors of religious houses and the heads of all families in the duchies, on pain of having their houses

the nobility and cavalry: one was to raise free companies, with captains chosen by the king, to serve on the frontiers of Lorraine and guard it against enemy raiding parties.[644] Another was to raise the traditional feudal levy of regional nobility, the *arrière ban*. This was activated in the summer of 1674, to try to augment Marshal Turenne's forces on the Rhine and prevent an invasion of Lorraine and Alsace.[645] Between 5,000 and 6,000 cavalry met in Nancy, commanded by Créqui, and were sent to join Turenne in October. But Créqui complained that these troops were untrained, inexperienced and 'good for nothing', and they were disbanded after only a week of service in the army of Turenne.[646]

The problems of the Lorrain nobility were highlighted by the fact that Louis XIV took his court to Nancy in the summer of 1673 in an attempt to personally impress upon them the benefits of French rule. Along with the Queen and part of the court, Louis stayed at the ducal palace in Nancy from 31 July to 24 August, and again from 8 to 30 September.[647] During his stay he tried to win over the nobility with a programme of lavish entertainment. He continued to try to enlist Lorrain nobles, but they steadfastly resisted his overtures. Haussonville argued that Louis was so impressed by this mark of their fidelity to their prince that he released them to enter service in Germany, and that this generosity was intended to consolidate French domination.[648] It is more likely, however, that far from being a question of magnanimity, it was felt that it was better for them to serve openly abroad than to be a fifth column at home. Louis also addressed complaints about the rigour of the intendants and their staff, and granted a package of measures designed to further satisfy the nobility.[649] Among these measures, the king granted the noblemen of Lorraine a suspension of ten years in the

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razed and property confiscated. BMN 152(345) no. 1, *Ordonnance*, Apr. 1673; no. 13, *Ordonnance*, 15 Apr. 1676.

[644] SHDT A1 344 no. 128, Louvois to Rochefort, 3 Feb. 1673.

[645] This was levied on the whole area within 100 leagues of Alsace, and was also raised generally in France that year.

[646] Lanouvelle, *Créquy*, pp. 169-172.

[647] *Ibid.*, p. 167. Also present was the duchesse de Montpensier, 'La Grande Mademoiselle', who may have been taken along to encourage the support of the Lorrain nobility, as she was closely related to the Guise branch of the House of Lorraine.

[648] J. Cléron de Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion de la Lorraine à la France* (4 vols., Paris, 1860), iii. p. 197.

[649] A. Calmet, *Histoire ecclesiastique et civile de Lorraine* (4 vols., Nancy, 1728), iii. p. 696.

repayments of their debts, preventing them from being pursued by their creditors.[650] This was an extreme procedure used *en masse* only rarely during the reign, as it would have dire consequences for many merchants. It indicates how desperate Louis was to win over the nobles.

Rochefort and Charuel hoped that the death of Charles IV in September 1675 might cause a sea-change in the attitudes of the Lorrain nobility. That same month, the intendant informed families in Nancy that if they had relations in the service of the duke, the king would be only too happy to see them return to their houses and families and would make no difficulties for them.[651] Shortly afterwards, the sieur de Mesnil, who had been leading raiding parties into Lorraine on behalf of Charles IV, offered to join French service if he was given a free company in Lorraine; in return he wanted an amnesty for all those who had fought alongside him and who would also join French service. Charuel wrote that this 'very vigilant, and very determined' man should be enlisted as quickly as possible, to prevent him from going back to Charles V.[652] Mesnil was granted a passport to stay in his house for a month while the intendant wrote to the court. However, before Louvois had replied, a French cavalry company ambushed Mesnil in his home and killed him. While Charuel wrote that he was happy to be rid of the man, the family were demanding an inquiry and he conceded that this could have 'very dangerous consequences'; though the commander of the cavalry company had been unaware that Mesnil held a passport, this unfortunate death could nevertheless undermine the French authorities' efforts to encourage Lorrain noblemen to return home.[653]

Despite the efforts of the French authorities, Lorraine's elites became increasingly alienated and hostile during the 1680s, forcing the French to exercise greater control over their freedom of movement and communication. From 1689, to improve security, all people in Lorraine including the nobility were forbidden to bear arms.[654] After the death of Charles V the following year, the French did not allow Lorrain

[650] BMN 152(245) no. 2, 'Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat du Roy', 26 Sep. 1673.
[651] SHDT A1 460 no. 308, Charuel to Louvois, 24 Sep. 1675.
[652] SHDT A1 461 no. 33, Charuel to Louvois, 8 Oct. 1675.
[653] SHDT A1 461 no. 198, Charuel to Louvois, 7 Nov. 1675.
[654] SHDT A1 990 no. 77, Bissy to Louvois, 18 Jul. 1690. See also p. 168.

noblemen to have personal dealings with the court of Lorraine in exile; the prince de Lixin, Charles V's uncle, requested a passport to send a gentleman to Innsbruck to give his condolences to Charles's widow, but the comte de Bissy replied that these would be just as good by ordinary letter.[655] The French kept a close watch on those who had returned from the service of their sovereign to avoid the confiscation of their property. In 1690, Bissy reported that he was observing the conduct of the sieur de la Pommeray, who had returned from service in Germany a few years previously to forestall the seizure of his property near Nancy. Pommeray was thought to have been closely attached to Charles V, and his communication with foreign countries was closely monitored.[656] It was not only men whom the French deemed untrustworthy. As many Lorrain officers were in Spanish service, the French were suspicious that their wives were passing on sensitive information in their correspondence. By a particularly harsh *ordonnance* of January 1684, the French obliged these women to leave Lorraine and the Trois Evêchés within one month.[657]

Despite much apparent hostility on the part of the Lorrain nobility towards the French, service in Louis XIV's army was still an attractive prospect. For their part, the French were eager to recruit officers and in so doing prevent them from joining the service of their enemies. In October 1688, for example, the governor of Lorraine, the marquis de Boufflers, raised an infantry regiment composed of Lorrain officers.[658] During the War of the Spanish Succession, though Lorraine was under a very different form of pressure compared to 1670-98, the French successfully enticed many Lorrain noblemen into their service. In July 1706 the marquis de Gourcy, a member of one of the most prominent noble families in the duchy, offered to raise a dragoon regiment for the king, and it was felt that this would bring many other Lorrain noblemen into French service.[659] Similarly, when the comte de Rachecourt, a Lorrain who commanded a French cavalry regiment, died in September 1706, it was reported that the Lorrain nobility wanted to see the regiment given to his son. It was felt that this was the surest means of keeping the affection of the nobility and

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[655] SHDT A1 990 no. 9, Bissy to Louvois, 9 May. 1690.
[656] SHDT A1 990 nos. 211 & 242, Bissy to Barbezieux, 11 Nov. & 9 Dec. 1690.
[657] AAE CP Lorr[aine] 44 f. 97, *Ordonnance*, 4 Jan. 1684
[658] BN Man. Fr. 22753 f. 283.
[659] SHD A1 1952 no. 62, Gourcy to Chamillart, 16 Jul. 1706.

maintaining them in French service, and so the king agreed.[660] Throughout the War of the Spanish Succession, the French kept the nobility of Lorraine under observation as far as they could, making enquiries as to the route taken by Lorrain officers in the service of the emperor returning home to Lorraine under the pretext of their domestic affairs.[661]

Many aspects of French tactics towards the nobility of Savoie were similar to those used in Lorraine. Their arrival in the summer of 1690 was marked by a sense of optimism, the military commanders believing that the majority of nobles in Savoie would readily swear fidelity to the king, rather than join their duke in Piedmont.[662] Their optimism was only partly repaid. Many senior Savoyard noblemen did join French service in the weeks and months after the conquest: in early September, for instance, the marquis de Chatillon, a former lieutenant in the guards of Victor Amadeus, asked to enter the service of the king. Saint-Ruth believed he would be an excellent acquisition: as a member of the house of Seyssel he came from one of the most distinguished families in the duchy, and he was also widely held in high esteem personally.[663] Yet the avalanche of support the French expected failed to materialize. The marquis de Thoy, for instance, received a commission in September 1691 to raise an infantry regiment of two battalions of eight companies, paid for by the king. De Thoy counted on recruiting the necessary Savoyard officers once the nobility had sworn the oath of allegiance to the king, but the heads of the noble families prohibited the officers from joining, fearing the return of Victor Amadeus. By 2 November, he had only 300 recruits.[664]

The same circumstances were repeated in the second occupation of Savoie, which began in 1703. Many senior nobles, particularly in the early stages of the war,

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[660] SHD A1 1952 no. 334, Avejan to Chamillart, 14 Sep. 1706; no. 354, Chamillart to Avejan, 19 Sep. 1706.
[661] AAE CP Lorr. 70 f. 189, d'Audiffret to Torcy, 23 Jun. 1708.
[662] SHDT A1 1010 no. 50, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 22 Aug. 1690.
[663] SHDT A1 1010 nos. 64 & 72, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 4 & 16 Sep. 1690.
[664] The dominant attitude of Savoyard noblemen at this stage was one of *attentisme*: Bonval sent a list to Louvois in 1690, naming all Savoyard noblemen in the service of Victor Amadeus. The list contained only 43 names. J. Humbert, 'Conquête et occupation de la Savoie sous Louis XIV (1690-1691)', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Savoie*, 6e série, 9 (1967), p. 46.

requested to enter French service. In April 1705, for instance, the baron de Troches asked to enter the regiment the French were raising in Savoie. La Feuillade believed de Troches to be a man of 'condition, spirit and merit' and put him at the head of the regiment, as he felt it would be easier for the nobility of Savoie to serve a local commander.[665] The following year, the marquis de Broglie proposed to raise another regiment in Savoie, bearing the name 'Royal Savoye'.[666] Chamillart rejected de Broglie's offer, on the grounds that the king did not wish to increase the number of foreigners in his service. In April 1706 La Feuillade and Vallière suggested raising two battalions so as to contain the 'libertines and the nobility of the country'. Vallière reported that there were many officers in Savoie who had left the service of Victor Amadeus, but time was pressing and they must be enlisted immediately.[667] The matter was raised again the following year by Tessé. He argued that there were many Savoyard officers either in Piedmont or at their homes in Savoie who wished to join French service. On his advice, the French raised an infantry regiment named 'Royal Savoye' composed entirely of Savoyards, complete with a special uniform according to local custom. The expense of raising the regiment, he pointed out, was offset by the fact that it would deprive Victor Amadeus of the officers and soldiers he would otherwise be able to take from Savoie.[668]

Inevitably, due to a range of factors, there were many Savoyards who left Savoie to join the service of Victor Amadeus. The French were initially obliged to accept this: by the terms of the capitulations of Chambéry, both in 1690 and 1703, any 'nobleman, magistrate or army officer' who did not wish to swear allegiance to the king was permitted to leave within ten days, along with their families and possessions.[669] Yet the French immediately put measures in place to dissuade the Savoyard nobility from joining the service of Victor Amadeus: their principal means of doing so was property confiscation. In September of 1690, the commander in Savoie, de Thoy, informed all Savoyards in Piedmont or in the service of Victor Amadeus that they were to return to

[665] SHDT A1 1873 no. 295, La Feuillade to Chamillart, 12 Apr. 1705.
[666] SHDT A1 1966 no. 58, Chamillart to La Feuillade, 10 Feb. 1706.
[667] SHDT A1 1968 no. 159, Vallière to Chamillart, 9 Apr. 1706.
[668] SHDT A1 2039 no. 42, Tessé to Chamillart, 15 May 1707.
[669] This clause was valid across the whole of occupied Savoie. SHDT A1 1690 no. 178, 'Articles de la capitulation de Chambéry', Nov. 1703.

their houses in Savoie and submit to the obedience of the king, or else lose their property and its revenues.[670]

Property confiscation was the most effective means the French had of applying pressure on nobles to swear allegiance to the king.[671] The degree to which this was enforced, however, varied depending on circumstances, and the French authorities could give greater or lesser attention to property confiscation depending on their needs and their relations with the local nobility. Property seizures were carried out in Lorraine from 1670, but as part of the contributions treaty negotiated with Charles V in 1675, the French promised to stop confiscations of property in Lorraine.[672] When the treaty was broken the following year, any Lorrain noblemen and officers who left Lorraine without permission found that their properties were seized and houses razed in retribution.[673] Confiscations brought in such little revenue in Lorraine, due to the widespread poverty of the nobility, that the intendant did not deem it of great value.[674] In Savoie, by contrast, confiscated property was an important source of revenue for the French authorities: already by December 1690, revenues from the confiscation of property of Savoyards loyal to their duke amounted to 110,000 *livres*.[675] In 1707, Chamillart reproached *commissaire* Couppy for neglecting the confiscation of property, and told him to apply himself to the task.[676] The importance of revenues confiscated from noblemen to the *extraordinaire des guerres* in Savoie was considerable: in 1709, the marquis de Lucinge, the former governor of Turin whom the king allowed back into Savoie in 1707, requested his property be returned. D'Angervilliers advised against this, pointing out that the total product of confiscated property in Savoie did not match the gratifications assigned from it; each year, he had to take 18,000 *francs* from the impositions from Savoie to supplement it, and given the precarious state of French finances in 1709, it had to be redirected to paying the

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[670] SHDT A1 1010 no. 67, de Thoy to Louvois, 9 Sep. 1690.
[671] *Ordonnances* threatening the confiscation of property were also issued in Nice at the beginning of both occupations, in 1691 and 1705. P-O. Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice': Etude politique et institutionnelle d'une annexion inaboutie (1691-1713)* (Nice, 2006), p. 115.
[672] SHDT A1 461 no. 103, Charuel to Louvois, 27 Oct. 1675.
[673] This happened to the sieur d'Armoison in September 1677. SHDT A1 560 no. 86, Créqui to Louvois, 21 Sep. 1677.
[674] SHDT A1 461 no. 103, Charuel to Louvois, 27 Oct. 1675.
[675] Humbert, 'Conquête et occupation', p. 46.
[676] SHDT A1 1994 f. 435, Chamillart to Couppy, 30 Jan. 1707.

troops. The annual revenue from Lucinge's property was 12,309 *livres*, so it suited the French not to receive the oath.[677] In another example, on the death of the prince di Carignano in 1709, his considerable income of 100,400 *livres* from *tailles* in the Tarentaise was confiscated, as his son was in the service of Victor Amadeus.[678] This provided quite a windfall for the *extraordinaires des guerres*, and much of the money was immediately used to pay for desperately needed equipment for French troops.[679]

As occupations wore on, relations between the French authorities and the local elites invariably became strained, and the graces accorded immediately after the conquests were not necessarily available thereafter. In 1695, for instance, several Savoyard officers wished to leave the service of Victor Amadeus and return to Savoie. Their families petitioned *commissaire* Bonval to accord them permission, but the king refused to allow them back into Savoie, presumably because he felt they were untrustworthy.[680] The French also resorted to harsher methods as the security situation deteriorated in Savoie during the second occupation. In 1706, Vallière was authorized to raze the houses of the sieur Trouvet, to set an example to other Savoyard noblemen that those who joined the service of Victor Amadeus would be severely punished.[681] Similarly, in Nice two years later, the sieur Perany, the son of a *président* at the *Senato* of Turin was found to be staying near Nice without permission or a passport; the local commander ordered his house demolished and published

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[677] D'Angervilliers argued that as he was a *chevalier* of one of Victor Amadeus's military orders, he was unlikely to swear the oath anyway. SHDT A1 2039 no. 318, La Closure to Chamillart, 29 Jun. 1707; A1 2174 no. 157, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 6 Dec. 1709.

[678] SHDT A1 2173 no. 204, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 14 Jul. 1709; A1 2250 120bis, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 27 Aug. 1710. The French had refrained from confiscating Carignano's property at the start of the occupation out of the king's personal consideration for the prince. A1 1766 no. 53, Chamillart to Bouchu, 17 Feb. 1704; A1 1754 no. 446, Chamillart to Saint-Contest, 4 Dec. 1704. On relations between Louis and Carignano see G. Rowlands, 'Louis XIV, Vittorio Amedeo II and French Military Failure in Italy, 1689-96', *English Historical Review* 115 (2000), pp. 549-550.

[679] SHDT A1 2327 no. 2, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 5 Jan. 1711; A1 2400 no. 63, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 20 Jul. 1712. In 1712, the king lifted the confiscation in light of the letters patent of French naturalization obtained by the prince: A1 2398 no. 146, Carignano to Voysin, 20 Jun. 1712.

[680] SHDT A1 1331 no. 239, Bonval to Barbezieux, 11 Dec. 1695.

[681] SHDT A1 1968 no. 282, Chamilllart to Vallière, 13 Jun. 1706.

notices in Nice and the surrounding area to the affect that anyone who housed him would suffer the same fate.[682]

The French authorities used increasingly harsh methods in Savoie and Nice during the War of the Spanish Succession as they became ever more suspicious that the nobilities of these territories were working against them. In early 1707, Vallière arrested the baron de Lornay, a Savoyard nobleman in the service of Victor Amadeus, along with his valet and two Savoyard soldiers, for smuggling men and supplies into the Aosta valley. With the security of the duchy so precarious, Vallière argued the Savoyard nobility could no longer be trusted: he advised that it was essential to expel from Savoie all those who had been taken prisoner and subsequently allowed to stay in the duchy with their families after having sworn not to rejoin the service of the duke. These men, he was now certain, would give as much covert assistance as they could to the smuggling of recruits into Piedmont.[683] The following year, concerned that the wives of officers serving the duke of Savoy were passing on information to the enemy, the French confiscated the property of all of these women, and ordered them into Piedmont.[684] More draconian measures were to follow: in May 1709, Victor Amadeus expelled from the Pragelato valley anyone who had family members serving the French. In retaliation, Berwick instructed d'Angervilliers to publish an *ordonnance* ordering all inhabitants of Savoie with family members in Piedmont or in the service of Victor Amadeus to leave the duchy within three days. The *ordonnance* was completely arbitrary and a disaster for France's relations with Savoie's elites, playing into the hands of Victor Amadeus perfectly. As the *premier président* of the *Chambre des comptes* of Chambéry wrote to Versailles, this would leave the sovereign courts unmanned, would leave France's two regiments in Savoie without any officers, and they would furnish the duke of Savoie with 'an infinity of officers and soldiers, many of whom have already crossed the mountains of the Chablais and Faucigny'.[685] The war minister attempted to clarify this, asserting that anybody who

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[682] SHDT A1 2098 no. 301, d'Artaignan to Chamillart, 7 Apr. 1708.
[683] SHDT A1 2038 no. 59, Vallière to Chamillart, 28 Jan. 1707; no. 275, Ravenel (commander at Saint-Julien-en-Genevois) to Chamillart, 31 Mar. 1707.
[684] SHDT A1 2098 no. 207, d'Artaignan to Chamillart, 19 Mar. 1708; Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 120.
[685] SHDT A1 2175 no. 147, de Ponnat to Chamillart, 9 Jun. 1709; no. 149, *Ordonnance*, 5 Jun. 1709. The order came at a particularly bad time as, unlike Savoie,

had already sworn the oath of allegiance was exempt from the *ordonnance*, but much damage was already done. A similar order was issued in Nice the following month.[686]

The policy of the French government towards the nobility of conquered provinces remained essentially the same throughout Louis XIV's personal rule: this was to treat them with respect and moderation, and to uphold their privileges. Only when financial necessity dictated otherwise, or when the nobility were perceived to be hostile were harsher measures sanctioned. This was because it was in France's interests to have them collaborate. Yet the extent to which this policy was carried through varied according to the abilities and attitudes of the crown's local representatives, the governors and military commanders. The war secretary Michel Chamillart was forced to articulate the crown's views on this on more than one occasion, when he received complaints about military commanders acting with too much severity. In 1707, he grew increasingly anxious about the comte de Médavy's terse style of dealing with the nobility in Savoie, warning him, 'you should be able to see even more clearly than me, that the thing which contributes most to maintaining you in Savoie, is to win over the spirit of the people who have always been well intentioned for France.'[687] This echoed what he had written to Vallière a year earlier at the explicit behest of the king: 'One cannot conduct oneself with too much moderation and gentleness in a newly conquered country... and by your behaviour you must gain the affection of its people'.[688] That same year, the commander in the Chablais, Le Guerchois, had displayed such severity towards the nobility and people of the province that they were now fleeing *en masse*. Marshal Tessé reported Le Guerchois's excess of zeal unreasonably required that 'a Savoyard would have for the king the same sentiments as a Frenchman born in Paris'. Tessé tried his best to deal with a 'glorious and abundant' volume of complaints from the nobility of the region,

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Piedmont was not experiencing famine, making the prospect of exile there all the more attractive.

[686] SHDT A1 2171 no. 16, Berwick to Voysin, 6 Jun. 1709; A1 2173 no. 165, Voysin to d'Angervilliers, 19 Jun. 1709; A1 2175 no. 167, Regnault de Sollier to Voysin, 3 Jul. 1709; SHDT A1 2171 no. 161, Voysin to Regnault de Sollier, 13 Jul. 1709; Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 121.

[687] SHDT A1 2040 nos. 2 & 3, Chamillart to Médavy, 3 & 6 Jul. 1707.

[688] SHDT A1 1968 no. 38, Chamillart to Vallière, 25 Jan. 1706.

but lamented 'a newly conquered territory certainly cannot be administered like this'.[689]

For all the government's good intentions, winning over the local nobilities in the occupied territories often proved to be beyond their means. A range of factors was responsible for this: for their part, the nobles' actions were guided to a large degree by the strength of the bonds of loyalty they felt for their sovereign, or the fear of punishment on his return.[690] Inadequacies on the part of the French administration also had a large hand in this failure: as in any occupation, the gulf between initial intentions and the realities of strategic necessity widened as the occupations progressed. In many cases, it appears that the French were often over-reacting or under-reacting to circumstances. Getting occupied nobles to collaborate, therefore, was no easy task, and was certainly not as easy to accomplish as it was for nobles in the older French provinces. In Languedoc, for instance, William Beik has shown how Louis XIV's programme of training nobility for military service proved extremely popular, and there was a constant demand for more places.[691] It also appears to have been significantly more difficult in the *pays conquis* that had been absorbed in a sovereign manner, such as the Franche-Comté. There, many nobles certainly had close ties to France prior to the conquest and found significant advantages in Bourbon rule, most throwing in their lot with the French after the annexation of the province in 1678, if they had not already done so. Yet, the Franche-Comté under Louis XIV was united neither in resistance nor adhesion to France, and many 'irreconcilables' remained in exile.[692] Similarly, most Catalan nobles came to see the advantages in co-operating with the French authorities after the annexation of Roussillon, but a large minority still passed into exile.[693]

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[689] SHDT A1 2038 no. 207, Tessé to Chamillart, 9 Mar. 1707.
[690] In Savoie, those nobles who had accepted positions under the French in 1690-96 had been disgraced on the return of Victor Amadeus. They were a lot more wary the second time around: see e.g. SHDT A1 1690 185. Tessé to Louis XIV, 19 Nov. 1703.
[691] W. Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 320.
[692] B. Grosperrin, *L'Influence française et le sentiment national français en Franche-Comté de la conquête à la Révolution (1674-1789)* (Paris, 1967), pp. 43-47.
[693] D. Stewart, *Assimilation and Acculturation in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Roussillon and France, 1659-1715* (Westport, CT, 1997), p. 43-48.

## Part II: The sovereign companies

The offices of the sovereign companies of both Lorraine and Savoie conferred noble status upon their holders, and often these officers came from old noble families. Consequently, the relations between the magistrature and the French occupiers bore many reflections of the patterns described above. Yet, the status of these companies gave them a special importance and a heightened level of influence, allowing them to act as intermediaries between the local population and the crown. Under the ducal regimes, both the *Sénat* of Savoie and the *Cour souveraine* of Lorraine enjoyed wide-ranging powers. In addition to monitoring subordinate magistrates and acting as courts of appeal, they also had extensive political functions, among which were the right of remonstrance over all affairs of state and the right to modify edicts. The *Sénat* also had the right of presentation of magistrates, meaning it could control its membership and could not have magistrates foisted upon it by the sovereign. Working alongside these courts were the *Chambres des comptes* of Chambéry, Nancy and Bar-le-Duc, which judged all criminal and civil cases relating to fiscal matters; in Savoie, the *Chambre* also had wide ranging administrative attributions including the maintenance of bridges and roads, the supervision of fortifications and military supplies, and the overall administration of the duchy's tax farms and finances.[694]

The contrast between the actions of the French with regard to the sovereign companies of Lorraine and Savoie demonstrates the extent to which French policy towards provincial elites depended on local circumstance. After the conquest of Lorraine in 1670, the French immediately viewed officers of the sovereign companies of Lorraine with suspicion. Shortly after the invasion, the French imprisoned several of Charles IV's treasury officers of the *Chambre des comptes*, the *procureur général* later being sent to the citadel at Metz by order of Michel Le Tellier.[695] The French authorities believed that these officers had information on the whereabouts of money that the duke had hidden before the invasion, and they also suspected them of hiding

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[694] E. Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat de Savoie et des autres compagnies judiciaires de la même province* (2 vols., Paris, 1864-65), i. pp. 272-280; H. Mahuet, *La cour souveraine de Lorraine et Barrois, 1641-1790* (Nancy, 1959), pp. 125, 149-154.

[695] Those imprisoned were Salet, the *tresorier général*, Rousselange, the *procureur général*; and Cachez, a *conseiller* and *greffier*. SHDT A1 250 f. 215, Charuel to Louvois, 5 Nov. 1670.

papers concerning the ducal domains. They were freed after several months' detention, as it transpired that they had not hidden any papers, and the duke had sent his money abroad.[696]

In late November 1670 Louvois had instructed Charuel that the courts in Lorraine would henceforth exercise justice in the king's name, and that appeals from the *Cour souveraine* – up to then the highest court of appeal in Lorraine – would be sent to the *Parlement* of Metz. The intendant was also to provide as much information as possible on the administration of justice in Lorraine, and this was to be done as quickly as possible, 'to take away the hope the people may have of having their prince back any time soon'.[697] Charuel provided a memorandum shortly afterwards containing the names of all those who held judicial offices in Lorraine, as well as their 'inclinations' and whether they knew people who could fill the vacant offices. It was the latter point that turned out to be problematic. Charuel's opinion was that,

> 'If the king persuaded the Lorrains that he wanted them as subjects, many would come out of hiding due to the desire they have to serve His Majesty and to be given these charges. Yet in the opinion they have that their prince will return, there are none who would work while the king occupies Lorraine, as they dare not come forward to give the slightest information...'[698]

On this basis, the order came from Paris in late December to separate and suspend the *Cour souveraine* of Lorraine along with the *Chambres des comptes* of Bar and Nancy, and this was carried out early the following month.[699] As the intendant saw it, the separation of the companies was to give time to get to know who in Lorraine could be trusted to serve the king in place of those officers whose loyalty was deemed suspect.[700] The courts obeyed the order promptly, but informed the governor that, as they had been re-established before, they would try to obtain the same grace from the

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[696] SHDT A1 250 f. 263, Charuel to Louvois, 23 Nov. 1670; f. 357, Charuel to Colbert, 3 Dec. 1670; f. 359, Colbert to Charuel, 12 Dec. 1670.
[697] SHDT A1 252 ff. 145-146, Louvois to Charuel, 28 Nov. 1670.
[698] SHDT A1 250 f. 318, Charuel to Louvois 2 Dec. 1670; f. 338, Charuel to Louvois, 10 Dec. 1670.
[699] SHDT A1 252 f. 164, Louvois to Charuel, 17 Dec. 1670; f. 202, Louvois to Charuel, 26 Jan. 1671.
[700] SHDT A1 253 f. 14, Charuel to Louvois, 28 Dec. 1670.

king in the near future.[701] The jurisdictions of the *Cour souveraine* were transferred to the *Parlement* of Metz, while the attributions of the *Chambres des comptes* were given to the intendant.

The suppression of the sovereign companies of Lorraine appears drastic and out of keeping with the French monarchy's usual strategy in conquered territory, which was to maintain existing judicial structures and privileges. Yet in the case of Lorraine, the French were no doubt conscious of the events of the previous occupation: the memory of Cardinal Richelieu's short-lived *Conseil souveraine* of Nancy in the 1630s indicated that the Lorrain elites were unlikely to be co-operative. The alternative would have been to replace the Lorrain magistrates with Frenchmen, but the pre-existence of the *Parlement* of Metz in the Lorraine region saved them that necessity. Moreover, the transfer of judicial authority over ducal Lorraine to Metz served Louvois's interests, as he was already closely linked with the *Parlement* having briefly trained there, and it also lent itself to the furtherance of the Bourbon government's long-term agenda of consolidating its position in the region. What appeared as a pragmatic response to ensuring the loyalty of Lorraine in the run-up to the Dutch War, therefore, was with hindsight a crucial step in paving the way for the *réunions* of the early 1680s.[702]

French attitudes towards the sovereign courts of Savoie in 1690 appeared to differ considerably from those employed towards their counterparts in Lorraine twenty years earlier. The capitulations of Chambéry gave the magistrates ten days to swear the oath of allegiance to the king, but the French extended this to one month to make it easier for them to get to the city.[703] After the king had been assured of the faithfulness of the magistrates of Savoie, he issued an edict on 17 January 1691 confirming the *Sénat,* the *Chambre des comptes* and all subaltern judicial officers in

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[701] SHDT A1 253 f. 38, Crequi to Louvois, 9 Jan. 1671.
[702] After the suppressions of 1671, the members of the sovereign courts of Lorraine appear to have remained in Lorraine on their estates. Unlike during Richelieu's occupation, there was no '*Cour souveraine* in exile' offering a rival pole of authority to French rule. The *Cour souveraine* and *Chambres des comptes* of Lorraine and Bar were restored by Leopold in 1698 in similar form to those dissolved in 1671: Mahuet, *La Cour Souverain*, p. 47.
[703] SHDT A1 1010 no. 31, Bonval to Louvois, 15 Aug. 1690.

their functions.[704] Among the magistracy, a relatively small number – two members of the *Sénat* and four of the *Chambre des comptes* – fled to Piedmont before the conquest; the rest remained *in situ*. No Savoyard magistrate took the French offer to leave after the capitulation. If they had, evidence suggests France would not have let them go: Article Twenty-Four of the capitulation of Nice in 1705 stated that any magistrate who did not wish to swear allegiance to the king would be given ten days to leave Nice. Yet, the *commissaire ordonnateur* Payeau admitted to Chamillart that this was not something they could actually allow, and if any magistrates had tried to leave, the governor would have had them arrested and had their property seized.[705] Among those who fled Savoie prior to the invasion was the *premier président* of the *Sénat* Horace Provana, leaving the most senior position in the company vacant. The king appointed another Savoyard to replace him, Victor Emmanuel de Bertrand, seigneur de la Pérouse, in February 1691, as he had given proofs of 'a singular affection for the king'.[706] Pérouse died the following August, and was replaced by the *président à mortier* of the *Parlement* of Grenoble, Antoine de Guerin, seigneur de Tencin. Tencin was a relative of the Dauphiné intendant Bouchu and a client of the Colbert clan under the protection of Torcy, and served until the French withdrew from Savoie in 1696.[707]

After the French conquered Savoie, there was an initial sense that very little was going to change for the sovereign companies. For those coming to the *château* of Chambéry in pursuit of justice, the only noticeable change would have been the replacement of tapestries in the companies' audience chambers with new ones bearing the arms of France, and the substitution of the portraits of Victor Amadeus with those

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[704] An identical edict was registered in March 1704. ADS 2B 21 [unnumbered], 'Declaration du Roy pour authoriser le Senat & la Chambre des Comptes de Savoye, & autres Jurisdictions dudit Pais', 17 Jan. 1691 & 9 Mar. 1704; E. Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat de Savoie et des autres compagnies judiciaires de la même province* (2 vols., Paris, 1864-65), ii. p. 132.

[705] SHDT A1 1880 no. 96, Payeau to Chamillart, 30 May 1705.

[706] *Ibid*., ii. pp. 95-97.

[707] This is consistent with royal practice towards French *parlements* at this time, where the *premier présidents* were always non-venal royal appointees. S. Chapman, *Private Ambition and Political Alliances: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family and Louis XIV's Government, 1650-1715 (*Rochester, NY, 2004), p. 149.

of Louis XIV.[708] Moreover, the local French officials seemed keen to work with the sovereign companies to make the occupation run as smoothly as possible: shortly after the conquest, Bouchu held meetings with senior members of the *Chambre des comptes* and other '*principaux*' of Chambéry in order to work in line with the customs of the duchy with regard to payments that the communities of the duchy had to provide towards the upkeep of the troops quartered amongst them. He wrote that he was doing 'everything possible to soften by my words and my manners the bitterness of these impositions, as the term "winter quarters" and all it comprises are completely unknown in these parts.'[709] There was, therefore, much optimism that the new French regime would be relatively benign and that it would work side by side with the sovereign companies without there being any change in the latter's status or privileges. Yet France's behaviour towards the sovereign companies, together with its pattern of appointments, and the level of co-operation on the part of the magistracy towards the French administration, demonstrates that the initial sense of optimism and mutual co-operation soon gave way to one of resentment and recrimination.

That the French officials in Savoie saw little value in paying anything more than lip service to the rights of sovereign companies was soon illustrated by their financial neglect of the magistrates. By guaranteeing the privileges of Savoie's elites in the capitulation of Chambéry, and confirming them by edict in January 1691, the king undertook to pay the magistrates their *gages*, the stipends paid for carrying out their functions (which corresponded to French *appointements*, as opposed to French venal *gages*).[710] Yet from the time of their arrival, the French failed to pay the officers' *gages*, which was in many cases their only source of income. In July 1691, the *premier président* of the *Sénat* complained that since the French conquered Savoie they had been unable to exercise criminal justice. The practice of the duke of Savoy had been to pay their *gages* quarterly, but their payments were now 18 months in arrears. Furthermore the *maréchaussée* could not fulfil its functions as its officers and

[708] After the Treaty of Turin, the *Parlement* of Grenoble requested the tapestries which had been used in the *Sénat* of Chambéry and the *Conseil Souverain* of Pinerolo. AN G7 243 no. 300, Berulles to Barbezieux, 24 Aug. 1696.
[709] SHDT A1 1011 ff. 467-469, Bouchu to Louvois, 7 Dec. 1690.
[710] The total expenses of the *gages* of officers of the *Sénat*, the *Chambre des comptes*, royal officers and payments to religious communities came to a surprisingly low 27,526 *livres* per quarter. SHDT A1 1274 no. 13, Bonval to Barbezieux, 19 Jul. 1694.

soldiers were also unpaid, many having left Chambéry as they would otherwise be forced to lodge French soldiers. The criminals in the *conciergerie* could not be brought to trial as there were no soldiers and no surgeon to assist them. The *premier président* warned that more rigour was needed to prevent the inevitable lawlessness which came in times of war.[711] Payments finally began later that year, but during the financial crisis of 1694-95, the payment of the officers' *gages* again fell into arrears, with two quarters due by July 1695, depriving many officers of the means of paying the new *capitation*.[712] As the French paid the sovereign companies from the *extraordinaire des guerres*, the military treasury, the payment of the magistrates' *gages* was never likely to be a high priority in times of financial shortage.[713]

Any magistrates who had misgivings about France's commitment to protecting their interests soon had their fears confirmed by the increasingly haughty and arrogant attitude towards the companies. When the sovereign companies in Savoie came into contact with the French, they encountered a monarchy that had been curbing the powers of their French counterparts for several decades.[714] The Savoyard companies' adamant defence of their rights and privileges, which exceeded those of any French court, caused increasing friction with the French authorities. The first disputes arose out of the companies' defence of their rights of nomination to their ranks. The French, eager to raise money for the *extraordinaire des guerres* through the sale of vacant offices, were happy to ride roughshod over the normal vetting procedures of the companies.

Both the *Sénat* and *Chambre des comptes* had numerous vacancies due to a spate of deaths in the early 1690s. In the *Sénat*, there were five vacancies for the office of senator, as well as the office of *quatrième président*.[715] In the *Chambre*, nine offices

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[711] SHDT A1 1116 no. 208, Bonval to Louvois, 12 Jul. 1691; no. 209, 'Memoire pour les interests du Senat de Savoie'; no. 210, 'Memoire pour l'Exercise de la Justice'.
[712] SHDT A1 1331 no. 203, Tencin to Barbezieux, 7 Jul. 1695.
[713] Chaumet points out that during the two occupations of Nice, the remuneration of Niçois magistrates was irregular and was interrupted on three occasions as a result of the financial problems of the French authorities. Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 196.
[714] See J. Hurt, *Louis XIV and the parlements: the assertion of royal authority* (Manchester, 2002), particularly pp. 38-59 on the critical period of 1671-1673.
[715] The only live absentee was the sieur Marelly, the abbot of Hautecombe.

were vacant by death, and there were four absentees in Piedmont. The French were therefore eager to fill these positions, as their sale would provide considerable sums of money. Yet few people came forward for the offices and even fewer were prepared to pay the prices at which the French wanted to sell them. Bonval conceded that this situation was only likely to get worse 'by the hope of the coming peace'.[716] In addition, many areas previously within the remit of the *Chambre des comptes*, such as the negotiation of contracts for the farms of the *gabelles* and the taxes on tobacco, gunpowder and saltpetre, which had carried with them lucrative commissions for the officers of the *Chambre*, had been aggregated to the French intendant after 1690. This made many of the offices less financially rewarding than they had been prior to the conquest.[717] When the office of *greffier* in the *Chambre* became vacant in 1695, therefore, a gentleman of Chambéry offered 1,000 *livres* for the post, one-sixth of what it had been sold for prior to the occupation. The offer was immediately refused, revealing a distinct lack of realism on the part of the French government.[718] Another potential candidate for the office of *juge mage* of the Maurienne bartered with the French for the position for a full year, but his offers were consistently refused.[719]

Given this situation, when a candidate did come forward with the requisite sum of money, the French were eager for the sale to be transacted quickly, and for the appointee to be received promptly by the courts. In the *Sénat*, the leadership of Tencin ensured that this was carried out. In April 1694 the sieur Desgros, a *conseiller collateral* at the *Cour présidial* of Annecy, offered 11,000 *livres* for the *charge* of senator. Both Bouchu and Tencin agreed that this was a good appointment, as Desgros had over 30 years of experience in the Savoyard judicial system, and that at over 70 years old, he was '*très cassée*' and the office would presumably be for sale again soon.[720] But the *Chambre des comptes*, still under the leadership of the duke's appointee the marquis de Lescheraine, was not so submissive. The *Chambre* became the focus of opposition to French practice during the first occupation, putting up a

[716] The French refused to sell the office of senator for less than 10,000 *livres*. SHDT A1 1331 no. 184, Bonval to Barbezieux, 30 Mar. 1695.
[717] SHDT A1 1331 no. 225, *Mémoire*, 13 Nov. 1695
[718] SHDT A1 1331 no. 224, Bonval to Barbezieux, 13 Nov. 1695.
[719] Antoine Varsin initially offered 3,500 *livres* and raised this to 4,000 *livres*. The previous incumbent had bought the office for 4,550. SHDT A1 1331 no. 180, Bonval to Barbezieux, 3 Mar. 1695; no. 226, Bonval to Barbezieux, 23 Nov. 1695.
[720] SHDT A1 1272 no. 31, Bonval to Barbezieux, 11 Apr. 1694.

concerted resistance to France foisting appointees to a wide range of offices upon them without their usual time-honoured vetting process.

In December 1692, Marc Depuy purchased the office of *juge mage* of Ternier and Gaillard, as well as that of senator. The *Sénat* verified the provisions for senator, but the *Chambre* hesitated as it claimed it had received no letters patent. Bonval remarked that they had no business blocking his appointment, as their approval was purely a formality.[721] The *commissaire's* dismissive attitude only made the situation deteriorate. The magistrature, gauging that the return of Savoie to Victor Amadeus was increasingly likely, dug in their heels and resorted to measures outside of the *palais de justice*. During the night of 11 January 1695, notices were stuck up on street corners around Chambéry addressed '*Aux Bons Savoyars*' (fig. 1), instructing them not to buy any vacant offices. Bonval noted that this followed recent difficulties in getting the sovereign companies to accept officers nominated by the king. Bachivilliers added that these notices contained much the same sentiments as a heated conversation he had recently had with *président* Gaud, who had been heading the *Sénat* in the absence of the *premier président* Tencin. There were supposedly many people capable of filling the vacancies, but who had been turned away after being informed – maliciously, so the French said – that they would be dispossessed after the return of the duke of Savoy. The officers of both sovereign companies were warned that if they continued in this manner they would not be paid, as their fees came from the sale of the very offices they were blocking.[722]

The most serious clash occurred in the spring of 1695. In February, letters patent from the king had been issued to Joseph Perret, an *avocat* in the *Sénat*, for the office of *avocat général* of the *Chambre*. The office was one of the most senior in the magistrature of Savoie. The *premier président* being absent, in February the *second président* of the *Chambre*, Doncieu, wrote on behalf of the company to Bonval, explaining that they could not admit Perret, on the grounds that his reputation was seriously dubious, and their duty was to protect the interests of the people and the

[721] SHDT A1 1331 no. 240, Dupuy to Barbezieux, 12 Dec. 1694; A1 1331 no. 178, Bonval to Barbezieux, 30 Jan. 1695.
[722] SHDT A1 1331 no. 151, Bachivilliers to Barbezieux, 12 Jan. 1695; no. 175, Bonval to Barbezieux, 13 Jan. 1695.

good of justice. Perret, they alleged, was known to have threatened, beaten and shot at collectors of the *taille* and winter quarters. Moreover, his father, a former *procureur* in the *Sénat*, had brought indignity on his family by financial malpractice. Perret complained to Barbezieux that this was all part of a conspiracy against him, orchestrated by five senior members of the *Chambre*. Bonval, eager to overcome the *Chambre's* obstructions, argued that the allegations of violence against the tax collectors were based on extremely doubtful testimonies dating back more than 15 years before the French conquest. The intendant and the *commissaire* also felt that the claims against the reputation of his family were insufficient to stop his reception into the company, particularly as the *Chambre* itself had not proposed anybody else to fill this or any other of its vacant positions. The order was issued that they were to lift their objections and receive him.[723]

In a last-ditch attempt to justify themselves, the *Chambre* attempted to go over the heads of Bonval and Bouchu, and dispatched *président* Costa to the court to put the case directly to Barbezieux. But the *commissaire* outplayed the *Chambre* at its own game by invoking the company's own code of regulations: it was forbidden, Bonval wrote to the war minister, for members of the sovereign courts to leave Savoie without permission of the prince, and Costa must not be received. Bonval meanwhile pressed ahead with overcoming the *Chambre's* obstructions. He arranged for the liquidation of Perret's debts pertaining to the *taille* and the winter quarters in order that there be no grounds for refusing his entry.[724] Bonval believed the root of the *Chambre's* obstructionism lay with the *premier président*. At the time of the conquest the French had left the *première présidence* of the *Chambre* in the hands of the marquis de Lescheraine, a man of advanced years, to whom Victor Amadeus had entrusted the military command of Savoie at the time of the French invasion. Bonval suggested that, as *président* Lescheraine appeared to be leading the obstructions out of a personal vendetta against Perret, he should be firmly admonished or even suspended from his office; with him out of the way, the other members of the *Chambre* would relent. Bonval also voiced suspicions that Lescheraine was acting out of affection for the duke of Savoy. Evidence from one 'very honest man' alleged that Lescheraine

[723] SHDT A1 1331 no. 186, Bonval to Barbezieux, 28 Apr. 1695; no. 187, Doncieu to Bonval, 20 Feb. 1695; no. 188, Perret to Barbezieux, 2 Mar. 1695.
[724] SHDT A1 1331 no. 194, Bonval to Barbezieux, 18 Jun. 1695.

had threatened to ruin him after the return of Victor Amadeus, as this man had done much for the service of the king. Finally Perret was received by the *Chambre* on 27 July, Bonval noting 'one would have hoped that M de Lescheraine had followed the example of M de Tencin, who knows how to raise all the obstacles he meets in the *Sénat*, when it comes to the execution of the orders of the king.'[725]

To a certain extent these clashes represent two very different systems coming into contact with each other. The momentum for the disputes originated in the insensitivity and arrogance on the part of the French officials, leading to resistance on the part of the native members of the companies. The French would be more mindful of this at the beginning of the second occupation, but there was also a determined enforcement of things as France wanted them, and as time went on relations soured again. Though the French once again confirmed the companies in their rights and privileges shortly after the conquest, the replacement of the heads of both the *Sénat* and the *Chambre* with Frenchmen possessing a proven record of loyalty was an immediate priority for Marshal Tessé. Antoine de Tencin was quickly reinstalled as *premier président* of the *Sénat*. La Feuillade persuaded Chamillart to reappoint Tencin as he was a judge of 'integrity and enlightenment', and he commanded the respect of the magistrates. Tessé initially opposed Tencin's reappointment, arguing that he was unsuitable for the office as his wife had 'a bad tongue' and brought disrepute on the family. La Feuillade, who was strongly in favour of Tencin's appointment, countered, 'If one was held completely responsible for the faults of one's wife, being a single man would be very much *à la mode*'.[726] Tencin served from 1704 until his death the following year, when, again on the recommendation of La Feuillade, he was replaced by his son, François de Tencin de Froges. This was despite Tessé's assessment of the younger Tencin that he was 'a donkey' – revealing divisions among the French over personnel policy.[727] The French also increased their presence in the *Sénat* by appointing Jean Dominique Giraud to the vacant *seconde*

[725] SHDT A1 1331 no. 201, Bonval to Barbezieux, 28 Jul. 1695.
[726] SHDT A1 1690 nos. 185 & 190, Tessé to Chamillart, 19 & 23 Nov. 1703; A1 1764 no. 1, La Feuillade to Chamillart, 2 Jan. 1704.
[727] SHDT A1 1690 no. 190, Tessé to Chamillart, 23 Nov. 1703; A1 1764 no. 1, La Feuillade to Chamillart, 2 Jan. 1704; A1 1766 no. 37, Chamillart to Bouchu, 3 Feb. 1704.

*présidence* in October 1705.[728] In the *Chambre des comptes*, which had proved especially resistant to French appointees during the first occupation, the king removed the sitting *premier président* Antoine Gaud and replaced him with the *second président* of the *Chambre des comptes* of Grenoble, the comte de Ferrière. To fortify the French position in the *Chambre*, another Dauphinois, Jean Guy Basset, a *subdélégué* of Bouchu and the *premier président* of the *bureau des finances* of Grenoble, was given the vacant office of *président ordinaire des finances*.[729]

The French authorities attempted to show more moderation and probity in their dealings with the magistrature this time around. Immediately after the conquest, the French had taken the unprecedented step of stripping the *premier président* Gaud of this office in the *Chambre*. Yet Chamillart agreed to continue to pay Gaud the *gages* attached to the office, as this was his only means of subsistence. This act of generosity earned him the praise of the intendant: 'I cannot express to you the extent to which the bounty of His Majesty and the fairness of your ministry are applauded by the people of these lands'.[730] There were few vacancies in the companies, as almost all officers had remained in Savoie after the conquest. When vacancies did arise, Chamillart exercised circumspection in filling them. Displaying his usual honesty and prudence, Chamillart actively dissuaded several potential French appointees from purchasing offices as he felt they would ultimately lose their investments on the return of Savoie to Victor Amadeus. La Feuillade had proposed to give the office of *président ordinaire des finances* in the *Chambre* to the Savoyard Monsieur de Vernas, a son-in-law of *premier président* La Ferrière. The war minister responded he feared Vernas would be the object of the duke's resentment in the future, and asked him to think again. In March 1706, *commissaire ordonnateur* Couppy informed Chamillart that he wished to sell his charge of *commissaire ordinaire des guerres*, and purchase the vacant office of *président ordinaire des finances* in the *Chambre des comptes*. Again, Chamillart advised Couppy to reconsider, on the grounds that it was a bad

[728] AAE CP Sard[aigne] 115 f. 118, La Feuillade to Torcy, 23 Nov. 1705; SHDT A1 1876 no. 420, La Feuillade to Chamillart, 23 Nov. 1705.
[729] SHDT A1 1690 no. 87, Chamillart to Bouchu, 29 Nov. 1703.
[730] SHDT A1 1690 no. 119, Bouchu to Chamillart, 16 Dec. 1703; A1 1764 no. 2, Chamillart to Bouchu, 3 Jan. 1704. Gaud was rewarded with the more senior post of *premier président* of the *Sénat* by Victor Amadeus after the French withdrawal in 1713.

investment and he would find himself deprived of the office on the return of Victor Amadeus. Couppy persisted despite Chamillart's advice, but the king turned down his request.[731] Furthermore, the French now paid the *gages* of the officers of both companies directly from the *trésor royal* rather than the *extraordinaire des guerres*, and consequently they received their pay regularly, except during the financial crisis of 1709. The total cost of the *gages* for the sovereign companies in Savoie in 1709 were 146,163 *livres*, representing a substantial increase on the 110,104 *livres* paid in 1694, and is a reflection of the higher regard in which the French held the companies.[732]

In spite of this apparent increase in sensitivity on the part of the French authorities, hopes of a new era of amiable mutual cooperation between the French and the sovereign companies were soon dashed. This time round, it would be the *Sénat* with whom the French repeatedly came into conflict. The first, relatively minor incident gave a taste of things to come. In June 1704 the king ordered the companies to assist at two *Te Deum* services, one for the birth of the duc de Bretagne and the other for the fall of Susa. This presented them with a procedural problem: the companies could not appear in public in red robes without the express permission of the king. As the king had only given one order for both *Te Deum* services, they concluded that they would have to have a single service, celebrating both events. As Tencin wrote to La Feuillade, the magistrates were eager to execute the king's orders faithfully, but they could not deviate from their own regulations. La Feuillade replied that they must stick to the king's order to have two separate services. With regard to assembling twice in public wearing red robes, he did not see why this should be the cause of any difficulty, and he informed the *Sénat* that 'you should not dread injuring your regulations'.[733] But the magistrates would not so easily brush their regulations aside.

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[731] SHDT A1 1971 no. 123, Couppy to Chamillart, 4 Mar. 1706; no. 160, Chamillart to Couppy, 12 Mar. 1706; A1 1972 no. 173. Chamillart to Couppy, 22 Aug. 1706. Shortly afterwards the king gave Couppy the charge of *chevalier d'honneur* in the *Sénat*: see below, p. 202.

[732] By February 1710, members of the *Sénat* had not been paid gages for 14 months. SHDT A1 2251 no. 73, de Ville to Voysin, 17 Feb. 1710. AN G7 249, 'Compte de la taille, capitation et ferme générale de l'année 1709'.

[733] ADS 2B 23 f. 16, Tencin to La Feuillade, 5 Jul. 1704; f. 17 La Feuillade to Tencin, 20 Jul. 1704.

A more serious and long-running dispute arose from the *Sénat's* defence of its right to administer the revenues of vacant benefices in Savoie. In 1706, the king ordered the use of revenues from the vacant archbishopric of the Tarentaise for the repair of churches damaged during the siege of Montmélian. The *Sénat* immediately raised objections to this on the grounds that the king did not have the right to appropriate these revenues: according to Savoyard practice, the *Sénat* administered the revenues until the appointment of a successor to the benefice. Tencin and the *avocat général* de Ville appealed to Chamillart that it would appear 'much more considerate' to find the necessary funds elsewhere.[734] But the French were not interested in showing any sensitivity to Savoyard practice. A related example also illustrates this point: in 1704 the king named the *abbé* de Carpinel, the dean of the *Sainte Chapelle* of Chambéry, to the vacant abbey of Entremont. The *Sénat* and the *Chambre des comptes* refused to release the revenues for the abbey to Carpinel, as the requisite bulls from Rome were not forthcoming due to the war.[735] By August 1707 the matter was still unresolved, and Chamillart wrote to Tencin ordering the *Sénat* to put Carpinel in possession of the revenues without any further difficulties. But the magistrates, resenting this clear infringement on their authority, became more entrenched and would not lift their obstructions. Tencin explained that if the *Sénat* released the revenues without first having the papal bulls it would expose itself and the *abbé* to excommunication. Furthermore, it was impossible for the *Sénat* to register the king's *arrêt* at that time due to procedural restrictions: the magistrates could not deliberate on the issue as most of them were on vacation, and could not be assembled in deference to a *lettre de cachet* from the court, as this was expressly forbidden by the edicts and regulations confirmed by the king in March 1704. Tencin tried to explain on behalf of the company that it was the French government's lack of understanding of the region that was to blame, writing: 'these are the usages which His Majesty confirmed, but of which his council has not been informed'. With a note of deference, Tencin ended by reminding Chamillart that it was the obligation of his office of *premier président* to inform him of this, so that he could make his reflections.[736]

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[734] SHDT A1 1972 no. 188, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 29 Aug. 1706; no. 190, de Ville to Chamillart, 13 Aug. 1706. De Ville pointed out that this practice had been respected at all times, even under Henri II when he occupied Savoie.
[735] SHDT A1 1972 no. 188, d'Angervilliers, to Chamillart, 29 Aug. 1706.
[736] ADS 2B 23 f. 37, Chamillart to Tencin, 17 Aug. 1707; f. 38, Tencin to Chamillart, 2 Sep. 1707.

In March 1708 the king authorized intendant d'Angervilliers to overturn the opposition of the *Sénat* and put Carpinel in possession of the revenues. The magistrates wrote to Chamillart repeating their objections. But the prolonged dispute had by this point soured relations between the sovereign companies and the crown. This time, Chamillart's son the marquis de Cany replied to Tencin that the king now believed that these objections were based on the self-interest of the officers of the *Sénat* and *Chambre des comptes* 'who regard themselves as natural subjects of the duke of Savoy' and who believed they should do nothing that might displease either the duke or the pope.[737] The sovereign companies, however, maintained that their motives were more virtuous.[738] In August 1710, the abbey of Abondance in the Chablais became vacant by the death of its abbot, and the *premier président* of the *Chambre des comptes*, de Ponnat, took the opportunity to clarify the position of the sovereign companies for the new war minister, Daniel Voysin. They had refused to put Carpinel in possession of the revenues not because they wanted to please the duke of Savoy, but because they wanted to let the king know that this was not how things were done in Savoie. As they were now taking control of the revenues of the abbey of Abondance, de Ponnat asked for matters to be clarified by royal command or letters patent, to stop any further altercation between the companies and the intendant, or between their own agents and the French *commissaires des guerres* in charge of confiscated property.[739] The final episode in the Carpinel saga was played out during the winter of 1709-10. In late 1709, the *Sénat* condemned Carpinel for hoarding wheat during a time of famine. The king issued a pardon for the *abbé*, which the magistrates refused to ratify unless Carpinel appeared before them on his knees and with head uncovered. Voysin then instructed Tencin to override their obstruction, without completing the formalities stipulated by the *Sénat's* regulations.[740]

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[737] ADS 2B 23 f. 48, *Sénat* to Louis XIV, 3 Mar. 1708; f. 51, de Cany to Tencin, 24 Mar. 1708. Chamillart was training up his son to eventually succeed him (he did not).
[738] The *Sénat* had previous form in this field: in 1697 Victor Amadeus had asserted his claim to appoint the heads of three major abbeys in Savoie and receive their revenues in the meantime, in the process resurrecting a long-running argument with Rome over the extent of his ecclesiastical patronage. Storrs, *War, Diplomacy*, p. 91.
[739] SHDT A1 2251 no. 360, de Ponnat to Voysin, 19 Aug. 1710.
[740] SHDT A1 2251 no. 73, de Ville to Voysin, 17 Feb. 1710; no. 185, Tencin to Voysin, 15 May 1710; Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat*, ii. p. 147.

Believing the *Sénat* not merely to be highly legalistic but also irretrievably refractory, the French resorted to bypassing the rights and jurisdictions of the *Sénat* wherever it was felt necessary. In 1708 it was discovered that over one hundred smugglers were working on the frontier with the Dauphiné, with warehouses in Savoie, running goods to Orange and Avignon. The intendant tried to arrest the contrabandists and seize their merchandise, but the *Sénat* insisted that nothing could be done without their permission. The secretary for war wrote to the *premier président* and the *procureur général* of the *Sénat* informing them that the king did not want them to cause any trouble in any manner and expected their help.[741] In other words, they were not to interfere in an area that was still technically part of their jurisdiction. The following year, a counterfeiting operation was discovered in Chambéry and the French arrested a Monsieur Salteur and several workers. The companies protested that counterfeiting fell under their jurisdiction, but d'Angervilliers replied that as Salteur had relatives and friends in the *Sénat* the arrest had been carried out on the express order of the king.[742] This indicates the level of suspicion and the lack of trust between the French authorities and the *Sénat*.

The French perceived the sovereign companies' defence of their rights and traditions as malicious obstructionism borne out of loyalty to the duke of Savoy. Uninterested in the companies' uses and customs, the French became increasingly heavy-handed as they became more frustrated. The companies, in turn, dug in their heels to resist what they viewed as the arrogant and abusive manner of the French government.[743] Yet, however much they chafed at the restrictions placed on them by their French masters, the situation never really developed into a serious problem of political authority. The companies may have thrown several obstacles in the way of the French authorities, but they never posed a serious threat to the implementation of royal will and these

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[741] SHDT A1 2102 no. 290, Chamillart to d'Angervilliers, 30 Sep. 1708.
[742] AN G7 247 no. 291, d'Angervilliers to Desmarets, 7 Nov. 1709; Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat*, ii. pp. 140-141.
[743] Similar clashes can be seen between the French authorities and the municipal regime in Besançon from 1674, and with the local authorities in newly annexed Flanders in the 1660s and 1670s. See D. Dee, 'The Practice of Absolutism: Franche Comté in the Kingdom of France, 1674-1715' (unpublished PhD thesis, Emory University, 2004), pp. 168-169; A. Lottin, 'Louis XIV and Flanders' in M. Greengrass (ed.), *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1991), pp. 88-89.

disputes were always of a peripheral nature. What the confrontations above all highlight is the mindset of the French government with regard to occupied elites. The resistance of the companies, though inspired by a desire to protect Savoie's traditions and privileges, was viewed by the royal government as disloyalty and a sign of the companies' natural inclinations towards their duke. The tactics of the companies, designed to make the French aware of Savoyard practices, did not force the monarchy to modify its policies, but instead engendered more suspicion on the part of the government. The two sides were pursuing mutually incompatible ends: the companies saw the capitulations of November 1703 and the king's edict of 1704 as binding, but the French did not. Despite paying lip-service to notions of moderation in occupation, the French saw blind obedience to the crown as more important than contractual obligations, and the French political mindset was such that any obstruction to the immediate execution of the royal will, however small, was seen as insubordination or disloyalty. Nevertheless, these authoritarian tactics may well have ultimately paid dividends: by inculcating in the magistrates the sense that the slightest insubordination would be punished severely, they may have prevented more serious resistance and intriguing in the later stages of the occupation when the French state faced a series of potentially catastrophic crises.

The clashes between the *Sénat* and the French authorities demonstrate also that the French-appointed (and French subject) *premier président* was far from being a docile creature of the king. François de Tencin steadfastly defended the rights and prerogatives of the company during his tenure of office from 1705 until 1713. Though not always able to secure majorities in the *Sénat* on behalf of the king, he was nevertheless successful in maintaining the respect of his fellow magistrates. He may have been the direct representative of royal authority, but his fellow judges expected him to maintain a balanced position and defend the privileges and interests of the *Sénat*. The French accepted this, for otherwise he would lose the confidence of the court: the sovereign companies of France were expected to form opinions of and voice their opposition to the king's decisions if they felt it was counter to the public good, which ruled out passive and unconditional obedience.[744] Tencin's counterpart

[744] R. Mousnier, *The institutions of France under the absolute monarchy, 1598-1789* (trans. B. Pierce, 2 vols., Chicago, 1979), i. p. 434. Of course, this had to be done in a more submissive and humble fashion after the 1660s and early 1670s.

in Nice demonstrated the pitfalls of failing to take this into account. There, the French appointed the relatively inexperienced Provençal lawyer Lombard de Gourdon.[745] Gourdon failed to act with circumspection and balance, siding invariably with the king, and the administration of justice became increasingly problematic during the second occupation, descending into obstructionism and chicanery.[746]

During the second occupation of Savoie, the French attempted to increase their influence in the sovereign courts through the appointment of *chevaliers d'honneur*. These charges dated back to the early sixteenth century in Savoie, and were traditionally filled by men with a proven record of loyalty to the duke. Their function was to remain impartial in the proceedings of the courts, and to inform the duke of the deliberations of the magistrates.[747] The French, by contrast, had only recently instituted the office of *chevalier* in the provincial *parlements* of France, by a royal edict of July 1702. These *chevaliers* had a deliberative voice in the courts and were responsible for enforcing the will of the king.[748] Aware that they needed greater control over the sovereign companies in Savoie, the French began to appoint their most loyal agents in the duchy to these positions when they became vacant. 1705 saw the appointments of the *commissaire des guerres* Heron to the *Chambre*, and of François Manissi de Tenières, a French *lieutenant de vaisseau* in the king's navy to the *Sénat*. The following year the marquis du Prayet from Valence and the *commissaire ordonnateur* Couppy were also admitted to the *Sénat* as *chevaliers*.[749] The *charge* bore a light workload (a *chevalier* only needed to attend the court for matters pertaining to the interests of the king) and carried a substantial annual stipend of 1,275 *livres*. It therefore came to be seen as a useful addition to a French official's income. As such, it became coveted amongst members of the French regime in

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[745] Gourdon was *second président*, though the frequent absence of the elderly *premier président* Regnault de Sollier made him the principal French agent in the *Sénat*.
[746] SHDT A1 2173 no. 68, Voysin to Gayot, 19 Mar. 1709; Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, pp. 192-193. The magistrates also resented Gourdon's presence as he was Provençal and they feared the French would assert their claims that Nice was a dependent territory of Provence, thus threatening a *réunion* on the Côte d'Azur.
[747] Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat*, i. p. 255.
[748] By this edict, Louis XIV established two *chevaliers d'honneur* sitting at the side of the *presidents à mortier*. Their function was to 'strengthen the links which have always existed between the *noblesse de robe* and the *noblesse d'epée*'. Quoted in Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat*, i. p. 255.
[749] SHDT A1 1968 no. 458, Couppy, 8 Oct. 1706.

Savoie: on the death in September 1709 of the last ducal-appointed *chevalier*, the comte de Rochefort, both the *commissaire des guerres* du Tisné and the military commander of Chambéry, Bonneval, requested the charge. In the event, the king gave the office to the son of the *premier président* Tencin de Froges, making him the third generation of the Dauphinois Tencin family to sit in the *Sénat* of Savoie during the French occupations, and highlighting an aspect of the political logic behind French appointments in Savoie, which was clearly one of family advancement.[750]

Despite French attempts at ensuring a greater amount of control over the sovereign courts of Savoie, their spirit of independence meant that conflict continued until the end of the occupation. In October 1712, for instance, the *Sénat* clashed with the French authorities over its right to set the days on which they would celebrate *Te Deum* services. Following an order from the king, the French commander of Chambéry, the marquis de Cilly, instructed the companies that they were to assemble the following Saturday to celebrate a *Te Deum* for the recapture of Douai in Flanders. But only four senators could get to Chambéry at such short notice. As Tencin was out of Savoie, the *président* d'Entremont sent a deputy to Cilly to request a delay so that he could assemble more of his colleagues. The deputy also reminded Cilly that it was their prerogative to set the day, and always had been.[751] But the commander responded brusquely that the *Sénat* must not make such difficulties when it came to executing the orders of the king, and that they were to appear as ordered. The magistrates took this as an insult, and decided not to assist at the *Te Deum* as their regulations stated that six was the required minimum, and at the least they expected to be able to set the date of a *Te Deum* in concert with the commander. Berwick supported Cilly's decision, stating that the sovereign companies were under his orders. Tencin wrote to Voysin expressing his disbelief that a sovereign company with even greater privileges than those of its French counterparts could be placed under the orders of a junior military commander, as up till then they had received orders only from the king or his ministers.[752] Voysin responded that the behaviour of

[750] SHDT A1 2174 no. 53, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 27 Sep. 1709; no. 55, Bonneval to Voysin, 26 Sep. 1709; A1 2142 no. 495, Tencin to Voysin, 20 Nov. 1709.
[751] In France, the dates of *Te Deums* were arranged by the bishop in concert with the local commander. In the absence of a resident bishop in Chambéry, the *Sénat* had always assumed this function.
[752] SHDT A1 2398 no. 299, Tencin to Voysin, 9 Oct. 1712.

the *Sénat* had been reprehensible, and though Tencin was defending their actions, he was sure that if he had been present things would have happened very differently. The war minister added that the *Sénat* had an opportunity to repair the damage as the recapture of Le Quesnoy gave cause for another *Te Deum* service the following week, and 'the king would find it very bad if the *Sénat* fell once again into the same disobedience'.[753] Voysin also insisted that Tencin this time provide a list of all those who attended. Around half of the magistrates managed to attend, the rest being too far from Chambéry to get there in time.[754] Throughout, the *Sénat* maintained that they were not being disobedient in the slightest, and that by asking for a delay they were simply conforming to their traditions. Versailles naturally saw this as barefaced sedition, and the magistrates were subjected to the indignity of going to church and having their names ticked off on a list by a French official. Voysin had the last word on the subject: the king was satisfied by the conduct of the *Sénat*, but they must never again insist that it is their prerogative to fix the days of *Te Deum* services; it was, the war minister pointed out, for bishops to do so, and it did not concern the *parlements* in the slightest.[755] Voysin had no interest in the fact that there was no resident bishop in Chambéry, and evidently had no time for the traditions and usages of the *Sénat*. This reflects the fact that French officials could not hide their contempt for the native officials and institutions of conquered territories, regardless of their perpetuation of such institutions for the ease of governance. The occupied institutions could do little other than suffer the countless humiliations and indignities to which the French subjected them.

Quite a different story emerges during the second occupation of Nice, as the French left the Niçois to administer justice and maintain public order with relatively little interference. Unlike Savoie, which was attached to the *généralité* of the Dauphiné, Nice did not have an intendant, only a *commissaire ordonnateur* answerable directly to Versailles. Consequently, the *Sénat* actually acquired more responsibilities than it

[753] SHDT A1 2398 no. 304, Voysin to Tencin, 15 Oct. 1712.
[754] SHDT A1 2398 no. 313, de Ville to Voysin, 23 Oct. 1712; no. 315, Tencin to Voysin, 23 Oct. 1712; no. 316, Beaumont de Challes to Voysin; no. 317bis, 'Rolle des magistrates', 23 Oct. 1712. Those present at the *Te Deum* were: the presidents Tencin and d'Entremont, the chevalier Couppy, the senators Balland, Marelly, Dichat, Bally, de La Duy, and Vibert, and the *procureur* and *avocat général*, a roughly fifty-fifty split between ducal and French appointees.
[755] SHDT A1 2398 no. 321, Voysin to Tencin, 30 Oct. 1712.

had had under Victor Amadeus, such as the supervision of the farms of the *gabelles*, tobacco and wine (which had belonged to the *Camera dei conti* of Turin), and the adjudication of construction contracts.[756] Furthermore, the French-appointed *présidents* were limited in their actions, as the Niçois magistrates were able to ally against them.[757] It was only towards the end of the occupation that the *président* Gourdon managed to convince the governor that the situation needed remedying. They informed Voysin in 1711 that the Niçois had introduced many abusive practices they were now trying to pass off as tradition. Gourdon reported that the Niçois 'make up rules of fantasy as they go along' and habitually united against him to obstruct the pursuit of criminal justice. Both agreed that the French presence in the *Sénat* needed bolstering, and the best way to do this was to follow the example of Savoie and establish the *commissaire ordonnateur*, Sainte-Colombe, as a *chevalier d'honneur*. It was felt that Couppy's appointment in the *Sénat* of Savoie, 'where he has a deliberative voice' had been successful in establishing a greater degree of French control of the company. Sainte-Colombe was therefore given the *charge* in June 1711.[758] The example of Nice serves to indicate that, as in Savoie, the *Sénat* of Nice attempted to assert its independence during the French occupation, but due to a weaker French administration, it was far more successful than its Savoyard counterpart at doing so.[759]

Pierre-Olivier Chaumet has argued that in every newly conquered province under Louis XIV, the control of the '*esprit public*' became a priority for the French government to prevent any possible conspiracies.[760] In these territories, this meant public opinion as represented by the administrative and social elites. In Savoie, the French were constantly suspicious that the Savoyard magistrates were working against them, and their treatment of magistrates considered particularly suspect could

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[756] Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, pp. 208-210, 220.
[757] Unlike in Savoie, appointments to the *Sénat* of Nice do not seem to have corresponded to any logic of family advancements. Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 193.
[758] SHDT A1 2326 no. 108, Gourdon to Voysin, 22 May 1711; no. 106, d'Asfeld to Voysin, 23 May 1711; A1 2326 no. 128, Voysin to Gourdon, 3 Jun. 1711; Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 194.
[759] For a particular instance of this, see pp. 222-224 of Chaumet's *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, which describes how the Niçois senators managed to resist the attempted replacement of their local practices with French ones in the adjudication of tax farms.
[760] *Ibid*., p. 117.

be brutal. In July 1695, Joseph Provana, a *président* in the *Chambre des comptes*, was severely reprimanded for having spoken out against *commissaire* Bonval. Provana's father had been the *premier président* of the *Sénat* until the French conquest of Savoie, and his property had been confiscated after he fled to Piedmont in 1690. In July 1695, as the *Chambre* was engaged with the protracted struggle over the reception of Joseph Perret, the younger Provana complained that Bonval was withholding his property unjustly and asked to be able to put his case directly to the king. The French authorities were incensed that he should dare to speak out against an officer charged with executing the orders of the king, and Barbezieux ordered his silence, warning him he would be obliged to repay his *gages* to the *extraordinaire des guerre*s if he persisted. The following month, Bonval proceeded to seize what was left of the family's property in Savoie.[761]

Suspect members of the sovereign companies were kept under close surveillance, and pre-emptive measures were often taken against those perceived as a threat to the French regime. In 1705, suspicions fell on the sieur Bazin de Chancy, a senator. D'Angervilliers reported that he had intercepted letters between Victor Amadeus and one of his agents indicating that Bazin could be used as a go-between. Bazin fled to Geneva before he could be arrested; the French did not have enough proof to put him on trial, so they prevented his return to Savoie.[762] Similarly, in 1708, the comte de Rochefort, the *receveur* of the *tailles* for the Tarentaise and a ducal-appointed *chevalier d'honneur* in the *Sénat*, was implicated in a counterfeiting operation in the Tarentaise.[763] Rochefort was detained in the arsenal of Grenoble to prevent him supplying credit to the duke of Savoy during the allied incursion that summer. After the allies had retreated, the French freed Rochefort, but would not allow him to resume his functions in the *Sénat* as they could not trust him.[764]

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[761] SHDT A1 1331 no. 202, Bonval to Barbezieux, 4 Aug. 1695; no. 162, Bachivilliers to Barbezieux, 4 Aug. 1695; no. 208, Bonval to Barbezieux, 6 Sep. 1695.
[762] SHDT A1 1879 no. 301, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 22 Nov. 1705.
[763] Rochefort was also *chargé d'affaires* of the prince di Carignano, the principal landowner in the area. The principal accused was a M. Desaires, one of Rochefort's clerks.
[764] SHDT A1 2102 no. 318, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 7 Nov. 1708; ADS 2B 23 f. 54, Desmarets to *Sénat*, 18 Nov. 1708. Tessé encountered Rochefort at Briançon in March 1707, as the latter was on his way to Turin and required a passport. Tessé

Yet the French could often go too far and the measures taken against suspect magistrates could appear arbitrary. In May 1706, the sieur Capré de Megève, an auditor in the *Chambre des comptes*, had an argument in the street in Chambéry with an Irish doctor named Reagan about a wager between the two men on the fall of Barcelona, which had taken place earlier that month. After the argument, the doctor went into a nearby tobacconist and reported that Megève had said seditious things. News of this soon got to Vallière, the French commander, who obtained an order from Versailles to have Megève stripped of his office. This was registered in the *Chambre* by order of *président* de Ferrière, without consultation with the other members of the company. The newly vacant *charge* was quickly obtained by a secretary of d'Angervilliers, and de Ferrière intimidated the magistrates into acquiescing to this appointment by warning them that to do otherwise would incur the king's wrath. Meanwhile Megève appealed against what was a flagrant breach of civil law and the royal ordinances of France, whereby he had been condemned without a hearing, and deprived of his office of magistrate without his crime being proven or judged.[765] But his appeals fell on deaf ears and he remained deprived of his office.

Essentially, if the French maintained the sovereign companies in their existing forms, and those companies continued to operate during the period of French occupation, it was because it suited both parties. For their part, the French maintained the sovereign courts because their authority in the occupied territories was relatively tenuous and depended on a military presence, which, due to more pressing commitments elsewhere, could not always be relied upon. There were certainly projects mooted in the Savoyard lands for the wholesale suppression of the existing companies, as had happened in Lorraine. In 1692 a memorandum came to the office of *contrôleur général* Pontchartrain arguing in favour of suppressing the sovereign companies of Savoie and in their place creating a *parlement* and a *chambre des comptes* modelled

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reported to Chamillart that Rochefort was a dangerous, industrious man, and had worked against Vallière. During the meeting in Briançon, Tessé assured Rochefort that if he had encountered him at the time of the conquest of Savoie, he would have had him hanged. SHDT A1 2038 no. 249, Tessé to Chamillart, 22 Mar. 1707.

[765] SHDT A1 1968 no. 274, Chamillart to Vallière, 8 Jun. 1706; no. 356, *Mémoire* by 'une persone de consideration et de condition' [undated].

more closely on the French models, to be filled with French officers.[766] This was a potential source of a considerable sum of money, and could have been an attractive prospect for a monarchy with a budget deficit reaching historic proportions. But the French did not intend to remain in Savoie longer than was absolutely necessary, and, desperate to be rid of the war in the south-east, the king probably felt that such a reorganization would have both created more local resistance and complicated peace proposals. They recognized that in order to keep the people of the occupied territories under control, they had to leave the existing authority structure intact, while dominating its personnel. Nothing would have turned the elites against them more than a full attack on the main organs of provincial particularism.[767] Furthermore, as we shall see, French surveillance of the subaltern judicial officers remained cursory, making their control of the sovereign courts all the more essential to affirm the authority of the king. For the French, the elites were essential to their hold on the province: as the governor of Savoie de Thoy put it to Médavy in 1707, he was to do everything to hold Chambéry in the event of an allied invasion of Savoie, as the capital had within it the magistrates and a dense concentration of the nobility, 'who contain the people'.[768] This was especially important given French concerns over a potential popular uprising in the duchy.

The Savoyards also gained from the continued existence of sovereign companies. The magistrates certainly fared better than they would have under the alternative, which would have seen them stripped of their offices and income, though there were individual cases where this happened. The people of Savoie more generally probably benefited from the continued existence of companies committed to acting in their interests. In 1709, for instance, the *Sénat* sent two deputies to d'Angervilliers to present a detailed memorandum on Savoie's economic situation. The intendant

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[766] AN G7 242 no. 247, 'Mémoire concernant le Piedmont et la Savoie' [undated]; a memorandum on the same theme had been sent to the secretary of state for foreign affairs in 1690: AAE CP Sard. 93 no. 223, 'Mémoire concernant le Piedmont et la Savoye', 1690.

[767] The French also opted to maintain the existing structures in Nice. In 1707, the governor of Nice advised Chamillart that the occupation of the county cost the king three times as much as he took from it in revenues. He recommended suppressing the *Sénat* and administering justice through a prefect, with appeals going to the *Parlement* of Aix-en-Provence. But again Versailles rejected such a drastic shake-up in the administration of a *pays conquis*. Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 185.

[768] SHDT A1 2041 no. 19, de Thoy to Chamillart, 6 Jul. 1707.

immediately halted any further impositions on the duchy.[769] Less successfully, in May 1711, the sovereign companies protested at the decision to raise the *capitation* by a half in lieu of an imposition of the *dixième* in Savoie, claiming that they were incapable of paying either.[770] The intendant wrote to Desmarets on their behalf, but the *contrôleur général* replied that he could do nothing to help them.[771] By comparison, Lorraine was without means of voicing its grievances during the occupation of 1670-98. Until the *Cour souveraine* of Lorraine was closed in January 1671, it acted as the champion and protector of the interests of the people, sending deputations to the French intendant as well as to the court to request lowering the impositions.[772] After its suppression, Lorraine effectively lost its voice.

[769] Burnier, *Histoire du Sénat*, ii. p. 146.
[770] ADS 2B 26 no. 15, *Sénat* and *Chambre des comptes* to d'Angervilliers, 24 May 1711 & reply of d'Angervilliers, 26 May 1711.
[771] ADS 2B 26 no. 16, d'Angervilliers to de Ville, 20 Dec. 1711.
[772] SHDT A1 250 f. 247, Charuel to Louvois, 19 Nov. 1670; f. 272, Créqui to Louvois, 26 Nov. 1670.

## Part III: Subaltern officers of justice, finance & towns

Effective control and exploitation of an occupied territory often required the reorganization of governance on a local level. In Lorraine, *prévôts* dispensed justice in the first instance within the limits of their jurisdiction, or *prévôté*. At the time of the French conquest of Lorraine in 1670, the majority of *prévôts* were also army officers and creatures of the duke of Lorraine, having been given the judicial charges to subsist. The intendant realized that they would be unlikely to force people to lodge troops, and could also be involved in the clandestine raising of troops on behalf of Charles IV. He therefore advised that they should be stripped of their offices as soon as the king sent out the order to dispense justice in his name.[773] The *baillis* and *prévôts* could not serve the interests of the king, he argued, as 'these are men of quality, who by their birth and character support the interests of the duke of Lorraine and his creatures, and will serve our interests in no way at all'.[774] In February 1671, shortly after the suppression of the sovereign companies of Lorraine, four *conseillers* from the *Parlement* were sent to the principal towns of Lorraine and the Barrois so that all officers of justice could swear allegiance to the king.[775] When the *conseiller* arrived in Nancy to receive the oaths from the officers of the *bailliage*, several of them were conspicuously absent. Charuel discovered that they had been forbidden by the duke from swearing the oath, but some had given Charles payments of 50 or 60 *pistolles* in exchange for his permission to do so. Releasing his subjects from their bonds of loyalty to him in exchange for small sums of money was not seen as an honourable course of action; the intendant reported, 'these people are beginning to be truly disgusted with this prince, the most considerable of which fear his return, and if the king displayed a determined resolution to annex this country he would find these spirits very well disposed to such changes.'[776] Later that month, the king suppressed the most suspect *baillis* and *prévôts*, and to make sure they could pose no threat, Créqui was advised to disarm all of the other *prévôtés*.[777]

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[773] SHDT A1 250 f. 350, Charuel to Louvois, 10 Dec. 1670.
[774] SHDT A1 253 f. 26, Charuel to Louvois, 31 Dec. 1670.
[775] SHDT A1 252 f. 202, Louvois to Créqui, 7 Feb. 1671.
[776] SHDT A1 253 f. 189, Charuel to Louvois, 10 Mar. 1671.
[777] AAE CP Lorr. 43 f. 31, Créqui to Lionne, 26 Feb. 1671; Lanouvelle, *Créquy*, p. 150.

The suppression of the old judicial offices of Lorraine reportedly caused a 'strong mortification' for the creatures of Charles IV, who were now being denuded of any protection. As the intendant put it, 'the future will show that this is the best means possible of undermining any hopes Monsieur de Lorraine may have of maintaining his officers and cavaliers, because the inhabitants now feel free from the power that these men formerly had over them.'[778] The reorganization of justice also had financial advantages for the French: the reform of the *baillis* and *prévôtés* increased the size of the ducal domain, now in the hands of the king, and furthermore the suppression of many judicial offices in the duchy meant that very few people were now exempt from lodging troops. Charuel had warned that without imposing troop billeting on magistrates, the newly ennobled and other privileged groups, it would be impossible for the people of Lorraine to support the tax burden or the troops quartered there.[779] The overall supervision of tax collection in Lorraine, meanwhile was taken out of the hands of the ducal officers and entrusted to the *Parlement* of Metz.[780]

The extensive reorganization of justice in Lorraine during the course of the French occupation created a large dispossessed group in Lorrain society. In addition to the judicial offices suppressed in the early 1670s, a spate of further suppressions took place in the 1680s and 1690s. In 1681, any officer in the Barrois *mouvant* who had been appointed by Charles IV had to obtain new letters of provision for their offices.[781] Between 1690 and 1691, the *prévôtés* of Lorraine and the Barrois were suppressed wholesale, and in their place, the king created new venal *prévôtés*, whose officers enjoyed the same powers and privileges as those suppressed and as those in other parts of the kingdom.[782] In 1692, various other offices were suppressed and

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[778] SHDT A1 253 f. 84, Charuel to Louvois, 25 Jan. 1671.
[779] SHDT A1 253 ff. 38-40, Créqui to Louvois, 9 Jan. 1671; f. 59, Charuel to Louvois, 18 Jan. 1671.
[780] Unlike the dispossessed officers of justice, the *fermiers généraux* of Lorraine and the Barrois were compensated for the loss of their charges, being paid the sum of 2,560 *livres* each by the *Parlement* of Metz in 1671. BN Mél. Col. 156bis f. 393, François de Tilly (*greffier* of Bar-le-Duc) to Colbert, [1671].
[781] AAE CP Lorr. sup[plément] 11, ff. 4-5, 'Declaration pour faire rendre la justice au nom du Roy dans le Barrois mouvant', 18 Jan. 1681.
[782] AAE CP Lorr. sup. 12, f.113, 'Edit du Roy, portant suppression & Creation d'Offices dans les Prevotez de la Province de Lorraine & Barrois', Jul. 1691; AN G7 415 no. 62, François Bournaq, (*prévot* of Epinal) to Pontchartrain, 24 Jun. 1692.

recreated in venal form to raise money.[783] These new offices often infringed on existing privileges, which the French chose to ignore. In 1689, for instance, the French created new offices of *eaux et forêts*. This immediately drew complaints from the inhabitants of Epinal, who protested that their rights to hunt and fish, which had been granted by the dukes of Lorraine, were under threat from the existence of these offices.[784] These creations directly violated the promises made by Louis XIV at the time of the conquest, but for the French crown, financial necessity outweighed adherence to contractual obligations with its subjects; it was an absolutist, neo-Roman law dictum that '*necessitas legem non habet*'. However, rumours of peace and the restitution of Lorraine to its duke meant that many of these new offices went unsold.[785]

In other cases the reorganization had been only partly carried out. It was reported in 1689 that the edicts of February and June 1685 suppressing the old *bailliages* of Lorraine had not been executed, and in Epinal the suppressed officers continued to render justice in the quality of local royal judges, with the full support of the *Parlement* of Metz.[786] The reorganization seemed arbitrary, and made life difficult for many: with no *officiers d'élections* or other *juges ordinaires des droits du Roy* in the *généralité*, clergy, noblemen and commoners alike had to travel great distances and at great cost for the least contestation; those without the means to do so were obliged to acquiesce to anything demanded of them. Many of the changes imposed on Lorraine were badly conceived: the suppression of so many offices was detrimental to the economies of several towns, especially Saint-Mihiel which had been one of the seats of the *Cour souveraine*. A memorandum written in 1689 reported that since the court was suppressed in 1671, more than 1,500 people had left the town to go and live abroad. Saint-Mihiel was on the most important military road in the Barrois, and its reduced circumstances meant that it could no longer provide for

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[783] AAE CP Lorr. sup. 12 ff. 117-118, 'Edit du Roy, portant confirmation & etablissement de plusieurs officiers dans les Bailliages de Bar & Gondrecourt....', 9 Dec. 1692.
[784] AN G7 5 no. 2. Le Peletier to Charuel, 10 Feb. 1689; G7 374 no. 448, inhabitants of Epinal to Charuel [undated].
[785] AN G7 6 [unnumbered], Pontchartain to Vaubourg, 31 Dec. 1692; G7 415 no. 167, *lieutenant-général* of Toul to Pontchartrain, 17 Oct 1693.
[786] AN G7 374 no. 500, *procureur du roi* of Epinal to Le Peletier, 31 Aug. 1689.

the subsistence of French troops.[787] The suppression of the *bailliage* of Nancy in July 1685 had such a bad effect that the magistrates of the *hôtel de ville* wrote in May 1693 that 'desolation reigns in this town', due to the desertion of the bourgeois. They asked for the reestablishment of the *bailliage*, as this was the only means left 'to stop the ruin of houses, families and the dissipation of the people'.[788] But they were to be disappointed: the officers of the new *Cour présidial* at Toul fiercely resisted the reestablishment of the *bailliage* of Nancy, as it would mean the loss of their own offices.

As the fiscal demands of the Nine Year War began to multiply, the French authorities' attitude to privilege shifted from that which they had adhered to during the earlier phase of the occupation. As Marie-Laure Laperche-Fournel argued, the urgency of the situation in the 1690s was such that 'negotiation was often replaced by repression, in order to better satisfy the exigencies of war'.[789] Most significantly, the unprecedented size of the French army presence meant that the intendant was forced to further reduce the amount of exemptions from lodging troops. Thus, despite many complaints to the *contrôleur général* in Versailles, troops were quartered for the first time among the wealthy bourgeois, the *fermiers* of the domains and diverse officers who, like the *contrôleurs*, *directeurs* and *commis* of the postal system, had been granted exemption since 1670.[790] As Vaubourg wrote to Pontchartrain in 1693: 'it is not possible that those who claim exemption dispense themselves from sharing part of the burden'.[791]

Lorraine's status as a military zone during the Nine Years War led to further curtailment of privileges usually attached to finance offices. By an *ordonnance* of September 1689, in the interests of security, nobody at all was permitted to carry arms in Lorraine.[792] This aroused the indignation of the *fermiers généraux*, who appealed

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[787] AN G7 374 no. 293, 'Mémoire pour les officiers de Lorraine et Barrois', [1689].
[788] AN G7 415 no. 135, Officers of the *hôtel de ville* of Nancy to Pontchartrain, 9 May 1693.
[789] Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant', p. 342.
[790] AMN Ord., *Ordonnance*, 12 Dec. 1670.
[791] Quoted in Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant', p. 341.
[792] SHDT A1 990 no. 77, Bissy to Louvois, 18 Jul. 1690. Créqui and Bissy had previously issued *ordonnances* banning peasants alone from carrying arms or hunting: BMN 152(345) no. 71, *Ordonnance*, 12 Nov. 1681.

to *contrôleur général* Pontchartrain pleading their need to bear arms to protect themselves and assure the receipt of taxes. But the military commander in Lorraine, the comte de Bissy, warned Louvois that this would open the door to the same claims from the farmers of tobacco and the forestry officers, and that soon 'all the countryside will be full of armed men'. He added that these farms had been too free in giving out commissions to everybody who wanted to hunt, and this was detrimental to the security of the province.[793] By 1694, the *fermiers généraux* complained that their brigades were unable to resist the huge number of fraudsters who carried out armed contraband. They pointed out that the prohibition on carrying arms 'goes against the privileges of the farm... is not valid in any other province of the kingdom, and has no other foundation than the caprice of several officers who command here and are jealous of their hunts', and requested permission to arm their brigades.[794] As the War Ministry had final say over the administration of Lorraine, however, the priorities of the military were deemed to be higher than those of the tax farmers, and Pontchartrain could do little to help them. This indicates the existence of a degree of confusion in crown aims in Lorraine, with two mutually-contradictory pressures at work: one was casting it primarily as a sanitized military frontier zone, while another treated it as a new province that had to contribute to its own incorporation into Louis XIV's administrative system.[795] It was, with hindsight, counter-productive of the War Ministry to place immediate security needs higher than the collection of revenues destined to support the French occupying troops.

French officials generally realised that alienating local officers or communities was in many ways detrimental to the interests of the king, though in Lorraine there did seem to be unnecessary harshness and contempt. Co-operative local officials could be of great benefit to the French administrators in an occupied territory. In Savoie, the French used the employees of the *gabelles* as well as the *syndics* of communities to keep an eye on soldiers who had deserted from the service of Victor Amadeus and returned to live with their families. These officials knew the country and its

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[793] SHDT A1 990 no. 109, Bissy to Louvois, 13 Aug. 1690.
[794] AN G7 415 no. 253, Vaubourg to Pontchartain, 9 Mar. 1694.
[795] The same complaints from farm employees were received in other disarmed frontier or remote provinces: see for example A. Boislisle, *Correspondance des Contrôleurs Généraux des Finances* (3 vols., Paris, 1874-1897), i. no. 73, Bois de Baillet (intendant of Montauban) to Le Peletier, 7 Jun. 1684.

inhabitants well, and through them the French were informed of all the deserters in Savoie, as well as all the ways in which Victor Amadeus called them back to his service. They often risked their lives for the service of the king: in January 1707 the commander of the Chablais, Leguerchois, reported that an employee of the *gabelles* named Pelicier had recently arrested two noblemen on the frontier for trying to smuggle Savoyard peasants into Piedmont. Pelicier took his prisoners to Chambéry, without recompense, and had since been menaced by the families of the noblemen. Leguerchois advised giving Pelicier 10 *pistoles* for his trouble and the promise of further recompense in the future. The king agreed to reward the zeal of all such employees and guards working on the frontier.[796] The French also used local officers to carry out censuses in both Savoie and Lorraine, to find out how many men were in the service of the king and how many were in foreign service, as well as a list of the property of those fighting abroad.[797]

The main principle of the French regime during both occupations of Savoie with regard to local officers of justice and finance was to change as little as possible. The French authorities were aware of the potential dangers of leaving the collection of taxes in the hands of Savoyards whose loyalty to France was far from guaranteed. Yet intendant Bouchu was convinced that the collectors of the *taille* and the *gabelles* should be maintained in their positions and treated well, 'as these men are necessary to us, as they guarantee prompt collections, and any Frenchmen we put in their place would acquit themselves much less well'. Frenchmen brought in to do the job would cost six times as much in *appointements* as the existing Savoyard incumbents, and, not having any knowledge of the area, they would also bring in less revenue. Furthermore, experience showed that native officers were not as likely to be robbed by raiding parties from Montmélian as French employees would be.[798] In the case of Savoie, therefore, it suited the French authorities to maintain the existing financial and judicial officers as they did not pose an obvious threat to French security in the

[796] SHDT A1 1994 ff. 439-441, Leguerchois to Chamillart, 22 Jan. 1707; f. 435, Chamillart to Couppy, 30 Jan. 1707. Why Pelicier did this, given the long-term risks involved, is unclear.
[797] These were carried out in Lorraine in 1681, and in Savoie in 1695. BMN 152(345) no. 63, *Ordonnance*, 10 Feb. 1681; SHDT A1 1331 no. 172, Bonval to Barbezieux, 2 Jan. 1695.
[798] SHDT A1 1690 no. 123 Bouchu to Chamillart, 20 Dec. 1703; A1 1879 no. 38, Bouchu to Chamillart, 20 Feb. 1705.

region, as the Lorrain officers had done in 1670. The natural pro-French inclinations of the Savoyards played a large role in this.[799] In addition, any reorganization or replacement of the existing system would have been more expensive, and the French were keen to avoid such unnecessary costs in a territory they had little expectation of keeping in the long term.

The major towns of the conquered provinces could be of crucial importance to the French in maintaining their hold on the rest of a province. Chambéry and Nice both contained the residences of most of the nobility of Savoie and the county of Nice respectively, as well as the magistrates who composed the sovereign companies. The French were therefore eager to make a good impression: after the capitulation of Chambéry in November 1703, Tessé told the syndics of the town that he did not want by any means to make the French presence hard or odious, and assured them of his protection and the good order he was determined to keep.[800] Furthermore, the French authorities were often willing to listen to the municipal regimes when they appealed for reductions in the fiscal burden on the province: in September 1690, for instance, the syndics of Chambéry sent a deputation to Versailles to protest at the immense sums imposed on Savoie, and Louvois eased the burden somewhat by reducing the imposition of the *taille* by a half.[801] In Nice as well as Chambéry, representatives of the municipal regimes often negotiated with the *commissaire ordonnateur des guerres* to reduce the financial burden across the whole province. This often bore fruit: the villages of Nice, ruined by military contributions, were exempted from the *dixième* in 1711.[802] In addition, gratifications paid by the civic regime of Nice to the governors could be fruitful, as the latter often intervened to obtain a diminution of fiscal burdens.[803] The message coming from Versailles to their agents and governors in these Savoyard towns was that they were to act with as much sensitivity as possible. Chamillart spelled this out clearly to the governor of Nice when the consuls complained of his high-handed manner, 'Nothing is worse than to be too brusque with people who are newly conquered, particularly by demanding unreasonable things of

[799] As described in Chapter III, the initial responses of the people of Savoie to the French conquest were overwhelmingly positive: see pp. 98-99.
[800] SHDT A1 1690 no. 177, Tessé to Louis XIV, 16 Nov. 1703.
[801] Humbert, 'Conquête et occupation', p. 44.
[802] Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 94.
[803] *Ibid*., p.100.

them, or by saying to them that you do not want them writing to me without your permission.' The governor was ordered to modify his behaviour towards them, 'so that they may have recourse to you in their needs, and that you give them the necessary protection in every thing which is not contrary to service of the king'.[804]

The refusal of the consuls of Nice to pay the *dixième* in 1711 was treated in a similar way. The governor, the chevalier d'Asfeld, rebuked them for not submitting to the will of the king, advising them that if they did so the charge could be lowered, but instead they persisted in their stubborn refusal. He wrote to Voysin that 'the spirit of these men is weak and treacherous' and defended treating them with firmness.[805] However, he ordered the *commissaire ordonnateur* Sainte-Colombe to proceed with caution in the collection of the *dixième* during the campaigning season, for fear of creating a full-blown resistance movement. Sainte-Colombe for his part agreed with the governor, believing that the refusal of the consuls to pay had more to do with obstinacy than impossibility: 'not only are they afraid of displeasing His Royal Highness [Victor Amadeus], but they also fear that this would give him occasion to continue the imposition when this country is returned to him'. They therefore wanted it to appear to Victor Amadeus that they had not consented to the imposition voluntarily.[806] The deadlock continued for six months, the consuls and the *commissaire ordonnateur* each writing to the war minister to complain about the intransigence of the other and to defend their own actions.[807] Voysin acted as arbiter between the two, ordering Sainte-Colombe to proceed with the collection, but to do so with as much sensitivity as possible.[808]

By contrast, when the French conquered Lorraine in 1670 their treatment of the municipal regimes displayed none of the moderation and respect shown in Savoie and Nice, again suggesting that French policy was partly shaped by the initial warmth, or otherwise, of the elites. In May 1671 they cancelled the elections of municipal offices

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[804] SHDT A1 1973 no. 280, Chamillart to Paratte, 21 Jul. 1706.
[805] SHDT A1 2326 no. 106, d'Asfeld to Voysin, 23 May 1711; no. 107, d'Asfeld to consuls of Nice, 23 May 1711.
[806] SHDT A1 2326 no. 208, Sainte-Colombe, 29 Aug. 1711.
[807] SHDT A1 2326 no. 261, Sainte-Colombe to Voysin, 21 Oct. 1711; no. 262, consuls of Nice to Voysin, 23 Sep. 1711.
[808] SHDT A1 2326 no. 239, Voysin to Sainte-Colombe, 5 Oct. 1711.

in Lorraine, fearing that changes in personnel could have effects detrimental to the interests of the king.[809] This was almost certainly due to fears that the corporations would be filled with agents of the duke. As the future of Lorraine was still undecided, the municipal corporations were still eager to prove their loyalty to Charles IV: when he fell seriously ill in July 1671, the officers of the *hôtel de ville* of Nancy asked if they could send two envoys to Cologne to see him.[810] In the second phase of the occupation, the reorganization of justice and finance in Lorraine had severely detrimental effects on the towns, and the introduction of venal offices to the municipal regimes from 1690 – whereby the offices of *procureur*, *secrétaire* and *greffier* were offered for sale – demeaned the existing members of the corporations. In 1692, further municipal reform in Nancy and Bar-le-Duc introduced venality of offices for mayors and *conseillers assesseurs*. The office of mayor of Nancy went to non-Lorrains until the end of the occupation.[811]

[809] SHDT A1 253 f. 222, Créqui to Louvois, 20 May 1671.
[810] SHDT A1 253 f. 294, Charuel to Louvois, 19 Jul. 1671.
[811] G. Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine: Les temps modernes* (2 vols., Nancy, 1991), ii. p. 46; Laperche-Fournel, 'Etre intendant', p. 327; A. Schmitt, 'Le Barrois mouvant au XVIIe siècle (1624-1697)', *Mémoires de la société des lettres, sciences et arts de Bar-le-duc et du musée de géographie*, 47 (1928-1929), pp. 389-390.

# Part IV: The Church

The secular elites were not the only ones who had to bend to the French occupying authorities – the clergy too were confronted with new demands and requirements. The structure of the church in *ancien régime* France was such that the boundaries of dioceses rarely corresponded to provincial or national borders. These overlapping jurisdictions could be important and actually useful when it came to occupying frontier territories. For example, the bishop of Grenoble, Cardinal Le Camus, had spiritual jurisdiction over the *décanat* of Savoie (the area around Chambéry) in the periods of French occupation of Savoie, just as he did under Victor Amadeus II. The French recognized the potential this offered for gathering information. In the run up to the conquests of Savoie in 1690 and 1703, Le Camus was very active in passing on intelligence to the French military commanders from his agents in Savoie.[812] During the course of the occupations of Savoie, French policy towards the ducal-appointed bishops appears to have been to keep a respectful distance. In the first occupation, the French considered the episcopate such a minimal cause for concern that they actually forgot to get the bishops to swear the oaths of allegiance to the king until May 1691.[813] They were willing to work with the Savoyard episcopate when it served their interests: for instance, in 1704 the Bishop of Geneva-Annecy wrote to Bouchu claiming rents of 250 *livres* from the finances of Savoie, saying he needed this money to help with the teaching of *nouveaux convertis*, and the money was granted.[814]

Yet French policy towards *vacant* benefices in occupied lands differed significantly from one territory to another, and from one period to the next. In Lorraine, the 1670s passed quietly as the crown allowed the chapters of Lorrain monasteries to elect their

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[812] SHDT A1 1009 nos. 133 & 140, Larray to Louvois, 21 & 24 Jun. 1690; no. 175, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 14 Jul. 1690; A1 1690 no. 33, Cardinal Le Camus to Bouchu, 21 Oct. 1703; no. 31, Bouchu to Chamillart, 21 Oct. 1703. The military were at first wary about accepting information from Le Camus, Saint-Ruth having to reassure Louvois that 'he appears to be very zealous for all that regards the service of the king': A1 1009 no. 175, Saint-Ruth to Louvois, 24 Jul. 1690. This suspicion may have been due to his outspokenness in defence of Augustinianism and the worry that his loyalties were with the pope rather than the king.

[813] SHDT A1 1077 no. 164, Louvois to La Hoguette, 23 Apr. 1691; no. 202, Louvois to La Hoguette, 17 May 1691.

[814] SHDT A1 1766 no. 171, bishop of Geneva to Bouchu, 29 Jun. 1704; no. 169, Bouchu to Chamillart, 1 Aug. 1704.

superiors and collect the revenues of the vacant benefices, according to local usage. Yet, from the 1680s, as Louis XIV hardened his Gallican pretensions and entered a period of prolonged conflict with the papacy, the French unilaterally acted as if the *régale* (the right claimed by the king to appropriate the revenues of vacant dioceses and abbeys, as well as to confer certain benefices) extended across the duchies.[815] After the death of the abbot of Saint-Mihiel in September 1689, the king's confessor Père La Chaise wrote to the monks that the king would not oppose their right to elect their superior. In November, the chapter assembled and elected Dom Gabriel Maillet. But in the meantime, contrary to Père La Chaise's assurances, the king had given the abbey to the *abbé* de Luxembourg (son of Marshal Luxembourg). Maillet fled to Germany, and the French took this as an act of disobedience, informing the head of the congregation of Saint-Vanne that the revenues of the entire congregation would be seized if Maillet did not return. The bulls for the nomination of Luxembourg were refused in Rome, as the king had no rights over the benefices in Lorraine (the dukes had never possessed the rights either). To overcome this obstruction, the king put Luxembourg in possession of the monastery by an *arrêt de conseil*, an act which, even in areas covered by the Concordat, was arrogant and abusive.[816] In January 1690 the intendant of Lorraine seized the revenues and possessions of the abbey of Saint-Mihiel, as well as those of the prior and monks of the abbey. The president of the congregation of Saint-Vanne was ordered to send two regulars into Germany to find Dom Gabriel Maillet and to bring him back to Lorraine.[817] But they were unsuccessful. In January 1691 the intendant began the seizure of all property and revenues belonging to this congregation in Lorraine.[818]

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[815] The dispute regarding nomination to consistorial benefices went back to the Concordat of Bologna of 1516: in the eyes of some this was restricted to the limits of France at the time of the Concordat, to others it was valid wherever the domination of the king extended. R. Darricau, 'Une heure mémorable dans les rapports entre la France et le Saint-Siège: le pontificat de Clément IX (1667-1669)', *Bolletino Storico Pistoiese*, 61 (1969), p. 76-77.

[816] AAE CP Lorr. sup. 13 ff. 12-18, 'Mémoire sur les benefices de Lorraine', 16 Oct. 1693.

[817] SHDT A1 971 no. 219, Charuel to Louvois, 14 Jan. 1690; no. 238, Charuel to Louvois, 31 Mar. 1690.

[818] SHDT A1 1071 no. 1, Charuel to Louvois, 3 Jan. 1691. This harshness may have been due to the high level of hostility and resistance manifested by religious communities in Lorraine towards the French throughout the occupation. For example, the *Chambre Royale* of Metz complained in March 1681 of difficulties in getting the

By contrast, during the first occupation of Savoie, the French left the appointment of vacant benefices to Victor Amadeus, reflecting the crown's lack of interest in the territory beyond its short-term financial and strategic benefits. On the death of the *abbé* de La Perouse in May 1695, for instance, the French left the duke to distribute his benefices. Similarly, when the bishop of Geneva-Annecy died later that year, the *Sénat* took control of the revenues of the diocese, and those interested in the position addressed themselves to Victor Amadeus.[819] During this occupation, the French confined themselves to confiscating the revenues of religious houses, such as the abbeys of Chésery and Hautecombe, whose superiors were in Piedmont in the service of the duke.[820] Only during the second occupation of Savoie did French policy begin to resemble that used earlier in Lorraine, highlighting the difference of approach employed by the crown towards the duchy the second time around. A dispute between the French authorities and the *Sénat* arose in 1706 over the king's attempts to appropriate the revenues of the vacant archbishopric of the Tarentaise. As *président* Tencin pointed out, the *régale* did not extend to Savoie, so during the vacancy of a benefice, its revenues did not go to the sovereign but to the successor to the benefice, to be managed by the *Sénat* and the *Chambre des comptes* until the receipt of the requisite bulls of appointment from Rome.[821] The intendant consulted Cardinal Le Camus, who agreed that the *régale* had never extended to Savoie, but recommended the French authorities make use of the revenues for the church repairs in any case. D'Angervilliers concluded that, 'It is not without example that the king disposes of the fruits of benefices situated in *pays conquis*, even though the right of *régale* was not established in those lands', and advised the king to proceed as before.[822] Later that year, following the advice of d'Angervilliers, the secretary for war ordered the

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religious houses of Lorraine to provide details of their property: BMN 152(345) no. 65, *Ordonnance*, 13 Mar. 1681.

[819] SHDT A1 1331 no. 157, de Thoy to Barbezieux, 10 May 1695; no. 203 Tencin to Barbezieux, 7 Jul. 1695; no. 205, Bonval, 7 Aug. 1695.

[820] SHDT A1 1331 no. 181, Bonval to Barbezieux, 5 Mar. 1695.

[821] SHDT A1 1972 no. 60, Chamillart to d'Angervilliers, 25 May 1706; no. 189, Tencin to d'Angervilliers, 13 Aug. 1706; no. 166, Chamillart to d'Angervilliers, 18 Aug. 1706.

[822] SHDT A1 1972 no. 188, d'Angervilliers to Chamillart, 29 Aug. 1706. The intendant cited the example of the Cardinal d'Estrées, who during the Nine Years War was given the revenues from abbeys in Spanish Flanders.

sovereign companies to lift their objections.[823] The French increasingly warmed to the notion that the king had the right to dispose of the revenues of vacant benefices situated in conquered territory, and the question now was whether or not they could spend the money on non-Church affairs. They also felt that their control of conquered territory now gave them the right to appoint their own candidates to the benefices. By an *arrêt de conseil* of May 1704, the king named the *abbé* de Carpinel to a vacant benefice, a measure promptly denounced as abusive by the *Sénat*. The idea also gained ground in other occupied territories: on the death of the bishop of Nice in 1706, the French governor de Paratte recommended the *abbé* de Sabran, an ecclesiastic of a pro-French Niçois family, as a possible successor.[824]

The French generally respected more mundane ecclesiastical privilege in the occupied territories.[825] Yet in times of crisis, as they became increasingly desperate for resources, they were forced to ride roughshod over the privileges which the king had promised to respect. After famine struck Lorraine in 1694, the intendant forced the nobility and ecclesiastics to provide wheat to cover the shortfall of the communities of the province, in order to ensure supplies of wheat to the army.[826] The same measures were put in place in Savoie in November 1709: d'Angervilliers ordered the syndics of all communities in Savoie to take a certain amount of wheat from the people and the clergy.[827] The bishop of Geneva-Annecy wrote to the intendant that it went against their privileges to subject ecclesiastics to lay authority, and it should be left to the senior clergy to deal with these subventions, and for the clergy as a whole to hand over a quantity of wheat.[828] D'Angervilliers replied that it was impossible to dispense with subjecting the clergy and the nobility in Savoie and the Dauphiné to these demands: they were already exempt from the *taille*, and if they were also exempted from supplying grains there would be a shortfall of two-thirds of requirements. He

[823] SHDT A1 1972 no. 197, Chamillart to d'Angervilliers, 5 Sep. 1706.
[824] SHDT A1 1973 no. 374, Paratte to Chamillart, 28 Nov. 1706.
[825] In the immediate aftermath of conquest of Lorraine in 1670, the French forced some religious houses to lodge troops, but their exemption was renewed in March 1671. SHDT A1 250 no. 322, Créqui to Louis XIV, 4 Dec. 1670; AMN Ord., *Ordonnance*, 4 Mar. 1671. Ecclesiastical privileges were maintained in Savoie from the beginning of both occupations, and were guaranteed in the capitulations of Chambéry of 1690 and 1703.
[826] SHDT A1 1284 no. 41, de Seve to Barbezieux, 18 Jan. 1694.
[827] The same measures were enforced in the Dauphiné.
[828] SHDT A1 2174 no. 197, bishop of Geneva to Voysin, [Dec.] 1709.

argued that the first and second orders always contributed without difficulty in all cases of what was known as '*de droit*', which included natural disasters and emergencies. He added, with real justification, 'it appears to me that if there was ever a case of *de droit*, this would be it'. The stockpiling of grains, argued the intendant, was essential to give subsistence to an army which defended ecclesiastics, nobles and commoners alike.[829] The same year, Berwick expelled the dean of Moutiers-en-Tarentaise from Savoie for denouncing infringements of ecclesiastical privilege.[830] In another such case, in 1711, the *commissaire ordonnateur* of Nice began confiscating the property of ecclesiastics living in enemy territory; the grand vicar of Nice asked for a suspension of the confiscations as this contravened an agreement between Voysin and the papal nuncio in Paris, but the war minister ordered the confiscations to continue.[831] Though limits of space preclude further exploration of the clergy, this brief outline of French policies towards them reveals many of the same concerns, motivations and justifications that the French applied to the lay elites of the occupied territories.

[829] SHDT A1 2174 no. 198, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 22 Dec. 1709.
[830] In the absence of the dean, the chapter of Moutiers again complained to the intendant about a similar imposition in 1712. SHDT A1 2400 no. 47, d'Angervilliers to Voysin, 24 Apr. 1712.
[831] It was thought that this property would yield 8,000 *livres* annually. SHDT A1 2326 no. 230, Sainte-Colombe to Voysin, 30 Sep. 1711; no. 247, Voysin to Sainte Colombe, 10 Oct. 1711.

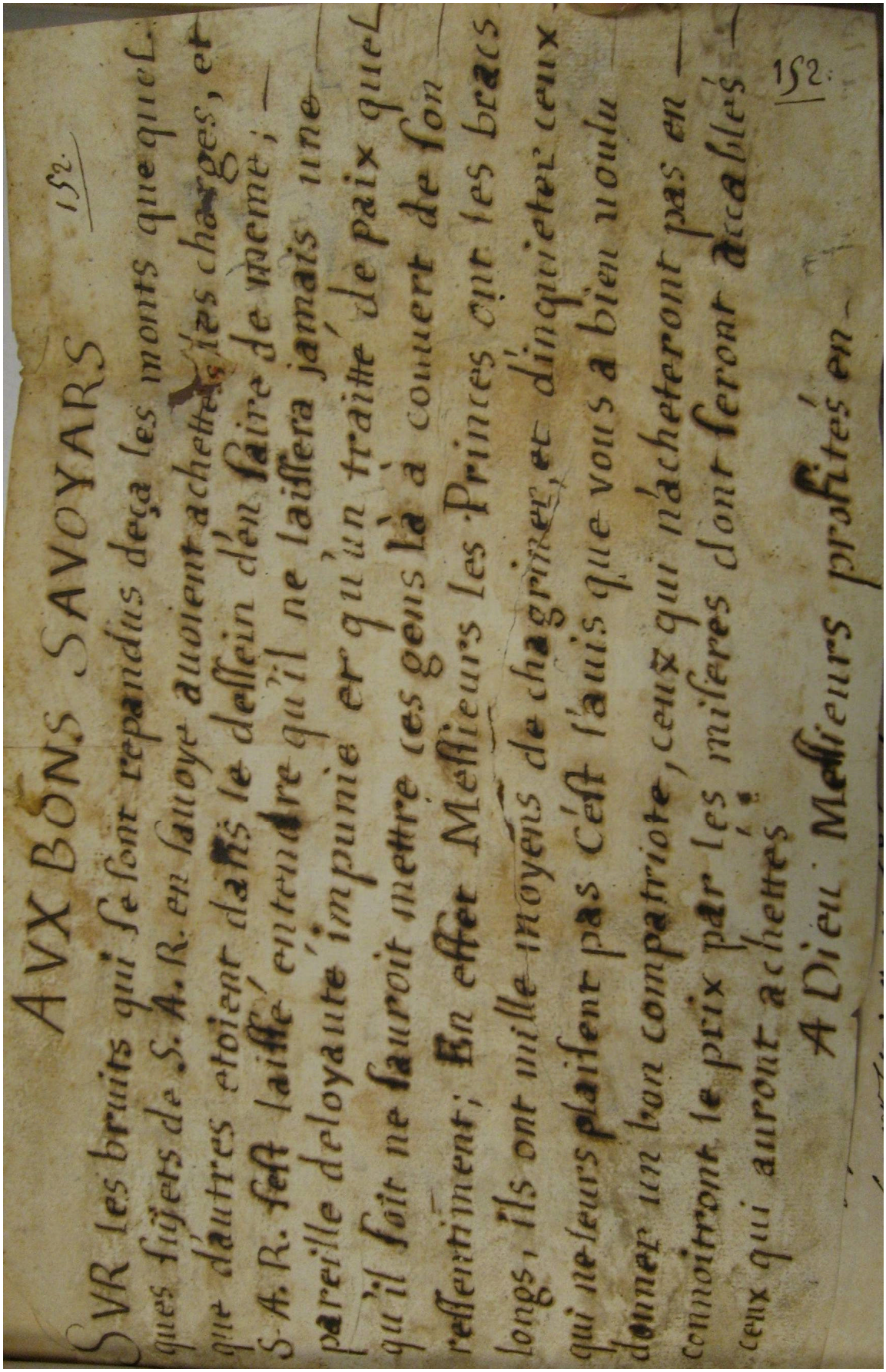


Fig. 1 Source: SHDT A1 1331 no. 152

Table I: Officers of the Sovereign Companies of Savoie

SENIOR OFFICERS OF THE SENAT OF SAVOIE, OCT. 1695

* Appointments made by Louis XIV, with date.

| PRESIDENTS | |
|---|---|
| *La Perouse * (Feb – Aug 1691)* | *1er* |
| de Tencin, Antoine * (Dec. 1692) | 1er |
| Gaud | 2ème |
| de Lescheraine | 3ème |

| CHEVALIERS D'HONNEUR |
|---|
| Deschamp |
| Daracour |
| d'Alex |

| SENATEURS |
|---|
| Chevillard, Claude-Louis |
| Chevillard de La Duy, Pierre |
| de Clermont * (Apr. 1695) |
| du Clos |
| Denys |
| Depuys * (Dec. 1692) |
| Desprez * (1695) |
| d'Entremont |
| Favier de la Biguerne |
| de La Tour de Cordon |
| Mallery |
| La Perouse * (1695) |
| Reveyron |
| Tencin de Froges, François * (1693) |
| de Valerieux |

| AVOCAT GENERAL |
|---|
| De Ville |

| PROCUREUR GENERAL |
|---|
| Favier |

Source: SHDT A1 1331 nos. 222-223, 'Etat des gages'

SENIOR OFFICERS OF THE SENAT OF SAVOIE, Dec. 1709
* Appointments made by Louis XIV, with date.
Officers present in the *Sénat* during the previous occupation are highlighted.

| PRESIDENTS | |
|---|---|
| *de Tencin, Antoine * (Jan. 1704 – 1705)* | *1er* |
| Tencin de Froges, François * (Nov. 1705) | 1er |
| Giraud * (Oct. 1705) | 2ème |
| de Lescheraine | 3ème |
| d'Entremont | 4ème |

| CHEVALIERS D'HONNEUR |
|---|
| Couppy * (Sep. 1706) |
| du Prayet * (1706) |
| Manissi de Tenières * (Jan. 1705) |
| Tencin, Claude-François * (Nov. 1709) |

| SENATEURS |
|---|
| de Brissiaux * (May 1704) |
| de Chales |
| Chalvet * (Sep. 1706) |
| Chevillard, Pierre |
| Chevillard de La Duy |
| Du Clos |
| Costa de St Remy |
| Denys |
| Dichat |
| Dufrenay * (Jun. 1704) |
| La Grange |
| Mallery |
| Planchamp de Mieusy |
| Rebut |
| Reyveron |
| de Valerieux |

| AVOCAT GENERAL |
|---|
| De Ville |

| PROCUREUR GENERAL |
|---|
| Favier |

Source: AN G7 249 [unnumbered] 'Revenus de Savoie 1709 et 1710'

SENIOR OFFICERS OF THE CHAMBRE DES COMPTES OF SAVOIE, OCT. 1695
* Appointments made by Louis XIV, with date.

| PRESIDENTS | |
|---|---|
| De Lescheraine | 1er |
| Doncieu | 2ème |
| Provana | 3ème |
| De Lasaunière | |
| Costa | |

| CHEVALIERS D'HONNEUR |
|---|
| Passerat de Troches |

| AUDITEURS |
|---|
| Bouillet |
| Capré de Megève |
| Carrely |
| Carron de Cessans |
| Emanuel Favre |
| Favre de Marmy |
| Fichet |
| Flacourt |
| Jolly |
| Metral |
| Salteur |
| Vibert |
| Vulliet de Lasaunière |

| AVOCAT GENERAL |
|---|
| Perret * (Jul. 1695) |

Source: SHDT A1 1331 nos. 222-223, 'Etat des gages'

SENIOR OFFICERS OF THE CHAMBRE DES COMPTES OF SAVOIE, Dec. 1709
* Appointments made by Louis XIV, with date.
Officers present in the *Chambre* during the previous occupation are highlighted.

| PRESIDENTS | |
|---|---|
| *de Ferrière * (Nov. 1703 - Mar. 1707)* | *1er* |
| de Ponnat * (1708) | 1er |
| Chatelier | 2ème |
| de Lasaunière | |
| Buffiere | |
| Basset * (1703) | |
| Girin | |

| CHEVALIERS D'HONNEUR |
|---|
| Passerat de Troches |
| Heron * (1705) |

| AUDITEURS |
|---|
| Blaizot |
| Borré |
| Carrely |
| Carron de Cessans |
| Favre d'Annecy |
| Favre de Marmy |
| Fichet |
| Graine |
| Guerignon |
| Guige |
| Marcelier |
| Metral |
| Montforte |
| Montjoye |
| Pucet |
| Saillet |
| Raby |
| Salteur |
| Vulliet de Lasaunière |

| AVOCATS GENERAUX |
|---|
| Millet |
| Richard |

| PROCUREUR GENERAL |
|---|
| Morand |

Source: AN G7 249 [unnumbered] 'Revenus de Savoie 1709 et 1710'

# Conclusions to Part Two

Each military occupation undertaken by the French was a response to a unique set of circumstances, and the structures of governance put in place varied according to local conditions and the immediate requirements – strategic and logistical – of the French monarchy. The success of France in efficiently administering these territories depended on several factors. For instance, the strength of the French government's connections in the region depended on when in the reign the occupation took place: Louvois, for instance, was far more effective at building these connections than his successors proved to be, even if he was very selective in his use of links to elites. In addition, an evolution took place in the way that the *pays conquis* were administered over the course of the personal reign of Louis XIV, the French military being better disciplined and more effective at financial exploitation of occupied territory during the second half of the reign. External factors beyond the control of the French administrators also played their part, and the comparison of the two occupations of Savoie is a case in point: the first occupation of Savoie was peaceful compared with the second, in that it was not a combat zone except in 1690-91, while the increasing severity of the French regime after 1708 was due to the dire financial straits of the very present French army. Indeed, mounting French resource needs had already increased the burdens on Lorraine and Savoie in the 1690s, if not to such an extreme extent. The primary concern of the French government in a newly conquered province was to assure the collection of taxation and the lodging of troops. Local privileges which significantly obstructed these priorities were either disregarded, sidestepped or abolished. Yet, as has been demonstrated, Louis XIV and his ministers were not implacably hostile to local privilege: though there is much evidence of French heavy-handedness during these occupations, records are sparse for periods of 'normal' relations, when there was no tension between the crown and the local elites.[832]

Alterations to privileges and rights also reflected wider political and security concerns. In the *pays conquis*, the existing structures of governance remained in

[832] It is also important to remember in this connection that most War Ministry records are either outgoing dispatches, or – if incoming – relate to campaigning or deal with specific problems rather than with mundane 'normality'.

place unless they posed, or appeared to pose, a serious threat to French interests. As time went on the French attempted to impose their authority over local structures, motivated in part by the fact that the outcome of any war was uncertain and the territory may well have been retained in a peace settlement. In these respects, France's position regarding Savoie and Nice probably displays more ambivalence than that towards Lorraine. The superimposition of a French layer of bureaucracy above existing forms in Savoie bears a resemblance to the occupation policies of Richelieu and Mazarin in Lorraine, though an analysis of the way the French worked with the local elites of the territories shows that this resemblance is only superficial.

France's relations with privileged groups in the occupied territories further demonstrate that the government's policy was essentially fashioned *ad hoc*, and situations were dealt with pragmatically rather than with a clearly defined policy. One of the most striking things which emerges from the comparison of these occupations is the difference between the heavy-handedness of the French treatment of most Lorrain elites in 1670-71, and the relative leniency towards the elites of Savoie in 1690. One explanation for this is the changed mindset of the French government, which was much more aggressive in the 1660s and 1670s, but which gradually lost the initiative in the international arena, and was chastened (if to a limited extent) by the events of 1689. A stronger factor was the initial warmth with which the French were received in the occupied lands: they were much more likely to maintain a territory's existing political conditions if the local elites were perceived as friendly and likely to collaborate.

Even where relations were not bad, the financial and strategic priorities of the French government at times necessitated the curtailment of certain rights previously enjoyed by the territory's elites. That these rights were solemnly guaranteed by the king at the beginning of an occupation was ultimately of limited concern for the French: obedience to the king and his interests in painful circumstances was far more important that upholding contractual promises. The fact that the monarchy was ready to go back on its word with few qualms reflects the deep flaw that existed at the heart of the doctrine of absolutism: it could not be made to uphold its own legal pronouncements and there was little due process to alter the law. In the occupied territories, when the government failed to uphold the rights and privileges of the elites

these groups often became embittered and resentful towards the French. The tactics of the local elites reflected this resentment, and were also conditioned by the uncertainty regarding the permanence of French domination. The displays of loyalty the French demanded of corporations and elite groups, such as *Te Deum* services and fireworks for royal births and military victories, must have been a bitter pill to swallow, and local elites showed less than enthusiasm for complying.

When the French behaved with greater brutality the chances of harmonious collaboration on a large scale were certainly reduced. In Lorraine the French gradually came to enact a series of measures whereby the local elites were over time deprived wholesale of the majority of their privileges, and this resulted in a monumental failure to rally many of the traditional Lorrain elites to French allegiance. This harshness was largely due to the unusually strong fidelity of the Lorrain elites to their dukes, which remained a powerful and worrying sentiment throughout the occupation.[833] As such, for all the avoidance of uprisings, the attempted incorporation of Lorraine into France from 1670 to 1697 represents a failure of the absolutist programme, which had been largely successful elsewhere in bringing provincial elites into the monarchy. This is perhaps unsurprising. Far from building a broad base of support for the French regime, as they managed to do elsewhere, such as in the Franche-Comté, the French moved instead to gradually destroy everything they could of Lorraine's institutions and even its geographical integrity.[834] The administration of Lorraine was increasingly put into the hands of Frenchmen rather than Lorrains, depriving the Lorrain elites (as corporate groups) of their privileges and power. This led to problems selling offices in the 1690s, and a massive security problem whereby

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[833] French administrators noted the 'zeal of Lorrains for their prince' from the beginning of the occupation. SHDT A1 253 f. 203, Charuel to Louvois, 19 Mar. 1671. This was reinforced significantly by Charles V's victories over the Turks in 1683-88: the dispossessed duke was presented as the prestigious heir to an ancestral tradition going back to the Crusades. R. Taveneaux, 'L'esprit de croisade en Lorraine aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles', in *L'Europe, l'Alsace et la France: problèmes intérieurs et relations internationales à l'époque moderne. Etudes réunies en l'honneur du doyen Georges Livet pour son 70e anniversaire* (Colmar, 1986), pp. 260-261.

[834] On the Franche-Comté see Dee, 'The Practice of Absolutism', p. 264: French strategies, through the 1670s and 80s 'were generally distinguished by their moderation and by their willingness to work with rather than against the pre-existing features of the provincial political system'. This model was also argued by Dee's doctoral supervisor, William Beik.

the nobility had to be disarmed and confined to their estates. In other conquered territories, such as the Franche-Comté, Savoie and Nice, the attitudes of the local elites to their traditional rulers represented much more of a spectrum, and many more were prepared to collaborate with the French from the moment of conquest. Local attitudes therefore played a large part in setting the tone of French occupations from the start.

There was no conscious long-term plan on the part of French government aimed at centralization and eliminating local privileges in occupied territories. Louis XIV did not invade Lorraine in 1670 with the fixed, definite objective of annexing the province and integrating it into his kingdom. Louvois's most urgent priorities after the conquest were to make Lorraine meet the costs of its own occupation, and to ensure that the province could not pose a security threat in the coming war with the Dutch. The suppression of various offices and privileges reflects these imperatives and not an over-riding assimilationist plan. From 1679, however, there does appear to have been a strategy aiming to bring Lorraine into line with French fiscal and judicial administrative practice. Yet this too developed largely out of financial and military needs, as well as Colbert's desire to improve commerce and the collection of taxation. Similarly, France's behaviour towards both Savoie and Nice indicates that, as long as the local privileges of these territories did not clash with French interests, they could live with their maintenance. The regime installed in Nice was especially restrained: there, judicial officers of the county were even permitted to continue to use Italian in court cases.[835] Yet, far from pointing to a policy of assimilation and integration (as argued by Chaumet) French policy towards Nice, when compared to Lorraine and Savoie, was characterized instead by a striking ambivalence. The moderation used in Nice was a consequence of the relative weakness of the French regime in such a strategically important place – due to the insufficiency of troops and vessels that could be spared for this theatre – rather than a conscious decision to treat the county with extra sensitivity in order to promote assimilation into France.

French policy towards privileged groups did not always correspond to any political logic regarding long-term plans to keep the occupied territory. Instead, it seems that

[835] Chaumet, *Louis XIV 'Comte de Nice'*, p. 212.

the French government's behaviour towards the elites of each territory was directed by a sense of scepticism or even strong suspicion, the intensity of which varied according to pragmatic issues and perceptions of regional threats. As French fears of fifth column activity grew, the existing toughness of the occupying regime was intensified, and major privileges and liberties might accordingly be overturned, as in Lorraine. Moreover, as the mentality of the French government became more defensive during the war-torn and crisis-ridden second half of the reign, more mundane local privileges also were cast aside with increasing frequency. From the beginning of the Nine Years War, and gaining pace during the War of the Spanish Succession, elites in the occupied territories – just as in France itself – were increasingly coerced into meeting the government's burgeoning financial demands. The *louisquatorzien* state was an authoritarian system which insisted on far greater obedience from the 1660s than in previous decades. But it was also a state that was willing to cooperate with elites and respect their interests when these coincided with – or at least did not damage – those of the monarchy. This had been the basis of the regime's stability and success. The French appear to have always been doubtful this model could work in Lorraine in the seventeenth century. But when the large-scale wars after 1688 imposed greater financial and political strains, any such mutual cooperation on this basis was further undermined, as can be seen in all the occupied territories as well as France itself.

# General Conclusions

The occupations investigated in this thesis give an indication of how the study of these previously neglected areas can enhance our understanding of several aspects of the reign of Louis XIV. Lorraine and Savoie have between them four occupation experiences, if not more, given how things changed over the course of an occupation. Such studies therefore offer much insight into the priorities and mindset of the French government at various points of the reign. Within the comparative method used in this thesis, there are several key variables affecting how France handled these lands: the differences brought about by time, place (and the related geostrategic considerations), security issues, local loyalties, and the expectation of either retention by France or restitution to the original sovereign. Based upon this methodology, conclusions from the comparison of Lorraine and Savoie indicate that the principal French approach to occupied territories was essentially paternalistic, their main priority being to uphold Louis's newly-asserted sovereignty and pay the costs of the occupation while impressing upon the local elites the benefits of collaboration and the pitfalls of continued loyalty to their old ruler. The French did provide plausible opportunities for local elites to serve the king, as in the French provinces. It appears also that the French became more sophisticated generally towards occupied territories as the reign progressed, at least as far as circumstances allowed. But the French government needed to believe there was a serious possibility for collaboration, or it would act to dismantle agencies of potential resistance.

The study of further *louisquatorzien* occupations could refine and give a broader perspective to these conclusions. They could also shed further light on particular aspects of French policy. For instance, given France's anxiety over the status of Lorraine in the 1680s and 1690s, how did they view their 'annexation' of Luxembourg from 1681 to 1697, the legal basis of which was, as with Lorraine, the *réunions* of the early 1680s? Initial indications from Luxembourg suggest that it mirrored in many ways the French occupation of Lorraine, administered as it was by the same intendant for much of the period. Yet, the difference in other variables, in particular the attachment to the original sovereign (in this case, the king of Spain), is likely to produce interesting results which could prove whether or not it is possible to

talk about a 'usual' character to French occupations at this time. Another useful study would be the French occupation of Casale in the Monferrato from 1681 until 1696, during which Duke Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga was allowed to continue governing the rest of the territory of Monferrato in a sovereign manner, and this may well show a precedent for the 'partial' occupation of Lorraine from 1702 to 1714. Moreover, given the growing historical interest in the field of early modern military occupations, the emergence of further case studies for comparative analysis seems assured.[836]

[836] See http://www.occupations-militaires-europe.com

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