CHAPTER LII.

THE LAST PART OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

(1679–1715 A.D.)

Conquests of Louis XIV. in Time of Peace; Reunion of Strassburg to France. — After the treaty of Nymwegen the nations disbanded their troops. Louis retained his, and made the peace a time of conquest. The last treaties had delivered over to him a certain number of cities and cantons, *with their dependencies*. In order to find out what these dependencies were, he established at Tournai, Metz, Breisach, and Besançon commissions called *chambers of reunion*, because appointed for the purpose of reuniting to France lands claimed as having been cut off from the cities of Flanders, from the Trois-Evêchés, Alsace, and Franche-Comté. Decisions sustained by force gave Louis XIV. twenty important cities, Saarbrücken, Zweibrücken, Luxemburg, and Strassburg, which Vauban made the bulwark of the kingdom on the Rhine (1681). In Italy, Louis bought Casale from the Duke of Mantua, in order to control the northern part of the Peninsula.

Bombardment of Algiers and Genoa. — The Barbary pirates had recommenced their attacks. Old Duquesne was sent against them. Algiers was bombarded twice (1681–1683), destroyed in part, and obliged to give up her prisoners. Tunis and Tripoli experienced the same fate; the Mediterranean was for a time freed from privateers. The Genoese had sold arms and ammunition to the Algerines, and were building four ships of war for Spain. Louis forbade their arming these galleys; on their refusing, Duquesne and Seignelay bombarded the city (1684). The doge was obliged to come to Versailles to ask pardon of the king, in spite of an ancient law which ordered that the chief magistrate should never leave the city.

The Pope, even, was again humiliated. The Catholic ambassadors at Rome had extended the right of asylum, claimed for their hôtels, to the whole quarter in which they lived.

Innocent XI. endeavored to put an end to this abuse, which made one-half of the city a refuge for criminals; but Louis XIV. sent troops to maintain his ambassador in the possession of an unjust privilege; the Pope excommunicated the ambassador; the king seized Avignon (1687). This affair was not without its influence on the war of 1688. The French candidate for the archiepiscopal chair at Cologne, the cardinal of Fürstenberg, had been elected by the majority of the chapter. Innocent XI. nevertheless gave the investiture to his competitor, Clement of Bavaria. Louis protested against this nomination and sent troops to occupy Bonn, Neuss, and Kaiserswerth (October, 1688). At the same time he claimed a part of the Palatinate in the name of his sister-in-law, the second wife of the Duke of Orleans.

League of Augsburg (1686). — These conquests, made in time of peace, these outrages, and the overbearing conduct of Louis aroused the fears of Europe. In 1681 the empire, the emperor Leopold, Spain, the Netherlands, and even Sweden, had concluded, under the influence of William of Orange, a secret alliance for the maintenance of the peace of Nymwegen. Seeing that the ambition of Louis XIV. knew no bounds, they allied themselves more closely, and signed the League of Augsburg (1688): Savoy acceded to it in the following year; England, in 1689.

Internal Condition of France; Death of Colbert (1683). — What was the situation of France at this critical moment? A sort of fatigue began to be felt in that society, still so brilliant and apparently so prosperous. The enormous expenses of the late war, the great cost of the maintenance of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men in time of peace, the constructions, whether for luxury or for utility, had destroyed the equilibrium of the finances, forced an increase of taxation, and dealt a great blow at agriculture and commerce. The frightful miseries of 1662 reappeared.

In vain Colbert preached economy; the abyss of the deficit continued to enlarge. Colbert exhausted his ingenuity in finding means to fill it up. He groaned at having to put back the finances into the condition in which he had found them, and to see foreign competition once more crush out French commerce and industry. He was overcome by these troubles, and died in 1683, at the age of sixty years, worn out by excessive labors, and killed, perhaps, by the unjust reproaches of the king. Colbert, like some other great

French ministers, was unpopular. The people cursed the man who wrote out edicts for extraordinary taxation, not the man who dictated them. It was found necessary to bury at night, under guard, one of the benefactors of France, in order to prevent his funeral procession from being insulted by the populace. After his death, his ministry was divided: the Marquis of Seignelay, his son, had the department of marine; the finances were assigned to Le Pelletier, and afterwards to Pontchartrain.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). — It was two years after the death of Colbert that Louis XIV. committed the greatest mistake of his reign, by revoking the edict of Nantes. The Protestants had not stirred during the disturbances of the Fronde. Yet vexatious measures against them were multiplied. Louis hated them for their heresy, and because he suspected that they had little liking for absolute monarchy. Religious unity seemed to him as necessary as political unity. For a long time he refrained from persecuting them, but took care to construe their rights with the most narrow strictness. Colbert did better; he protected the Protestants as useful and industrious subjects. He employed many of them in the arts, in manufactures, and in the naval service. Duquesne, the great admiral, and Van Robais, the great manufacturer of Abbeville, were Protestants.

After the treaty of Nymwegen the different influences which were brought to bear upon Louis XIV., then growing old, drove the government to harsh measures. The king had, at that time, sharp contests with the Holy See, on the subject of the *regale*, and had induced the clergy of France to take his part by the celebrated declaration of 1682, which Bossuet drew up. But he did not wish that his religious zeal should be doubted, and in order to give a strong proof of it, which should, at the same time, be of use to himself, he yielded to the earnest persuasions of the Church with regard to the Protestants. The securities which the edict of Nantes had assured to them were taken away by the suppression of the half-Protestant chambers in the parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux, as were, also, all the liberties granted them by Richelieu and Mazarin: they were forbidden, successively, to act as notaries, solicitors, advocates, experts, printers, booksellers, physicians, surgeons, or even apothecaries. Thus they were compelled,

driven as they were from all the public offices and liberal professions, to devote themselves to commerce and industry, which they monopolized almost entirely. Catholics were forbidden to embrace Calvinism, while the children of Protestants were allowed to renounce their religion at the age of seven years. Missions were multiplied in the provinces; consciences were bought by payments of money. Louvois resorted to still more persuasive means. He quartered soldiers in the houses of the Calvinists. These *missionaries in jackboots* committed the greatest excesses. As the dragoons were especially noted for acts of violence, these measures were called the *dragonnades*.

Finally, the last blow was struck; on October 22, 1685, an edict revoked that of Nantes. It suppressed all the privileges granted by Henry IV. and Louis XIII.; deprived Protestants of the public exercise of their worship, except in Alsace; ordered the ministers to leave the kingdom within a fortnight, and forbade the others to follow them, under pain of the galleys and confiscation of their property. Terrible consequences ensued; the Protestants had no longer any civil rights, their marriages were regarded as null, their children as bastards. The property of all those who were proved heretics was confiscated, and a great number of ministers were executed.

This disastrous and criminal measure was hailed with gratitude by a great part of the nation. Vauban, Saint Simon, Catinat, and a few superior minds alone comprehended the evil which had been done to the country. Madame de Sévigné wrote in a letter: "Nothing could be finer; no king ever did, or ever will do, anything so memorable." The old chancellor Le Tellier, then dying, rallied sufficiently upon signing the edict to cry out: *Nunc dimitte servum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum!* He did not see that he was sanctioning one of the greatest misfortunes of France. Two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand Protestants crossed the frontier in the last years of the seventeenth century, in spite of the king's police, and carried to foreign lands the French arts, the secrets of French manufactures, and hatred of their king. Entire regiments of Calvinists were formed in the Netherlands, in England, and in Germany; those who remained in the kingdom only awaited an opportunity to throw off the yoke. Marshal Schomberg left the country; the aged Duquesne,

vainly pressed by Louis XIV. to abjure, was permitted to die in France.

There were, in 1685, a million Calvinists in France; there are at the present day, fifteen or eighteen hundred thousand. And who can estimate the effect which this great persecution had upon the sceptical philosophy of the eighteenth century! At the moment, it caused the outburst of a terrible war against France, which inaugurated the period of reverses.

The Revolution in England (1688). — The response of the Protestant powers to the revocation of the Edict was the English revolution, which, in 1688, drove James II. from the throne, and placed the Calvinist, William III., in his place. Twice did Louis XIV. make the fortune of his most formidable adversary: in 1672, when by an unjust war he rendered William of Orange necessary to the Netherlands; in 1688, when, by his close alliance with a king odious to his subjects, he secured popularity in England for this rough and ungracious prince, who spoke English with difficulty and cared much more for the affairs of the continent than those of Great Britain. The revolution which gave him the throne of James II. effected more than simply a change of royal personages. It substituted royalty by consent for royalty by divine right, and established constitutional or parliamentary government. A new right, that of the people, arose in modern society, in opposition to the absolute right of kings, which for two centuries had ruled over it, and which had just realized its most glorious impersonation in France. The desperate struggle which broke out between France and England is, therefore, not to be wondered at. There were not only two contrary interests, but two different political rights struggling for the mastery. England became the centre of all the coalitions against the house of Bourbon, as France had been the centre of resistance to the house of Austria. This political change reversed all the conditions of the war. England having joined the enemies of France, it was necessary to maintain not only armies on the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Alps, but also fleets on the ocean and in the most distant seas. It was this twofold effort which exhausted France.

War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697). — The coalition declared war February 5, 1689. Louis had, ready to oppose it, 350,000 soldiers and 264 vessels or

frigates. He adopted a plan both simple and courageous. The soul of the coalition was William of Orange; Louis XIV. gave James II. a fleet to assist him regaining his throne. Spain and Savoy were the weakest states of the League; he turned against them the greater part of his forces, while maintaining the defensive on the Rhine. Louis had, moreover, skilful captains, Luxembourg, Catinat, Boufflers, and Tourville.

Attempts to Re-establish James II.; Tourville. — The war in behalf of James II. was at first successful. A squadron conveyed the prince to Ireland (May, 1689). Convoys of troops, arms, and ammunition also set out. England and the Dutch endeavored to stop their passage; Tourville with seventy-eight ships attacked their fleet off Beachy Head, and gained a brilliant victory (July, 1690) which gave Louis XIV., for a time, the empire of the ocean. But James lost precious time at the siege of Londonderry. William attacked him at the Boyne (July, 1690). The Irish fled with their king at the first attack, and the French alone offered any resistance. James was obliged to return to France.

Louis XIV. then prepared for a descent upon England herself. Twenty thousand men were assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue; three hundred transports were held in readiness at Brest. The king ordered Tourville with forty-six ships to encounter the enemy's fleet of ninety-nine sails. The result was the battle of La Hogue (1692). Tourville stood his ground manfully for ten hours against the Anglo-Dutch, and would have made at least a glorious retreat if he had had a port behind him: seven of his vessels reached Brest; twenty-two passed through the Race of Alderney and entered Saint-Malo; three stopped at Cherbourg, where they were burned; and twelve took refuge in the harbor of La Hogue. Tourville removed the cannons, ammunition, and rigging from them, and at the approach of the English, the hulls of his ships were set on fire. This was the first blow given to the military marine of France; the re-establishment of the Stuarts in England became impossible.

Defensive War on the Rhine; Burning of the Palatinate (1689). — In 1688 the dauphin entered Germany with eighty thousand men, and Marshal Duras as adviser. Philippsburg, Mannheim, Worms, Oberwesel, were taken in a few weeks. It was not the design of the French minister to

retain them; the Palatinate was burned again, this time with great cruelty (1689). Speyer was completely destroyed. The French sacked the magnificent castle of Heidelberg; one hundred thousand inhabitants, driven from their country by the flames, went about through Germany demanding vengeance. The king himself regretted these horrible executions, and his dissatisfaction might have been the prelude of a disgrace, had not Louvois died (1691). He was succeeded by his son Barbezieux, who had none of his qualities. The Duke of Lorges, the successor of Duras, contented himself with protecting Alsace from the imperial forces, who could not subsist in the Palatinate. The war then remained defensive on the Rhine; the great blows were struck elsewhere.

War in Savoy and Piedmont; Catinat. — The commander in Italy was Catinat, a man of humble birth, who had risen to his position by his own merit. In order to bring the Duke of Savoy to a decisive engagement before the arrival of the German troops, he devastated the country districts of Piedmont. Victor Amadeus fought the battle of Staffarda (1690), and lost four thousand men; while the French had only five hundred killed and won Savoy, Nice, and the greater part of Piedmont. But a relative of the duke, Prince Eugene, whose services Louis XIV. had refused, and who had then offered them to Austria, arrived with powerful re-enforcements, and invaded France. Dauphiny suffered cruel retaliation for the burning of the Palatinate and the ravaging of Piedmont (1692). Catinat, however, recrossed the Alps; a second battle took place near Marsaglia (1693), and was as disastrous for Victor Amadeus as the previous one; little was now left him but Turin, and Catinat would have taken that if the war minister had not reduced his forces.

War in the Netherlands; Luxembourg. — Luxembourg had served, at first, under the great Condé, whom he greatly resembled in bravery and quickness of insight. In 1690 he encountered the Prince of Waldeck near Fleurus, killed six thousand of his men, and carried off a hundred standards, his cannon, baggage, and eight thousand prisoners. Master of the open county, he invested Mons; Louis XIV. was present at the siege. William, having got rid of James II., hastened over with eighty thousand men, but could not prevent the surrender of the city (April, 1691). The following year Luxembourg besieged Namur, the strongest position in the Netherlands, at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, and took it again, under the eyes of Louis XIV. and the enemy's army (June, 1692). This was one of the great sieges of the century. Vauban conducted it, and the operation is regarded as a model. Vauban's rival, Coehorn, defended the place.

But William, though always defeated, never grew weary. In August, 1692, he surprised Luxembourg at Steenkerk, in Hainault. Luxembourg was ill; the danger restored his strength; it was necessary that he should work wonders to save himself from defeat, and he did. A famous event of the battle was the charge made by four young princes of the blood, Philip of Orleans, Louis of Bourbon (grandson of Condé), the Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Vendôme, "at the head of the king's household troops, for the purpose of driving off a body of English, who were holding an important post upon which the success of the battle depended. The carnage was terrible; the French finally carried the day. The regiment of Champagne defeated King William's guards; and when the English were overcome, the rest were obliged to give up. . . .

"William, having lost about seven thousand men, retired, in as good order as when he led the attack. The victory, due to the valor of all these young princes and the flower of the nobility, created, at the court, at Paris, and in the provinces, an effect produced by no battle which had ever before been won" (Voltaire).

The next year William of Orange ventured near Louvain with only fifty thousand men. Louis was in the vicinity with more than one hundred thousand; the whole army expected that a great blow was to be struck, but in spite of the supplications of Luxembourg, who, it is said, threw himself on his knees before him, the king declared the campaign finished, and returned to Versailles. From that day forth he never appeared with the army. His reputation abroad suffered much in consequence; yet, in fact, he did not lack personal courage.

The victories of Fleurus and Steenkerk had given Luxembourg Hainault and the province of Namur; he forced his way into Southern Brabant; but he found William III. again in front of him, strongly entrenched, at Neerwinden (July, 1693). Few battles have been more murderous;

Neerwinden was twice carried by the infantry, which, for the first time, resolutely made a bayonet charge. About twenty thousand were killed, of whom twelve thousand were on the side of the allies. After this success, the French might, perhaps, have marched on Brussels and dictated peace, but they contented themselves with besieging and taking Charleroi. The victory of Neerwinden was the last of Luxembourg's triumphs. The following campaign was marked by no unusual occurrence, and he died in January, 1695. His successor, the Duke of Villeroi, was incapable of doing anything remarkable, even with an army of eighty thousand men; he did not even prevent the Prince of Orange from taking Namur (August, 1695). But in Spain, Vendôme entered Barcelona (August, 1695), after a memorable siege.

On the sea, Tourville had, in 1693, avenged the disaster of La Hogue by a victory in the bay of Lagos, near Cape St. Vincent. In the following years extensive armaments were suspended, but privateers preyed upon the commerce of the English and Dutch, who, in revenge, made several attempts to land on the French coast. In America, Count Frontenac bravely defended Canada, taking the offensive on all sides, although the province had only eleven or twelve thousand inhabitants, and the English colonies had ten times as many.

Treaty of Ryswyk (1697). — But the war was now languishing; every one was exhausted. Louis proposed peace; Charles II. of Spain was almost dying; he would leave no child, and the question of the Spanish succession was at last about to be thrown open. It was important that the king should dissolve the European coalition before this great event occurred. He evinced unusual moderation. His first act was to detach the Duke of Savoy from the League (1696.) The defection of Victor Amadeus decided the others, and peace was signed at Ryswyk, near the Hague (October, 1697). Louis XIV. recognized William III. as lawful sovereign of England and Ireland. He restored his recent conquests in the Netherlands, in the Empire, and in Spain, with the exception of Strassburg, Landau, Longwy, and Saarlouis. He permitted the Dutch to garrison the most important places in Flanders, which the Spaniards seemed to be incapable of defending against him. He restored Lorraine, and abolished the tonnage duty of fifty

sous per ton, thus completely abandoning the commercial policy of Colbert. These concessions, which were extremely wounding to the king's pride, were greatly censured; but Louis hoped to repair the loss of a few cities by the acquisition of an empire.

Accession of a French Prince to the Throne of Spain (1700). — Charles II. lingered three years more. To whom should his immense inheritance revert? The two houses of France and Austria, allied by marriage to that of Spain, each laid claim to it.[1] For Louis XIV. or Leopold to reign at Madrid would be the destruction of the balance of power in Europe. William III. proposed to Louis that they should divide the succession in advance, and two Partition Treaties were signed at the Hague. The first (1698) assigned the Spanish monarchy to the Prince of Bavaria, the Milanese to the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor, the Two Sicilies, a few Tuscan ports, and Guipuzcoa, gifts useless or dangerous, to the dauphin. A second treaty, after the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, gave Spain to the archduke, and increased the French portion by the addition of Lorraine, a province which would fall into the hands of France at the first cannon shot (1700). This was no compensation for the danger of seeing an Austrian reigning in Brussels and Madrid.

These treaties had in the end no effect. The dying king was deeply indignant that proposals for the dismemberment of his monarchy should be made during his lifetime and without consulting him. In order to maintain the integrity of his states, he must bequeath them all either to Austria or to France. Austria was ill served by her ambassador at Madrid; France, on the contrary, had a skilful servant there. Charles II., by his last will and testament, called to the throne Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin (November 2, 1700). Twenty-eight days after he died.

[1] Louis XIV. and the Emperor Leopold, each the son of an infanta of Spain, had each also married an infanta. But Anne of Austria and Maria Theresa, who married into the house of France, were elder sisters of Maria Anna and Margaret Theresa, who married into the house of Austria. The son and grandson of Louis XIV. had therefore superior claims to those of Leopold, son of Maria Anna, and to those of the electoral prince of Bavaria, Ferdinand Joseph, grandson of Margaret Theresa. Leopold held up, as an objection, the renunciation of Maria Theresa, but the Spanish cortes had not been summoned in order to sanction it, and it was invalid from another point of view, the dowry of the infanta not having been paid.

Should Louis XIV. accept the testament or abide by the last treaty of the Hague? An extraordinary council was assembled; it was composed of only four persons besides the king, — the dauphin, the Duke of Beauvilliers, governor of the children of the house of France, Chancellor Pontchartrain, and the Marquis of Torcy, minister of foreign affairs. The latter was a nephew of the great Colbert, an exceedingly able and honest man. Various opinions were expressed, but Torcy justly remarked that war would ensue, no matter what decision was made. "It is better to fight for the whole," said he, "than for a part." Louis XIV. was silent, and for three days his determination was not known. He finally announced his consent to the Duke of Anjou, and presented him to the court with these words, "Gentlemen, the king of Spain." A few weeks later Philip V. set out for Madrid.

Third Coalition against France (1701–1713); **Grand Alliance of the Hague.** — Neither England nor the United Provinces wished to see the French in possession of the Spanish Netherlands. Great prudence and good management were requisite. The king, unfortunately, revealed his designs too quickly, and defied Europe with surprising levity. In spite of the formal clauses of the will of Charles II. he did not require Philip V. to make renunciation of the throne of France; thus alarming Europe with the thought of seeing France and Spain governed some day by the same king. A little later he drove the Dutch from the fortresses which they occupied in the Netherlands by virtue of the treaty of Ryswyk, and replaced them by French garrisons. Finally, upon the death of James II., he recognized his son, the Prince of Wales, as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, against the advice of all his ministers. This insult offered to the English people and to William III. rendered war inevitable.

A third coalition was formed, known as the Grand Alliance of the Hague (September, 1701), entered into by England, the Netherlands, Austria, the Empire, and a little later by Portugal. Louis XIV. had now no allies in all Europe, except the Elector of Bavaria and the dukes of Modena and Savoy. Spain took the part of the French, but had neither soldiers nor money nor vessels. William III. died in the month of March, 1702, but his policy survived him because it was national. Under his sister-in-law, Queen Anne, England continued to defend her threatened political and religious liberties and her commercial prosperity.

Marlborough; Prince Eugene; Heinsius. — Three celebrated men, Heinsius, Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, acting in the strictest unity, replaced the chief whom the league had just lost. Heinsius was grand pensioner of Holland, and directed the republic with the authority of a monarch. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, governed Queen Anne through his wife, the Parliament through his friends, the ministry through his son-in-law Sunderland, secretary of State, and the lord treasurer Godolphin, father-in-law of one of his daughters. Prince Eugene, born in France in 1663, son of a niece of Mazarin, belonged to the house of Savoy. He was destined for the ecclesiastical profession, but preferred that of arms; and at nineteen years of age asked Louis XIV. for a regiment. Louis refused to make a colonel of the "Savoyard abbé." Austria received him more favorably, and sent him into Italy to fight against Catinat. After the peace of Ryswyk he fought victoriously against the Turks and was then appointed president of the council of war. By the good understanding which he maintained with Marlborough he gave to the European coalition the union it had always needed.

Situation of France. — In order to triumph over so formidable adversaries France needed the great men of the preceding generation, but they were gone; she was beginning to be exhausted; the soldiers were lacking as well as the generals and ministers. The incompetent Chamillard succumbed under the double burden of finances and the war. The king undertook to direct him, and never, in fact, did he show more activity, devising plans and regulating the execution from his cabinet. But in truth he carried supervision too far.

First Campaigns in Germany, in Italy, and in the Netherlands (1701–1704). — It was the opinion of Louis XIV. that the war should be defensive on all sides except that toward Germany. Boufflers was sent to the Netherlands to oppose Marlborough, who commanded the English and Dutch army; Catinat to Italy, to keep Prince Eugene and the imperials out of the Milanese; Villars to Germany, to join the elector and march upon Vienna. For three years (1701–1704) the success of the two parties was equal. But in 1702 Marlborough forced his way into the Southern Netherlands in spite of the opposition of Boufflers. In 1701 Prince Eugene descended into Lombardy, in spite of

Catinat. The court displaced the latter and gave his army to Villeroi.

Villeroi; Defeat of Chiari (1701); **Surprise of Cremona** (1702). — This protégé of Madame de Maintenon was a good courtier, but an execrable general. From the moment of his arrival he took the offensive, scorning the advice of Catinat, who had consented to serve under him. He crossed the Oglio, hoping to surprise Eugene at Chiari, but was himself surprised and defeated. Villeroi then took up his quarters at Cremona. Eugene, in the dead of winter, attempted a surprise upon Cremona, and nearly succeeded. The enemy, after reaching the very heart of the city, was driven out of the gates, but carried off the marshal. Vendôme took his place.

Victories of Vendôme at Luzzara, of Villars at Friedlingen and at Höchstädt, of Tallard at Speyer (1702–1703). — This grandson of Henry IV. was a strange general; his morals were more than doubtful, and he never rose till four o'clock in the afternoon; but on the field of battle he showed quickness, cheerfulness, and fiery courage; often surprised, but never overcome, he carried on a successful war for two years against the Imperialists. He delivered Mantua, captured their magazines at Luzzara (1702), and was then able to approach the Tyrol. At this moment he was forced to retreat by the open defection of the Duke of Savoy. He seized upon the greater part of Piedmont and threatened Turin, but he made no more demonstrations against Austria.

There was the same success in Germany. Catinat, called to the Rhine, had not re-established there the reputation which he had compromised in Italy; but one of his lieutenants, Villars, attacked the Prince of Baden in the Black Forest, near Friedlingen, and won his marshal's baton on the field of battle (1702). The following year he drove back the Prince of Baden upon the lines of Stollhofen, and affected a junction with the Elector of Bavaria, who had also just beaten the Austrians (May, 1703). The road to Vienna was now open. Villars desired to hasten thither; but another plan was adopted, and failed to succeed. The French and Bavarians entered Innsbrück, while Vendôme was bombarding Trent. The defection of the Duke of Savoy recalled Vendôme from the Tyrol, and the elector and Villars had to abandon Innsbrück. They took their revenge upon the Count of Styrum, who was completely beaten in

the plains of Höchstädt (1703). Two months later the Imperialists experienced near Speyer a bloody defeat at the hands of Tallard.

The Camisards. — This victory was the end of the triumphs of France. Villars, unable to agree with the elector, demanded his recall. Louis XIV. sent him against the Protestant rebels in the Cévennes, the *Camisards*. These unfortunate people, severely persecuted, accepted the aid of England and the Duke of Savoy, eager to keep up a civil war in the heart of France, and in their turn avenged themselves by cruel deeds. Villars was deeply interested in saving this province and bringing back these exasperated men, and soon re-established peace in the region. But a hundred thousand people had perished in this terrible war, and meantime Marsin was losing Germany.

Battle of Höchstädt or Blenheim; Loss of Germany (1704). — Marlborough and Prince Eugene had conceived a bold and clever plan to save Austria, which had become exposed to attack by the taking of Passau in January, 1704. They united their forces in Bavaria. Tallard and Marsin had rejoined the elector. They met the enemy near Höchstädt. Their positions were badly chosen; Marlborough easily broke their lines and took prisoner Tallard and an entire corps which had not been in the fight. In less than a month Bavaria was subjugated; the elector fled to Brussels, and the Imperialists reappeared on the Rhine. It was necessary to recall Villars in order to save Alsace.

Battles of Ramillies and Turin (1706); **Loss of Italy and the Netherlands.** — The Empire was saved. Eugene and Marlborough separated; one went to Italy, the other to the Netherlands. The plans of the European coalition were ably developed under the direction of these two great generals. They intended to conquer all the outside provinces of the Spanish monarchy before attacking France herself.

Marlborough found conquest easy. He again had as his opponent the incompetent Villeroi. He penetrated to the very heart of Brabant, and found Villeroi at Ramillies. Villeroi chose the most unfortunate positions. Marlborough quickly recognized his mistakes, and inflicted on him an overwhelming defeat (May, 1706). When Villeroi reappeared at court, the king contented himself with saying to him, "Monsieur le maréchal, at our age one is no longer fortunate." The loss of the greater part of Brabant was

the result of this defeat, which cost France five thousand killed and wounded and fifteen thousand prisoners. Marlborough entered Antwerp, Brussels, and Ostend; and Louis XIV. was obliged, in order to arrest his progress, to recall the Duke of Vendôme from Italy, where he was covering the siege of Turin.

While Vendôme was hastening to Flanders, Eugene conceived the bold project of going to assist Turin by ascending to the right bank of the Po. He had to cross fifteen rivers, to fight or avoid the army of observation, to conquer the besieging army, and all this with weary troops inferior in numbers. But the incapable Marsin, who had been placed in command of the army of Italy, failed to stop him. The French lines before Turin, being spread out too extensively, were broken through (September, 1706), the marshal mortally wounded, Piedmont delivered, the Milanese lost, and, as a result, in the following year, the kingdom of Naples. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy, astonished at the consequences of a victory which brought them to the confines of France, could not resist the temptation to enter. They invaded Provence, and besieged Toulon, sustained by an English fleet. The city was bravely defended. Eugene lost ten thousand men in the attack and retreat (1707). Attacks upon this frontier have always been, and must continue to be, on account of the nature of the country, fatal to those who make them.

Reverses in Spain (1704–1708). — In 1703 the English had brought Portugal into the coalition. In 1704 they surprised and took the impregnable fortress of Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean. The Archduke Charles, the competitor of Philip V., had, in the mean time, landed in Catalonia with nine thousand soldiers. In 1705 he took Barcelona. Aragon and the neighboring provinces submitted to him. The following year he entered Madrid. The English took Cartagena, the Portuguese Ciudad-Rodrigo; and an Anglo-Portuguese army occupied Estremadura. It was immediately proposed in the councils of Louis XIV. to renounce Spain, and send Philip V. to reign in America.

Success of Villars on the Rhine (1705–1707). — Meanwhile Villars had kept his word. In 1705 he had arrested the progress of Marlborough, and covered Lorraine. In the following year and in 1707 he gained other successes in South Germany. Thus the coalition, though victorious at

DUKE OF VENDÔME.

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