

her navy was much larger, was nevertheless alarmed at this revival of French naval power, and especially at the progress of French commerce; and easily found cause for a quarrel.

Causes of the Renewal of War. — France had two magnificent possessions in America, — Canada and Louisiana; that is to say, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, the two greatest rivers of eastern North America, which she thus held at both ends. But the boundaries of Acadia had not been determined, neither had it been determined whether Ohio belonged to Louisiana (France) or to Virginia (England). Also, both countries claimed Tobago. Commissioners were appointed to decide the question. They could come to no conclusion, and the colonies, drawing the Indians into their quarrels, began hostilities. Washington, then very young, surprised and killed, with part of his escort, a French officer named Jumonville, who was carrying to the English an order to evacuate the valley of the Ohio. This was the first blood shed in this war (May, 1754). Then, without a declaration of war, the English seized more than three hundred merchant vessels loaded with a cargo of 30,000,000 livres, and having on board 10,000 sailors, the greater part of whom they enlisted in their crews. War had begun.

Reversal of Alliances. — The English ministry, thanks to its gold, again let loose continental war. Prussia joined England; Maria Theresa, who had an implacable resentment against Prussia, proposed an alliance to the cabinet of Versailles in order to recover Silesia. The treaty of Versailles (1756), entirely advantageous to Austria, reunited the two powers. The czarina Elizabeth, Sweden, and Saxony acceded to it. Thus Austria became the friend of France, the enemy of England, her old ally, and France was about to attack Prussia. The whole system of European alliances was changed.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Conquest of Minorca (1756). — France, forced to fight with both hands, dealt at once a vigorous blow. She sent first against Minorca, then in the possession of the English, a squadron which defeated the fleet of Admiral Byng, and an army commanded by Richelieu, which captured the fortress of Port Mahon, hitherto considered impregnable.

Difficult Position of the King of Prussia. — The king of

Prussia, as usual, anticipated the action of his enemies. He surrounded the Saxons in their camp of Pirna, repulsed the Austrians at Lobositz, then absorbed the whole Saxon army. France sent two armies into the field during this campaign; one under Marshal d'Estrées into Westphalia, the other under Soubise towards the Main. Frederick would not have been able to defend himself against this formidable coalition if his allies had acted at all in concert. He had in his favor also the unskilfulness and carelessness of the French generals, Soubise and Richelieu, and the slowness of Daun, the Austrian commander-in-chief. He re-entered Bohemia, and won the bloody battle of Prague (1757). Defeated in turn at Kollin by Daun (1757), he was forced to retreat. In the east, the Russians took Memel from him, and beat one of his lieutenants at Gross-Jägerndorf; in the west, D'Estrées conquered Hanover, and another French army marched rapidly upon Magdeburg and Saxony. Thus the circle of enemies by whom Frederick was surrounded pressed upon him more closely each day (1757). He asked for peace. Believing him to be in extremity, they refused it. He took refuge in his indomitable energy.

Capitulation of Kloster-Zeven (1757). — Richelieu, who succeeded D'Estrées in the command of the army of Hanover, entirely surrounded the Duke of Cumberland in a cul-de-sac; but, instead of taking him prisoner, agreed to the capitulation of Kloster-Zeven, which the English government afterwards disavowed.

Roszbach (1757); Krefeld (1758). — Soubise, the favorite of Madame de Pompadour, had joined the forces which had been raised by the Empire to sustain Maria Theresa, and was marching upon Saxony. Frederick hastened from Silesia to the Saale: he had only twenty thousand men with which to oppose fifty thousand. He established himself at the village of Roszbach, concealing his cavalry and artillery. The allies advanced rashly and in disorder. Suddenly the Prussian artillery was unmasked and opened fire; their cavalry dashed upon the right flank of the army of Soubise; the infantry followed; the French and Germans were scattered in a few moments. The Prussians killed three thousand men, took seven thousand prisoners, captured sixty-three pieces of cannon, and lost only four hundred soldiers.

Frederick, leaving Soubise to run away, turned against the

Austrians, drove them from Saxony, to which they had returned, and followed them into Silesia, which he again took from them (1757). Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, just at this time became prime minister of England, and decided that country to make greater efforts in behalf of her ally. The king, in exchange for the numerous subsidies which Pitt caused to be voted him, sent one of his lieutenants, Ferdinand of Brunswick, to take command of the Hanoverian army, which, violating its parole, again took the field. The French retreated before this skilful general, recrossing the Weser, the Ems, and the Rhine, and were again defeated at Krefeld (1758).

Disorder in the French Armies and in the Administration.

— All the generals whom Madame de Pompadour placed at the head of armies were perfectly incompetent. Moreover, the quarrels of the court were continued in the camps, and several were accused of causing plans to fail and losing battles in order to ruin a rival. The armies, badly organized, were still more badly managed. Since women ruled the government, the higher part of the administration was given over to the most disorderly caprices. From 1755 to 1763 twenty-five ministers were appointed and displaced, "tumbling one after the other," writes Voltaire, "like the figures of a magic lantern." Plans were changed as fast as men.

Energy of the King of Prussia (1758-1762). — After Rossbach and Krefeld the French generals were given forces superior to those of the enemy and so gained occasional successes in Western Germany (1758-1760). But in general, in the western part of Germany, the only result of the war was the devastation of the country. In the south and east Frederick himself confronted the Russians, who took Königsberg from him, but whom he conquered at Zorndorf (1758), and the Austrians, who, at Hochkirch in Lusatia, killed ten thousand of his men. The Russians revenged themselves the following year at Kunersdorf, where twenty thousand men on each side were left upon the field of battle, and Frederick would have found himself in a critical position if his adversaries had known how to take advantage of their victory. The brilliant success of Prince Ferdinand at Minden (August, 1759) raised his hopes. He defeated Laudon at Liegnitz, delivered his capital, surprised by the Russians and Austrians, forced Daun into a dangerous

position near Torgau, and remained master of two-thirds of Saxony, while his lieutenants foiled the plans of the Swedes and French in the north and west.

But these "Herculean labors" had exhausted the strength of the king and his people. He held himself on the defensive during the whole of the campaign of 1761. Happily for him the czarina Elizabeth died at the beginning of 1762, and Peter III. at once declared the neutrality of Russia: Sweden withdrew from the struggle. Freed from danger on the east and north, Frederick recovered Silesia and made gains in Saxony.

French Reverses on the Sea and in the Colonies. — France had maintained the war on the continent not too unsuccessfully and without sacrificing the national territory, but also without much honor. On the sea she was contending with an enemy whose overwhelming superiority allowed her sailors the hope of but few victories. While England lavished all her care upon the navy, the French government left its colonies without ships, soldiers, or money, and unfortunate divisions weakened discipline. The English blockaded the French ports, and not a ship went out which did not fall into their hands; thirty-seven ships of the line and fifty-six frigates also were taken, or burned, or perished on the reefs. The descents made by the English on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany showed that the territory of France could be violated with impunity, since her fleet no longer protected her shores. The whole Atlantic coast of France, from Dunkirk to Bayonne, was as it were besieged.

Dupleix had been recalled in 1754; if France had sent him money and good soldiers, India would perhaps now be French and not English. Lally, his brave successor, could not hinder the English, commanded by the able Lord Clive, from getting the upper hand. In his turn he was besieged in Pondicherry, where, with seven hundred men, he defended himself nine months against twenty-two thousand. The English, finally masters of the city, drove out the inhabitants and razed it to the ground: this was the death-blow to the French power in India.

In Canada the Marquis of Montcalm captured Forts Ontario and William Henry, bulwarks of the English possessions (1756, 1757). But in 1759 he had only five thousand soldiers with which to oppose forty thousand, and the colo-

nies were in want of provisions, powder, and shot. The enemy besieged Quebec; Montcalm gave battle in order to save the city, and was mortally wounded, as was also the victorious English general Wolfe. Montcalm's successor, Vaudreuil, struggled for some time, but Canada was lost, and Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago were also lost.

Choiseul; the Family Compact (1761).—An able minister at this time acquired the greatest influence in the affairs of France, the Duke of Choiseul. Madame de Pompadour had recalled him from the embassy at Vienna to give him, in 1758, the portfolio of foreign affairs, which he exchanged in 1761 for that of war. Two years later he received in addition that of the navy, and had that of foreign affairs bestowed upon his cousin, the Duke of Praslin. Choiseul preserved the Austrian alliance, but he also formed another. He wished to gather together, as in a sheaf, all the branches of the house of Bourbon established in France, in Spain, in the Two Sicilies, and in Parma and Piacenza, securing to France the useful support of the Spanish navy. This treaty, famous under the name of the Family Compact, was signed in August, 1761. England immediately declared war against Spain, and wrested from her Manilla, the Philippines, Havana, twelve ships of the line, and prizes valued at 100,000,000 francs.

Treaties of Paris and Hubertusburg (1763).—The European powers were now weary of war. France had for her part of it spent 1,350,000,000. England had attained her end, the destruction of the French merchant and military marine; and her public debt was increasing enormously. Prussia was only kept on her feet by the energy of her king. Austria despaired of recovering Silesia. France and England signed preliminaries which resulted, in February, 1763, in the treaty of Paris. England acquired Canada, Acadia, Cape Breton, Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, Senegal, and Minorca. France retained the right of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon; she recovered Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Désirade, and Martinique, and obtained St. Lucia. In the East Indies, Pondicherry and a few other settlements were retained, on condition that she should send no troops there. As Spain, while recovering Cuba and Manilla, gave up

Florida to England, France compensated her for it by the cession of Louisiana. "The war," said Frederick II., "had begun on account of two or three wretched huts; the English gained by it two thousand leagues of territory, and humanity lost a million of men." The treaty of Hubertusburg, between Maria Theresa and Frederick II., confirmed the latter in the possession of Silesia.

Political and Military Decline of France.—The Seven Years' War had been undertaken for the ruin of the king of Prussia; he came out of it victorious, and a new state took its place among the powers of Europe. As for France, the war had shown the incapacity of her generals, the lack of discipline among her soldiers, and with a few happy exceptions, the weakening of the military qualities of the nation. On the sea it was more than a decline; her ruin was complete.

Efforts of Choiseul; Acquisition of Corsica (1768) and Lorraine (1766).—Choiseul, a patriotic but not a great minister, earnestly desired to raise France from the degradation into which she had fallen. He tried to reorganize the army. He resumed, with energy, the excellent work of Machault for the creation of a fleet. Corsica, now in revolt against the Genoese, its former masters, was occupied, conquered, and united to the French territory (1768); it was in 1769 that Napoleon was born there, just in time to be born a Frenchman. Three years before, the death of Stanislas had led to the union of Lorraine with France. These were not glorious, but useful acquisitions. Choiseul also prepared that union of the navies of second-rate powers which was destined, a few years later, to become the league of the armed neutrality against the English. He restrained Austria from encroachment in Italy, tried to fortify the Swedish government against the intrigues of Russia, and extended a friendly hand to Poland.

Suppression of the Order of the Jesuits (1762-1764).—An important act of the administration of Choiseul, although it did not originate entirely with him, was the suppression of the Jesuits. This powerful society had spread in every direction. After having struggled energetically in the sixteenth century against Protestantism, and directed and ruled the Catholic world in the seventeenth, it had allowed to grow up within it those abuses which are developed by prosperity too long continued. Pascal, under Louis XIV.,

had attacked, in the *Lettres provinciales*, the lax morality of the Jesuit casuists, and bequeathed to the Jansenists, who filled the magistracy, the care of continuing the contest. The Parliaments had long been suspicious of spiritual soldiery whose attachments were not to France, and the philosophers rejoiced at every blow struck against them. Great hatred had sprung up against them throughout Europe. In 1717 they had been driven from Russia, and they had just been banished from Portugal (1759). The failure (for three millions) of Père Lavalette, prefect of the mission to the Antilles, who had mixed the affairs of commerce with those of religion, made a still greater stir, and had important results. The interested parties brought action against the company before the Parliament. When the examination was over, the Parliament passed two decrees: one condemning to the flames many books written by the Jesuits; and the other, receiving the appeal of the procureur-général against the constitutions of the society. The queen, the dauphin, a part of the court, and almost all the episcopate were for the Jesuits; but Madame de Pompadour, Choiseul, and the public were for the Parliament: they were triumphant. In August, 1761, the Parliament of Paris declared the institution, by its very nature, inadmissible in any well-governed state, "as being a political body which tends to an absolute independence and a usurpation of all authority." The Jesuits were forced to quit their colleges and houses within a week. A royal declaration of November, 1764, suppressed the society. Spain and Naples followed this example (1766); Parma did the same in 1768. Finally, even the Holy See was forced to yield to the persistent demands of the Catholic powers, and Clement XIV. solemnly proclaimed, in 1773, the suppression of the Company of Jesus throughout Christendom. They numbered then twenty thousand, of whom four thousand were in France.

Disgrace of Choiseul (1770).—Choiseul had many enemies. The Jesuits had left behind them a powerful party. The dauphin, their pupil, was very hostile to the minister. The Duke of Aiguillon, the chancellor, Maupéou, the abbé Terray, comptroller of the finances, formed against him a triumvirate which would have been powerless without the shameful auxiliary whom they selected. Madame de Pompadour died in 1765, and had been succeeded by the Countess



MADAME DE POMPADOUR. (C. Cochin.)

du Barry, whose very presence was a stain upon Versailles. The Duke of Choiseul refused to yield to her disreputable influence. She swore his ruin and beset the king to procure it. The triumvirate urged her on and furnished her with arguments. Choiseul, the king was told, was the chief of the philosophers, the friend of Parliaments; he thought only of war, and the king thought only of peace. The cabal finally triumphed, and in 1770 Choiseul was banished to his estates.

Destruction of the Parliaments (1771).— During the whole century the parliaments had manifested a spirit of opposition to the court, to ultramontane pretensions, and to the increased taxation, which had not always been creditable nor well considered, especially in matters of religion, as in the case of the bull *Unigenitus*, for instance. The government had accepted this bull as a law of the State, but the Jansenists rejected it; they were sustained by the members of the parliaments. The archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, forbade the priests of his diocese to administer the communion to any one who was not furnished with a certificate of confession attesting that he had recognized the bull, and the sacraments were accordingly, in certain instances, refused. The Parliament was roused; it caused the bishop's excommunication to be burned; it ordered the seizure of the temporalities of the archbishop of Paris, and it took measures to force the priests to administer the communion to the sick (1752).

The magistrates, though once banished (1753), showed equal boldness on their return. The Parliament tried to form, with the other parliaments of the kingdom, a great body sufficiently strong on account of its union to play the part of permanent States-General, in defiance of the royal power. The king ordered the magistrates to confine themselves to their ordinary duties: a hundred and eighty handed in their resignations. The turmoil in Paris was extreme. A wicked wretch named François Damiens became excited to the point of attempting the life of the king (1757). He wounded him only slightly, and was quartered for it. The trial of the Jesuits, in 1762, revived the quarrel; another, in 1770, caused the struggle to break out. The Parliament had rendered a decision against the Duke of Aiguillon. The king stopped the procedure. The magistrates protested against such interference. It was just at this juncture that

Choiseul was dismissed and his place given to Aiguillon. Severe measures against Parliament at once followed. In the night of January 19th-20th, 1771, one hundred and sixty-nine magistrates were awakened by the arrival of two musketeers who enjoined upon them to sign, yes or no, a paper which informed them of an order to resume their duties. Thirty-eight signed yes, and retracted it the next day. The following night an officer signified to each of them the confiscation of their offices, and musketeers presented them *lettres de cachet*, which banished them to different places. At the end of the year there were more than seven hundred magistrates in exile. Maupéou then formed a new Parliament.

The gravest element in the situation was that public opinion was at last deeply interested; that the opposition made itself heard even about the throne; that all the princes of the blood, with one single exception, and thirteen peers, protested "against the overthrow of the laws of the State"; and, finally, that the formidable name of the States-General was pronounced by the Parliaments of Toulouse, Besançon, Rouen, and even at Paris, by the court of aids. Soon, indeed, it would be necessary for the nation to assemble, but it would be for reconstruction; for everything was shaking and trembling. Richelieu and Louis XIV. had destroyed the political importance of the nobility. Louis XV. having destroyed the great body of the magistracy, what remained to support the old edifice and protect the monarch?

Famine Compact; Lettres de Cachet; Bankruptcy.— And each day the shame of this monarch increased. In 1773 Austria, Prussia, and Russia divided Poland among themselves, and France was powerless to prevent this execution of a whole people. In 1768 the association wittily called the Famine Compact renewed its lease for the monopoly of grain, and thus created the artificial famines of 1768 and 1769; the *lettres de cachet* were multiplied to a frightful extent, and thus the liberty of the citizens was placed in the hands of the rich and powerful who had a passion to satiate or a revenge to gratify. The abbé Terray, forgetting that an excessive taxation was ruinous to the treasury itself, changed the whole system of contribution in such a manner as to render the taxation overwhelming. Poverty increased, but the revenue did not, and bankruptcy was the

only expedient he devised for reducing the debt of the State. In spite of all this, Terray allowed an annual deficit of 41,000,000 livres to remain.

Meanwhile, since 1715, the taxes had more than doubled, having increased from 165,000,000 to 365,000,000. Louis XV. clearly foresaw that some terrible expiation was coming; but in his selfishness, he consoled himself by thinking that the catastrophe would fall on some other head; "Matters will go on as they are as long as I live," said he; "my successor may get out of the difficulty as well as he can." And Madame de Pompadour repeated with him, "After us, the deluge."