quartered at Naples and Milan. An energetic Pope, Paul IV, undertook to expel them. He counted upon the aid of France for success. So the war continued. One French army was sent towards the Netherlands and another towards Italy. They intended to leave to Philip nothing but Spain.

The Duke of Guise was already marching upon Naples when he was recalled to France by the defeat of Saint Quentin. The bold captain struck a great blow. Unexpectedly in the dead of winter he besieged Calais and captured it in a week (1558). The Spaniards were still on the Somme, and a defeat of the Marshal of Thermes at Gravelines destroyed all hope of their prompt expulsion. Moreover Italy was at their mercy, and the plan of the Pope became impossible of execution. Henry negotiated the treaty of Chateau Cambrésis by which France restored to the Duke of Savoy his states minus a few cities, Siena to the Medici, and Corsica to the Genoese; but she retained the Three Bishoprics, and on payment of 500,000 crowns, the city of Calais (1559).

Thus the Spanish domination was strengthened in northern and southern Italy. The still existing Italian princes possessed hardly more than the shadow of independence. The French kings had thrown France into these wars, hoping to conquer Naples and Milan, but instead had given them to Spain. Their royal rivalries had engrossed the attention and the forces of the sovereigns for forty years. Meanwhile the Reformation had spread over half of Europe. The peace of Chateau Cambrésis ended the Italian wars only to permit the kings of France and Spain to begin, with the aid of the Pope and the Catholic clergy, the

religious wars.

XII

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN WESTERN EUROPE

(1559-1598)

Philip II.—The rehabilitated Church could now make war with arguments. She required also an arm wherewith to do battle with the sword. For this end she possessed, in the sixteenth century, Philip II, the son of Charles V and his successor in Spain, and in the seventeenth the heir of

his German possessions, Ferdinand of Austria.

Philip II, whom the Protestants call the Demon of the South, was master of Sicily, Sardinia, Naples and Milan in Italy; of Flanders, Artois, Franche-Comté, Roussillon in France; of the Netherlands at the mouth of the Scheldt, Meuse and Rhine; of Tunis Oran, Cape Verd and the Canary Isles in Africa; of Mexico, Peru, Chili and the Antilles in America; and lastly of the Philippine Islands in Oceanica. He had seaports without number, a powerful fleet, the best disciplined troops and the most skilful generals in Europe, and the inexhaustible treasures of the New World. He increased this domination still further in 1581 by the acquisition of Portugal and her immense colonial empire. The sun never set upon his states. It was a common saying then, "When Spain moves, the earth trembles."

All this power did not satisfy his ambition. As a Catholic he hated the Protestants; as an absolute king he feared them. Both from self-interest and conviction he declared himself the armed leader of Catholicism, which was able out of gratitude, to raise him to the supreme power in Western Europe. This was the thought of his whole life. He recoiled before no means which might crush the hostile principle. To this struggle he consecrated rare talents. Therein he expended all his military forces. He lavished all his gold to foment assassination in Holland, conspiracy in England and civil war in France. We shall see with

what success.

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Character of This Period. — When the French and Spanish kings signed the peace of Chateau Cambrésis (1559), they purposed to introduce into their government the new spirit which animated the Church, and to wage a pitiless war against heresy. The one undertook to stifle the Reformation in France; the other sought to prevent its birth in Italy and Spain and to crush it in the Netherlands and England. When Henry II died, his three sons, the last of the Valois, carried on his plans. At first they required only the advice of Spain. The oldest, Francis II, reigned less than a year and a half (1559-1560). The second, Charles IX, died at the age of twenty-four (1574). The third, Henry III (1574-1589), who alone attained full manhood, always remained in a sort of minority, whence he emerged only in fits of passion. Hence this Valois line was incapable of conducting in France the great battle of creeds.

But at their side or confronting them, there were persons more strongly tempered for good or ill. Such were Catherine de Medici, their mother, unscrupulous and astute; the Guises, uncles of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, who organized the Catholics into a party when they saw the Protestants forming a faction around their rivals, the princes of the house of Bourbon; the general Condé; Coligny, who, from a moral point of view, was the superior of them all; in the Netherlands, William the Silent, the Prince of Orange; in England Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII, who, during the reign of her sister Mary, was the

hope of the English Protestants.

In the war, many diverging interests were about to engage. The Dutch desired liberty, England her independence, the cities of France their ancient communal rights, and provincial feudalism its former privileges. But the religious form, which was that of the times, covered all. When we survey the whole from the heights of the Vatican or the Escurial, we recognize the fact that the chief aim pursued in Western Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century was the triumph of the Church, as constituted by the Council of Trent, and the triumph of the king of Spain, her military chief.

France the Principal Battlefield of the Two Parties. The First War (1562-1563). — The contract, entered into by the two kings at Chateau Cambrésis, had immediately been put into execution. In France, Anne Dubourg was burned at the stake, and the edict of Écouen threatened the Protestants with death. In Spain Philip II had autos-da-fé celebrated in his presence, in order to show the provincial governors that they must grant no mercy to heretics. At Naples and Milan all suspected persons perished. Even the archbishop of Toledo was persecuted for his opinions. Sanguinary edicts spread the terror to the Netherlands. where the creation of new bishoprics notified the population of a stricter surveillance. This declaration of war against heresy was answered as early as 1559, by acts of the English Parliament, which recognized Elizabeth as the supreme head of the Anglican Church; by the secularization of all the bishoprics of Brandenburg; and by the suppression of the religious and military Order of the Sword Bearers of Livonia. Thus did the Reformation consolidate and extend from the Irish Sea to the recesses of the Baltic, despite the thunders of Rome and the threats of two mighty kings.

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It even tried to win France by the plot of Amboise, which came near success, and which the Guises defeated by shedding rivers of blood (1560). In vain did a great magistrate, L'Hôpital, preach moderation and tolerance to those furious men who listened only to their passions. The massacre of Protestants at Vassy (1562) inaugurated a war which only ended thirty-six years later. During this time France was the principal battlefield of the two parties. The atrocious character of the war was evident from the very beginning of hostilities. As soon as Philip II learned that the sword had been drawn, he sent to the south, to Montluc, "the Catholic butcher," 3000 of his best soldiers and directed others from the Netherlands upon Paris. At the same time the German Protestants gave 7000 men to Condé, to whom Elizabeth also despatched reënforcements and money. The defeat of this prince at Dreux and the death of the Duke of Guise, who was assassinated before Orleans, restored influence to the advocates of peace. Catherine de Medici granted to the Protestants the edict of Amboise (1563). Its principal clauses will be found again in the last edict of pacification, that of Nantes, a proof of the uselessness of those thirty-six years of murder, ravage and conflagration.

Success of Catholicism in the Netherlands and in France (1564-1568). The Blood Tribunal (1567). — The edict of Amboise irritated Spain and Rome. Pius V, who had been

grand inquisitor before he became Pope, reproached Catherine for her weakness. During a journey which she made in the south Philip II sent to meet her at Bayonne the most pitiless of his lieutenants, the Duke of Alva, who informed the queen of the policy of his master, which consisted in ridding himself of hostile leaders by assassination. This doubtless was the germ whence the subsequent massacre of Saint Bartholomew developed. The Jesuits were spreading everywhere and were everywhere, preparing the way for a mortal combat with heresy. This time it was in the Netherlands that the fire broke out and thence spread

The Spaniards poured into the Netherlands. They introduced the despotic spirit among a people whose municipal life had always been very strong. The publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent was the signal for insurrection. The nobles, threatened with the loss of their religious and political liberty, bound themselves by the Compromise of Breda (1566) to lend each other mutual aid in obtaining the redress of their grievances. The people among whom the Reformation had already made great progress flung themselves with the blind fury of mobs upon the churches, broke the images of the saints, overthrew the altars and burned the pulpits. Shocked at these demagogical excesses the nobles held aloof, and the revolt, thus isolated, calmed down at once. But Philip decided to make an example. He sent to the Low Countries the Duke of Alva, who instituted the Tribunal of Blood. Eighteen thousand persons perished on the scaffold, among whom were the counts Horn and Egmont. Thirty thousand persons were stripped of their property, 100,000 emigrated, and a ruinous tax destroyed the fortunes of those who remained.

These events found their echo in France, where the second civil war broke out (1567), marked by the battle of Saint Denis. Then came the third civil war (1568), where Italians hired by Pius V, Spaniards despatched by the Duke of Alva, and Catholic Germans fought against the Protestants of all countries. At Jarnac Condé was slain, and at Moncontour Coligny was defeated.

Thus the victory remained with the Catholics. In France, Catherine resolved to sign the Peace of Saint Germain (1570) that she might gain time to devise "something else." In the Netherlands the Catholic triumph was apparently com-

plete, and preparations were carried on for an invasion of England, where since 1563 Spanish gold had been cleverly employed to keep up the agitation. In Spain every attempt to escape from religious and political tyranny was mercilessly repressed. The wrath of the king hung over all. He drove his son to suicide, his wife to death and the Moors of the Alpujarras to revolt. He established the Inquisition in the Spanish colonies, and from one end to the other of his dominions silence and terror reigned. During this period Catholicism suffered only one serious check, when the errors and the fall of Mary Stuart (1568) assured the victory in Scotland to the followers of the Reformation.

Dispersion of the Forces of Spain. Victory of Lepanto (1571). — Meanwhile the forces of Spain were being dispersed in all directions. Much money was expended and many soldiers were employed. In Andalusia they fought the Moors who supported by England resisted until 1571. On the Mediterranean they fought the Ottomans, whose progress continued and who conquered Cyprus in 1570. In the Netherlands they fought the Gueux or "beggars," who along the coast and at the mouth of the rivers intercepted the Spanish vessels, prevented the provisioning of the strongholds and thus inspired uneasiness in one party and hope in the other. At Naples, at Milan, on the coast of Africa, in the colonies, in Mexico, in Peru, everywhere, strong garrisons were required and Spain drained herself of men to maintain her domination of the world.

The only honorable war carried on was that against the Ottomans, but it was ruinous. Thus in 1558 a squadron and army sent against Tlemcen were destroyed. In the following year 15,000 soldiers on 200 vessels tried to capture Tripoli and suffered a frightful disaster. Four years later, the fleet of Naples was overwhelmed by a tempest. In 1565 Souleïman, who had already wrested Rhodes from the Knights, besieged them in Malta, but was repulsed by their Grand Master, La Valette. These efforts of the Ottomans to render themselves masters of the whole Mediterranean forced Philip II to direct a large proportion of his resources against them. After the loss of Cyprus he got together 300 ships manned by 80,000 soldiers and rowers, and his natural brother, Don Juan of Austria, won the famous but useless victory of Lepanto (1571). "When we take a kingdom from you," said Sultan Selim to the Venetian ambassador, "we

Catholic Conspiracies in England and in France. - Such expenditure of men and money rendered Philip unable to interfere in the affairs of France and England except by plots. The victory of Lepanto encouraged the Catholics. The Duke of Norfolk vainly tried to overthrow Elizabeth and enthrone Mary Stuart, while Catherine de Medici sought to annihilate the Calvinist party by the massacre of

Saint Bartholomew.

When Darnley, the husband of Mary Stuart, was murdered by the Earl of Bothwell (1567) and the queen married the assassin, all Scotland rose against her. Mary took refuge with Elizabeth, who treated her as a prisoner (1568). The expiation of such injustice began almost immediately, and England thenceforth was constantly agitated by Catholic plots to deliver the captive. Philip pensioned the English Catholics, who had fled to the continent. He threw open to their priests the seminaries of Flanders, so as to hold the British coast under the perpetual menace of an invasion more formidable than that of an army of soldiers. In 1569 the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth. Thereupon many lords got together a little army, which had as its standard a picture of Jesus Christ with his five bleeding wounds. In the following year a fresh rebellion was repressed like the first. A third unsuccessful attempt was made in 1572 by the Duke of Norfolk, to whom Mary Stuart had promised her hand, but who was defeated and mounted the scaffold.

Thus in England Protestantism made a victorious defence. In France it seemed on the point of perishing. After the peace of Saint Germain Admiral Coligny gained great influence over the mind of the king, the young Charles IX. He wished to lead the French Protestants against the Spaniards in the Netherlands, and thus by one stroke end the civil wars in France, and commence a national war against the foreigner. The execution of this sagacious plan was in preparation, when a professional assassin in the pay of the house of Guise severely wounded the admiral. The king was finally persuaded to order a general massacre of the Protestants on Saint Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1572. The unsuspecting victims were butchered by thousands. For this abominable crime the king received warm congratulations from the courts of Rome and Spain. "Be fully assured," Philip II wrote, "that in furthering thus the affairs of God, you are furthering your own still more." This is the countersign of that atrocious and odious policy which masked political ambition under the guise of

Progress of Protestantism (1572-1587). - Protestantism, mutilated and bleeding, rose up stronger than ever. Despite the loss of its most experienced captains and most valiant soldiers, the Calvinist party rushed to arms after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew and at the peace of La Rochelle enforced the recognition of its right to liberty of conscience. That political crime of August 24 was therefore as always happens useless. When Henry III, a man of distinguished ability, but of corrupt heart, succeeded Charles IX in 1574, he found himself face to face with three parties which he was incapable of controlling: the politicians, headed by his youngest brother, François d'Alençon; the Calvinist, who recognized as their leader Henry of Béarn, king of Navarre; and the enthusiastic Catholics, whom Henry of Guise organized into the faction of the league, and who opposed both the king and the Huguenots. Unimportant wars and treaties carry us to the year 1584, when the Duke of Alençon died. As Henry III had no son, Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Protestants, became heir presumptive to the crown. In the war of the three Henrys he consecrated his rights by the brilliant victory of Coutras (1587). Thus it seemed that the religious wars in France were on the point of elevating a heretic to the throne of Saint Louis, in spite of the excommunication of the Pope, who had declared Henry of Navarre unworthy to succeed to the crown.

In the Netherlands, there was likewise Protestant success. After having long carried on a piratical war which effected nothing, the Gueux undertook war on land which might lead to some result. In 1572 they seized Briel, and the two provinces of Holland and Zealand immediately

took up arms.

Supported by the Protestants of Germany, England and France, aided by the nature of their country intersected by canals, above all commanded by William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who was surnamed the Silent despite his eloquence and who understood quite as well as Coligny, his father-in-law, how to extort advantage even from reverses, the insurgents defended themselves with success. Violence having failed, Philip wished to try mildness and replaced the Duke of Alva. But the army, left without pay and without provisions, sacked the principal cities. The general irritation gave rise to the confederation of Ghent (1576), which united for a time all the Netherlands against the Spanish rule.

Unfortunately this union could not long be maintained between the ten Walloon provinces, or modern Belgium, which were manufacturing and Catholic, and the seven Batavian provinces, or modern Holland, which were commercial and Calvinistic. Opposition of interests and beliefs was bound to bring about opposition of political views. In 1579 in fact the Walloons, by the treaty of Mæstricht, recognized Philip II as their king. On the other hand the northern provinces made a closer union at Utrecht, and constituted themselves a republic, with William of Órange as stadtholder or governor general. Two years later the States General of The Hague, the federal capital of the United Provinces, solemnly separated themselves from the crown of Spain, and declared that Philip II had forfeited all authority in the Netherlands.

The king set a price on the head of William the Silent. A rascal, who wished to earn this reward, murdered the stadtholder (1584), but the liberty of the United Provinces no longer hung upon the life of one man. The Dutch understood how to defend their independence, even against the skilful Farnese Duke of Parma. They were also aided by England, which in 1585 sent them 6000 men, and by France, whither the duke was twice obliged to go to the succor of the League, and where in his second journey he died. Thus the war undertaken by the Catholics in the Netherlands resulted in the establishment of a new people

among the nations.

England and Spain had not yet grappled in hand to hand combat. But Elizabeth was sending to all the enemies of Philip II arms, soldiers and money, and by means of bold corsairs was carrying on a disastrous war against Spanish commerce. Drake in 1577 pillaged the cities on the coast of Chili and Peru, captured many ships, and after making the circuit of the globe returned at the end of three years with immense booty. Cavendish in 1585 devastated the Spanish establishments for the second time, while the Dutch laid waste those of Portugal, which had become a province of Spain. The king could not revenge himself, because his two enemies then had no trading posts or commerce, and there were no vulnerable points outside their territory where he could strike them. Thus against Elizabeth he saw no weapon but conspiracy. The cruel situation created for English Catholics by the queen rendered this easy. In one year 200 persons were beheaded, for the Protestants practised toleration no more than their adversaries, and on both sides they defended heaven by torture or assassination. A final attempt to kill the queen of England decided her to send Mary Stuart to the scaffold (1587). With the head of the niece of the Guises fell all the hopes of a Catholic restoration in Great Britain.

Defeat of Spain and of Ultramontanism (1588-1598). — The Ultramontane party, vanquished in the Netherlands and in England and menaced in France, resolved upon a supreme effort. As early as 1584 the Guises had treated with Philip II and infused fresh life into the League. He himself exhausted all the resources of his states to organize an army and a fleet strong enough to bring back the Netherlands and England, and after them France, to the Catholic faith, and subject them to the law of Spain. On June 3, 1588, the invincible Armada issued from the Tagus. It was to land in England an army of 50,000 men. Storms and the English and Flemish sailors with their fire-ships got the better of this arrogant expedition. The plan, over which Philip II had toiled for five years and upon which he had meditated for eighteen, was utterly shipwrecked in the space of a few days.

At the moment when Philip believed that his Armada was carrying him back victorious to London, Guise, his best ally, was making a triumphal entry into Paris, whence the king escaped as a fugitive. But the Spanish fleet once destroyed, Henry III began to hope again. He enticed Henry of Guise to Blois, where he had him murdered. Then joining the heretic king of Navarre, he returned to lay siege to his capital. A monk assassinated him in his

camp (1589).

The Huguenot Henry of Navarre was immediately proclaimed king of France as Henry IV. Though many Catholics abandoned him, 7000 English, 10,000 Dutch and 12,000 Germans came to his help, which permitted him to hold his own against the Spaniards and Italians who had hastened to the aid of the League. The battles of Arques and of Ivry confirmed his fortune and his renown (1590). Twice the Duke of Parma endeavored to capture Paris and Rouen (1591). But demagogic excesses, the general lassitude, and the imprudence of Philip II, who demanded of the States General of 1593 the crown of France for his daughter Isabella, the promised bride of an Austrian archduke, rallied the politicians around Henry IV. Soon afterward he abjured Protestantism at Saint Denis, "because Paris was well worth a mass," and was generally accepted as king (1593).

The League had no longer any reason to exist. It retarded but could not prevent the triumph of the Béarnese. Brissac sold him Paris when he expelled the Spanish garrison. A few months later papal absolution consecrated his rights even in the eyes of the leaguers. The chiefs were then compelled to acknowledge him. The Duke of Guise yielded, as did Villars, Brancas and Mayenne, but all made him pay for their submission. A brief war with Spain, signalized by the battle of Fontaine Française and the siege of Amiens, brought about the peace of Vervins, which reëstablished the boundaries of the two kingdoms, on the footing of the treaty of Chateau Cambrésis. Three weeks earlier Henry IV had assured peace at home by signing the edict of Nantes, which guaranteed the Protestants liberty of conscience, freedom of worship in their eastles and in a great number of cities, equal representation in the parliaments of the south, and places of surety. Lastly, they were accorded the right of assembling by deputies, every three years, to present their complaints to the government (1598). Thus they constituted a state within the state.

XIII

RESULTS OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN WESTERN EUROPE

Decline and Ruin of Spain. - There is no greater moral lesson in history than that afforded by the reign of Philip II. That man, for the sake of ruling the human will and conscience, devoted to his ambition apparently inexhaustible resources, and an energy that flinched at nothing. Everything seemed legitimate to his mind, devoured by a double fanaticism, at once political and religious. In the task which the Pope and the king pursued in common, the Church was far more the instrument than the end, for Catholic restoration was to result in the consolidation of Spanish supremacy. And when to attain his object Philip II had shed torrents of blood, he found that he had slain neither heresy nor popular liberty, but had destroyed Spain. Everything was perishing in the peninsula. Commerce and industry, which had been cruelly attacked by the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, were still further affected by the monopolies which the government set up. Agriculture was succumbing under the periodical ravages of the flocks of the Mesta. The population, decimated by war and emigration, was also diminished by the multiplication of convents. For all these reasons labor decreased and the country was forced to purchase abroad what it could no longer produce. Thus the gold of America traversed Spain without rendering it fruitful and flowed rapidly towards the productive nations. This explains the astonishing fact that the possessor of the richest deposits of metals in the world was twice obliged (1575 and 1596) to suspend payment, and that he left a debt of over \$200,000,000. Men had not yet learned that real wealth does not exist in the gold which represents it, but in the labor which creates it. Philip II died in 1598, four months after the edict of

Philip II died in 1598, four months after the ediet of Nantes and the treaty of Vervins. He had witnessed the crumbling of all his plans and the strengthening of his two

great adversaries, Henry IV and Elizabeth, on the thrones which they had gloriously reconquered or preserved. A century later the Marquis de Torcy said: "Spain is a body without a soul." We have seen that Italy shared the fate

of Spain.

Prosperity of England and Holland. - The perils from internal conspiracies and foreign war, which England had just escaped, permitted Elizabeth to finish the work of the Tudors by constituting the most absolute royalty which ever existed in the land. As head of the Church she persecuted the Non-Conformists with cruelty. In order that she might more effectively reach their adversaries, the Anglicans delivered over to her the public liberties. The jury was nearly suppressed. In Parliament not a voice dared raise itself against the ministers. "In the trials for high treason which were instituted on the slightest pretext, the courts of justice differed little from regular caverns of assassins." This is what the War of the Roses, the Reformation and religious hatreds had made of free England. Beneath this despotism a revolution was in secret preparation, which was to break out against the second successor of Elizabeth.

At least she had developed all the sources of national wealth for her country by favoring commerce and the marine; by the creation of the Exchange in London; by the colonization of Virginia, whence were brought the potato and tobacco; by the immigration into England of the Flemish who fled from Spanish tyranny, and caused their adopted country to profit by their industrial and commercial skill. Under Queen Elizabeth lived one of the greatest dramatic poets of the world, Shakespeare, and a philosopher, Bacon, who brought about a salutary revolution in the sciences by effecting the final adoption of the experi-

mental method.

The Dutch, while defending against Philip II their half-submerged land, had already become the carriers of the ocean and the harvesters of the sea. They bartered their tons of herrings for tons of gold, by provisioning with salted viands the Catholic countries where the practice of fasting rendered such food a necessity. In a single year the fishermen turned into the treasury 5,000,000 florins as their share of the taxes. Moreover they carried on an enormous commission trade, taking merchandise where it was cheap and transporting it where it was needed. Philip II closed

Lisbon to them. Therefore they sought their Oriental wares at the places of production, and by the conquest of the Moluccas laid the foundations of a colonial empire which the great East India Company, organized in 1602, developed and strengthened. The two provinces of Holland and Zealand alone possessed 70,000 sailors, through whose hands the entire commerce of Spain and Portugal was destined to pass.

Reorganization of France by Henry IV (1598-1610). -Henry IV, by the treaty of Vervins and the edict of Nantes, gave France peace at home and abroad. The country's wounds remained to be healed. The finances were in the most deplorable state. The public debt amounted perhaps to 1,300,000,000 francs and the income was barely 30,000,000 a year. Henry IV chose for superintendent of the finances the soldier Sully, the faithful comrade of his fortunes. This energetic and devoted minister made the revenue farmers disgorge. He himself verified the product of the imposts and fixed them at only a proper amount. In less than a dozen years, although the taxes had been reduced by 4,000,000, the public service was assured, 147,000,000 of debts had been paid, 8,000,000 worth of domains redeemed, and a surplus of 20,000,000 placed in reserve in the vaults of the Bastile.

"Tillage and pasturage," said Sully, "are the two breasts which nourish France. They are the real mines and treasures of Peru." Therefore he decreed the draining of marshes, prohibited the destruction of the forests and permitted the free exportation of grain. Tax collectors were forbidden to seize the beasts or instruments of tillage. And lastly, Olivier de Serres, a great scientific agriculturist, popularized by his works the true maxims of rural culture and economy. Sully despised manufactures, but the king, who was less exclusive, had 50,000 mulberry trees planted and revived the factories of Lyons, Nîmes and Tours, which Francis I had established. He founded factories for glass and pottery at Nevers and Paris, concluded treaties of commerce with Holland and England, restored to France the monopoly of commerce in the East, and had Champlain build the city of Quebec in Canada (1608).

Henry IV longed to restore peace to Europe as he had restored it to France. He conceived the plan of a grand confederation of European states, with a diet to settle in-

ternational differences. With this aim in view, he was about to begin a war with Austria and had already taken the field with 40,000 men, to determine the succession of Cleves and Juliers, when the dagger of Ravaillac saved Austria (1610).

Such were the results of the formidable enterprise directed by the papacy and Spain against the modern spirit which was awakening. The independence of Europe was saved. Toleration had won its first victory and liberty of the mind could begin. A new state, the United Provinces, was about to treat on terms of equality with the most glorious kings. An ancient state, England, had received the revelation of her future greatness. France was placed by a great prince at the head of Europe. Spain, in conclusion, fell from the hands of Philip II, exhausted and agonizing; and the Roman Inquisition made of Italy for three centuries the land of the dead.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, OR THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

XIV

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(1618-1648)

Preliminaries of the Thirty Years' War (1555-1618). — The struggle of ultramontanism against the Reformation, after the Catholic restoration effected by the Council of Trent and the papacy, broke out first in Western Europe. Vanquished in France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland, and constrained to submit to the edict of toleration proclaimed at Nantes in 1598, ultramontanism attempted twenty years later to regain Germany and the countries of the North. The first war had lasted thirty-six years and covered with ruins all the lands situated between the Pyrenees and the North Sea. The second lasted thirty years (1618-1648) and extended its ravages from the Danube to the Scheldt, from the shores of the Po to those of the Baltic, destroying cities, ruining nations, decimating the population and bringing back barbarism. Men employed two-thirds of a century in murdering each other in the name of the God of charity and love.

When Charles V, fallen from the height of his hopes, resolved to abdicate, he first promulgated the peace of Augsburg. This could be only a truce, because it contained an ecclesiastical reservation which forbade any holder of a benefice on becoming a Protestant to retain any church property which he had formerly held. Moreover Lutheranism had split up into a multitude of sects which interpreted differently the question of grace. The universities of Jena, Wittenberg and Leipzig excommunicated each other in turn, and in the midst of this confusion the Duke of Saxony, a temporal sovereign, arrogated the right of dictating a creed and of expelling or imprisoning all infringers thereof. In 1580 the followers of the Reforma-