

of vehicles on the way stopped the coach. Ravallac, who had followed him on foot from the Louvre, jumped up upon a post and struck the king. "I am wounded," he cried, and threw up his arms. This movement exposed his left side, and the assassin dealt a second blow which pierced his heart. The king fell back without uttering a cry: he was dead. Ravallac made no attempt to fly, and it was with difficulty that the people were prevented from tearing him in pieces. Two weeks after he was put to death with horrible tortures.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

LOUIS XIII.

(1610-1643 A.D.)

Regency of Mary de' Medici. — Sully was expecting the king at the Arsenal, when a gentleman of his household came rushing in and said, "The king is fatally wounded." "My God!" exclaimed Sully, "have pity on him, on us, and on the State. If he dies, France will fall into strange hands!"

Louis XIII. was not nine years old; custom assigned the regency to the mothers of kings. Mary de' Medici, who was a foreigner and felt that she was not beloved by the French people, thought it necessary that a sort of legal sanction should be given to her authority. She addressed herself to the Parliament of Paris, as if these magistrates were representatives of the country. Ordered by Épernon to declare her regent, the magistrates obeyed; later they remembered how a queen had recognized their right to dispose of royal authority.

At first nothing appeared changed in the political system of France. Mary de' Medici retained the ministers of the preceding reign, including Sully. The projects of Henry IV. were apparently carried out under his administration: a royal declaration confirmed the edict of Nantes, and an army of ten thousand men went to take possession of Jülich for the Protestant princes, the allies of France.

Abandonment of the Policy of Henry IV.; Concini. — But it happened, as it generally does when queens are kings, that affairs were subordinated to persons, which is a course of things directly opposed to true statesmanship. The government became feeble and capricious. With a minor king, an incapable regent, a divided court, and turbulent princes, the action of France in foreign affairs was of course neutralized for a long time. Finding it necessary to make peace, Mary de' Medici turned towards the Spaniards; she opened negotiations for the double marriage of her son with the

infanta and the prince of Spain with her daughter. Sully, opposing this new policy, was removed by the queen (1611). He died in 1641.

The queen had for a long time confided in the Florentine Concini, who had great influence over her through his wife, Leonora Galigai. This woman, the daughter of a carpenter, was the queen's foster-sister, and had acquired an extraordinary influence over her. The authority of the queen-regent was shaken when an incapable foreigner took the place of the superior statesman who for twenty years had been associated with the good and evil fortunes of the house of Bourbon. The great nobles were allowed to plunder; Concini filled his pockets from the treasury, bought the marquisate of Ancre and the offices of first gentleman of the chamber, lieutenant-general of Péronne, Amiens, and Dieppe, and put a finishing touch to his insolent success by taking the title of marshal, though he had never been present on a field of battle. Leonora, on her part, worked for the general good by selling pardons.

First Revolt of the Nobles (1614). — The pretensions of the nobles increased with the weakness of the government. What they really wanted was provincial governorships for themselves and their families, cautionary towns, and the dismemberment of France. Many of the lords, on learning of the assassination, had shut themselves up in the most convenient cities, and some of them would not come out again. "The day of the kings has passed," they said, "this is the day of the lords." The first refusal by the queen-regent led to civil war. Condé took up arms and published a manifesto in which he accused the court of having lowered the nobility, ruined the finances, and oppressed the poor people. He ended, as was usual, by demanding the convocation of the States-General for the purpose of reforming the abuses. A great number of the lords ranged themselves under his flag, and at their head were the dukes of Vendôme, Longueville, Luxemburg, and Mayenne. Since the time of the States of the League there had been a great lull in the popular passions. The party of the *politiques*, which was born under L'Hôpital, and came into power under Henry IV., comprised almost all the professional men and the lower classes. The experience so cruelly bought by the civil war had not been without effect. The nation compared the thirty-eight years of massacre and pillage with the twelve

years of prosperity which they had enjoyed while rallying around the throne, and left the great lords to work out among themselves their fruitless ambitions. Some of the old ministers of Henry IV. counselled the queen to take vigorous measures, but she preferred to treat at Sainte-Menehould (May, 1614). The Prince of Condé received 450,000 livres in money; the Duke of Mayenne, 300,000, "that he might marry"; Monsieur de Longueville, 100,000 livres, as a pension, etc. Nothing was done for "the poor people."

The States-General (1614). — The assembly of the States-General convened at Paris, Oct. 14, 1614. It was their last meeting until 1789. Among the deputies was a prelate of twenty-nine years of age, Armand Duplessis de Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, who had already won such a reputation in his profession as to be appointed orator by the clergy, on the day of the presentation of memorials (*cahiers*).

The three orders were not in accord. The orator of the bourgeoisie having dared to say that the French people formed one large family of which the lords were the elder branch, and the Third Estate the younger, the nobility considered the speech an affront and complained to the king. The clergy refused to take up any part of the public burdens, saying that it would be detracting from the glory of God.

There was no greater harmony in the desires of the assembly. The clergy demanded the introduction into France of all the decrees of the council of Trent, which Parliament had thus far repudiated. The nobility insisted on the suppression of the *paulette* which, in establishing heredity of offices, had inaugurated the *noblesse de robe*. The Third Estate desired that the pensions paid to the great lords, which exceeded five millions and a half in amount, should be reduced, and that the ultramontane doctrines taught by some of the bishops should be condemned. It was not difficult for the ministers to profit by these divisions; they caused the building in which the States held their assembly to be closed.

The assembly of 1614 does not deserve the discredit into which it has fallen; it accomplished nothing, but it showed the progress of political education among the upper bourgeoisie. The speeches of their orators revealed a practical business intelligence and a desire for wise innovations which is astonishing. They demanded the summoning of

a general assembly of the kingdom at least every ten years, freedom of city elections, security for, and extension of, municipal privileges. In matters of finance, the Third Estate desired a just division of the public burdens among the citizens, and the suppression of useless offices;¹ with regard to justice, the equality of all in the eyes of the law, the enfranchisement of serfs, the abolition of exceptional tribunals, a mode of trial less slow and costly; in respect to commerce and industry, the suppression of internal customs duties, wardenships and masterships, freedom of trade throughout the kingdom, and the establishment of protective duties on imported foreign merchandise; in respect to the nobility, the reduction of the number of military offices, the abolition of new titles, the suppression of fortresses in the interior of the kingdom, of useless or excessive pensions, and the strict repression of duels; in respect to the Church, a more impartial distribution of its income, at the expense of the excessively opulent benefices, and for the benefit of the very poor curacies, obligatory residence imposed on the bishops, and their appointment by the king from among three nominees. Such were the principal projects of reform proposed by the Third Estate. No attention was paid to them at that time. It is the work of ages to force into the mind of the masses what wise men have long dreamed of. But without speaking of the revolutionary assembly of 1356, one can trace a continuous progress of the national tradition through all the various vicissitudes from 1484 to 1614. Richelieu, Colbert, Turgot, would not treat it with scorn, but would seek to satisfy some of its repeated demands; the rest were to await the day when the nation should take up, of her own accord, all these desires of past generations, in order to do justice to them and to many others.

Fresh Revolt of the Nobles; Treaty of Loudun (1615-1616).—The malcontents, after having exhausted the money extorted by their first revolt, began a second, under the pretext that the demands of the States had not been complied with. This time Condé induced the Protestants to join in. The Duke of Rohan aroused the people of the Cévennes.

¹ The people then paid thirty-five millions of taxes, of which only 16,200,000 ever reached the treasury; and the minister estimated that the king needed nineteen millions for maintenance of his dignity and his household. Of this, one-half was spent for the court and the nobility.

The court was then occupied with the preparations for a journey to Bordeaux, where the king was to receive his betrothed bride, the infanta Anne of Austria, and to which he was to escort his sister, who was to espouse at the same time the prince of Spain. During the whole journey the court had been followed and often harassed by the soldiers of Condé and Rohan; it purchased a new peace at Loudun (May, 1616). Louis acknowledged the prince and his friends to be good and loyal subjects, and paid the troops which had been levied against him. Condé alone received 1,500,000 livres. Each revolt was more profitable to him. This one had cost the State more than twenty millions.

First Administration of Richelieu; Arrest of Condé (1616).—The queen reorganized the administration; the bishop of Luçon, whom the States of 1614 had brought into prominence, became grand almoner of the household, then a member of the council, where he attracted great attention. Concini found that the young prelate "knew more than all the graybeards." He bestowed upon him one of the "four offices of the house and crown of France," with the charge of foreign affairs. Rigorous measures were immediately adopted; the Prince of Condé was arrested in the Louvre itself, and thrown into the Bastille; his followers, who endeavored to arouse Paris and the neighboring provinces, "heard themselves addressed in a tone which sounded more like His Royal Majesty than recent doings." Richelieu loved to address himself to public opinion. In a sort of manifesto he showed how the great nobles had been "seeking to establish a separate tyranny in each province." The princes and their followers were declared guilty of lese-majesty, and deprived of their dignities: three armies were sent into Picardy, Champagne, and Berry to crush the revolt. The royal cause would have triumphed this time if the king had not joined the malcontents in order to overthrow the ministry and escape from tutelage.

Death of Concini (1617).—Concini had only a vulgar ambition. He loved money; the possession of power frightened him. He knew he was hated and threatened; but it was from an unsuspected source that the danger came. Louis XIII. was then sixteen years old. This prince, whose character was gloomy and morose, lived in seclusion, kept away from affairs of state by his mother and Concini, and surrounded only by a few pages to whom he was attached.

He formed a great friendship for his falconer, a young son of a provincial family, named Albert de Luynes. The king's favorite conceived the hope of displacing the queen's. A secret conspiracy was entered into by Louis XIII., his falconer, and his gardener; Vitry, the captain of the guards, received an order to arrest Concini and to kill him if he resisted. Accompanied by twenty gentlemen, Vitry met Marshal d'Ancre as the latter was going into the Louvre. He told him that he arrested him by the king's command, and at the same moment they shot him dead. The king appeared at the window, and the Louvre resounded with cries of "Long live the king!"

Leonora Galigai was accused of peculation, of plotting against the State, and above all of sorcery. She was beheaded in the Place de Grève, and her body was thrown into the flames. Mary de' Medici was ordered to leave the court and retire to Blois; Richelieu was exiled to his bishopric (1617).

Government of Albert de Luynes (1617-1621). — The great lords had approved the death of Concini, hoping to profit by it. But when they saw De Luynes appropriate the spoils of the marshal, become duke and peer of the realm, and governor of Picardy, marry a Rohan, and make his brothers dukes, they revolted again, nominally in favor of the queen-mother, so recently their enemy. De Luynes was not more successful in resisting them than Marshal d'Ancre had been; the peace of Angoulême, brought about by Richelieu, granted Mary de' Medici the government of Anjou and three cautionary towns (1619). Subsequent attempts on her part proved unsuccessful, and she was glad to ask, through Richelieu, for the confirmation of the first treaty (1620).

Republican Organization of the Protestants. — A more formidable rebellion broke out in the South: this was a religious war. Mary de' Medici and Louis XIII. had carried out the policy of Henry IV. with regard to the Protestants. But the Reformers had themselves gone far beyond the edict of Nantes. Seeing the queen-mother ally herself with Spain, they became defiant. In 1611 they had reorganized their eight hundred and six churches into sixteen provinces divided into districts. A consistory which met every week governed the church; a conference assembled every three months governed the district; an annual synod took charge of the affairs of the province; national synods were to assemble

every three years under an elected president; and finally, two commissioners were to reside at the court, and act as intermediaries between the party and the king. It was a thoroughly democratic and representative republic in the heart of an absolute monarchy. The general assemblies would willingly have played the part of the States-General of the Netherlands. These pretensions alarmed the court, and some Catholics took offence at them. In certain cities the old hatred was again aroused.

War with the Protestants; Death of Albert de Luynes (1621). — In 1617 an edict had re-established the Catholic religion in Béarn. The edict being ill carried out, the king entered Béarn with an army. Immediately the whole Protestant party was in a tumult; a general assembly convened at Rochelle, published a declaration of independence, levied troops, and offered the command of them to the Duke of Rohan (1621). De Luynes, whom Louis XIII. hastily made constable, marched against Montauban with fifteen thousand men. The city, having a naturally strong position, defended itself heroically. The siege, which began in August, had scarcely progressed at all in November. The constable was seized with a fever which carried him off (December, 1621). Louis XIII. continued the war alone, and conducted during the following year a very active campaign. The Duke of Rohan took advantage of a moment of weariness to obtain a treaty of peace which renewed the edict of Nantes, but forbade political meetings, and left to the Reformers only the fortresses of Montauban and Rochelle (October, 1622).

Universal Disorder in the State. — De Luynes left the kingdom in a state of extreme weakness and disorder; the royal authority humiliated by continual revolts, the nobility dictating laws to the sovereign, and mistress of the provinces through the offices which were at their disposal; the Calvinists ready to separate themselves from the rest of the nation; the old foreign policy of Francis I. and Henry IV. abandoned; the kingdom without alliances and without consideration in Europe; and finally, the house of Austria inaugurating the Thirty Years' War by a succession of victories, and preparing for the subjugation of Europe by the ruin of German Protestantism. It was time for Richelieu to take the control of affairs.

Administration of Richelieu (1624-1642); his Designs. —

Mary de' Medici, having become reconciled to her son, obtained the cardinal's hat for her constant counsellor, the bishop of Luçon. At the beginning of the year 1624 she appointed him a member of the council. At the end of a few months Richelieu had overruled or renewed the ministry, turned out a new favorite, conquered Louis XIII. by the ascendancy of a superior genius, and mapped out the policy which was to render illustrious a reign so gloomily begun.

He has himself explained the whole plan of this policy: "When your Majesty," said he to Louis XIII., "determined to give me at the same time membership in your councils and a large share of your confidence, I can truly say that the Huguenots divided the state with you, that the nobles acted as though they were not your subjects, and the more powerful governors of the provinces as though they were sovereigns of their charges. I may say, moreover, that foreign alliances were scorned. . . . I promised your Majesty to employ all my ability, and all the authority it should please you to delegate to me, in ruining the Huguenot party, in lowering the pride of the nobles, and in restoring your name to the position it should occupy among foreign nations." He put at the service of this policy a mind both capacious and keen, which embraced the whole, yet saw details clearly, an untiring activity, and an iron will.

First Operations of Richelieu; Renewed War against the Protestants (1625-1626). — Richelieu had scarcely entered the council, when, cardinal though he was, he concluded the marriage of one of the sisters of Louis XIII., Henrietta Maria, with the king of England, Charles I.; he signed a new treaty of alliance with the Netherlands, secretly furnished money to Mansfeld in Germany, and sent ten thousand men to drive the soldiers of the Pope from the Valtellina. All these alliances were Protestant. Spain instigated the Huguenots to revolt. Rohan rallied those of Languedoc and the Cévennes, Soubise armed those of Rochelle. Rochelle was then a true republic, the centre and capital of Calvinism; its navy was larger than that of the king of France. Richelieu was compelled to obtain ships from two Protestant states, England and the Netherlands. His admiral was fairly successful and Soubise took refuge in England. Richelieu then offered peace to the rebels, so that he might, at his leisure, prepare the means for their future destruction.

Humiliation of the Protestants (1627); Capture of Rochelle (1628); Edict of Alais (1629). — Meanwhile he improved the condition of the finances, organized the army, constructed or bought vessels, and signed a treaty with Spain. When all was in readiness, he induced the king and nobles to undertake the siege of Rochelle. The enterprise seemed difficult; for the king of England sent to the French Calvinists a fleet of ninety ships, commanded by the handsome and incompetent Duke of Buckingham, and the generals and courtiers showed little eagerness to crush the revolt. But Richelieu provided for all emergencies; he was at the same time general, engineer, and admiral. He drove the English from the Isle of Ré, and in order to prevent their sending supplies to Rochelle, he cut off all entrance to the harbor, by an embankment eight hundred fathoms long. Two forts guarded its extremities and two hundred ships defended it. The English made vain attempts to storm this tremendous construction; Rochelle was isolated from the ocean. On the land side, a circumvallation surrounded the city. It resisted, however, sustained by the superhuman courage of the Duchess of Rohan, and by the energy of its mayor, Guiton, who threatened to stab any one who should speak of surrendering. But after a siege of fifteen months, the town was forced to yield (1628). To effect this had cost the king forty millions; but it was not too much to pay for the political unity of France.

Rochelle was treated as a conquered city; its municipal franchises were suppressed, its mayoralty abolished, its fortifications torn down. Finally, the peace of Alais terminated the last religious war. The Calvinists ceased to be a political party and to form a state within a state; but Richelieu allowed them liberty of worship and the enjoyment of civil equality. During the whole of his ministry he employed them equally with other citizens, in the army, the magistracy, and the offices of finance. He protected them always in their rights and in their persons — a remarkable example of enlightened moderation in that intolerant age. One of the consequences of this war was the acquisition of Acadia and Cape Breton from the English (1632).

Humiliation of the Nobles; Day of Dupes (1630); Execution of Montmorency (1632); the Count of Soissons (1641); Cinq-Mars (1642). — Richelieu desired that the king should be, in internal affairs, supreme magistrate of public order,

having, as he said of himself on his death-bed, neither affection nor hatred for any one, but justice for all. The struggle with the nobility, which began in the first days of his ministry, continued till his death. Intrigues, conspiracies, and revolts constantly imperilled his life, his authority, that of the king, and the peace of France. He repressed them with unsparing severity.

The first conspirators were some young noblemen, counsellors of friends of Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother; it served Richelieu's purpose to treat these follies as crimes; but it is possible that he did not misjudge his adversaries when he attributed to them the intention of assassinating him, deposing Louis XIII., and putting in his place the Duke of Orleans, who should marry Anne of Austria. They were all executed or severely punished. Gaston, a prince of feeble character, sued for pardon from Richelieu (1626).

The next year a terrible lesson was learned by those nobles who believed that laws were not made for them. The counts of Bouteville and Les Chapelles were executed for fighting a duel (1627). This time at least the encounter had been in good faith; but it was not always so, and many pretended duels were only assassinations. It was estimated, in 1609, that in the previous eighteen years, four thousand gentlemen had perished in single combat, and as soon as Richelieu was dead, duelling was again engaged in to such an excess that nine hundred and forty gentlemen were killed between 1643 and 1654.

In 1630 the queen-mother had her turn. Mary de' Medici had obtained for the cardinal a position in the council in order that he might serve as her instrument. When she saw that the minister thought only of the interests of the State, and did not yield either to her caprices or those of her second son Gaston, she extorted from the king a promise to degrade him. Richelieu left court. Already the members of the court were crowding the antechambers of the queen-mother. Saint-Simon, the father of the celebrated historian, remonstrated with the king and sent for Richelieu. The king then said to him, "Continue to serve me as you have done, and I will sustain you against all those who have sworn to destroy you." This day was known as the Day of Dupes (October, 1630). It, too, had its victims.

The two brothers Marillac, one the keeper of the seals, the other, marshal of France, had been too hasty in triumph-

ing with the queen-mother: the first was deprived of his office and died in prison; the other was accused of bribery, tried by an extraordinary commission in Richelieu's own house, and condemned to death and executed in 1632. Bas-sompierre, his friend, was shut up in the Bastille, where he remained until the death of the cardinal. Mary de' Medici herself was banished to Compiègne, whence she fled to Brussels.

The frivolous and incompetent Duke of Orleans had also quitted France and joined his mother in the Netherlands, where, with the Duke of Lorraine, he concocted another conspiracy which resulted in open revolt. The governor of Languedoc, Montmorency, was deluded by promises from Gaston. Joining forces, they gave battle to the royal army at Castelnaudary (September, 1632). The Duke of Orleans fled at the first attack; the Duke of Montmorency, left alone, was taken, condemned by the Parliament of Toulouse, and executed in spite of the supplications of all the nobility. "Several," says Richelieu, "murmured against this action and condemned it as harsh; but others, more wise, praised the justice of the king, who preferred the good of his state to the empty reputation of injudicious clemency, and they appreciated the courage of the cardinal, who risked his own personal safety and the hatred of all the nobles in order to be faithful to his duty to his king." The Duke of Lorraine paid the expenses of the war; for Louis XIII. (1634) occupied the duchy by military force, and it remained in the hands of the French until the end of the century. Gaston was spared, but was ordered to retire to Blois. In 1638 the heir apparent was born.

The Count of Soissons made one more attempt to overthrow the terrible cardinal. Having taken refuge in Sedan with the Duke of Bouillon, he collected about him all the malcontents, in order to rekindle the civil war in France, but he was killed in battle. With him the war ended: the Duke of Bouillon hastened to make his submission. The last conspiracy was that of Cinq-Mars. A son of the Marquis of Effiat, he had been placed by Richelieu near Louis XIII., to amuse, entertain, and watch over him. Having become a necessary favorite, he was raised to the position of grand equerry, and aspired to succeed to the position held by the constable De Luynes. He flattered himself that he might be able, with the support of the nobility, to over-

throw Richelieu. If the king was not an accomplice in this scheme, the queen at least was, and also Monsieur and the Duke of Bouillon. Cinq-Mars ruined himself by signing a treaty of alliance with the Spaniards. Richelieu, then ill and almost dying, procured, by bribery, a copy of the treaty and sent it to Louis XIII. Cinq-Mars was condemned, and afterwards beheaded at Lyons (1642). With him perished De Thou, son of the historian. The Duke of Bouillon lost his principality, and Sedan was reunited to France forever.

Submission of Parliament; Assembly of Notables; Strengthening of the Royal Authority. — The magistracy never conspired; but sometimes it grumbled. Richelieu punished with imprisonment, removal from office, or exile, the faintest evidence of opposition. Parliament was expressly forbidden to make any remonstrances against edicts concerning the government and administration of the state. Richelieu had, however, no scorn of public opinion. As is the case with all strong characters, he frequently appealed to it, and gained by doing so. Accordingly many manifestos, explanations of his conduct, even what we call at the present day "articles," were written by him for the *Mercuré de France*, the oldest of the French journals; but he would have no States-General, and merely occasional assemblies of notables, which, chosen by the king, had less of the spirit of independence than the former, and might have quite as much intelligence. To them he exposed his various plans for creating a navy, for instituting a permanent army, for encouraging commerce and industry, and for the reformation of internal administration.

In the year 1626 Richelieu ordered the demolition of the feudal fortresses, which were useless for the defence of the frontiers, and which were to royalty a continual menace, to the towns and surrounding country an object of terror, to the nobles a reminder of their former power and an encouragement to revolt. The same year he abolished the offices of high admiral and constable, which bestowed upon their incumbents an almost royal authority over the navy and army. He established for Lorraine the Parliament of Metz.

Institution of Intendants. — Finally, he made a complete revolution in the provincial administration by the institution of *intendants*. Under the last Valois kings the governors, who were all of the higher nobility, had made them-

selves almost independent in their provinces; and they regarded their offices as a patrimony which should descend to their children. Henry IV. had been obliged to purchase their obedience. Richelieu, who in everything carried out the work of the first Bourbon, going even farther than he, instituted superior officers of justice, of police, and of finance, called by the modest name of intendants, who, chosen by the king from the non-noble classes, without personal influence, were at the disposal of the minister (1635). These officers, docile agents of the central power, exercised a jealous control over the nobles, parliaments, cities, and provincial states; little by little they concentrated in their own hands all the civil power, and ended by leaving to the governors only the military authority, which indeed amounted to nothing in the interior provinces. Royalty gained by this institution, and national unity was strengthened by it. Since the creation of a permanent army under Charles VII. no measure had struck a heavier blow at the new feudalism.

Beginning of an Organization of the Navy (1641). — One of the consequences of the siege of Rochelle was a first attempt to organize a navy. In 1629 Richelieu employed D'Infreville to choose the situations for three arsenals. He decided upon Havre, Brest, and Brouage. Magazines were immediately built there. Numerous vessels were armed, and in the Thirty Years' War the fleets of France controlled the ocean and the Mediterranean Sea.

Richelieu did not forget the infant colonies of France. In Canada, Champlain had founded Quebec in 1608, and France had a few ports in Acadia, the island of Cape Breton, and Florida. These possessions were called New France. In 1627 the cardinal caused the formation of a company which should have the perpetual monopoly of the fur trade, the nomination of its own officers, and the jurisdiction over all its employees. Such a monopoly was then necessary. He organized, after the example of the English and Dutch, the company of the American Isles (1635), which flourished as long as he could watch over it; he supported the East India company, which had a station at Madagascar, and the African company.

Disorder of the Finances. — With regard to finances, Richelieu returned to the unfortunate methods which Sully had discarded. He increased the taxation, which was inevitable

in consideration of the great schemes he undertook, but he managed them badly. The difference between the net and gross income became enormous, as did also the annual deficit. The treasury was in great straits, and the people everywhere were terribly oppressed. Disturbances broke out in Paris and in the provinces; but the troops harshly repressed these revolts, and the people were only too well accustomed to financial disorder and great poverty in the country districts.

Commerce and Industry.—The great minister proposed to neglect nothing that could increase the power and wealth of France. By his system of great commercial companies he desired to contend with the seamen of England and the Netherlands for the markets of the world. A noble had hitherto forfeited his title by sailing in command of a merchant ship. Richelieu declared that commerce should no longer be derogatory to the nobility, and from that time the ships of the companies were commanded by adventurous gentlemen. At home Richelieu encouraged the growing manufactures of glass and carpets, and imported engineers from the Netherlands to drain the marshes, thus carrying out the work of Henry IV. and paving the way for Colbert.

Foreign Policy.—Since the treaty of Vervins, France had taken part in no great war; and as but few of the people and none of the nobility were engaged in either manufactures or commerce, the rising generation felt an impatience of repose and a need for action. Richelieu proceeded to show them an aim worthy of their great courage.

The Spaniards, masters of the Southern Netherlands, Franche-Comté, and Roussillon, surrounded France on three sides, and held Italy by means of Naples and Milan. He began with them, and renewed the old treaties with Venice, Savoy, and the Netherlands.

War of the Valtellina (1624).—He followed up his treaties by actions, and drove the Spaniards from the Valtellina, a valley which secured communication between the Spanish Milanese and the Austrian Tyrol. The inhabitants, Catholic subjects of the Protestant republic of the Grisons, had revolted at the instigation of Spain. The Grisons had protested; the Pope, being chosen as mediator, was on the point of deciding in favor of the Spaniards, when Richelieu took the control of affairs. He at once sent an army of ten thousand men, and restored the Valtellina to the Grisons (1624). The court of Madrid yielded (1626).

War of the Mantuan Succession (1629).—Some years later the cardinal intervened beyond the Alps in favor of a French prince, Charles de Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, who was the heir of Mantua and Montferrat. The Spaniards set up the Duke of Guastalla as claimant against him in Mantua, and the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, in Montferrat, where they besieged Casale, the capital. Richelieu himself marched to the Alps with an army of thirty-six thousand men, and Louis XIII. forced the pass of Susa (1629). The Duke of Savoy signed the treaty of Susa; the Spaniards raised the siege of Casale and returned to the Milanese. Scarcely a year had passed before the victorious Imperialists in Germany had again entered the territory of the Grisons, the Spaniards were in Montferrat, and the Duke of Savoy was negotiating in every direction. Richelieu again crossed the Alps with forty thousand men; Savoy was conquered, Piedmont traversed, Pinerolo taken (1630). The peace of Cherasco, in which Mazarin was the negotiator, strengthened the French influence in Italy. The Duke of Mantua was re-established in his estates, and Victor Amadeus granted to Louis XIII., with Pinerolo, the free passage of the Alps (1631). Thus, in 1631, Richelieu had separated in Italy the domains of the two branches of the house of Austria which were making an effort to reunite, and opened the peninsula to France.

The Thirty Years' War; Gustavus Adolphus in Germany.—The Thirty Years' War, a struggle at once political and religious, had commenced in Bohemia (1618), and had spread gradually throughout the empire. The elector palatine, the king of Denmark, had, one after the other, been conquered and humbled. The imperial army, created and commanded by Wallenstein, had penetrated to the Baltic, trampling under foot Germany and her liberties. The question of its partition among independent princes, or of its consolidation under the despotism of the house of Austria, seemed about to be decided in favor of the latter. Richelieu, cardinal though he was, espoused the cause of the German princes, regardless of their religion. His emissary, Père Joseph, gained such an influence over the electors at the diet of Ratisbon in 1630, that they extorted from the emperor the dismissal of Wallenstein and the disbanding of his army; and then refused to give the emperor's son the title of King of the Romans. Gustavus Adolphus, king of

Sweden, had already made himself famous for remarkable military successes. Richelieu brought about a truce between the young king and the Poles, then granted him an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 francs, and urged him on against Germany. Gustavus Adolphus entered Germany like a thunderbolt of war, defeated Tilly near Leipzig, killed him at the passage of the Lech, and died himself at Lützen, in the arms of victory. Richelieu, now relieved of his weightiest cares at home, boldly substituted France, full of youth and enthusiasm, in Sweden's place in the struggle against the house of Austria.

First Part of the French Period (1635-1643).—Against Austria and Spain thus closely united he formed a solid group of alliances. He promised twelve thousand men to the German confederates, bought Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, the best pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, and his army, made a treaty of alliance with the chancellor of Sweden, Oxenstjerna, with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, with the Dutch, with the Swiss, and the dukes of Mantua, Parma, and Savoy. He even tried to win over the king of England.

These numerous treaties announced the proportions which the war would assume. Richelieu carried it to all the French frontiers; to the southern Low-Countries, that he might divide them with Holland; to the Rhine, in order to cover Champagne and Lorraine, and take possession of Alsace; into Germany, that he might join hands with Sweden and break down the power of Austria; into Italy, in order to maintain the authority of the Grisons in the Valtellina and the influence of France in Piedmont; towards the Pyrenees, to conquer Roussillon; to the ocean and the Mediterranean, to destroy the Spanish fleets, to sustain the revolts of Portugal and Catalonia, and to menace the shores of Italy. He forced the nation to make prodigious efforts for seven years.

Victories of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Harcourt, Guébriand, and Lourdes.—The war began successfully in the Netherlands (1635). But the Dutch were startled at seeing the French so near them, and poorly seconded their operations. The Spaniards penetrated into Picardy, crossed the Somme, and seized upon Corbie (1636). For a moment Paris trembled; but the great city soon took courage again. Louis XIII. at the head of forty thousand men hastened to drive the Spaniards beyond the frontiers and recapture Corbie, where the cardinal escaped the greatest danger that

had ever threatened his life, for just at the moment when the king's brother was to give the signal for his assassination, his courage failed (1636). Another invasion, attempted in Burgundy, was also repulsed.

The following year (1637) Cardinal de la Valette took the cities of the upper Sambre, — Cateau-Cambrésis, Landrecies, and Maubeuge. Richelieu loved to entrust commands to priests, since they were trained to obedience. His chief admiral was Lourdis, archbishop of Bordeaux, who destroyed a Spanish fleet in 1638, and ravaged, more than once, the kingdoms of Naples and Spain. But in this year (1638) the greatest successes were on the Rhine: Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar gained a victory over the Imperialists at Rheinfeld, captured their general, Johann von Werth, and carried Alt-Breisach by assault after three victories (1639). When Bernhard died (1639), France fell heir to his conquests and his army. Artois, which belonged to the Spaniards, was invaded during the next campaign. Three marshals besieged Arras. The Spaniards were beaten and the city was captured (1640). A second province was thus taken away from the house of Austria. France was fighting at the same time in the North of Italy. After the death of Victor Amadeus (1640) his brothers had disputed the regency with his widow, the daughter of Henry IV., and had obtained the support of a Spanish army. Richelieu sent into Piedmont the Count of Harcourt, who gained there three brilliant victories, re-established the authority of the regent, and by a wise treaty caused the princes of Savoy to enter the French alliance (1640-1642).

Spain made no further attacks; she had enough to do to defend herself against revolts of the Catalans and the Portuguese (1640). The cardinal lent assistance to the new king of Portugal, John of Braganza, and to the Catalans. A French army, which the king personally conducted, permanently added Roussillon to France (1641). Spain being occupied at home, it was easier to conquer Austria in Germany. The defeat of Nördlingen and the defection of the elector of Saxony, in 1635, had forced the Swedes to fall back into Pomerania. But in 1636 Banér resumed the offensive and overcame the Imperialists at Wittstock; he defeated them again at Chemnitz (1639), forced his way into Bohemia, and, aided by the Count of Guébriant, one of the most skillful tacticians of the age, nearly succeeded in capturing at