victory for the court, rendered himself unendurable to the queen and to Mazarin who had him arrested. The provincial nobility took up arms in favor of the rebellious prince, and Turenne, drawn into rebellion by his passion for the Duchess de Longueville, was vanquished at Rethel by the royal troops. Thus Mazarin was triumphant, when Paul de Gondi, incensed at failing to obtain the cardinal's hat which had been promised him, rekindled the war of the Fronde. Mazarin was obliged to flee to Liège (1651). Fortunately Turenne returned to his allegiance and saved the king by his skill at Bléneau and at the battle of the Faubourg Saint Antoine (1652). Condé was compelled to flee to Flanders and entered the Spanish service. The Fronde was ended (1653). Two years afterwards, when Parliament wished to oppose the registration of several edicts, the young king, booted and whip in hand on his way from the chase, entered the hall and forbade that assembly to continue its deliberations.

Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). — Peace being established at home, war abroad was prosecuted with energy. Turenne forced the Spanish lines before Arras (1654) and then won the battle of the Downs, which opened to him the Netherlands (1658). Several months later Mazarin signed the treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). Spain renounced Roussillon, Cerdagne and Artois. The Infanta Maria Theresa married Louis XIV, renouncing all claims on the crown of Spain, but Mazarin so managed matters that the renunciation should be void. In the preceding year he had concluded with many German princes the league of the Rhine, which Napoleon renewed a century and a half afterwards, though without greater profit to France.

Mazarin died in 1661. His administration without being grand had been clever. His financial management, disastrous for the treasury, had been lucrative for him and his friends. Nevertheless he left royalty free from all domestic obstacles, and France glorious in politics and arms, and even in letters and arts. Corneille, Descartes, Pascal and Pousin had long before begun what is called the century of Louis XIV.

XVII

ENGLAND FROM 1603 TO 1674

Europe in 1661. — Thus France was entering upon the most brilliant reign of her old monarchy. Meanwhile the two defeated powers of the religious wars, Spain and Austria, were dressing their wounds: the former listlessly, for she remained thirty-five years under a moribund king; the latter with the energy which Hungarian turbulence and the nearness of the Ottomans imposed, yet without either brilliancy or grandeur because of the insignificance of her princes. In Eastern Europe other ambitions were in motion, the Swedes against the Danes, the Russians against the Poles. From the midst of these contentions the Elector of Brandenburg was trying to reap a harvest. The Turks from time to time were making terrible invasions, the last threats of an exhausted and declining power. The attention of mankind was not as yet seriously attracted in that direction, but was already fixed upon Louis XIV.

On examining the history of England during the Thirty Years' War we shall perceive that to the humiliation of the house of Austria in its Spanish and imperial branches corresponds the political abasement of Great Britain during the same period, condemned to civil war or impotency by the secret or avowed Catholicism of its kings.

Accession of the Stuarts. — James VI of Scotland, the son of Mary Stuart and great-grandson of Henry VIII, succeeded Elizabeth in 1603. He wore the two crowns without as yet uniting the two states in one. He abandoned the Protestant policy which in the preceding reign had saved England. He refused to coöperate in the projects of Henry IV, sought alliance with Spain and remained almost indifferent to the ruin of his son-in-law, the elector palatine. Nevertheless he upheld Anglicanism against the Catholics, who formed the Gunpowder Plot (1615), and against the Non-Conformists, whom he persecuted without pity. "No bishop, no king," said he with reason. Elizabeth had bequeathed

to him absolute power. But a firm and glorious hand is required to exercise unfettered authority and under a vain and feeble prince Parliament was no longer docile. In vain did James send five deputies to the Tower in 1614. The Commons refused subsidies. In order to obtain money which his extravagance rendered necessary, he had recourse to the most shameful traffic, put the court offices and judicial functions up at auction, created and sold titles, and then wasted the riches shamefully acquired upon greedy favorites, of whom the most notorious was George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham.

When the Thirty Years' War broke out, James took advantage of the perils which Protestantism in Germany was incurring to summon a new Parliament. But the Commons granted subsidies only on condition that justice should be done to the nation's grievances. The old spirit of liberty, repressed by the Tudors, was awakening. The king again dissolved the assembly (1622). Allured by the bait of a rich dowry, he sought for his son the hand of an infanta of Spain. This was a fresh outrage to the keenest feelings of the English people, but the plan failed, thanks to the folly of Buckingham. The marriage of the Prince of Wales with Henrietta of France, sister of Louis XIII, was almost as unpopular, because it placed a Catholic princess upon the throne of England. James I died in 1625. He published the *True Law of Free Monarchy* wherein he expounded the divine right of kings. The Anglican clergy, in its canons of 1608 erecting this right into a dogma, made absolute obedience to the reigning prince an article of faith. Thus the alliance of the altar and the throne against the public liberties was everywhere ratified, even in the heart of the Reformation.

Charles I (1625–1649). — Charles I, a prince of sedate and pure character, thus found himself from childhood imbued with the principles of despotism. His wife showed the Catholics a preference which wounded the nation. Buckingham, who had contrived to remain the favorite of the son as he had been the favorite of the father, retained an influence which diminished the respect of the country for the king. The struggle with the Commons immediately began afresh. This assembly was composed of the younger sons of the nobility and of citizens of the middle class, who, having grown rich under Elizabeth and James, filled all the

liberal professions. It was the practice to vote the customs duties for the whole duration of the reign. The lower Chamber granted them only for one year and Charles in anger dismissed the assembly. The Parliament of 1626 went still farther. It impeached Buckingham and was immediately prorogued. In the hope of acquiring some popularity Buckingham persuaded Charles I to support the Protestants of France and conducted a fleet to the rescue of La Rochelle. The expedition failed through the incapacity of the general (1627).

This check encouraged the Commons, who forced the king to give his sanction to the Petition of Right and addressed to him two remonstrances, one against the illegal collection of the customs duties, the other against his favorite, who was described as the author of the public wretchedness. The king again prorogued Parliament, and John Felton, a fanatic, assassinated Buckingham (1628). Charles then called to the ministry Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, and decided to govern without a Parliament, that is to say, contrary to the spirit of the British constitution.

But without Parliament there were no subsidies, and consequently no means of taking part in the great events which were agitating Europe. This inaction discredited the English government in the eyes of its own subjects. The enormous fines imposed upon opponents and the cruelty of Laud toward the dissenters, as in torturing Leighton and Prynne, intensified the general discontent. The prevailing sentiment was manifest in the intense sympathy shown John Hampden when he opposed the tax of ship-money by legal resistance (1636). Scotland had been attacked in its Presbyterian polity by Laud. It protested by an insurrection at Edinburgh (1637), and formed the political and religious league of the Covenant (1638), against which the English army led by Strafford refused to fight (1640).

After eleven years without the Chambers, the king confessed himself vanquished and convoked a fourth Parliament. It refused the least subsidy until justice should be done to the complaints of the nation, and was speedily prorogued. Compelled by necessity the king assembled a fifth Parliament (1640), which is famous in history as the Long Parliament. Exceeding its original purpose, it took charge of the taxes and of the judicial authority, abolished extraordinary tribunals, proclaimed its own peri-

odical character, and impeached of high crimes the Earl of Strafford, whose head fell upon the block (1641). Meanwhile a formidable insurrection broke out among the Irish, who slew 40,000 Protestants. When the king asked for means to reduce the rebels, Parliament replied by bitter remonstrances, and voted the militia bill, which put the army under its own control. Charles endeavored to arrest the leaders of the opposition in the very midst of the assembly. Failing in his purpose he quitted London to begin the civil war (1642).

The Civil War (1642–1647). — Parliament held the capital, the great cities, the seaports and the fleet. The king was followed by most of the nobility, who were better trained to arms than the burgher militia. In the northern and western counties the Royalists or Cavaliers were in the majority. The Parliamentarians or Roundheads predominated in the east; the centre and the southeast, which were the richest sections, were close together, and formed a sort of belt round London. At first the king had the advantage. From Nottingham, where he had raised his standard, he marched upon London. The Parliamentarians, defeated at Edge Hill and Worcester (1642), redoubled their energy. Hampden raised a regiment of infantry among his tenants, friends and neighbors. Oliver Cromwell, then beginning to emerge from obscurity, formed in the eastern counties from the sons of farmers and small landed proprietors select squadrons, who opposed religious enthusiasm to the sentiments of honor which animated the Cavaliers. The Parliamentarians, victorious at Newbury, allied themselves with the Scotch by a solemn covenant.

Parliament was composed of various parties. The chief were Presbyterians, who though abolishing grades in the Church wished to preserve them in the state, and the Independents, who rejected both the peerage and the episcopacy, both the temporal and religious sovereignty of the king. Around the latter were the numerous sects derived from Puritanism, such as Levellers, Anabaptists and Millenarians. Their leaders were clever men. Ablest of all was Oliver Cromwell, an ambitious and sphinx-like genius, a politician and an enthusiast. With his squadrons surnamed Ironsides, he won the battle of Marston Moor in 1644 and then that of Newbury, which saved the revolution. These successes helped the Independents, although a minority in Parliament, to pass the self-denying ordinance which excluded the deputies from public affairs. This was equivalent to handing over the army to the Independents. Cromwell then prosecuted the war with vigor. The king's last army was crushed at Naseby (1645), while his lieutenant Montrose was beaten by the Scotch Covenanters. The disheartened king withdrew through weariness to the camp of the Scotch, who sold him to Parliament for 400,000 pounds sterling (1647).

Execution of Charles I (1649). — The Presbyterians would gladly have treated with their captive. Supported by the army, Cromwell "purged" Parliament of the Presbyterian deputies, and the Independents cited the king before a court of justice, which sent him to the scaffold (January 30, 1649). His bloody death caused his acts of violence and perfidy to be forgotten. It revived the monarchical creed of England and royalty again became popular on the day when the head of the king rolled from under the axe of the executioner.

The Commonwealth of England (1649–1660). **Cromwell.** — The Republic was proclaimed. Catholic Ireland and Scotland, who remembered that the Stuarts were of Scottish race, protested against the revolution which had been accomplished. Cromwell subdued the former by an atrocious war. By the victories of Dunbar and Worcester, he forced the latter to recognize the authority of the Parliament of London (1651). The new government announced its foreign policy by the daring but sagacious Navigation Act. Thereby it prohibited the entrance into English ports of all vessels laden with merchandise, not produced on the soil or by the people whose flag the vessel bore. This act remained in force until January 1, 1850. In consequence England was forced to develop her manufactures and her marine. To the Dutch, "the teamsters of the sea," this measure meant ruin, and they declared war but were defeated.

The country was tired of the Long Parliament, now called the Rump. One day Cromwell went to the hall of session, announced to the deputies that God was no longer with them, and had them driven out by his soldiers, who fastened to the door this notice, "House to let" (1653). But some time later he formed another Parliament, which he declared convoked in the name of the Holy Spirit and which he soon dissolved. Then he had himself proclaimed Lord Protector. He was king without the name. He employed his power

for the welfare and greatness of his country. At home he ensured order and developed commerce and industry. Abroad he beheld his alliance entreated by Spain and sought by France. Blake, his admiral, thrice defeated the Dutch and forced them to abandon hope of provisioning the English market. The Spaniards lost their galleons as well as Jamaica and Dunkirk. The Barbary States were chastised; the Pope was threatened with hearing "the English cannon thunder at the Castle of San Angelo" if his persecution of the Reformed Party did not cease. Thus Cromwell resumed the rôle which the Stuarts had abandoned and which Louis XIV was about to abandon, of defender of Protestant interests. Unfortunately for England he retained power only five years (1658). His son Richard succeeded, but could not replace him and abdicated after a few months. England relapsed into anarchy. The clever General Monk paved the way for the return of monarchy. He dissolved the Rump Parliament, which had again assembled, formed a Parliament devoted to himself, and the combined Tories and Whigs recalled the Stuarts without conditions (1660).

It was an error to declare that twenty years of revolution had passed over England in vain, and to believe that the ancient order of things could be reëstablished unchanged. That mistake was soon to render necessary a second revolution. Moreover the despotism of the Tudors was not according to the ancient order of things, for the oldest thing in England was public liberty, which had been temporarily eclipsed by the fatigue of thirty years' warfare during the struggle of the Roses. Then had come the Reformation which had engrossed all minds, and the war with Philip II, when the very existence of England had been at stake. Confronted by such perils, the country had allowed the authority of its kings to increase. But now that Spain was dying and France no longer threatening and the religious questions definitely settled, England wished to reënter her ancient path.

Charles II (1660–1685). — Charles II seemed at first to understand the state of the popular mind. He remained faithful to Anglican Protestantism, and permitted the Parliament to enjoy its ancient prerogatives. But frivolous and debauched, he soon found himself forced through need of money to make himself dependent upon the Commons

for the sake of receiving subsidies, or upon some foreign power for the purpose of obtaining therefrom a pension. His choice was quickly made. The spectacle of France and of her king revived in him the despotic instincts of his fathers. The dread of Parliament, of its remonstrances and its complaints, threw him into the arms of Louis XIV. He sold to him Mardick and Dunkirk, two of Cromwell's conquests (1662). After the triple alliance of The Hague (1666), which his people imposed upon him that they might arrest France in the Netherlands, he sold himself. Louis paid him a pension of 2,000,000 francs until his death.

But the fear of anarchy, which in 1660 had prostrated England at the feet of Charles II, had vanished. Little by little, there had been formed in the heart of the nation and in Parliament an opposition, which in 1674 was strong enough to extort the Test Bill. This bill was the prelude to the second and imminent revolution. Let us pause for a time at this point in the history of Charles II. Under him during the first part of the reign of Louis XIV, England counted no more in continental affairs than did Spain or the empire. Later on we shall trace the events which will hurl the Stuarts from the throne and give to Great Britain the leadership in the opposition to France.

XVIII

LOUIS XIV FROM 1661 TO 1685

Colbert. — After the death of Mazarin Louis XIV announced his intention of governing without any prime minister. This sovereign, then aged twenty-four, throughout his after life kept the pledge which he had taken to exercise manfully his royal trade. His was not a great intellect, and yet despite his faults he was a great king. At least during the first half of his reign, he practised the chief art of sovereigns, which is to understand how to choose good depositaries of their power.

Colbert, intrusted from 1661 to 1683 with the finances, agriculture, commerce, manufactures and the navy, caused all these branches of the national activity to prosper. The period of his ministry is the most glorious in the reign of Louis XIV, for he moderated the king's ambition and developed the national forces. He found a debt of 430,000,000 francs, the revenues expended two years in advance, and the treasury receiving only 35,000,000 out of the 84,000,000 of annual taxes. He severely investigated cases of fraud, reduced such taxes as were imposed only on the humbler classes, but increased the indirect imposts which every one paid. Every year he drew up a sort of national budget, and raised the net revenue of the treasury to 89,000,000. He encouraged industry by subsidies, and protected it by tariffs which imposed heavy duties upon similar products from abroad.

In order to facilitate business and transportation internal customs-duties were abolished in many provinces, highways were repaired or created, and the canal of Languedoc was constructed between the ocean and the Mediterranean. He organized the five great commercial companies of the East Indies, the West Indies, the Levant, Senegal and the North, which competed with the merchants of London and Amsterdam; and he encouraged the merchant marine by bounties. The military marine developed such vigorous life that in

1692 it became possible to equip more than 300 vessels of all sizes. Thanks to the Maritime Inscription, which furnished 70,000 mariners, the recruiting of the crews was ensured. The port of Rochefort was created, that of Dunkirk was bought back from the English, Brest and Toulon were enlarged, and a magnificent colonial empire, founded in the Antilles and in North America, would have delivered that continent to French influence had men understood how to carry out the plans of the great minister.

Louvois. — At the same time Louvois was organizing the army, which he compelled to wear a uniform. He created the companies of grenadiers and hussar corps, and introduced the bayonet. He founded the artillery schools of Douai, Metz and Strasburg, organized thirty regiments of militia which the communes equipped, and companies of cadets, in which originated the school of Saint Cyr and the Polytechnique. Furthermore he subjected even officers of noble birth to strict discipline. A great engineer and patriotic citizen, Vauban, fortified the frontiers.

War with Flanders (1667). — Louis XIV, dazzled by the forces which two clever ministers placed at his disposal, conducted himself arrogantly toward all the foreign powers. He exacted from the Pope and from the king of Spain ample satisfaction for insults to the French ambassadors, chastised the corsairs of Tunis and Algiers, and, abandoning the policy of Francis I, sent 6000 men to aid the emperor against the Ottomans, and thus made himself ostensibly the protector of the empire. At the death of Philip IV, availing himself of the right of devolution in force in Brabant, he claimed to inherit the Spanish Netherlands through his wife, Maria Theresa, the eldest sister of the new king of Spain, Charles II. Holland and England were at first neutral. Spain thus left alone could not defend herself. The French armies in three months' time captured the strongholds of western Flanders, and in seventeen days in the depth of winter overran all Franche-Comté (1668). Then the maritime powers took the alarm. Holland, England and Sweden concluded the triple alliance of The Hague. As the king lacked audacity on the one day when it was most essential, he signed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left him only a dozen such towns as Charleroy, Douai, Tournay, Oudenarde and Lille (1668).

The War with Holland (1672). — Four years of peace

were employed in preparing a terrible storm against a little country, Holland. Colbert, who wished to develop the maritime commerce of France, grew anxious at the 15,000 merchant vessels of the Dutch. Moreover, when he imposed exorbitant duties on their cloths, they retaliated by onerous duties on French wines and brandies. Therefore Colbert did not oppose a war which seemed likely to rid French commerce of a formidable rival. Louvois desired war to render himself necessary. Louis XIV declared it that he might humble those republicans who had just placed a check on his good fortune. Thereby he abandoned the policy of Henry IV and of Richelieu, which was the protection of small states and of Protestantism and opposition to useless conquests. Louis XIV, however, was far more the successor of Philip II than the heir of Henry IV and of the great cardinal.

Having subsidized Sweden and England, he suddenly deluged (1672) Holland with 100,000 men commanded by Turenne and Condé. The Rhine was passed. All the strongholds opened their gates and the French encamped at four leagues' distance from Amsterdam. But the delays of Louis XIV saved the Dutch. They deposed and murdered their Grand Pensioner, Jan de Witt, put in his place as stadtholder William of Orange, who opened the locks, flooded the country and forced the invaders to retreat before the inundation. At the same time he formed a formidable coalition against Louis. Spain, the emperor, many German princes, and even England, though her king was pensioned by Louis, joined Holland.

France made headway everywhere. The king in person subjugated Franche-Comté (1674). Turenne by an admirable campaign drove the imperialists out of Alsace; but was killed himself the following year. Condé after the bloody battle of Senef no longer commanded an army, and Luxembourg and Crequi were poor substitutes for the two great generals. Meanwhile the invasion of France, on the north by the Spaniards, and on the east by the imperialists, was repulsed. Duquesne and d'Estrées defeated the fleets of Holland and ravaged her colonies. His abandonment by England decided Louis to accept the treaty of Nimeguen which awarded him Franche-Comté with fourteen Flemish strongholds, and forced Denmark and Brandenburg to restore all the conquests which they had made from Sweden. Thus

France emerged greater than before from a struggle with all Europe. The French northern and eastern frontiers became farther from Paris. But this proudest period of the reign was also the point of departure for the calamities which were soon to follow. The war with Holland had directed against France the coalitions which France had formerly organized against Austria, and had founded the good fortune of William of Orange, who a few years afterwards became king of England.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). — Thus that war was a first mistake. Other similar mistakes were sure to follow, for after the death of Colbert in 1683 the hard and narrow influence of Louvois and of Madame de Maintenon was no longer counteracted. "If it hath not pleased God," said Henry IV, in the preamble to the edict of Nantes, "to permit His Holy Name to be adored by all our subjects in one and the same form of religion, let it at least be adored with the same intent . . .; and pray ye unto the Divine Goodness that He may make men understand that in the observance of this ordinance exists the principal foundation of their union, tranquillity and repose, and of the re-establishment of this State in its pristine splendor." These glowing words had worthily inaugurated the new era which Richelieu and Mazarin continued abroad by their Protestant alliances, and at home by their respect for religious liberty.

But Louis XIV, intoxicated with his omnipotence and led astray by the fatal counsels of a party, which during three centuries had ruined every cause which it defended, undertook to repudiate the toleration of Henry IV as he had repudiated his diplomacy. As he allowed in his kingdom but one will, his own, and but one law, that of the absolute prince, so he wished that there should be but one religion, Catholicism. To convert the Protestants he first sent into the cantons where they were numerous booted missionaries or the dragonades. In 1685 he officially revoked the edict of Nantes. The Reformers were bound to undergo conversion or to leave the kingdom. Their children were taken from them by force to be reared in the Catholic Church. They had furnished to French industries its most skilful workmen. Two or three hundred thousand quitted the kingdom, among whom were 9000 sailors, 12,000 soldiers, and 600 officers. One suburb of London was peopled by

these refugees. Berlin and Brandenburg welcomed great numbers. Foreigners became possessed of the secrets of the French manufactures. Among the learned men who during the last century and a half have been the honor of Holland, Germany, England and even of Italy, there are many descendants of the exiles of Louis XIV.

Engraved by Colton, Ohman & Co., N. Y.