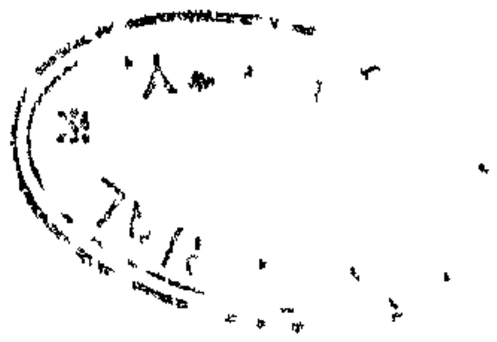
HISTORY OF FRANCE



FRANÇOIS PIERRE GUILLAUME GUIZOT

Frontispiece



THE HISTORY OF FRANCE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION

ABRIDGED FROM MR. ROBERT BLACK'S TRANSLATION OF M. GUIZOT'S LARGER HISTORY

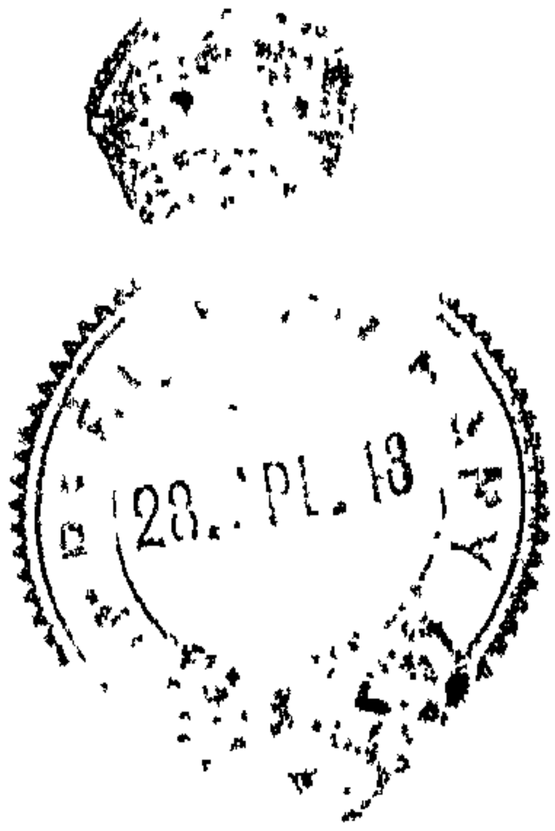
WITH CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX, HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES, PORTRAITS, &c.

BY

GUSTAVE MASSON, B.A. UNIV. GALL.

OFFICIER D'ACADÉMIE, ASSISTANT MASTER AND LIBRARIAN, HARROW SCHOOL, AND MEMBER OF THE "SOCIÉTÉ DE L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE"

London:
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, & COMPANY LIMITED
1912


28. PL. 13

TO

THE REV. H. M. BUTLER, D.D.,

HEAD MASTER,

AND TO THE ASSISTANT MASTERS OF HARROW SCHOOL,

THESE

"OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE"

ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THEIR FAITHFUL SERVANT AND COLLEAGUE,

GUSTAVE MASSON.

PREFACE.

In preparing the following abridgment of M. Guizot's History of France, I have scrupulously abstained from altering the translation, except in a limited number of cases, where condensation was absolutely necessary. One of the distinctive features of the original work is the number of characteristic extracts taken from the picturesque pages of contemporary chroniclers and annalists. As it was impossible to retain these consistently with the nature of a mere *résumé*, I have given, instead, a tolerably complete list of all the sources of French history, so that the reader may be able to refer without difficulty to the authors quoted or alluded to by M. Guizot. This seemed a natural opportunity for mentioning a few standard works on French legislation, civil, political, and ecclesiastical, on literature, etc. I could not do more here than name one writer in each speciality; for further details the student is referred to the "Catalogue de l'Histoire de France" (Bibliothèque Nationale), 10 vols., 4to.; M. Ludovic Lalanne's "Dictionnaire Historique de la France" (published by Messrs. Hachette of Paris), 1 vol., 8vo.; and M. Alfred Franklin's "Sources de l'Histoire de France" (Paris, Didot, 8vo.), three storehouses of the most valuable information on the history of France.

I can only trust, in conclusion, that this unpretending volume, with its pictorial illustrations, and its necessary

appendix of genealogical, chronological, and historical t… …s, will be favourably received by the public; and I g… …ly acknowledge that whatever merit it possesses must be asc… …ed to the illustrious author and English translator of "L'Hi… …re de France racontée à mes petits-enfants."

GUSTAVE MASSO

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL,
June 13*th*, 1879.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

			PAGE
PREFACE			v
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE			ix
CHAPTER	I.	THE GAULS AND THE ROMANS	1
,,	II.	CHRISTIANITY IN GAUL. THE BARBARIANS. THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY. CHARLEMAGNE	23
,,	III.	THE CARLOVINGIANS. FEUDAL FRANCE. THE CRUSADES	53
,,	IV.	THE KINGSHIP, THE COMMONERS AND THE THIRD ESTATE	96
,,	V.	THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR	141
,,	VI.	LOUIS XI. CHARLES VIII. LOUIS XII. (1461—1515)	201
,,	VII.	THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION. FRANCIS I. AND HENRY II. (1515—1559)	241
,,	VIII.	THE WARS OF RELIGION. FRANCIS II. (1559). HENRY III. (1589)	285
,,	IX.	REIGN OF HENRY IV. (1589—1593). LOUIS XIII., RICHELIEU AND THE COURT	316
,,	X.	RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN	346
,,	XI.	LOUIS XIV., HIS FOREIGN POLICY, SUCCESSES AND REVERSES	375
,,	XII.	LOUIS XIV. HOME ADMINISTRATION. LITERATURE, THE COURT AND SOCIETY	399
,,	XIII.	LOUIS XV., THE REGENCY, CARDINAL DUBOIS AND CARDINAL DE FLEURY (1715—1748)	447
,,	XIV.	LOUIS XI. THE COLONIES. THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1748—1774). LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY	479
,,	XV.	LOUIS XVI. (1778—1789)	532
APPENDIX	A.	SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE	566
,,	B.	PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM	574
,,	C, D.	TABLE OF THE FEUDAL DISMEMBERMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE	575
,,	E.	TABLE SHOWING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS	
		GENEALOGICAL TABLES	577
		INDEX	

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
M. Guizot . . . . . (frontispiece)	
Charles V.	145
Bertrand Du Guesclin	161
John the Fearless	177
Jacques Cœur	196
Louis XII.	228
Francis I.	241
Henry II.	305
Henry IV.	321
Sully	337
Louis XIV.	385
Bossuet	421
Louis XIV. in his old age	433
The Regent Orleans	451
Louis XV.	467
Cardinal Dubois	483
Madame de Pompadour	497
Buffon	513
Necker at Saint Ouen	529
Marie Antoinette	561

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

b, *d*, *fl*, stand respectively for *born*, *died*, and *flourished*.

B.C.

587 The Gauls in Germany and Italy.
340 The Gauls in Greece.
283 A Roman army destroyed by the Gauls at Arretium.
279 The Gauls near Delphi.
241 The Gauls attacked by Eumenes and Attalus.
154 Marseilles calls in the assistance of the Romans.
122 Sextius founds Aquæ Sextiæ in Provence.
118 Foundation of Narbo Martius.
102 Marius defeats the Teutons in two battles.
100 Birth of Julius Cæsar.
58 Cæsar obtains the government of Cisalpine Gaul for five years. Attacks the Helvetii.
51 Gaul made a Roman province.

A.D.

70 Civilis surrenders.
79 Death of Sabinus and of his wife Eponina.
273 The Emperor Aurelian in Gaul.
" Battle of Châlons-sur-Marne.
277 Probus goes on an expedition to Gaul, in which country the *Franks* settle about this time.
305 The Franks defeated by Constantius in Gaul.
355 The Franks take Cologne, and destroy it; Julian named prefect of Transalpine Gaul.
357 Julian defeats six German kings at Strasburg.
413 The kingdom of the Burgundians begins under Gondicarius.
420 Pharamond supposed to begin the kingdom of the Franks.
426 Aëtius defends the Franks on the borders of the Rhine.
438 The Franks obtain a permanent footing in Gaul.
451 Battle of Châlons.
458 Childéric, king of the Franks, deposed by his subjects.
462 The Ripuarian Franks take Cologne from the Romans.

A.D.

463 Childéric recalled by the Franks.
477 Marseilles, Arles, and Aix occupied by the Visigoths.

Merovingian dynasty.

481 Death of Childéric; his son Clovis succeeds to the throne.
486 Battle of Soissons gained by Clovis against Singrius, the Roman general in Gaul.
493 Marriage of Clovis with Clotilda.
496 Clovis, king of France, is baptized after the battle of Tolbiac.
501 Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, publishes his code, entitled "La Loi Gombette."
507 Battle of Vouillé, near Poictiers; Alaric is defeated and slain by Clovis.
509 Clovis receives the titles of Patrician and Consul.
510 Clovis makes Paris the capital of the French dominions.
511 Clovis dying, his dominions are divided among his children.
524 Battle of Voiron; Chlodomir, king of Orleans, is killed by Gondomar, king of Burgundy.
531 Thierry, king of Metz, seizes Thuringia from Hermanfroi.
532 The kingdom of Burgundy ends, being conquered by Childebert and Clotaire, kings of Paris and Soissons.
556 Civil wars in France; the dominions of Theodebald, king of Metz, are divided between Clotaire, king of Soissons, and Childebert, king of Paris.
558 Childebert dies, and is succeeded by his son Clotaire, who becomes sovereign of all France.
560 Chramn, natural son of Clotaire, defeated and burnt alive.
567 Death of Charibert, king of Paris; his territories are divided among his brothers; but the city of Paris is held by them in common.

A.D.
557 Rivalry of the two queens, Brunehaut and Frédégonde.
612 Théodebert II., king of Austrasia, defeated and confined in a monastery by his brother, Thierry II., king of Orleans and Burgundy.
613 Clotaire king of all France; death of Brunehaut, widow of Sigebert, king of Austrasia.
628 Clotaire II., king of France, dies, and is succeeded by his son Dagobert.
631 Childéric, son and successor of Charibert, poisoned by Dagobert, who remains sole monarch of France.
638 Dagobert, king of France, is succeeded by his two sons, Sigebert II in Austrasia, and Clovis II. in Neustria and Burgundy. The *Maires du Palais* begin to usurp the royal authority.
678 Death of Dagobert II., king of Neustria; Martin and Pépin Heristal, Mayors of the palace. Thierry III. is suffered to enjoy the title of king of Austrasia.
691 Clovis III. king.
715 Charles Martel, son of Pépin Heristal, governs as Mayor of the palace.
717 Charles Martel defeats king Chilpéric II. and the Neustrians.
732 Charles Martel defeats the Saracens.
735 Charles Martel becomes master of Aquitaine.
737 On the death of of Thierry III., Charles Martel governs France, with the title of Duke, for six years.
741 Charles Martel dies, and is succeeded by his sons, Carloman in Austrasia and Thuringia, and Pépin in Neustria, Burgundy and Provence.
742 Pépin places Childéric III. on the throne of Neustria and Burgundy. —Charlemagne *b.*

Carlovingian dynasty.

752 Pépin deposes Childéric, confines him in a monastery, and is consecrated at Soissons.
754 Pépin's expedition into Italy.
758 Pépin reduces the Saxons in Germany.
768 Pépin dies at St. Denis, and is succeeded by his sons Charles and Carloman.
771 Carloman dying in November, Charlemagne remains sovereign of all France.
772 Charlemagne begins the Saxon war, which continues thirty years.
773 Charlemagne defeats the troops of Didier, king of the Lombards, and lays siege to Pavia.
774 Surrender of Pavia, and capture of Didier.
776 The abbey church of St. Denis near Paris founded.
778 Battle of Roncevaux.
784 Charlemagne defeats Witikind and the Saxons.
791 Charlemagne defeats the Avari, in Pannonia
793 The Saracens ravage Gallia Narbonnensis, where they are at length defeated by Charlemagne.
800 Charlemagne crowned king of Italy and emperor of the West.
806 Partition of the empire.
813 Charlemagne associates his son Louis, surnamed the Debonnair, or the Pious, to the Western Empire.
814 Charlemagne dies; succeeded as emperor and king by his son Louis.
817 Louis divides his empire among his children.
840 Louis the Debonnair dies; his eldest son, Lothaire, has Italy, with the title of Emperor; Charles the Bald the kingdom of France; and Louis, that of Bavaria or Germany.
841 Battle of Fontanet.
843 New partition of the French dominions in an assembly at Thionville.
844 Charles the Bald defeated in Aquitaine by Pépin II.
877 Charles the Bald poisoned. His son, Louis II., surnamed the Stammerer, succeeds him.
879 Louis the Stammerer dies, and is succeeded by his sons Louis III. and Carloman. Boson seizes Dauphiny and Provence, and begins the kingdom of Arles.
880 The Normans invade France, and destroy several abbeys.
881 Louis. III., king of France, defeats the Normans at Saucourt.
882 Louis III. of France dies, leaving his brother Carloman sole sovereign. Hincmar *d.*
887 Paris besieged by the Normans.
888 On the death of Charles his dominions are divided into five kingdoms: Eudes becomes king

A.D.

of Western France and Aquitaine.

893 Charles the Simple crowned king of France.

898 Charles the Simple is recognized king of France.

905 The Normans take the town of Rouen.

906 The Normans conquer Colentin and and Maine, and ravage Brittany, Picardy, and Champagne.

912 Charles the Simple cedes to Normans a part of Neustria, which thenceforward is called Normandy.

922 Robert elected and anointed king of France at Rheims.

923 Rodolph, duke of Burgundy, is elected and crowned king of France. Charles the Simple is confined in the castle of Péronne.

929 Charles the Simple dies in prison.

936 Louis IV. surnamed d'Outremer, son of Charles the Simple, anointed king of France.

Capetian Dynasty.

987 Louis V., king of France, dies. Hugh Capet is anointed at Rheims.

994 Charles, duke of Lorraine, the only survivor of the race of Charlemagne, dies in prison at Orleans.

996 Hugh Capet *d.* Robert succeeds to the crown.

1031 Henry I. king of France.

1066 Conquest of England by William, duke of Normandy, in the battle of Senlac.

1095 Council held at Clermont; preaching of the crusade.

1096 The crusades begin.

1097 Godfrey of Bouillon and the crusaders take Nice.

1098 Battle of Dorylæum.

1099 Jerusalem taken by the crusaders.

1100 Godfrey of Bouillon *d.*

1108 Philip I. *d.*

1112 Robert Wace *b.*

1113 War begins between England and France.

1115 Peter the Hermit *d.*

1119 Louis VI., king of France, defeated at Brenneville. Baldwin, II., king of Jerusalem, defeats the Turks at Antioch.

1124 War between France and Germany.

1137 Louis VII. king of France.

1143 Vitry besieged and burnt by Louis VII.

1147 Second crusade preached by Bernard of Clairvaux. Giraud le Roux, *troubadour, fl.*

A.D.

1148 The crusaders besiege Damascus without success. The emperor Conrad and king Louis VII. arrive at Jerusalem.

1149 Louis VII. returns to France.

1150 Villehardouin *b.* Arnauld Daniel, *trouvadour fl.* The *cours d'amour.*

1152 Suger *d.*

1179 Louis VII., king of France, arrives in England, on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Becket.

1180 Philip Augustus king of France. Robert Wace *d.*

1187 Jerusalem taken by Saladin (2nd of October).

1188 A third crusade undertaken for the recovery of Jerusalem. The tax called Saladin's tithe imposed in most countries of Christendom.

1190 Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, and Philip Augustus go to the holy wars. The walls and gates of Paris are built.

1191 St. Jean d'Acre taken by the crusaders. *Philip Augustus returns to* France.—Chrestien de Troyes *d.*

1196 Philip Augustus marries Agnes of Merania.

1201 A war begins between John, king of England, and Philip Augustus of France. Thibaut de Champagne *b.* Agnes of Merania *d.*

1203 John, king of England, accused of the murder of his nephew Arthur, is cited to appear before an assembly of the peers of France; his estates in that country are confiscated. The French and Venetian crusaders take Constantinople on the 10th of July.

1210 Crusade against the Albigenses. Chronicle of the crusade composed in the *Langue d'oc.*

1213 Villehardouin, *d.* *Jaufre and Brunissende*, a Provençal romance, composed about that time.

1214 Philip Augustus defeats the emperor Otho, near Bouvines.

1215 Louis IX., king of France, *b.*

1216 Philip Augustus invades England, and is received by the barons; but on the death of John, Henry III. is crowned king.

1218 Simon de Montfort *d.*

1222 Joinville *b.*

1223 Louis VIII. king of France.

1226 Louis IX. king of France. Regency of Blanche of Castile.

1234 Louis IX. marries Marguerite of Provence.

1242 Battle of Taillebourg.

A.D.
1248 Louis IX. sets out for the crusade.
1249 Damietta, in Egypt, taken by Louis on the 5th of June.
1250 Battle of Mansourah. Louis defeated and taken prisoner in Egypt. Marcabrus, *troubadour, fl.*
1252 Blanche of Castile *d.*
1254 St Louis leaves Palestine.
1258 Stephen Boileau provost of Paris.
1264 Henry, king of England, taken prisoner by the barons at the battle of Lewes. St. Louis arbitrates between them.
1270 Louis dies at Tunis, his son Philip the Bold succeeds him.
1278 Peter de la Brosse hanged at Paris.
1282 The Sicilians, excited by Peter III., king of Arragon, massacre all the French they can find in their Island.
1285 Philip IV. king of France.
1296 Bull "Clericis Laicos."
1297 Flanders invaded by the French.
1301 Revolt at Bruges. Bull "Ausculta fili."
1302 Battle of Courtrai. States-General convoked
1303 Pope Boniface VIII. arrested. He dies.
1304 Battle of Mons-en-Puelle. Pope Benedict XI. *d.*
1308 The States-General assembled at Tours approve the measures directed against the Templars.
1314 Molay, grand master of the order of Templars, and a great number of knights companions, burned alive at Paris, on the 11th of March. Death of Pope Clement V., and of Philip the Handsome. States-General (August).
1315 Louis X. emancipates the serfs on the royal dominions. Enguerrand de Marigny *d.*
1319 Joinville *d.*

Branch of the Valois.

1328 Philip VI., king of France, gains the battle of Cassel.
1336 Edward III. of England supports the cause of the Flemings against Philip VI. of France.
1337 Froissart *b*
1340 Edward III. defeats the French in a naval engagement near Sluys: truce of four years.
1341 Beginning of the war for the succession of Brittany, between Charles of Blois and John of Montfort. Petrarch crowned at the Capitol.
1344 Edward III. renews the war with France.
1346 Battle of Cressy.
1347 Calais surrenders to Edward III., after a siege of eleven months and a few days. William of Ockham *d.*
1348 The black plague. The Jews persecuted.
1349 Cession of Vienness and of Montpellier to France.
1350 Philip VI. *d.*
1356 John II., king of France, taken prisoner in the battle of Poictiers, September 19th, and sent to England.
1358 Treaty of Calais, between Edward III. of England and the French. Stephen Marcel. The Jacquerie.
1360 King John, set at liberty, returns to France. Treaty of Brétigny. Buridan *d.*
1364 Battle of Cocherel (6th of May), and of Auray (29th of Sept.) John II. dies in England, his son Charles V. succeeds him, and is crowned at Rheims. A University founded at Angers.
1367 Battle of Navarette.—De Guesclin made a prisoner.
1376 Edward, prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, *d.* (June 8th).
1377 Edward III., king of England, *d.* Brittany invaded by Oliver de Clisson.
1380 Du Guesclin *d.* Charles V. *d.*
1382 Battle of Rosebecque. The *Malleteers.* Nicolas Oresme *d.*
1392 Murder of Oliver de Clisson.
1400 Chaucer *d.*
1407 The duke of Orleans murdered.
1408 Valentine of Milan *d.* The king of France excommunicated by the Pope.
1410 Beginning of the civil war in France.
1415 Battle of Agincourt (October 23).
1418 Massacre of the Armagnac faction in Paris.
1419 The Duke of Burgundy murdered at Montereau.
1420 Treaty of Troyes signed on the 21st of May. A Parliament established at Toulouse (March 20).
1421 Battle of Beaugé on the 3rd of April, in which the duke of Clarence is killed.
1422 Henry V., king of England, *d.* at

A.D.

Vincennes in France. Charles VI., king of France, *d.*
1423 Battle of Crovant (June).
1428 The duke of Bedford defeats the French at Verneuil (August 16).
1428 The siege of Orleans begins on the 12th of October.
1429 Battle of Herrings (12th February). Joan of Arc obliges the English to raise the siege of Orleans.
1431 Trial and death of Joan of Arc.
1435 Treaty of Arras.
1436 Paris recovered by the French, on the 13th of April.
1437 Siege of Montereau. Charles VII. makes his solemn entry in Paris.
1440 The "Praguery."
1444 Truce between England and France signed at Tours.
1449 War renewed between England and France.
1450 Battle of Formigny gained over the English. Agnes Sorel *d.*
1451 The English evacuate Rouen and several places in France. Campaign in Guyenne.
1453 Talbot *d.*
1456 Jacques Cœur *d.*
1461 Louis XI. king of France.
1464 The league against Louis XI. of France, called "La Guerre du Bien Public."
1465 Treaties of Conflans and of Saint-Maur.
1467 Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, *d.*
1468 Louis XI. at Péronne. Revolt of the Liégeois.
1476 Charles, duke of Burgundy, defeated at Granson (20th of June).
1477 The duke of Burgundy slain at Nancy.
1479 Battle of Guinegate.
1483 Louis XI. *d.* Rabelais *b.* Luther *b.* Charles VIII. king of France.
1484 The States-General convoked at Tours.
1488 Battle of St. Aubin: the duke of Brittany is defeated and the duke of Orleans taken prisoner (28th of June).
1492 Brittany united to the French crown.
1494 Charles VIII., king of France, goes on an expedition into Italy.
1495 Battle of Fornovo between Charles VIII. and the Venetians (6th July). Clément Marot *b.*

Branch of Orleans.

1498 Death of Charles VIII., king of France (April 7th).
1499 Louis XII., king of France, takes

A.D.

possession of Milanese, and enters Milan on the 6th of October.
1500 Insurrection at Milan.
1501 Louis XII. of France and Ferdinand V. of Spain seize on the kingdom of Naples.
1503 The power of the French in Naples ends with the loss of the battles of Corignola, Seminara, and Garigliano. Pope Alexander VI. *d.* Michel de l'Hospital *b.*
1504 Truce between France and Spain.
1508 The pope and the emperor join the king of France in the treaty of Cambray, against the Venetians.
1509 Battle of Agnadello, (14th of May). Calvin *b.* Étienne Dolet *b.* Martial d'Auvergne *d.*
1510 Cardinal d'Amboise *d.*
1512 Battle of Ravenna. Gaston de Foix *d.*
1513 The French defeated by the Swiss in the battle of Novarra. Jacques Amyot *b.* Pope Julius II. *d.*
1514 Anne of Brittany *d.*

Branch of Angoulême.

1515 Battle of Melegnano between the French and Swiss. Louis XII. *d.* Ramus *b.*
1516 Treaty of Noyons signed on the 16th of August.
1520 Interview between Henry VIII. of England and Francis I. of France (4th of June). Pierre Viret *b.*
1521 League between the emperor Charles V. of Spain and Henry VIII. of England, against the king of France.
1523 League against Francis I. of France, by Pope Clement VII., the emperor, and the Venetians. Bayard *d.* The memoirs of Commines published.
1525 Francis I. taken prisoner in the battle of Pavia (24th of February), and sent to Madrid.
1526 Treaty of Madrid (14th of January). Francis is restored to liberty. The Holy League.
1527 Henri Estienne *b.* Brantôme *b.*
1529 Peace of Cambray, between Charles V. and Francis I. Louis de Berquin put to death. Étienne Pasquier *b.*
1536 League between Francis I. of France, and Solyman II., sultan of the Turks, against the emperor Charles V. Vauquelin de la Fresnaye *b.*
1543 Treaty of alliance between Sultan Solyman and Francis I. of France against the emperor Charles V.

A.D.

1544 Battle of Cerisoles. Treaty of Crespy (18th of September). Bonaventure des Périers *d.* Clément Marot *d.* Du Bartas *b.*

1545 Massacre of the Vaudois. Robert Garnier *b.*

1547 Henry II. king of France.

1548 Rebellion in the South of France. La Boétie writes his *Contre un.* First edition of the Salic law.

1556 Charles V. resigns the crown of Spain and all his other dominions and retires to the monastery of St. Just. Malherbe *b.*

1557 Battle of St. Quentin (10th of August).

1558 The French recover Calais from the English. Mellin de St. Gelais *d.*

1559 Henry II. *d.* Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis Édict of Écouen. Amyot translates Plutarch. Anne Dubourg put to death.

1560 Conspiracy of Amboise. Francis II. *d.* Charles IX., king. Joachim du Bellay *d.*

1562 Massacre of Vassy. Battle of Dreux (19th December).

1563 The duke of Guise is assassinated by Poltrot (24th February). Peace of Amboise.

1567 The religious wars recommence in France; battle of St Denis, between the prince of Condé and the constable Montmorency, in which the latter is mortally wounded.

1569 The Huguenots defeated in the battles of Jarnac, on the 13th May, and of Moncontour, on the 3rd October.

1572 Massacre of the Huguenots at Paris, on Sunday, the 24th August. Ramus *d.* Jean Goujon *d.*

1574 Charles IX. *d.* Hotman publishes his *Franco-Gallia.*

1576 Edict of pacification in France.

1584 The Cardinal de Bourbon proposed as eventual king of France. La Croix du Maine publishes his *Bibliothèque Française.*

1587 Battle of Coutras (10th of October) the Duke de Joyeuse is defeated by Henry, king of Navarre. An Arabic lectureship is created at the *collège royal.*

1588 The duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal murdered at Blois.

Dynasty of the Bourbons.

1589 Henry III. of France murdered (22nd of July). Henry IV. of Navarre succeeds to the vacant throne. Battle of Arques. Ronsard, Hotman *d.*

1590 Battle of Ivry (4th of March). Germain Pilon, Jean Cousin, Du Bartas, Cujas, Ambroise Paré, Palissy *d.* Théophile de Viaud *b.*

1591 The Pope excommunicates Henry IV.: the parliament of Paris oppose the sentence. Guy Coquille's *Libertés de l'église de France* published. La Noue *d.*

1593 Henry IV. abjures the Protestant religion, on Sunday, the 25th of of July, at St. Denis. The *Satire Ménippée* published. Amyot *d.*

1594 Henry IV. anointed at Chartres: attempt on his life (17th December). Pierre Pithou *fl.* Balzac, St. Amand *b.*

1595 Battle of Fontaine-Française. Desmarets de St. Sorlin *b.*

1598 Edict of Nantes (April). Peace of Vervins signed on the 22nd of the same month. Voiture *b.*

1602 Marshal Biron's conspiracy detected and punished.

1610 Henry IV. assassinated by Ravaillac (4th of May). Louis XIII. king of France. Scarron, La Calprenède *b.*

1617 Murder of Concini.

1621 The civil war renewed with the Huguenots in France, and continues nine years. The Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur receive their statutes. La Fontaine *b.*

1628 Rochelle besieged and taken by Louis XIII. (18th of October).

1629 Peace restored between France and England. Malherbe *d.* Corneille brings out *Mélite*, his first play.

1630 Treaty of Cherasco. "Journée des Dupes." Hardy, Agrippa d'Aubigné *d.*

1632 Battles of Lutzen and of Castelnaudary. Fléchier, Bourdaloue *b.*

1636 Treaty between Louis XIII. of France, and Christina, queen of Sweden (10th of March). Port Royal des Champs founded. *Le Cid* brought out. Boileau *b.*

1642 Conspiracy of Cinq-Mars. Richelieu *d.*

1643 Louis XIII. *d* (4th of May). The duke d'Enghien, afterwards prince of Condé, defeats the Spaniards at Rocroy (9th of May). St. Cyran *d.*

1648 The prince of Condé defeats the archduke at Sens (10th of August).

A.D.

Treaty of Munster (14th of October) between France, Sweden and the empire. The civil war of the Fronde breaks out in Paris. Mersenne, Voiture *d.* La Sueur finishes his series of paintings illustrating the history of St. Bruno.

1659 Peace restored between France and Spain, by the treaty called the "Peace of the Pyrenees." Louis XIV. marries the Infanta of Spain. Molière and the *Précieuses ridicules.*

1661 Cardinal Mazarin *d.* Bossuet's first sermon before Louis XIV.

1667 War renewed between France and Spain. Molière and *Tartuffe.* Racine and *Andromaque.*

1668 A triple alliance between Great Britain, Sweden, and the States-General, against France (23rd of January). Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and Spain (22nd of April). Racine and *Les Plaideurs*, Molière and *L'Avare.* Le Sage *b.*

1672 War declared by England and France, against the Dutch. A treaty between the empire and Holland, against France (15th of July). Boileau and *Le Lutrin.* Molière and *Les Femmes savantes.*

1673 The English and French defeat the Dutch (28th of May) at Schonvelt; again (4th of June), and (11th of August), in the mouth of the Texel. Louis XIV. declares war against Spain (9th of October). Racine and *Mithridate.*

1674 Battle of Senoffe, in Flanders, between the prince of Orange and the prince of Condé (1st of August). First settlement of the French at Pondicherry. Marshal Turenne defeats the Imperialists. Chapelain *d.* Racine and *Iphigénie.* Malebranche and the *Recherche de la Verité.*

1675 Conference for a peace held at Nimeguen. Madame de la Vallière takes the veil.

1678 Peace of Nimeguen (31st of July). La Fontaine publishes his second series of fables. Ducange's Latin Glossary.

1681 The city of Strasburg submits to Louis XIV. Mabillon publishes his *De re diplomatica.*

1684 Luxemburg taken by Louis XIV. A truce between France and Spain concluded at Ratisbon (31st of July) and between France and the empire (5th of August). P. Corneille *d.*

A.D.

1685 Louis XIV. revokes the edict of Nantes.

1686 Treaty of alliance between Germany, Great Britain, and Holland against France. Condé *d.*

1689 The French fleet defeated by the English and Dutch in Bantry Bay (1st of May). Racine and *Esther.*

1690 Battle of Fleurus; Luxemburg defeats the allies (21st of June). The allied English and Dutch fleets defeated by the French off Beachy Head (30th of June).

1691 A congress at the Hague, in Jan. Mons taken by the French (30th of March). Louvois *d.* Racine and *Athalie.*

1692 Battle of La Hogue: the English defeat the French fleet (19th of May). Namur, in Flanders, besieged and taken by Louis XIV. (25th of May). Luxemburg defeats the allies at Stoinkirk (24th of July).

1693 The English and Dutch fleets defeated by the French off Cape St. Vincent (16th of June). The duke of Savoy defeated by Marshal Catinat, at Marsaglia (24th of September). Pelisson, Bussy-Rabutin, Mdme. de La Fayette, Mdlle. de Montpensier *d.*

1697 Peace of Ryswick (11th of September) between Great Britain and France—France and Holland—France and Spain; and on the 20th of October, between France and the empire. Santeuil *d.* The Abbé Prévost *b.*

1698 The first treaty of partition between Great Britain, France and Holland signed (19th of August) for the dismemberment of Spain, to Charles II., king of that country, makes his will in favour of a prince of the house of Bourbon. Le Nain de Tillemont *d.*

1700 Charles II., king of Spain, *d.* (21st of October). The duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., succeeds by the name of Philip V.

1702 Battle of Luzzara, in Italy (4th of August); the Imperialists defeated by the French; the French fleet destroyed in the port of Vigo, by the British and Dutch (12th of October). Jean Bart *d.*

A.D.

1704 Battle of Hochstedt or Blenheim (2nd of August). Bossuet, Bourdaloue *d.*

1706 Battle of Ramilies (12th of May) the French are defeated by the duke of Marlborough.

1708 Battle of Audenarde (30th of June), the French defeated by the duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Regnard and *Le Légataire universel*, Le Sage and *Turcaret.*

1709 Battle of Malplaquet (31st of Aug.), the French defeated by the allies. Mons taken by the allies (21st of October). Port Royal des Champs destroyed.

1710 Battle of Villa Viciosa (29th of November), the Imperialists, under Count Stahremburg, are defeated by Philip V.

1712 Negotiations for a general peace opened at Utrecht. Jean Jacques Rousseau *b.*

1713 Peace of Utrecht, concluded by France and Spain, with England, Savoy, Portugal, Prussia, and Holland, signed on the 30th of March, O.S. Fénelon publishes his *Traité de l'existence de Dieu.*

1714 The bull "Unigenitus" received in France.

1715 Louis XIV. *d.* (21st of August), succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV. under the regency of the duke of Orleans. Malebranche, Fénelon *d.* Le Sage's *Gil Blas.*

1717 Triple alliance between Great Britain, France, and Holland, signed at the Hague (24th of December). The memoirs of Cardinal de Retz published. Massillon's *Petit Carême* preached.

1718 Quadruple alliance between Germany, Great Britain, France, and Holland, for the maintenance of the treaties of Utrecht and Baden. Conspiracy of Cellamare. Great Britain declares war against Spain (11th of December) Voltaire and *Œdipe*, his first tragedy.

1719 The Mississippi scheme at its height in France. Madame de Maintenon *d.*

1720 The French Mississippi company dissolved. The plague breaks out at Marseilles, and causes great distress.

1723 Duke of Orleans *d.* Voltaire publishes his *Poëme de la Ligue* (*La Henriade*).

1725 Treaty of Hanover, between Great Britain, France, and Russia, against Germany and Spain (3rd September).

A.D.

1733 Stanislaus proclaimed king of Poland (5th of October).

1734 The Imperialists defeated by the French and Piedmontese at Parma (18th of June), and in the battle of Guastalla, by the king of Sardinia, and the Marshals Coigny and Broglie (8th of September). Montesquieu's *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains.*

1735 Treaty of Vienna (3rd of October). Voltaire publishes his *Lettres philosophiques.*

1740 The Emperor Charles VI. *d.* (9th of October). Voltaire publishes his *Essai sur les mœurs.*

1741 The archduchess Maria Theresa crowned queen of Hungary, at Presburg (25th of June).

1743 Battle of Dettingen (16th of June). Cardinal de Fleury *d.* Voltaire and *Mérope.*

1745 Battle of Fontenoy, the French defeat the allies, commanded by the duke of Cumberland.

1746 (April 16th) Battle of Culloden.

" (September 30th) Count Saxe defeats the allies at Raucoux. Vauvenargues and the *Introduction à la connaissance de l'esprit humain.*

1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, between Great Britain, France, Spain, Austria, Sardinia, and Holland (7th of October). Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois.*

1754 (April 17) the French attack an English fort on Monongahela, and Logstown on the Ohio. General Braddock defeated and killed by the French (July 9), near Fort Du Quesne, on the Ohio.

1756 May 29, Admiral Byng defeated by the French. The duke of Richelieu takes Port Mahon (June 28).

1757 Damien attempts to assassinate Louis XV. The French garrison of Chandernugger surrenders to the British (March 28). Battle of Hastenbeck, the French defeat the duke of Cumberland (July 26). The marquis of Montcalm besieges Fort George (August 3), the English surrender on the 9th. Convention of Closter-Seven, between Marshal Richelieu and the duke of Cumberland (September 8). Battle of Rosbach (November 5).

1758 March 14th. The French garrison in

A.D.

Minden capitulates. The French defeated at Crevelt (June 23). Helvétius publishes *De l'Esprit.* Quesnay's *Tableau économique.*

1759 (September 30.) The British defeated by the French in the East Indies, near Arcot. Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse.*

1760 (April 28th.) The English defeated by the French near Quebec. Mdme. de Souza *b.*

1761 (August 15th.) The family compact concluded between Louis XV. of France and Charles III. of Spain. Voltaire's *L'Ingénu.*

1762 (August 6.) The Jesuits suppressed in France. Treaty of peace signed at Fontainebleau, between France, Spain and Great Britain. Rousseau's *Émile.*

1763 (February 10.) Peace of Paris, between Great Britain, France and Spain, acceded to by Portugal. l'abbé Prévost *d.*

1767 (May 15.) Corsica ceded to France, by the Genoese. Benjamin Constant, Fiévée, *b.*

A.D.

1769 Napoléon Bonaparte, Cuvier, Châteaubriand, *b.*

1774 (May 10) Louis XV. of France *d.* Succeeded by Louis XVI.

1778 (February 6.) Treaty of alliance and defence between France and the Americans. Pondichery taken by the British. Rousseau, Voltaire, *d.* Buffon's *Époques de la nature.*

1782 (April 12th.) Sir George Rodney defeats the French fleet under Count de Grasse, off Dominica Another engagement near Trincomalee, on the same day; and a third in September.

1783 (January 20.) Preliminaries of peace between Great Britain, France and Spain, by which the independence of America is confirmed.

1788 (November 6.) The French notables, convoked by Louis XVI, assemble at Paris. Buffon *d.* Bernardin de St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie.*

1789 (May 4.) The States General of France assemble. The Bastille at Paris destroyed (July 14) Chénier's *Charles IX.* performed.



CHAPTER I.

THE GAULS AND THE ROMANS.

Gaul: its inhabitants.

THREE or four centuries before the Christian era, on that vast territory comprised between the ocean, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Alps, and the Rhine, lived six or seven millions of men a bestial life, enclosed in dwellings dark and low, the best of them built of wood and clay, covered with branches or straw, made in a single round piece, open to daylight by the door alone, and confusedly heaped together behind a rampart, not inartistically composed, of timber, earth, and stone, which surrounded and protected what they were pleased to call a town.

Of even such towns there were scarcely any as yet, save in the most populous and least uncultivated portion of Gaul; that is to say, in the southern and eastern regions, at the foot of the mountains of Auvergne and the Cévennes, and along the coasts of the Mediterranean. In the north and the west were paltry hamlets, as transferable almost as the people themselves; and on some islet amidst the morasses, or in some hidden recess of the forest, were huge entrenchments formed of the trees that were felled, where the population, at the first sound of the war-cry, ran to shelter themselves, with their flocks and all their movables. Gaul was not occupied by one and the same nation, with the same traditions and the same chiefs. Tribes, very different in origin, habits and date of settlement, were continually disputing the territory. In the south were Iberians or Aquitanians, Phœnicians and Greeks; in the north and north-west Kymrians or Belgians; every where else

Gauls or Celts, the most numerous settlers, who had the honour of giving their name to the country. Who were the first to come, then? and what was the date of the first settlement? Nobody knows. Of the Greeks alone does history mark with any precision the arrival in southern Gaul. The Phœnicians preceded them by several centuries; but it is impossible to fix any exact time. The information is equally vague about the period when the Kymrians invaded the north of Gaul. As for the Gauls and the Iberians, there is not a word about their first entrance into the country, for they are discovered there already at the first appearance of the country itself in the domain of history.

Iberians. The Iberians, whom Roman writers call Aquitanians, dwelt at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the territory comprised between the mountains, the Garonne, and the ocean. They belonged to the race which, under the same appellation, had peopled Spain, and which abides still in the department of the Lower Pyrenees, under the name of Basques; a peoplet[1] distinct from all its neighbours in features, costume, and especially language, which resembles none of the present languages of Europe, contains many words which are to be found in the names of rivers, mountains, and towns of olden Spain, and which presents a considerable analogy to the idioms, ancient and modern, of certain peoples of northern Africa. The Phœnicians did not leave, as the Iberians did, in the south of France distinct and well-authenticated descendants.

Greeks. As merchants and colonists, the Greeks were, in Gaul, the successors of the Phœnicians, and Marseilles was one of their first and most considerable colonies; she extended her walls all round the bay and her enterprises far away. She founded, on the southern coast of Gaul and on the eastern coast of Spain, permanent settlements, which are to this day towns: eastward of the Rhone, Hercules' harbour, *Monœcus* (Monaco), *Nicæa* (Nice), *Antipolis* (Antibes); westward, *Heraclea Cacabaria* (Saint-Gilles), *Agatha* (Agde) *Emporiæ* (Ampurias in Catalonia), &c., &c. In the valley of the Rhone, several towns of the Gauls, *Cabellio* (Cavaillon), *Avenio* (Avignon), *Arelate* (Arles), for instance, were like Greek colonies, so great there was the number of travellers or established merchants who spoke Greek. With this commercial activity Marseilles united intellectual and scientific activity; her grammarians were among the first to revise and annotate the poems of Homer; and bold travellers from Marseilles, Euthymenes and Pytheas by name, cruised, one along the western coast of Africa beyond the straits of

Marseilles, its colonies

[1] Fr. "peuplade," from *people*, on the analogy of *circlet* from *circle*.—Trans.

Gibraltar. and the other the southern and western coasts of Europe, from the mouth of the *Tanais* (Don), in the Black Sea, to the latitudes and perhaps into the interior of the Baltic. They lived, both of them, in the second half of the fourth century B.C., and they wrote each a *Periplus*, or tales of their travels, which have unfortunately been almost entirely lost.

Beyond a strip of land of uneven breadth, along the Mediterranean, and save the space peopled towards the south-west by the Iberians, the country, which received its name from the former of the two, was occupied by the Gauls and the Kymrians; by the Gauls in the centre, south-east, and east, in the highlands of modern France, between the Alps, the Vosges, the mountains of Auvergne and the Cévennes; by the Kymrians in the north, north-west, and west, in the lowlands, from the western boundary of the Gauls to the ocean.

Kymrians

Whether the Gauls and the Kymrians were originally of the same race, or at least of races closely connected; whether they were both anciently comprised under the general name of Celts; and whether the Kymrians, if they were not of the same race as the Gauls, belonged to that of the Germans, the final conquerors of the Roman empire, are questions which the learned have been a long, long while discussing without deciding. Each of these races, far from forming a single people bound to the same destiny and under the same chieftains, split into peoplets, more or less independent, who foregathered or separated according to the shifts of circumstances, and who pursued each on their own account and at their own pleasure, their fortunes or their fancies. Three grand leagues existed amongst the Gauls; that of the Arvernians, formed of peoplets established in the country which received from them the name of *Auvergne*; that of the Æduans, in Burgundy, whose centre was *Bibracte* (Autun); and that of the Sequanians, in Franche-Comté, whose centre was Vesontio (Besançon). Amongst the Kymrians of the West, the Armoric league bound together the tribes of Brittany and lower Normandy. These alliances, intended to group together scattered forces, led to fresh passions or interests, which became so many fresh causes of discord and hostility.

Migrations of the Gauls.

From the earliest times to the first century before the Christian era, Gaul appears a prey to an incessant and disorderly movement of the population; they change settlement and neighbourhood; disappear from one point and reappear at another; cross one another; avoid one another; absorb and are absorbed. And the movement was not confined within Gaul; the Gauls of every race went, sometimes in very numerous hordes, to seek far away plunder

and a settlement. Spain, Italy, Germany, Greece, Asia Minor and Africa have been in turn the theatre of those Gallic expeditions which entailed long wars, grand displacements of peoples, and sometimes the formation of new nations. Let us make a slight acquaintance with this outer history of the Gauls; for it is well worth while to follow them a space upon their distant wanderings. We will then return to the soil of France and concern ourselves solely with what has passed within her boundaries.

It is only with the sixth century before our era that we light upon the really historical expeditions of the Gauls away from Gaul, those, in fact, of which we may follow the course and estimate the effects.

B.C. 587. The Gauls in Germany and in Italy.

Towards the year 587 B.C., almost at the very moment when the Phoceans had just founded Marseilles, two great Gallic hordes got in motion at the same time and crossed, one the Rhine, the other the Alps, making one for Germany, the other for Italy. The former followed the course of the Danube and settled in Illyria, on the right bank of the river. It is too much, perhaps, to say that they settled; the greater part of them continued wandering and fighting, sometimes amalgamating with the peoplets they encountered, sometimes chasing them and exterminating them, whilst themselves were incessantly pushed forward by fresh bands coming also from Gaul. Thus marching and spreading, leaving here and there on their route, along the rivers, and in the valleys of the Alps, tribes that remained and founded peoples, the Gauls

B.C. 340. The Gauls in Greece.

had reached, towards the year 340 B.C., the confines of Macedonia; additional hordes, in great numbers, arrived amongst them about the year 281 B.C. They had before them Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Greece, rich, but distracted and weakened by civil strife. They effected an entrance at several points, devastating, plundering, loading their cars with booty, and dividing their prisoners into two parts; one offered in sacrifice to their gods, the other strung up to trees and abandoned to the *gais* and *matars*, or javelins and pikes of the conquerors.

B.C. 279. The Gauls near Delphi.

Three years later, another and a more formidable invasion came bursting upon Thessaly and Greece. It was, according to the unquestionably exaggerated account of the ancient historians, 200,000 strong, and commanded by a famous, ferocious, and insolent chieftain (*Brenn*), whom the Latins and Greeks call Brennus. His idea was to strike a blow which should simultaneously enrich the Gauls and stun the Greeks. He meant to plunder the temple at Delphi, the most venerated place in all Greece, whither flowed from century to century all kinds of

offerings, and where, no doubt, enormous treasure was deposited; thoroughly defeated, however, the barbarians traversed, flying and fighting, Thessaly and Macedonia; and on returning whence they had set out, they dispersed, some to settle at the foot of a neighbouring mountain, under the command of a chieftain named *Bathanet* or *Baedhamat*, i.e. *son of the wild boar;* others to march back towards their own country; the greatest part to resume the same life of incursion and adventure. But they changed the scene of operations; they crossed the Hellespont and passed into Asia Minor; there, at one time in the pay of the kings of Bithynia, Pergamos, Cappadocia, and Syria, or of the free commercial cities which were struggling against the kings, at another carrying on wars on their own account, they wandered for more than thirty years, divided into three great hordes, which parcelled out the territories among themselves, overran and plundered them during the fine weather, entrenched themselves during winter in their camp of cars, or in some fortified place, sold their services to the highest bidder, changed masters according to interest or inclination, and by their bravery became the terror of these effeminate populations, and the arbiters of these petty states.

At last both princes and people grew weary. Antiochus, King of Syria, attacked one of the three bands which formed the barbarian multitude—that of the Tectosagians, conquered it, and cantoned it in a district of Upper Phrygia. Later still, about 241 B.C., Eumenes, sovereign of Pergamos, and Attalus, his successor, drove and shut up the other two bands, the Tolistoboians and Trocmians, likewise in the same region. The victories of Attalus over the Gauls excited veritable enthusiasm. He was celebrated as a special envoy from Zeus. He took the title of *King*, which his predecessors had not hitherto borne. Attacked in their strongholds on Mount Olympus and Mount Magaba, 189 B.C., the three Gallic bands, after a short but stout resistance, were at last conquered and subjugated; and thenceforth losing all national importance, they amalgamated little by little with the Asiatic populations around them.

B.C. 241. Eumenes and Attalus defeat the Gauls.

Nevertheless the fusion of the Gauls of Galatia with the natives always remained very imperfect; for towards the end of the fourth century of the Christian era they did not speak Greek, as the latter did, but their national tongue, that of the Kymro-Belgians; and St. Jerome testifies that it differed very little from that which was spoken in Belgica itself, in the region of Trèves.

The details of the struggle between the Gauls and the Romans belong specially to Roman history; they have been transmitted to us only by Roman historians; and the Romans it was who were left ultimately in possession of the battle-field, that is, of Italy.

B.C. 391—349. Struggles of the Gauls with the Romans. 1st epoch.

Four distinct periods may be recognized in this history; and each marks a different phase in the course of events, and, so to speak, an act of the drama. During the first period, which lasted forty-two years, from 391 to 349 B.C., the Gauls carried on a war of aggression and conquest against Rome.

To this epoch belonged those marvels of daring recorded in Roman tradition, those acts of heroism tinged with fable, which are met with amongst so many peoples, either in their earliest age or in their days of great peril. In the year 361 B.C., Titus Manlius, and twelve years later, M. Valerius, a young military tribune, were the two Roman heroes who vanquished in single combat the two Gallic giants who insolently defied Rome. The gratitude towards them was general and of long duration, for two centuries afterwards (in the year 167 B.C.) the head of the Gaul with his tongue out still appeared at Rome, above the shop of a money-changer, on a circular sign-board, called "the Kymrian shield" (*scutum Cimbricum*). After seventeen years' stay in Latium, the Gauls at last withdrew, and returned to their adopted country in those lovely valleys of the Po which already bore the name of Cisalpine Gaul. They began to get disgusted with a wandering life. Their population multiplied; their towns spread; their fields were better cultivated; their manners became less barbarous. For fifty years there was scarcely any trace of hostility or even contact between them and the Romans. But at the beginning of the third century before our era, the coalition of the Samnites and Etruscans against Rome was near its climax; they eagerly pressed the Gauls to join, and the latter assented easily. Then commenced the second period of struggles between the two peoples.

2nd epoch. B.C. 283. Battle of Aretium.

During this second period Rome was more than once in danger. In the year 283 B.C. the Gauls destroyed one of her armies near *Aretium* (Arezzo), and advanced to the Roman frontier, saying, "We are bound for Rome; the Gauls know how to take it." Seventy-two years afterwards the Cisalpine Gauls swore they would not put off their baldricks till they had mounted the Capitol, and they arrived within three days' march of Rome.

In spite of sometimes urgent peril, in spite of popular alarms, Rome, during the course of this period, from 299 to 258 B.C.,

maintained an increasing ascendency over the Gauls. She always cleared them off her territory, several times ravaged theirs, on the two banks of the Po, called respectively Transpadan and Cispadan Gaul, and gained the majority of the great battles she had to fight. Finally, in the year 283 B.C., the proprætor Drusus, after having ravaged the country of the Senonic Gauls, carried off the very ingots and jewels, it was said, which had been given to their ancestors as the price of their retreat.

Hannibal.

Towards the close of the third century before our era, the triumph of Rome in Cisalpine Gaul seemed nigh to accomplishment, when news arrived that the Romans' most formidable enemy, Hannibal, meditating a passage from Africa into Italy by Spain and Gaul, was already at work, by his emissaries, to ensure for his enterprise the concurrence of the Transalpine and Cisalpine Gauls. The Senate ordered the envoys they had just then at Carthage to traverse Gaul on returning, and seek out allies there against Hannibal. However, this scheme failed, and the delights of victory and of pillage brought into full play the Cisalpine Gauls' natural hatred of Rome. After Ticinus and Trebia, Hannibal had no more zealous and devoted troops. This was the third period of the struggle between the Gauls and the Romans in Italy. Rome, well advised by this terrible war of the danger with which she was ever menaced by the Cisalpine Gauls, formed the resolution of no longer restraining them, but of subduing them and conquering their territory. She spent thirty years (from 200 to 170 B.C.) in the execution of this design, proceeding by means of war, of founding Roman colonies, and of sowing dissension among the Gallic peoplets. In vain did the two principal, the Boïans and the Insubrians, endeavour to rouse and rally all the rest: some hesitated; some absolutely refused, and remained neutral. Day by day did Rome advance. At length, in the year 190 B.C., the wrecks of the 112 tribes which had formed the nation of the Boïans, unable any longer to resist, and unwilling to submit, rose as one man, and departed from Italy.

3rd epoch. B.C. 200—170.

Roman colonies in Gaul.

The Senate, with its usual wisdom, multiplied the number of Roman colonies in the conquered territory, treated with moderation the tribes that submitted, and gave to Cisalpine Gaul the name of the *Cisalpine* or *Hither Gallic Province*, which was afterwards changed for that of *Gallia, Togata* or *Roman Gaul*. Then, declaring that nature herself had placed the Alps between Gaul and Italy as an insurmountable barrier, the Senate pronounced "a curse on whosoever should attempt to cross it."

It was Rome herself that soon crossed that barrier of the Alps

which she had pronounced fixed by nature and insurmountable. Scarcely was she mistress of Cisalpine Gaul when she entered upon a quarrel with the tribes which occupied the mountain-passes. It is likely that the Gallic mountaineers were not careful to abstain, they and their flocks, from descending upon the territory that had become Roman. The Romans, in turn, penetrated into the hamlets, carried off flocks and people, and sold them in the public markets at Cremona, at Placentia, and in all their colonies.

Towards the middle of the second century B.C. Marseilles, then an ally of Rome, was at war with certain Gallic tribes, her neighbours, whose territory she coveted. Two of her colonies, Nice and Antibes, were threatened. She called on Rome for help. A Roman deputation went to decide the quarrel; but the Gauls refused to obey its summons, and treated it with insolence. The deputation returned with an army, succeeded in beating the refractory tribes, and gave their land to the Massilians. The same thing occurred repeatedly with the same result. Within the space of thirty years nearly all the tribes between the Rhone and the Var, in the country which was afterwards Provence, were subdued and driven back amongst the mountains, with notice not to approach within a mile of the coast in general, and a mile and a half of the places of disembarkation. But the Romans did not stop there. They did not mean to conquer for Marseilles alone.

B.C. 123. The Romans in Gaul.

In the year 123 B.C., at some leagues to the north of the Greek city, near a little river, then called the Cœnus and now-a-days the Arc, the consul C. Sextius Calvinus had noticed, during his campaign, an abundance of thermal springs, agreeably situated amidst wood-covered hills. There he constructed an enclosure, aqueducts, baths, houses, a town in fact, which he called after himself, *Aquæ Sextiæ*, the modern Aix, the first Roman establishment in Transalpine Gaul. As in the case of Cisalpine Gaul, with Roman colonies came Roman intrigue, and dissensions got up and fomented amongst the Gauls. The Gauls, moreover, ran of themselves into the Roman trap. Two of their confederations, the Æduans, of whom mention has already been made, and the Allobrogians, who were settled between the Alps, the Isère, and the Rhone, were at war. A third confederation, the most powerful in Gaul at this time, the Arvernians, who were rivals of the Æduans, gave their countenance to the Allobrogians. The Æduans, with whom the Massilians had commercial dealings, solicited through these latter the assistance of Rome. A treaty was easily concluded. The Æduans obtained from the Romans the title *friends* and *allies;* and the Romans received from the Æduans

War between the Æduans and the Allobrogians.

that of *brothers*, which amongst the Gauls implied a sacred tie. The consul Domitius forthwith commanded the Allobrogians to respect the territory of the allies of Rome. War broke out; the Allobrogians, with the usual confidence and hastiness of all barbarians, attacked alone, without waiting for the Arvernians, and were beaten at the confluence of the Rhone and the Sorgue, a little above Avignon. The next year, 121 B.C., the Arvernians in their turn descended from the mountains, and crossed the Rhone with all their tribes; they were beaten, as the Allobrogians had been. Rome treated the Arvernians with consideration; but the Allobrogians lost their existence as a nation. The Senate declared them subject to the Roman people; and all the country comprised between the Alps, the Rhone from its entry into the Lake of Geneva to its mouth, and the Mediterranean, was made a Roman consular province. In the three following years, indeed, the consuls extended the boundaries of the new province, on the right bank of the Rhone, to the frontier of the Pyrenees southward.

B.C. 121. The Arvernians cross the Rhone

In the year 110 B.C. the Kymrians or Cimbrians, and the Teutons, having their numbers swelled by other tribes, Gallic or German, the Ambrons, among others, entered Gaul, at first by way of Belgica, and then, continuing their wanderings and ravages in central Gaul, they at last reached the Rhone, on the frontiers of the Roman province. There four successive armies were defeated and slaughtered by the barbarians; but at last Marius attacked them (102 B.C.) near Aix (*Aquæ Sextiæ*). The battle lasted two days; the first against the Ambrons, the second against the Teutons. Both were beaten, in spite of their savage bravery, and the equal bravery of their women, who defended, with indomitable obstinacy, the cars with which they had remained almost alone, in charge of the children and the booty. There remained the Kymrians, who had repassed the Helvetic Alps and entered Italy on the north-east, by way of the Adige. Marius marched against them in July of the following year, 101 B.C., and defeated them in the Raudine Plains, a large tract near Verceil.

B.C. 110. The Kymrians and the Teutons.

B.C. 102. Defeated near Aix by Marius

The victories of Marius arrested the torrent of the invasion, but did not dry up its source. The great movement which drove from Asia to Europe, and from eastern to western Europe, masses of roving populations, followed its course, bringing incessantly upon the Roman frontiers new comers and new perils. A greater man than Marius, Julius Cæsar in fact, saw that to effectually resist those clouds of barbaric assailants, the country into which they poured must be conquered and made Roman. The conquest of Gaul was

the accomplishment of that idea, and the decisive step towards the transformation of the Roman republic into a Roman empire.

Ariovistus. In spite of the victories of Marius, and the destruction or dispersion of the Teutons and Cimbrians, the whole of Gaul remained seriously disturbed and threatened. In eastern and central Gaul, in the valleys of the Jura and Auvergne, on the banks of the Saône, the Allier, and the Doubs, the two great Gallic confederations, that of the Æduans and that of the Arvernians, were disputing the preponderance, and making war one upon another, seeking the aid, respectively, of the Romans and of the Germans. Every where floods of barbaric populations were pressing upon Gaul, were carrying disquietude even where they had not themselves yet penetrated, and causing presentiments of a general commotion. The danger burst before long upon particular places and in connexion with particular names which have remained historical. In the war with the confederation of the Æduans, that of the Arvernians called to their aid the German Ariovistus, chieftain of a confederation of tribes which, under the name of Suevians, were roving over the right bank of the Rhine, ready at any time to cross the river. Ariovistus, with 15,000 warriors at his back, was not slow in responding to the appeal. The Æduans were beaten; and Ariovistus settled amongst the Gauls, who had been thoughtless enough to appeal to him. Numerous bands of the Suevians came and rejoined him; and in two or three years after his victory he had about him, it was said, 120,000 warriors. He had appropriated to them a third of the territory of his Gallic allies, and he imperiously demanded another third to satisfy other 25,000 of his old German comrades, who asked to share his booty and his new country. One of the foremost Æduans, Divitiacus by name, went and invoked the succour of the Roman people, the patrons of his confederation. The Roman Senate, with the indecision and indolence of all declining powers, hesitated to engage, for the Æduans' sake, in a war against the invaders of a corner of Gallic territory. At the same time that they gave a cordial welcome to Divitiacus, they entered into negotiations with Ariovistus himself; they gave him beautiful presents, the title of *King*, and even of *friend*; the only demand they made was that he should live peaceably in his new settlement, and not lend his support to the fresh invasions of which there were symptoms in Gaul, and which were becoming too serious for resolutions not to be taken to repel them.

A people of Gallic race, the Helvetians, who inhabited the present Switzerland, where the old name still abides beside the modern,

found themselves incessantly threatened, ravaged, and invaded by the German tribes which pressed upon their frontiers. After some years of perplexity and internal discord, the whole Helvetic nation decided upon abandoning its territory, and going to seek in Gaul, westward, it is said, on the borders of the ocean, a more tranquil settlement. Being informed of this design, the Roman Senate and Cæsar, at that time consul, resolved to protect the Roman province and their Gallic allies, the Æduans, against this inundation of roving neighbours. The Helvetians none the less persisted in their plan; and in the spring of the year of Rome 696 (58 B.C.) they committed to the flames, in the country they were about to leave, twelve towns, four hundred villages, and all their houses; loaded their cars with provisions for three months, and agreed to meet at the southern point of the Lake of Geneva. But when they would have entered Gaul, they found there Cæsar, who after having got himself appointed proconsul for five years, had arrived suddenly at Geneva, prepared to forbid their passage. Thus foiled, they attempted to take another road, and to cross not the Rhone but the Saône, and march thence towards western Gaul. But whilst they were arranging for the execution of this movement, Cæsar, who had up to that time only four legions at his disposal, returned to Italy, brought away five fresh legions, and arrived on the left bank of the Saône at the moment when the rear-guard of the Helvetians was embarking to rejoin the main body which had already pitched its camp on the right bank. Cæsar cut to pieces this rear-guard, crossed the river in his turn with his legions, pursued the emigrants without relaxation, came in contact with them on several occasions, at one time attacking them or repelling their attacks, at another receiving and giving audience to their envoys without ever consenting to treat with them, and before the end of the year he had so completely beaten, decimated, dispersed and driven them back, that of 368,000 Helvetians who had entered Gaul, but 110,000 escaped from the Romans, and were enabled by flight to regain their country.

B.C. 58. The Helvetians attempt to invade Gaul.

Æduans, Sequanians, or Arvernians, all the Gauls interested in the struggle thus terminated, were eager to congratulate Cæsar upon his victory; but if they were delivered from the invasion of the Helvetians, another scourge fell heavily upon them; Ariovistus and the Germans, who were settled upon their territory, oppressed them cruelly, and day by day fresh bands were continually coming to aggravate the evil and the danger. They adjured Cæsar to protect them from these swarms of barbarians. The

Roman general gave ear to the prayer of the Gauls; after having uselessly attempted to negotiate with the German chieftain, finding that Ariovistus with all his forces was making towards *Vesontio* (Besançon), the chief town of the Sequanians, he forthwith put himself in motion, occupied Vesontio, established there a strong garrison, and fetching a considerable compass to spare his soldiers the passage of thick forests, after a seven days' march, arrived at a short distance from the camp of Ariovistus. Several days in succession he offered battle; but Ariovistus remained within his lines. Cæsar then took the resolution of assailing the German camp. At his approach, the Germans at length moved out from their entrenchments, arrayed by peoplets, and defiling in front of cars filled with their women, who implored them with tears not to deliver them in slavery to the Romans. The struggle was obstinate, and not without moments of anxiety and partial check for the Romans; but the genius of Cæsar and strict discipline of the legions carried the day. The rout of the Germans was complete; they fled towards the Rhine, which was only a few leagues from the field of battle. Ariovistus himself was amongst the fugitives; he found a boat by the river-side, and re-crossed into Germany, where he died shortly afterwards, "to the great grief of the Germans," says Cæsar. The Suevian bands, who were awaiting on the right bank the result of the struggle, plunged back again within their own territory. And so the invasion of the Germans was stopped as the emigration of the Helvetians had been; and Cæsar had only to conquer Gaul.

Cæsar expels the Helvetians.

The expulsion of the Helvetian emigrants and of the German invaders left the Romans and Gauls alone face to face; and from that moment the Romans were, in the eyes of the Gauls, foreigners, conquerors, oppressors. Conspiracies were hatched, insurrections soon broke out in nearly every part of Gaul, in the heart even of the peoplets most subject to Roman dominion. Every movement of the kind was for Cæsar a provocation, a temptation, almost an obligation to conquest He accepted them and profited by them, with that promptitude in resolution, boldness and address in execution, and cool indifference as to the means employed, which were characteristic of his genius. During nine years, from A.U.C. 696 to 705, and in eight successive campaigns, he carried his troops, his lieutenants, himself, and, ere long, war or negotiation, corruption, discord, or destruction in his path, amongst the different nations and confederations of Gaul, Celtic, Kymric, Germanic, Iberian or hybrid, northward and eastward, in Belgica, between

A.U.C. 696—705. Campaigns of Cæsar in Gaul.

the Seine and the Rhine; westward, in Armorica, on the borders of the ocean; south-westward, in Aquitania; centre-ward amongst the peoplets established between the Seine, the Loire and the Saône. He was nearly always victorious, and then at one time he pushed his victory to the bitter end, at another stopped at the right moment, that it might not be compromised. He did not confine himself to conquering and subjecting the Gauls in Gaul; his ideas were ever out-stripping his deeds, and he knew how to make his power felt even where he had made no attempt to establish it. Twice he crossed the Rhine to hurl back the Germans beyond their river, and to strike to the very hearts of their forests the terror of the Roman name (A.U.C. 699, 700). He equipped two fleets, made two descents on Great Britain (A.U.C. 699, 700), several times defeated the Britons and their principal chieftain Caswallon (Cassivellaunus), and set up, across the channel, the first landmarks of Roman conquest. He thus became more and more famous and terrible, both in Gaul, whence he sometimes departed for a moment, to go and look after his political prospects in Italy, and in more distant lands, where he was but an apparition. Nor were the rigours of administration less than those of warfare. Cæsar wanted a great deal of money, not only to maintain satisfactorily his troops in Gaul, but to defray the enormous expenses he was at in Italy, for the purpose of enriching his partisans, or securing the favour of the Roman people. It was with the produce of imposts and plunder in Gaul that he undertook the reconstruction at Rome of the basilica of the Forum, the site whereof, extending to the temple of Liberty, was valued, it is said, at more than twenty million five hundred thousand francs (820,000*l.*).

His administration.

A.U.C. 702. Vercingetorix.

After six years' struggling Cæsar was victor; he had successively dealt with all the different populations of Gaul; he had passed through and subjected them all, either by his own strong arm, or thanks to their rivalries. In the year of Rome 702 he was suddenly informed in Italy, whither he had gone on his Roman business, that most of the Gallic nations, united under a chieftain hitherto unknown, were rising with one common impulse, and recommencing war. Amongst the Arvernians lived a young Gaul whose real name has remained unknown, and whom history has called Vercingetorix, that is, chief over a hundred heads, general-in-chief. He came of an ancient and powerful family, and his father had been put to death in his own city for attempting to make himself king. Cæsar knew him, and had taken some pains to attach him to himself. It does not appear that the Arvernian

aristocrat had absolutely declined the overtures; but when the hope of national independence was aroused, Vercingetorix was its representative and chief. He descended with his followers from the mountains, and seized Gergovia, the capital of his nation. Thence his messengers spread over the centre, the north-west, and west of Gaul; the greater part of the peoplets and cities of those regions pronounced from the first moment for insurrection. Vercingetorix was immediately invested with the chief command, and he made use of it with all the passion engendered by patriotism and the possession of power; he regulated the movement, demanded hostages, fixed the contingents of troops, imposed taxes, inflicted summary punishment on the traitors, the dastards and the indifferent, and subjected those who turned a deaf ear to the appeal of their common country to the same pains and the same mutilations that Cæsar inflicted on those who obstinately resisted the Roman yoke.

At the news of this great movement Cæsar immediately left Italy, and returned to Gaul. Starting at the beginning of 702 A.U.C., he passed two months in traversing within Gaul the Roman province and its neighbourhood, in visiting the points threatened by the insurrection, and the openings by which he might get at it, in assembling his troops, in confirming his wavering allies; and it was not before the early part of March that he moved with his whole army to Agendicum (Sens), the very centre of revolt, and started thence to push on the war with vigour. In less than three months he had spread devastation throughout the insurgent country; he had attacked and taken its principal cities, Vellaunodunum (Triguères), Genabum (Gien), Noviodunum (Sancerre), and Avaricum (Bourges), delivering up every where country and city, lands and inhabitants, to the rage of the Roman soldiery, maddened at having again to conquer enemies so often conquered. To strike a decisive blow, he penetrated at last to the heart of the country of the Arvernians, and laid siege to Gergovia, their capital and the birthplace of Vercingetorix.

Defeat of Vercingetorix

The firmness and the ability of the Gallic chieftain were not inferior to such a struggle; Cæsar encountered an obstinate resistance; whilst Vercingetorix, encamped on the heights which surrounded his birthplace, every where embarrassed, sometimes attacked, and incessantly threatened the Romans. The eighth legion, drawn on one day to make an imprudent assault, was repulsed, and lost forty-six of its bravest centurions. Cæsar determined to raise the siege, and to transfer the struggle to places where the population could be more safely depended upon. It was

the first decisive check he had experienced in Gaul, the first Gallic town he had been unable to take, the first retrograde movement he had executed in the face of the Gallic insurgents and their chieftain. Vercingetorix could not and would not restrain his joy; it seemed to him that the day had dawned and an excellent chance arrived for attempting a decisive blow. He had under his orders, it is said, 80,000 men, mostly his own Arvernians, and a numerous cavalry furnished by the different peoplets his allies. He followed all Cæsar's movements in retreat towards the Saône, and on arriving at Longeau, not far from Langres, near a little river called the Vingeanne, he halted and pitched his camp about nine miles from the Romans. The action began between the cavalry on both sides; a portion of the Gallic had taken up position on the road followed by the Roman army, to bar its passage; but whilst the fighting at this point was getting more and more obstinate, the German horse in Cæsar's service gained a neighbouring height, drove off the Gallic horse that were in occupation, and pursued them as far as the river, near which was Vercingetorix with his infantry. Disorder took place amongst this infantry so unexpectedly attacked. Cæsar launched his legions at them, and there was a general panic and rout among the Gauls. Vercingetorix had great trouble in rallying them, and he rallied them only to order a general retreat, for which they clamoured. Hurriedly striking his camp, he made for Alesia (Semur in Auxois), a neighbouring town and the capital of the Mandubians, a peoplet in clientship to the Æduans. Cæsar immediately went in pursuit of the Gauls; killed, he says, 3000; made important prisoners; and encamped with his legions before Alesia the day but one after Vercingetorix, with his fugitive army, had occupied the place as well as the neighbouring hills, and was hard at work intrenching himself, probably without any clear idea as yet of what he should do to continue the struggle.

Cæsar at once took a resolution as unexpectedly as it was discreetly bold. Here was the whole Gallic insurrection, chieftain and soldiery, united together within or beneath the walls of a town of moderate extent. He undertook to keep it there and destroy it on the spot, instead of having to pursue it every whither without ever being sure of getting at it. The struggle was fierce, but short. Every time that the fresh Gallic army attacked the besiegers, Vercingetorix and the Gauls of Alesia sallied forth, and joined in the attack. Cæsar and his legions, on their side, at one time repulsed these double attacks, at another themselves took the initiative, and assailed at one and the same time the besieged and the auxiliaries Gaul had sent them. The feeling was passionate

Siege of Alesia.

on both sides: Roman pride was pitted against Gallic patriotism. But in four or five days the strong organization, the disciplined valour of the Roman legions, and the genius of Cæsar triumphed. The Gallic reinforcements, beaten and slaughtered without mercy, dispersed; and Vercingetorix and the besieged were crowded back within their walls without hope of escape.

Alesia taken, and her brave defender a prisoner, Gaul was subdued. Cæsar, however, had in the following year (A.U.C. 703) a campaign to make to subjugate some peoplets who tried to maintain their local independence. A year afterwards, again, attempts at insurrection took place in Belgica, and towards the mouth of the Loire; but they were easily repressed; they had no national or formidable characteristics; Cæsar and his lieutenants willingly contented themselves with an apparent submission, and in the year 705 A.U.C. the Roman legions, after nine years' occupation in the conquest of Gaul, were able to depart therefrom to Italy and the East for a plunge into civil war.

Gaul under Roman dominion.

From the conquest of Gaul by Cæsar to the establishment there of the Franks under Clovis, she remained for more than five centuries under Roman dominion; first under the Pagan, afterwards under the Christian empire. In her primitive state of independence she had struggled for ten years against the best armies and the greatest man of Rome; after five centuries of Roman dominion she opposed no resistance to the invasion of the barbarians, Germans, Goths, Alans, Burgundians, and Franks, who destroyed bit by bit the Roman empire. In this humiliation and, one might say, annihilation of a population so independent, so active, and so valiant at its first appearance in history, is to be seen the characteristic of this long epoch. It is worth while to learn and to understand how it was.

Gaul lived, during those five centuries, under very different rules and rulers. They may be summed up under five names which correspond with governments very unequal in merit and defect, in good and evil wrought for their epoch: 1st, the Cæsars, from Julius to Nero (from 49 B.C. to A.D. 68); 2nd, the Flavians, from Vespasian to Domitian (from A.D. 69 to 95); 3rd, the Antonines, from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius (from A.D. 96 to 180); 4th, the imperial anarchy, or the thirty-nine emperors and the thirty-one tyrants, from Commodus to Carinus and Numerian (from A.D. 180 to 284); 5th, Diocletian (from A.D. 284 to 305). Through all these governments, and in spite of their different results for their contemporary subjects, the fact already pointed out as the general and definite charasteristic of that long epoch, to wit,

the moral and social decadence of Gaul as well as of the Roman empire, never ceased to continue and spread.

New division of the country.

On quitting conquered Gaul to become master at Rome, Cæsar neglected nothing to assure his conquest and make it conducive to the establishment of his empire. He formed of all the Gallic districts that he had subjugated a special province, which received the name of *Gallia Comata* (Gaul of the long-hair), whilst the old province was called *Gallia Togata* (Gaul of the *toga*). Cæsar caused to be enrolled amongst his troops a multitude of Gauls, Belgians, Arvernians, and Aquitanians, of whose bravery he had made proof. He even formed, almost entirely of Gauls, a special legion, called *Alauda* (lark), because it bore on the helmets a lark with out-spread wings, the symbol of wakefulness. At the same time he gave in *Gallia Comata*, to the towns and families that declared for him, all kinds of favours, the rights of Roman citizenship, the titles of allies, clients, and friends, even to the extent of the *Julian* name, a sign of the most powerful Roman patronage.

Augustus. Character of his government.

After Cæsar, Augustus, left sole master of the Roman world, assumed in Gaul, as elsewhere, the part of pacificator, repairer, conservator, and organizer, whilst taking care, with all his moderation, to remain always the master. He divided the provinces into imperial and senatorial, reserving to himself the entire government of the former, and leaving the latter under the authority of the senate. Gaul "of the long hair," all that Cæsar had conquered, was imperial province. Augustus divided it into three districts, Lugdunensian (Lyonese), Belgian, and Aquitanian. He recognized therein sixty nations or distinct cityships which continued to have themselves the government of their own affairs, according to their traditions and manners, whilst conforming to the general laws of the empire and abiding under the supervision of imperial governors, charged with maintaining every where, in the words of Pliny the Younger, "the majesty of Roman peace." The administrative energy of Augustus was not confined to the erection of monuments and to festivals; he applied himself to the development in Gaul of the material elements of civilization and social order. His most intimate and able adviser, Agrippa, being settled at Lyons as governor of the Gauls, caused to be opened four great roads, starting from a mile-stone placed in the middle of the Lyonese *forum*, and going, one centrewards to Saintes and the ocean, another southwards to Narbonne and the Pyrenees, the third north-westwards and towards the Channel by Amiens and Boulogne, and the fourth north-westwards and towards the Rhine. Agrippa founded several considerable colonies, amongst others Cologne, which bore his name;

and he admitted to Gallic territory bands of Germans who asked for an establishment there.

But side by side with this work in the cause of civilization and organization, Augustus and his Roman agents were pursuing a work of quite a contrary tendency. They laboured to extirpate from Gaul the spirit of nationality, independence and freedom; they took every pains to efface every where Gallic memories and sentiments. Gallic towns were losing their old and receiving Roman names: *Augustonemetum*, *Augusta*, and *Augustodunum* took the place of *Gergovia*, *Noviodunum*, and *Bibracte*. The national Gallic religion, which was Druidism, was attacked as well as the Gallic fatherland, with the same design and by the same means.

Tiberius and Caligula.

Tiberius carried on in Gaul, but with less energy and less care for the provincial administration, the pacific and moderate policy of Augustus. He had to extinguish in Belgica, and even in the Lyonese province, two insurrections kindled by the sparks that remained of national and Druidic spirit. He repressed them effectually, and without any violent display of vengeance. He was succeeded by Germanicus' unworthy son, Caligula, who did just one sensible and useful thing during the whole of his stay in Gaul: he had a light-house constructed to illumine the passage between Gaul and Great Britain. Some traces of it, they say, have been discovered.

Claudius.

His successor, Claudius, brother of the great Germanicus, and married to his own niece, the second Agrippina, was born at Lyons, at the very moment when his father, Drusus, was celebrating there the erection of an altar to Augustus. During his whole reign he showed to the city of his birth the most lively good-will, and the constant aim as well as principal result of this good-will was to render the city of Lyons more and more Roman by effacing all Gallic characteristics and memories. He undertook to assure to all free men of "long-haired" Gaul the same Roman privileges that were enjoyed by the inhabitants of Lyons; and, amongst others, that of entering the senate of Rome and holding the great public offices. He was, however, neither liberal nor humane towards a notable portion of the Gallic populations, to wit, the Druids. During his stay in Gaul he proscribed them and persecuted them without intermission; forbidding, under pain of death, their form of worship and every exterior sign of their ceremonies. He drove them away and pursued them even into Great Britain, whither he conducted, A.D. 43, a military expedition. In proportion as Claudius had been popular in Gaul did his adopted son and successor, Nero, quickly become hated. At the vacancy that occurred after his

death, and amid the claims of various pretenders, the authority of the Roman name and the pressure of the imperial power diminished rapidly in Gaul; and the memory and desire of independence were re-awakened. In the northern part of Belgica, towards the mouths of the Rhine, where a Batavian people lived, a man of note amongst his compatriots and in the service of the Romans, amongst whom he had received the name of Claudius Civilis, embraced first secretly, and afterwards openly, the cause of insurrection. Petilius Cerealis, a commander of renown for his campaigns on the Rhine, was sent off to Belgica with seven fresh legions. He was as skilful in negotiation and persuasion as he was in battle. The struggle that ensued was fierce, but brief; and nearly all the towns and legions that had been guilty of defection returned to their Roman allegiance. Civilis, though not more than half vanquished, himself asked leave to surrender. The Batavian might, as was said at the time, have inundated the country, and drowned the Roman armies. Vespasian, therefore, not being inclined to drive men or matters to extremity, gave Civilis leave to go into retirement and live in peace amongst the marshes of his own land. The Gallic chieftains alone, the projectors of a Gallic empire, were rigorously pursued and chastised.

A.D. 70. Rebellion of Civilis.

During the period known in history as the age of the Antonines (A.D. 96—180), five notable sovereigns, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius swayed the Roman empire. It would be a great error to take them as representatives of the society amidst which they lived, and as giving, in a certain degree, the measure of its enlightenment, its morality, its prosperity, its disposition and condition in general. Those five princes were not only picked men, superior in mind and character to the majority of their contemporaries, but they were men almost isolated in their generation: in them there was a resumption of all that had been acquired by Greek and Roman antiquity of enlightenment and virtue, practical wisdom and philosophical morality: they were the heirs and the survivors of the great minds and the great politicians of Athens and Rome, of the Areopagus and the Senate. They were not in intellectual and moral harmony with the society they governed, and their action upon it served hardly to preserve it partially and temporarily from the evils to which it was committed by its own vices and to break its fall. When they were thoughtful and modest, as Marcus Aurelius was, they were gloomy and disposed to discouragement, for they had a secret foreboding of the uselessness of their efforts.

The Antonines.

After the death of Marcus Aurelius decay manifested and

The emperors after Marcus Aurelius.

developed itself, almost without interruption for the space of a century, the outward and visible sign of it being the disorganization and repeated falls of the government itself. The series of emperors given to the Roman world by heirship or adoption, from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius, was succeeded by what may be termed an imperial anarchy; in the course of one hundred and thirty-two years the sceptre passed into the hands of thirty-nine sovereigns with the title of *emperor* (*Augustus*), and was clutched at by thirty-one pretenders, whom history has dubbed *tyrants*, and amongst whom were Italians, Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, Britons, Illyrians, and Asiatics; in the number could be found some cases of eminence in war and politics, and some even of rare virtue and patriotism, such as Pertinax, Septimius Severus, Alexander Severus, Decius, Claudius Gothicus, Aurelian, Tacitus, and Probus. Gaul had her share in this series of ephemeral emperors and tyrants; one of the most wicked and most insane, though issue of one of the most valorous and able, Caracalla, son of Septimius Severus, was born at Lyons, four years after the death of Marcus Aurelius. A hundred years later Narbonne gave, in two years, to the Roman world three emperors, Carus and his two sons, Carinus and Numerian. Amongst the thirty-one tyrants who did not attain to the title of *Augustus*, six were Gauls; and the last two, Amandus and Ælianus, were, A.D. 285, the chiefs of that great insurrection of peasants, slaves or half-slaves, who, under the name of *Bagaudians* (signifying, according to Ducange, a wandering troop of insurgents from field and forest), spread themselves over the north of Gaul, between the Rhine and the Loire, pillaging and ravaging in all directions, after having themselves endured the pillaging and ravages of the fiscal agents and soldiers of the Empire.

A.D. 245—313. Diocletian.

When public evils have reached such a pitch, and nevertheless the day has not yet arrived for the entire disappearance of the system that causes them, there arises nearly always a new power, which, in the name of necessity, applies some remedy to an intolerable condition. On the present occasion that power was wielded by a Dalmatian soldier, named Diocletian, who having been raised to the throne, set to work ably, if not successfully, to master the difficulty of government. Convinced that the empire was too vast, and that a single man did not suffice to make head against the two evils that were destroying it—war against barbarians on the frontiers, and anarchy within—he divided the Roman world into two portions, gave the West to Maximian, one of his comrades, a coarse but valiant soldier, and kept the East himself. To the anarchy that reigned within he opposed a general despotic admi-

nistrative organization, a vast hierarchy of civil and military agents, every where present, every where masters, and dependent upon the emperor alone. By his incontestable and admitted superiority, Diocletian remained the soul of these two bodies. At the end of eight years he saw that the two empires were still too vast; and to each *Augustus* he added a Cæsar—Galerius and Constantius Chlorus—who, save a nominal, rather than a real, subordination to the two emperors, had, each in his own State, the imperial power with the same administrative system. In this partition of the Roman world Gaul had the best of it; she had for master Constantius Chlorus, a tried warrior, but just, gentle, and disposed to temper the exercise of absolute power with moderation and equity. He had a son, Constantine, at this time eighteen years of age, whom he was educating carefully for government as well as for war. Weary, however, of his burden, and disgusted with the imperfection of his work, Diocletian abdicated, A.D. 305. He had persuaded or rather dragged his first colleague, Maximian, into abdication after him; and so Galerius in the East, and Constantius Chlorus in the West, remained sole emperors. After the retirement of Diocletian, ambitions, rivalries and intrigues were not slow to make head; Maximian reappeared on the scene of empire, but only to speedily disappear (A.D. 310), leaving in his place his son Maxentius. Constantius Chlorus had died A.D. 306, and his son, Constantine, had immediately been proclaimed by his army Cæsar and Augustus. Galerius died A.D. 311, and Constantine remained to dispute the mastery with Maxentius in the West, and in the East with Maximinus and Licinius, the last colleagues taken by Diocletian and Galerius. On the 29th of October, A.D. 312, after having gained several battles against Maxentius in Italy, at Milan, Brescia, and Verona, Constantine pursued and defeated him before Rome, on the borders of the Tiber, at the foot of the Milvian bridge; and the son of Maximian, drowned in the Tiber, left to the son of Constantius Chlorus the Empire of the West, to which that of the East was destined to be in a few years added, by the defeat and death of Licinius. Constantine, more clear-sighted and more fortunate than any of his predecessors, had understood his era, and opened his eyes to the new light which was rising upon the world. Far from persecuting the Christians, he had given them protection, countenance, and audience; and towards him turned all their hopes. He had even, it is said, in his last battle against Maxentius, displayed the Christian banner, the cross, with this inscription: *Hoc signo vinces* ("With this device thou shalt conquer"). There is no knowing what was at that time the state of his soul,

Constantine the Great.

and to what extent it was penetrated by the first rays of Christian faith; but it is certain that he was the first amongst the masters of the Roman world to perceive and accept its influence. With him Paganism fell, and Christianity mounted the throne. With him the decay of Roman society stops, and the era of modern society commences





CHAPTER II.

CHRISTIANITY IN GAUL.—THE BARBARIANS.—THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.—CHARLEMAGNE.

When Christianity began to penetrate into Gaul, it encountered there two religions very different one from the other, and infinitely more different from the Christian religion; those were Druidism and Paganism—hostile one to the other, but with a hostility political only, and unconnected with those really religious questions that Christianity was coming to raise.

Druidism.

Druidism, considered as a religion, was a mass of confusion, wherein the instinctive notions of the human race concerning the origin and destiny of the world and of mankind were mingled with the oriental dreams of metempsychosis—that pretended transmigration, at successive periods, of immortal souls into divers creatures. This confusion was worse confounded by traditions borrowed from the mythologies of the East and the North, by shadowy remnants of a symbolical worship paid to the material forces of nature, and by barbaric practices, such as human sacrifices, in honour of the gods or of the dead. A general and strong, but vague and incoherent, belief in the immortality of the soul was its noblest characteristic. But with the religious elements, at the same time coarse and mystical, were united two facts of importance; the Druids formed a veritable ecclesiastical corporation; and in

the wars with Rome this corporation became the most faithful representatives and the most persistent defenders of Gallic independence and nationality.

Paganism. The Græco-Roman Paganism was, at this time, far more powerful than Druidism in Gaul, and yet more lukewarm and destitute of all religious vitality. It was the religion of the conquerors and of the State, and was invested, in that quality, with real power; but beyond that, it had but the power derived from popular customs and superstitions. As a religious creed, the Latin Paganism was at bottom empty, indifferent, and inclined to tolerate all religions in the State, provided only that they, in their turn, were indifferent at any rate towards itself, and that they did not come troubling the State, either by disobeying her rulers or by attacking her old deities, dead and buried beneath their own still standing altars.

Such were the two religions with which in Gaul nascent Christianity had to contend. Compared with them it was, to all appearance, very small and very weak; but it was provided with the most efficient weapons for fighting and beating them, for it had exactly the moral forces which they lacked. To the pagan indifference of the Roman world the Christians opposed the profound conviction of their faith, and not only their firmness in defending it against all powers and all dangers, but also their ardent passion for propagating it, without any motive but the yearning to make their fellows share in its benefits and its hopes. And it was not in memory of old and obsolete mythologies, but in the name of recent deeds and persons, in obedience to laws proceeding from God, One and Universal, in fulfilment and continuation of a contemporary and superhuman history—that of Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Son of Man—that the Christians of the first two centuries laboured to convert to their faith the whole Roman world. It is impossible to assign with exactness the date of the first foot-prints and first labours of Christianity in Gaul. It was not, however, from Italy, nor in the Latin tongue and through Latin writers, but from the East and through the Greeks, that it first came and began to spread. Marseilles and the different Greek colonies, originally from Asia Minor, and settled upon the shores of the Mediterranean or along the Rhone, mark the route, and were the places whither the first Christian missionaries carried their teaching: on this point the letters of the Apostles and the writings of the first two generations of their disciples are clear and abiding proof. Lyons became the chief centre of Christian preaching and association in Gaul. As early as the first half of the second century there existed there a Christian congregation, regularly

Christianity.

The Church at Lyons.

organized as a Church, and already sufficiently important to be in intimate and frequent communication with the Christian Churches of the East and West. There is a tradition, generally admitted, that St. Pothinus, the first Bishop of Lyons, was sent thither from the East by the Bishop of Smyrna, St. Polycarp, himself a disciple of St. John. One thing is certain, that the Christian Church of Lyons produced Gaul's first martyrs, amongst whom was the Bishop, St. Pothinus.

It was under Marcus Aurelius, the most philosophical and most conscientious of the emperors, that there was enacted for the first time in Gaul, against nascent Christianity, that scene of tyranny and barbarity which was to be renewed so often and during so many centuries in the midst of Christendom itself; for in the year 177, that is only three years after the victory of Marcus Aurelius over the Germans, there took place, undoubtedly by his orders, the persecution which caused at Lyons the first Gallic martyrdom. This was the fourth, or, according to others, the fifth great imperial persecution of the Christians.

A.D. 177. Persecution of the Christians.

Most tales of the martyrs were written long after the event, and came to be nothing more than legends laden with details often utterly puerile or devoid of proof. The martyrs of Lyons in the second century wrote, so to speak, their own history; for it was their comrades, eye-witnesses of their sufferings and their virtue, who gave an account of them in a long letter addressed to their friends in Asia Minor, and written with passionate sympathy and pious prolixity, but bearing all the characteristics of truth.

The persecution of the Christians did not stop at Lyons, or with Marcus Aurelius; it became, during the third century, the common practice of the emperors in all parts of the empire: from A.D. 202 to 312, under the reigns of Septimius Severus, Maximinus the First, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, Diocletian, Maximian, and Galerius, there are reckoned six great general persecutions, without counting others more circumscribed or less severe. The emperors Alexander Severus, Philip the Arabian, and Constantius Chlorus were almost the only exceptions to this cruel system; and nearly always, wherever it was in force, the Pagan mob, in its brutality or fanatical superstition, added to imperial rigour its own atrocious and cynical excesses.

A.D. 202—312. Six persecutions.

But Christian zeal was superior in perseverance and efficacy to Pagan persecution. St. Pothinus the Martyr was succeeded as bishop at Lyons by St. Irenæus, the most learned, most judicious, and most illustrious of the early heads of the Church in Gaul. Originally from Asia Minor, probably from Smyrna, he had migrated

to Gaul, at what particular date is not known, and had settled as a simple priest in the diocese of Lyons, where it was not long before he exercised vast influence, as well on the spot as also during certain missions entrusted to him, and amongst them one, they say, to the Pope St. Eleutherius at Rome. Whilst Bishop of Lyons, from A D. 177 to 202, he employed the five and twenty years in propagating the Christian faith in Gaul, and in defending, by his writings, the Christian doctrines against the discord to which they had already been subjected in the East, and which was beginning to penetrate to the West. In 202, during the persecution instituted by Septimius Severus, St. Irenæus crowned by martyrdom his active and influential life. It was in his episcopate that there began what may be called the swarm of Christian missionaries, who, towards the end of the second and during the third centuries, spread over the whole of Gaul, preaching the faith and forming churches. Some went from Lyons at the instigation of St Irenæus; others from Rome, especially under the pontificate of Pope St. Fabian, himself martyred in 249; St. Felix and St. Fortunatus to Valence, St. Ferréol to Besançon, St. Marcellus to Châlons-sur-Saône, St. Benignus to Dijon, St. Trophimus to Arles, St. Paul to Narbonne, St. Saturninus to Toulouse, St. Martial to Limoges, St. Andéol and St. Privatus to the Cévennes, St. Austremoine to Clermont-Ferrand, St. Gatian to Tours, St. Denis to Paris, and so many others that their names are scarcely known beyond the pages of erudite historians, or the very spots where they preached, struggled, and conquered, often at the price of their lives. Such were the founders of the faith and of the Christian Church in France. At the commencement of the fourth century their work was, if not accomplished, at any rate triumphant; and when, A.D. 312, Constantine declared himself a Christian, he confirmed the fact of the conquest of the Roman world, and of Gaul in particular, by Christianity. No doubt the majority of the inhabitants were not as yet Christians; but it was clear that the Christians were in the ascendant and had command of the future. Of the two grand elements which were to meet together, on the ruins of Roman society, for the formation of modern society, the moral element, the Christian religion, had already taken possession of souls; the devastated territory awaited the coming of new peoples known to history under the general name of Germans, whom the Romans called the barbarians.

A.D. 312. Constantine embraces Christianity.

About A.D. 241 or 242 the sixth Roman legion, commanded by Aurelian, at that time military tribune, and thirty years later emperor, had just finished a campaign on the Rhine, undertaken for the purpose of driving the Germans from Gaul, and was pre-

paring for Eastern service, to make war on the Persians. The soldiers sang,—

> We have slain a thousand Franks and a thousand
> Sarmatians; we want a thousand, thousand,
> Thousand Persians.

A.D. 241. First appearance of the Franks.

"It is the first time the name of *Franks* appears in history; and it indicated no particular single people, but a confederation of Germanic peoplets, settled or roving on the right bank of the Rhine, from the Mayn to the ocean. The number and the names of the tribes united in this confederation are uncertain. The *tabula Peutingeri*, bears, over a large territory on the right bank of the Rhine, the word *Francia*, and the following enumeration:—"The Chaucians, the Ampsuarians, the Cheruscans, and the Chamavians, who are also called Franks;" and to these tribes divers chroniclers added several others, "the Attuarians, the Bructerians, the Cattians, and the Sicambrians." Whatever may have been the specific names of these peoplets, they were all of German race, called themselves Franks, that is "freemen," and made, sometimes separately, sometimes collectively, continued incursions into Gaul—especially Belgica and the northern portions of Lyonnes—at one time plundering and ravaging, at another occupying forcibly, or demanding of the Roman emperors lands whereon to settle. From the middle of the third to the beginning of the fifth century the history of the Western empire presents an almost uninterrupted series of these invasions on the part of the Franks, together with the different relationships established between them and the Imperial Government.

A.D. 406—409. Invasion of the Barbarians.

After the commencement of the fifth century, from A.D. 406 to 409, it was no longer by incursions limited to certain points, and sometimes repelled with success, that the Germans harassed the Roman provinces; a veritable deluge of divers nations, forced one upon another, from Asia into Europe, by wars and migration in mass, inundated the empire and gave the decisive signal for its fall. Then took place throughout the Roman empire, in the East as well as in the West, in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe, the last grand struggle between the Roman armies and the barbarians. It was in Gaul that it was most obstinate and most promptly brought to a decisive issue, and the confusion there was as great as the obstinacy. Barbaric peoplets served in the ranks and barbaric leaders held the command of the Roman armies: Stilicho was a Goth; Arbogastes and Mellobaudes were Franks: Ricimer was a Suevian. The Roman generals, Bonifacius, Aetius, Ægidius, Syagrius, at one time fought the barbarians, at another negotiated

Struggle in Gaul.

with such and such of them, either to entice them to take service against other barbarians, or to promote the objects of personal ambition; for the Roman generals also, under the title of patrician, consul, or proconsul, aspired to and attained a sort of political independence, and contributed to the dismemberment of the empire in the very act of defending it. No later than A.D. 412 two German nations, the Visigoths and the Burgundians, took their stand definitely in Gaul, and founded there two new kingdoms: the Visigoths, under their kings Ataulph and Wallia, in Aquitania and Narbonness; the Burgundians, under their kings Gundichaire and Gundioch, in Lyonness, from the southern point of Alsatia right into Provence, along the two banks of the Saône and the left bank of the Rhone, and also in Switzerland. In 451 the arrival in Gaul of the Huns and their king Attila gravely complicated the situation. The common interest of resistance against the most barbarous of barbarians, and the renown and energy of the Roman general Aetius, united, for the moment, the old and new masters of Gaul; Romans, Gauls, Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks, Alans, Saxons, and Britons, formed the army led by Aetius against that of Attila, who also had in his ranks Goths, Burgundians, Gepidians, Alans, and beyond-Rhine Franks, gathered together and enlisted on his road. Driven from Orleans, the Huns retired towards Champagne, which they had already crossed at their coming into Gaul, and arrived at the plains hard by Châlons-sur-Marne; Aetius and all his allies had followed them; and Attila, perceiving that a battle was inevitable, halted in a position for delivering it. "It was," says the Gothic historian Jornandès, "a battle which for atrocity, multitude, horror, and stubbornness has not the like in the records of antiquity." Historians vary in their exaggerations of the numbers engaged and killed: according to some, three hundred thousand, according to others, one hundred and sixty-two thousand were left on the field of battle. Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, was killed. The battle of Châlons drove the Huns out of Gaul, and was the last victory in Gaul, gained still in the name of the Roman empire, but in reality for the advantage of the German nations which had already conquered it. Twenty-four years afterwards the very name of Roman empire disappeared with Augustulus, the last of the emperors of the West.

A.D. 451. Attila and the Huns.

A.D. 451. Battle of Châlons.

Thirty years after the battle of Châlons the Franks settled in Gaul were not yet united as one nation; the two principal Frankish tribes were those of the Salian Franks and the Ripuarian Franks, established, the latter in the east of Belgica, on the banks of the Moselle and the Rhine; the former, towards the west, between the

Meuse, the ocean, and the Somme. Meroveus, whose name was perpetuated in his line, was one of the principal chieftains of the Salian Franks; and his son Childéric, who resided at Tournay, where his tomb was discovered in 1655, was the father of Clovis, who succeeded him in 481, and with whom really commenced the kingdom and history of France.

A.D. 481. Clovis, king of the Salian Franks.

• Clovis was fifteen or sixteen years old when he became King of the Salian Franks of Tournay. Five years afterwards his ruling passion, ambition, exhibited itself, together with that mixture of boldness and craft which was to characterize his whole life. He attacked first the Roman patrician Syagrius, who was left master at Soissons after the death of his father Ægidius, and whom Gregory of Tours calls "King of the Romans;" having put him to death, he settled himself at Soissons, and from thence set on foot, in the country between the Aisne and the Loire, plundering and subjugating expeditions which speedily increased his domains and wealth, and extended far and wide his fame as well as his ambition. His marriage with Clotilde, niece of Gondebaud, then King of the Burgundians (493) was, for the public of the period, for the barbarians and for the Gallo-Romans, a great matter. Clovis and the Franks were still pagans; Gondebaud and the Burgundians were Christians, but Arians; Clotilde was a Catholic Christian. To which of the two, Catholics or Arians, would Clovis ally himself? To whom, Arian, pagan, or Catholic, would Clotilde be married? Assuredly the bishops, priests and all the Gallo-Roman clergy, for the most part Catholics, desired to see Clovis, that young and audacious Frankish chieftain, take to wife a Catholic rather than an Arian or a pagan, and hoped to convert the pagan Clovis to Christianity much more than an Arian to orthodoxy.

A.D. 493. Marriage of Clovis.

The consequences of the marriage justified before long the importance which had on all sides been attached to it. In 496 the Allemannians, a Germanic confederation like the Franks, who also had been, for some time past, assailing the Roman empire on the banks of the Rhine or the frontiers of Switzerland, crossed the river, and invaded the settlements of the Franks on the left bank. Clovis went to the aid of his confederation and attacked the Allemannians at Tolbiac, near Cologne. He had with him Aurelian, who had been his messenger to Clotilde, whom he had made Duke of Melun, and who commanded the forces of Sens. The battle was going ill; the Franks were wavering and Clovis was anxious. Before setting out he had, it is said, promised his wife that if he were victorious he would turn Christian. Some chroniclers tell us

A.D. 496. Battle of Tolbiac.

that Aurelian, seeing the battle in danger of being lost, said to Clovis, "My lord king, believe only on the Lord of heaven whom the queen, my mistress, preacheth." Clovis cried out with emotion, "Christ Jesus, Thou whom my queen Clotilde calleth the Son of the living God, I have invoked my own gods, and they have withdrawn from me; I believe that they have no power since they aid not those who call upon them. Thee, very God and Lord, I invoke; if Thou give me victory over these foes, if I find in Thee the power that the people proclaim of Thee, I will believe on Thee, and will be baptized in Thy name." The tide of battle turned: the Franks recovered confidence and courage; and the Allemannians, beaten and seeing their king slain, surrendered themselves to Clovis, saying, "Cease, of thy grace, to cause any more of our people to perish; for we are thine."

The baptism of Clovis took place in the Cathedral of Rheims on Christmas Day, 496; "at the moment," says the historian Hincmar, "when the king bent his head over the fountain of life, 'Lower thy head with humility, Sicambrian,' cried the eloquent bishop; 'adore what thou hast burned: burn what thou hast adored.' The king's two sisters, Alboflède and Lantéchilde, likewise received baptism; and so at the same time did three thousand of the Frankish army, besides a large number of women and children."

A.D. 496. Conversion and baptism of Clovis.

Clovis was not a man to omit turning his Catholic popularity to the account of his ambition. He learned that Gondebaud, disquieted, no doubt, at the conversion of his powerful neighbour, had just made a vain attempt, at a conference held at Lyons, to reconcile in his kingdom the Catholics and the Arians. Clovis considered the moment favourable to his projects of aggrandizement at the expense of the Burgundian king; he fomented the dissensions which already prevailed between Gondebaud and his brother Godegisile, assured to himself the latter's complicity, and suddenly entered Burgundy with his army. Gondebaud, betrayed and beaten at the first encounter at Dijon, fled to the south of his kingdom, and went and shut himself up in Avignon. Clovis pursued and besieged him there; and having reduced him to the humble position of a tributary, he transferred to the Visigoths of Aquitania and their king, Alaric II., his views of conquest. He had there the same pretexts for attack and the same means of success. Alaric and his Visigoths were Arians, and between them and the bishops of Southern Gaul, nearly all orthodox Catholics, there were permanent ill-will and distrust. In 507 Clovis assembled his principal chieftains: and "It displeases me greatly," said he, "that these Arians should possess a portion of

Clovis invades Burgundy,

and Aquitania.

the Gauls; march we forth with the help of God, drive we them from that land, for it is very goodly, and bring we it under our own power. The Franks applauded their king; and the army set out on the march in the direction of Poitiers, where Alaric happened at that time to be. The king of the Visigoths had prepared for the struggle; and the two armies met in the plain of Vouillé, on the banks of the little river Clain, a few leagues from Poitiers. The battle was very severe. "The Goths," says Gregory of Tours, "fought with missiles; the Franks sword in hand. Clovis met and with his own hand slew Alaric in the fray." **A.D. 507. Battle of Vouillé.**

Beaten and kingless, the Goths retreated in great disorder; and Clovis, pursuing his march, arrived without opposition at Bordeaux, where he settled down with his Franks for the winter. When the war-season returned, he marched on Toulouse, the capital of the Visigoths, which he likewise occupied without resistance, and where he seized a portion of the treasure of the Visigothic kings. He quitted it to lay siege to Carcassonne, which had been made by the Romans into the stronghold of Septimania.

There his course of conquest was destined to end. After the battle of Vouillé he had sent his eldest son Theodoric in command of a division, with orders to cross Central Gaul from west to east, to go and join the Burgundians of Gondebaud, who had promised his assistance, and in conjunction with them to attack the Visigoths on the banks of the Rhone and in Narbonness. The young Frank boldly executed his father's orders, but the intervention of Theodoric the Great, king of Italy, prevented the success of the operation. He sent an army into Gaul to the aid of his son-in-law Alaric; and the united Franks and Burgundians failed in their attacks upon the Visigoths of the Eastern Provinces. Clovis had no idea of compromising by his obstinacy the conquests already accomplished; he therefore raised the siege of Carcassonne, returned first to Toulouse, and then to Bordeaux, took Angoulême, the only town of importance he did not possess in Aquitania; and feeling reasonably sure that the Visigoths, who, even with the aid that had come from Italy, had great difficulty in defending what remained to them of Southern Gaul, would not come and dispute with him what he had already conquered, he halted at Tours, and stayed there some time, to enjoy on the very spot the fruits of his victory and to establish his power in his possessions.

It appears that even the Britons of Armorica tendered to him at that time, through the interposition of Melanius, Bishop of Rennes, if not their actual submission, at any rate their subordination and homage. **A.D. 509. Clovis receives the titles of Patrician and Consul.**

Clovis at the same time had his self-respect flattered in a

manner to which barbaric conquerors always attach great importance. Anastasius, Emperor of the East, with whom he had already had some communication, sent to him at Tours a solemn embassy, bringing him the titles and insignia of Patrician and Consul. On leaving the city of Tours Clovis repaired to Paris, where he fixed the seat of his government.

Paris was certainly the political centre of his dominions, the intermediate point between the early settlements of his race and himself in Gaul and his new Gallic conquests; but he lacked some of the possessions nearest to him and most naturally, in his own opinion, his. To the east, north, and south-west of Paris were settled some independent Frankish tribes, governed by chieftains with the name of kings. So soon as he had settled at Paris, it was the one fixed idea of Clovis to reduce them all to subjection. He had conquered the Burgundians and the Visigoths; it remained for him to conquer and unite together all the Franks. The barbarian showed himself in his true colours, during this new enterprise, with his violence, his craft, his cruelty, and his perfidy. He began with the most powerful of the tribes, the Ripuarian Franks; then came the Franks of Térouanne, and Chararic their king; Ragnacaire, king of the Franks of Cambria, was the third to be attacked; finally, Rignomer, who ruled over the Franks of Le Mans, was put to death by the order of Clovis. So Clovis remained sole king of the Franks, for all the independent chieftains had disappeared.

A D. 509. Murders of Sigebert, Chararic, and Ragnacaire.

A.D. 511. Death of Clovis.

In 511, the very year of his death, the last act of Clovis in life was the convocation at Orleans of a Council, which was attended by thirty bishops from the different parts of his kingdom, and at which were adopted thirty-one canons that, whilst granting to the Church great privileges and means of influence, in many cases favourable to humanity and respect for the right of individuals, bound the Church closely to the State, and gave to royalty, even in ecclesiastical matters, great power. The bishops, on breaking up, sent these canons to Clovis, praying him to give them the sanction of his adhesion, which he did. A few months afterwards, on the 27th of November, 511, Clovis died at Paris, and was buried in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, now-a-days St. Généviève, built by his wife, Queen Clotilde, who survived him.

A.D. 511—752. Partition of the Merovingian dominions

From A.D. 511 to A.D. 752, that is, from the death of Clovis to the accession of the Carlovingians, is two hundred and forty-one years, which was the duration of the dynasty of the Merovingians. During this time there reigned twenty-eight Merovingian kings, which reduces to eight years and seven months the average reign

of each, a short duration compared with that of most of the royal dynasties. Five of these kings, Clotaire I., Clotaire II., Dagobert I., Thierry IV., and Childeric III. alone, at different intervals, united under their power all the dominions possessed by Clovis or his successors. The other kings of this line reigned only over special kingdoms, formed by virtue of divers partitions at the death of their general possessor. From A.D. 511 to 638 five such partitions took place In 511, after the death of Clovis, his dominions were divided amongst his four sons; Theodoric, or Thierry I., was king of Metz; Clodomir, of Orléans; Childebert, of Paris; Clotaire I., of Soissons. To each of these capitals fixed boundaries were attached. In 558, in consequence of divers incidents brought about naturally, or by violence, Clotaire I. ended by possessing alone, during three years, all the dominions of his fathers. At his death, in 561, they were partitioned afresh amongst his four sons; Charibert was king of Paris; Gontran, of Orléans and Burgundy; Sigobert I., of Metz; and Chilpéric, of Soissons. In 567, Charibert, king of Paris, died without children, and a new partition left only three kingdoms, Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. Austrasia, in the East, extended over the two banks of the Rhine, and comprised, side by side with Roman towns and districts, populations that had remained Germanic. Neustria, in the West, was essentially Gallo-Roman, though it comprised in the north the old territory of the Salian Franks, on the borders of the Scheldt. Burgundy was the old kingdom of the Burgundians, enlarged in the north by some few counties. Paris, the residence of Clovis, was reserved and undivided amongst the three kings, kept as a sort of neutral city into which they could not enter without the common consent of all. In 613 new incidents connected with family matters placed Clotaire II., son of Chilpéric, and heretofore king of Soissons, in possession of the three kingdoms. He kept them united up to 628, and left them so to his son Dagobert I., who remained in possession of them up to 638. At his death a new division of the Frankish dominions took place, no longer into three, but two kingdoms, Austrasia being one, and Neustria and Burgundy the other. This was the definitive dismemberment of the great Frankish dominion to the time of its last two Merovingian kings, Thierry IV. and Childéric III., who were kings in name only, dragged from the cloister as ghosts from the tomb, to play a motionless part in the drama. For a long time past the real power had been in the hands of that valiant Austrasian family

A.D. 613. Clotaire II sole king.

which was to furnish the dominions of Clovis with a new dynasty and a greater king than Clovis.

Southern Gaul strives to be independent.

Southern Gaul, that is to say, Aquitania, Vasconia, Narbonness, called Septimania, and the two banks of the Rhone near its mouths, were not comprised in these partitions of the Frankish dominions. Each of the co-partitioners assigned to themselves, to the south of the Garonne and on the coasts of the Mediterranean, in that beautiful region of old Roman Gaul, such and such a district or such and such a town, just as heirs-at-law keep to themselves severally such and such a piece of furniture or such and such a valuable jewel out of a rich property to which they succeed, and which they divide amongst them. The peculiar situation of those provinces at their distance from the Franks' own settlements contributed much towards the independence which Southern Gaul, and especially Aquitania, was constantly striving and partly managed to recover. Amongst the various Frankish States, springing from a common base and subdivided between the different members of one and the same family, rivalries, enmities, hostile machinations, deeds of violence and atrocity, struggles, and wars soon became as frequent, as bloody, and as obstinate as they have ever been amongst states and sovereigns as unconnected as possible one with another. The Merovingian kings were as greedy and licentious as they were cruel. Not only was pillage, in their estimation, the end and object of war, but they pillaged even in the midst of peace and in their own dominions; sometimes after the Roman practice, by aggravation of taxes and fiscal manœuvres, at others after the barbaric fashion, by sudden attacks on places and persons they knew to be rich. Treason, murder, and poisoning were the familiar processes of ambition, covetousness, hatred, vengeance and fear. Eight kings or royal heirs of the Merovingian line died of brutal murder or secret assassination, to say nothing of innumerable crimes of the same kind committed in their circle, and left unpunished, save by similar crimes. Nevertheless, justice is due to the very worst times and the very worst governments; and it must be recorded that, whilst sharing in many of the vices of their age and race, especially their extreme licence of morals, three of Clovis's successors, Théodebert, king of Austrasia (from 534 to 548), Gontran, king of Burgundy (from 561 to 593), and Dagobert I., who united under his own sway the whole Frankish monarchy (from 622 to 638), were less violent, less cruel, less iniquitous, and less grossly ignorant or blind than the majority of the Merovingians.

Character of the Merovingian kings.

The rivalry between the two queens Frédégonde and Brunehaut occupies an important place in the history of the Merovingian epoch. After the execution of Brunehaut and the death of Clotaire II, the history of the Franks becomes a little less dark and less bloody.

A.D. 628. King Dagobert.

Despite of many excesses and scandals, Dagobert was the most wisely energetic, the least cruel in feeling, the most prudent in enterprise, and the most capable of governing with some little regularity and effectiveness, of all the kings furnished, since Clovis, by the Merovingian race. He had, on ascending the throne, this immense advantage, that the three Frankish dominions, Austrasia, Neustria and Burgundy, were re-united under his sway; and at the death of his brother Charibert he added thereto Aquitania. The unity of the vast Frankish monarchy was thus re-established, and Dagobert retained it by his moderation at home and abroad. Either by his own energy, or by surrounding himself with wise and influential counsellors, such as Pepin of Landen, mayor of the palace of Austrasia, St. Arnoul, bishop of Metz, St. Eligius, bishop of Noyon, and St. Audoenus, bishop of Rouen, he applied himself to, and succeeded in assuring to himself, in the exercise of his power, a pretty large measure of independence and popularity. At the beginning of his reign he held, in Austrasia and Burgundy, a sort of administrative and judicial inspection, halting at the principal towns, listening to complaints, and checking, sometimes with a rigour arbitrary indeed, but approved of by the people, the violence and irregularities of the grandees. Nor did he confine himself to this unceremonious exercise of the royal authority. Some of his predecessors, and amongst them Childebert I., Clotaire I., and Clotaire II., had caused to be drawn up in Latin, and by scholars, digests more or less complete of the laws and customs handed down by tradition, amongst certain of the Germanic peoples established on Roman soil, notably the laws of the Salian Franks and Ripuarian Franks; and Dagobert ordered a continuation of these first legislative labours amongst the new-born nations. It was, apparently, in his reign that a digest was made of the laws of the Allemannians and Bavarians. He had also some taste for the arts, and the pious talents displayed by Saints Eloi (Eligius) and Ouen (Audoenus) in goldsmiths'-work and sculpture, applied to the service of religion or the decoration of churches, received from him the support of the royal favour and munificence. His authority was maintained in his dominions, his reputation spread far and wide, and the name of *great King Dagobert* was his abiding title in the memory of the

people. Taken all in all, he was, next to Clovis, the most distinguished of Frankish kings, and the last really king in the line of the Merovingians. After him, from 638 to 752, twelve princes of this line, one named Sigebert, two Clovis, two Childéric, one Clotaire, two Dagobert, one Childebert, one Chilpéric, and two Théodoric or Thierry, bore in Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, or in the three kingdoms united, the title of king, without deserving in history more than room for their names. There was already heard the rumbling of great events to come around the Frankish dominion; and in the very womb of this dominion was being formed a new race of kings more able to bear, in accordance with the spirit and wants of their times, the burden of power.

A.D. 638—752. Last Merovingian kings.

Mayors of the palace.

The last of the kings sprung from Clovis acquitted themselves too ill or not at all of their task; and the *mayors of the palace* were naturally summoned to supply their deficiencies, and to give the populations assurance of more intelligence and energy in the exercise of power. The origin and primitive character of these supplements of royalty were different according to circumstances; some being appointed by the kings to support royalty against the "leudes" (lieges), others chosen by the "leudes" against the kings. It was especially between the Neustrian and Austrasian *mayors of the palace* that this difference became striking. Gallo-Roman feeling was more prevalent in Neustria, Germanic in Austrasia. The majority of the Neustrian mayors supported the interests of royalty, the Austrasian, those of the aristocracy of landholders and warriors. The last years of the Merovingian line were full of their struggles; but a cause far more general and more powerful than these differences and conflicts in the very heart of the Frankish dominions determined the definitive fall of that line and the accession of another dynasty; we allude to the great invasions of barbarians which took place during the sixth century.

Power of the Austrasian Franks.

Everywhere resistance to this new movement became the national attitude of the Franks, and they proudly proclaimed themselves the defenders of that West of which they had but lately been the conquerors. The ascendency in the heart of the whole of Frankish Gaul thus passed to the Austrasians, already bound by their geographical position to the defence of their nation in its new settlement. There had risen up amongst them a family, powerful from its vast domains, from its military and political services, and already also from the prestige belonging to the hereditary transmission of name and power. Its first chief

known in history had been Pepin of Landen, called *The Ancient*; he died in 639, leaving to his family an influence already extensive. His son Grimoald succeeded him as mayor of the palace, ingloriously; but his grandson, by his daughter Bégа, Pepin of Héristal, was for twenty-seven years not only virtually, as mayor of the palace, but ostensibly and with the title of *duke*, the real sovereign of Austrasia and all the Frankish dominion. He did not, however, take the name of king; and four descendants of Clovis, Thierry III., Clovis III., Childebert III. and Dagobert III. continued to bear that title in Neustria and Burgundy, under the preponderating influence of Pepin of Héristal. He did, during his long sway, three things of importance. He struggled without cessation to keep or bring back under the rule of the Franks the Germanic nations on the right bank of the Rhine, Frisons, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Allemannians; and thus to make the Frankish dominion a bulwark against the new flood of barbarians who were pressing one another westwards

A.D. 687. Pepin of Héristal, mayor of the palace.

He rekindled in Austrasia the national spirit and some political life by beginning again the old March-parades of the Franks, which had fallen into desuetude under the last Merovingians. Finally, and this was, perhaps, his most original merit, he understood of what importance, for the Frankish kingdom, was the conversion to Christianity of the Germanic peoples over the Rhine, and he abetted with all his might the zeal of the popes and missionaries, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Gallo-Roman, devoted to this great work.

On the death of Pepin (Dec. 16, 714), his son Charles, at that time twenty-five years of age, was proclaimed Duke of Austrasia. He was destined to become Charles Martel.

Charles Martel.

He first of all repelled an invasion of the Frisons and Saxons; turning then against the Neustrians, he twice succeeded in beating, first near Cambrai, and then near Soissons (717-718), the Neustrian king and Ragenfried, the mayor of the palace, pursued them to Paris, and remaining temperate amidst the triumph of his ambition, he, too, took from amongst the surviving Merovingians a sluggard king, whom he installed under the name of Clotaire IV., himself becoming, with the simple title of Duke of Austrasia, master of the Frankish dominion. The invasions of the Arabs soon placed Aquitania and Vasconia within his grasp.

Invasions of the Arabs.

Eudes or Eudon, duke of those beautiful provinces, had twice made a gallant effort to stem the progress of the formidable soldiers of the Crescent; at last he was obliged to seek assistance from the Franks; accordingly he repaired in all haste to Charles

and invoked his aid against the common enemy, who, after having crushed the Aquitanians, would soon attack the Franks, and subject them in turn to ravages and outrages. Charles did not require solicitation. He took an oath of the Duke of Aquitania to acknowledge his sovereignty and thenceforth remain faithful to him; and then, summoning all his warriors, Franks, Burgundians, Gallo-Romans, and Germans from beyond the Rhine, he set himself in motion towards the Loire. It was time. The Arabs had spread over the whole country between the Garonne and the Loire; they had even crossed the latter river and penetrated into Burgundy as far as Autun and Sens, ravaging the country, the towns and the monasteries, and massacring or dispersing the population. Abdel-Rhaman, their chief, had heard tell of the city of Tours and its rich abbey, the treasures whereof, it was said, surpassed those of any other city and any other abbey in Gaul. Burning to possess it, he recalled towards this point his scattered forces. On arriving at Poitiers he found the gates closed and the inhabitants resolved to defend themselves; and, after a fruitless attempt at assault, he continued his march towards Tours. He was already beneath the walls of the place when he learnt that the Franks were rapidly advancing in vast numbers. He fell back towards Poitiers, collecting the troops that were returning to him from all quarters, embarrassed with the immense booty they were dragging in their wake. He had for a moment, say the historians, an idea of ordering his soldiers to leave or burn their booty; to keep nothing but their arms, and think of nothing but battle; however he did nothing of the kind, and, to await the Franks, he fixed his camp between the Vienne and the Clain, near Poitiers, not far from the spot where, two hundred and twenty-five years before, Clovis had beaten the Visigoths; or, according to others, nearer Tours, at Miré, in a plain still called the *Landes de Charlemagne.*

A.D. 732. The Arabs defeated.

The Franks arrived. It was in the month of September or October, 732, and the two armies passed a week face to face, at one time remaining in their camps, at another deploying without attacking. It was a struggle between East and West, South and North, Asia and Europe, the Gospel and the Koran; and we now say, on a general consideration of events, peoples, and ages, that the civilization of the world depended upon it. At the breaking of the seventh or eighth day, Abdel-Rhaman, at the head of his cavalry, ordered a general attack; and the Franks received it with serried ranks, astounding their enemies by their tall stature, stout armour, and their stern immobility. The Franks, finally, had the advantage; a great number of Arabs and Abdel-Rhaman

himself were slain. At the approach of night both armies retired to their camps. The next day, at dawn, the Franks moved out of theirs, to renew the engagement; the Arabs had decamped silently in the night, leaving the bulk of their booty, and by this precipitate retreat acknowledging a more severe defeat than they had really sustained in the fight.

Foreseeing the effect which would be produced by their reverse in the country they had but lately traversed as conquerors, they halted nowhere, but hastened to re-enter Septimania and their stronghold Narbonne, where they might await reinforcements from Spain. Duke Eudes, on his side, after having, as vassal, taken the oath of allegiance to Charles, re-entered his dominions of Aquitania and Vasconia, and applied himself to the re-establishment there of security.

Charles Martel's policy towards the "Leudes,"

The great Duke of Austrasia strengthened his power by occupying Burgundy and Provence; he also took care to attract or retain by rich presents, particularly by gifts of lands, the warriors, old and new "leudes," who formed his strength. He therefore laid hands on a great number of the domains of the Church, and gave them, with the title of benefices, in temporary holding, often converted into proprietorship, and under the style of *precarious* tenure, to the chiefs in his service. There was nothing new in this; the Merovingian kings and the mayors of the palace had more than once thus made free with ecclesiastical property; but Charles Martel carried this practice much farther than his predecessors had. He did more; he sometimes gave his warriors ecclesiastical offices and dignities. Whilst thus making use, at the expense of the Church and for political interests, of material force, Charles Martel was far from misunderstanding her moral influence, and the need he had of her support at the very time when he was incurring her anathemas. Not content with defending Christianity against Islamism, he aided it against Paganism, by lending the Christian missionaries in Germany and the north-west of Europe, amongst others St. Willibrod and St. Boniface, the most effectual assistance. He also showed himself equally ready to protect, but with as much prudence as good-will, the head of the Christian Church (741) against the Lombards, the Pope's neighbours, who were threatening to besiege Rome; he wished to do something in favour of the Papacy to show sincere good-will, without making his relations with useful allies subordinate to the desires of the Pope.

and towards the Church.

A.D. 741. Death of Charles Martel.

Charles Martel had not time to carry out effectually with respect to the Papacy this policy of protection and at the same time of independence; he died at the close of this same year, October 22, 741,

at Kiersy-sur-Oise, aged fifty-two years, and his last act was the least wise of his life. He had spent it entirely in two great works; the re-establishment throughout the whole of Gaul of the Franco-Gallo-Roman empire, and the driving back, from the frontiers of this empire, of the Germans in the north and the Arabs in the south. The consequence, as also the condition, of this double success was the victory of Christianity over Paganism and Islamism. Charles Martel endangered these results by falling back into the groove of those Merovingian kings whose shadow he had allowed to remain on the throne. He divided between his two legitimate sons, Pepin, called the Short, from his small stature, and Carloman, this sole dominion which he had with so much toil reconstituted and defended. Pepin had Neustria, Burgundy, Provence, and the suzerainty of Aquitaine; Carloman Austrasia, Thuringia, and Allemannia. They both, at their father's death, took only the title of mayor of the palace, and, perhaps of duke. The last but one of the Merovingians, Thierry IV., had died in 737. For four years there had been no king at all.

Brought up in the school and in the fear of their father, the two sons of Charles Martel, Pepin and Carloman, were inoculated with his ideas and example; they remained united in spite of the division of dominions, and laboured together, successfully, to keep down, in the north the Saxons and Bavarians, in the south the Arabs and Aquitanians, supplying want of unity by union, and pursuing with one accord the constant aim of Charles Martel—abroad the security and grandeur of the Frankish dominion, at home the cohesion of all its parts and the efficacy of its government. Events came to the aid of this wise conduct. Five years after the death of Charles Martel, in 746 in fact, Carloman, already weary of the burden of power, and seized with a fit of religious zeal, abdicated his share of sovereignty, left his dominions to his brother Pepin, had himself shorn by the hands of Pope Zachary, and withdrew into Italy to the monastery of Monte Cassino.

Policy of Pepin the Short.

Pepin, less enterprising than his father, but judicious, persevering and capable of discerning what was at the same time necessary and possible, was well fitted to continue and consolidate what he would probably never have begun and created. Like his father, he, on arriving at power, showed pretensions to moderation, or, it might be said, modesty. He did not take the title of king; and, in concert with his brother Carloman, he went to seek, heaven knows in what obscure asylum, a forgotten Merovingian, son of Chilpéric II., the last but one of the sluggard kings, and made him king, the last of his line, with the title of Childéric III., himself,

as well as his brother, taking only the style of mayor of the palace. But at the end of ten years, and when he saw himself alone at the head of the Frankish dominion, Pepin considered the moment arrived for putting an end to this fiction. Having obtained the sanction of Pope Zachary in March, 752, in the presence and with the assent of the general assembly of "leudes" and bishops gathered together at Soissons, he was proclaimed king of the Franks, and received from the hand of St. Boniface the sacred anointment. They cut off the hair of the last Merovingian phantom, Childéric III., and put him away in the monastery of St. Sithiu, at St. Omer. The new Gallo-Frankish kingship and the Papacy, in the name of their common faith and common interests, thus contracted an intimate alliance.

A.D. 752. Pepin proclaimed king.

Pepin, after he had been proclaimed king and had settled matters with the Church as well as the warlike questions remaining for him to solve permitted, directed all his efforts towards the two countries which, after his father's example, he longed to reunite to the Gallo-Frankish monarchy, that is, Septimania, still occupied by the Arabs, and Aquitaine, the independence of which was stoutly and ably defended by Duke Eudes' grandson, Duke Waifre. The conquest of Septimania was rather tedious than difficult; in 759, after forty years' of Arab rule, it passed definitively under that of the Franks, who guaranteed to the inhabitants free enjoyment of their Gothic or Roman law and of their local institutions.

The conquest of Aquitaine and Vasconia was much more keenly disputed and for a much longer time uncertain; it was only after nine years' war and seven campaigns full of vicissitudes that Pepin succeeded, not in conquering his enemy in a decisive battle, but in gaining over some servants who betrayed their master. In the month of July, 759, "Duke Waifre was slain by his own folk, by the king's advice," says Frédégaire; and the conquest of all Southern Gaul carried the extent and power of the Gallo-Frankish monarchy farther and higher than it had ever yet been, even under Clovis.

In 753 Pope Stephen, threatened by Astolphus, king of the Lombards, after vain attempts to obtain guarantees of peace, repaired to Paris, and asked the assistance of Pepin and his warriors. The Franks crossed the Alps with enthusiasm, succeeded in beating the Lombards, and shut up in Pavia King Astolphus, who was eager to purchase peace at any price. He obtained it on two principal conditions: 1st, that he would not again make a hostile attack on Roman territory or wage war against the Pope or

A.D. 754. Pepin's campaign in Italy.

people of Rome; 2nd, that he would henceforth recognize the sovereignty of the Franks, pay them tribute, and cede forthwith to Pepin the towns and all the lands, belonging to the jurisdiction of the Roman empire, which were at that time occupied by the Lombards. By virtue of these conditions Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, that is to say, the Romagna, the Duchy of Urbino and a portion of the district of Ancona, were at once given up to Pepin, who, regarding them as his own direct conquest, the fruit of victory, disposed of them forthwith, in favour of the Popes, by that famous deed of gift which comprehended pretty nearly what has since formed the Roman States, and which founded the temporal independence of the Papacy, the guarantee of its independence in the exercise of the spiritual power.

At the head of the Franks, as mayor of the palace from 741, and as king from 752, Pepin had completed in France and extended in Italy the work which his father, Charles Martel, had begun and carried on, from 714 to 741, in State and Church. He left France re-united in one and placed at the head of Christian Europe. He died at the monastery of St. Denis, September 18, 768, leaving his kingdom and his dynasty thus ready to the hands of his son, whom history has dubbed Charlemagne.

A D. 768. Death of Pepin.

Pepin the Short committed at his death the same mistake that his father, Charles Martel, had committed; he divided his dominion between his two sons, Charles and Carloman, thus destroying again that unity of the Gallo-Frankish monarchy which his father and he had been at so much pains to establish. But, just as had already happened in 746 through the abdication of Pepin's brother, events discharged the duty of repairing the mistake of men. After the death of Pepin, and notwithstanding that of Duke Waifre, insurrection broke out once more in Aquitaine; and the old duke, Hunald, issued from his monastery in the island of Rhé to try and recover power and independence. Charles and Carloman marched against him; but on the march Carloman, who was jealous and thoughtless, fell out with his brother, and suddenly quitted the expedition, taking away his troops. Charles was obliged to continue it alone, which he did with complete success. At the end of this first campaign, Pepin's widow, the Queen-mother Bertha, reconciled her two sons; but an unexpected incident, the death of Carloman two years afterwards, in 771, re-established unity more surely than the reconciliation had re-established harmony.

Charlemagne, his character.

The original and dominant characteristic of the hero of this reign, that which won for him and keeps for him after more than ten centuries the name of great, is the striking variety of his

ambition, his faculties, and his deeds. Charlemagne aspired to, and attained to every sort of greatness, military greatness, political greatness, and intellectual greatness; he was an able warrior, an energetic legislator, a hero of poetry. And he united, he displayed all these merits in a time of general and monotonous barbarism when, save in the Church, the minds of men were dull and barren. Those men, few in number, who made themselves a name at that epoch, rallied round Charlemagne and were developed under his patronage.

A summary of the wars of Charlemagne will here suffice. From 769 to 813, in Germany and Western and Northern Europe, Charlemagne conducted thirty-one campaigns against the Saxons, Frisons, Bavarians, Avars, Slavons, and Danes; in Italy, five against the Lombards; in Spain, Corsica, and Sardinia, twelve against the Arabs; two against the Greeks; and three in Gaul itself, against the Aquitanians and the Britons; in all fifty-three expeditions; amongst which those he undertook against the Saxons, the Lombards, and the Arabs were long and difficult wars.

A D. 772—803. Wars against the Saxons.

In 772, being left sole master of France after the death of his brother Carloman, he convoked at Worms the general assembly of the Franks, "and took," says Eginhard, "the resolution of going and carrying war into Saxony. He invaded it without delay, laid it waste with fire and sword, made himself master of the fort of Ehresburg, and threw down the idol that the Saxons called *Irminsul*." It was no longer the repression of Saxon invasions of France, but the conquest of Saxony by the Franks that was to be dealt with; it was between the Christianity of the Franks and the national Paganism of the Saxons that the struggle was to take place.

For thirty years such was its character. Charlemagne regarded the conquest of Saxony as indispensable for putting a stop to the incursions of the Saxons, and the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity as indispensable for assuring the conquest of Saxony. The principal events of the war may thus be summarily enumerated:—Compulsory baptism of a large number of the Saxons who had been driven beyond the Weser (774); diet of Paderborn; all the chiefs send in their submission except Wittikind (777); victories of Badenfeld and of Buckholtz (780); slaughter of 4500 rebels at Verden (782); submission of Wittikind, who embraced Christianity (785). The conqueror could only finish his work of subjection by removing forcibly from the country ten thousand families, which he disseminated throughout Brabant and Switzerland (803).

A.D. 773. Wars in Italy.

This was not, however, Charlemagne's only great enterprise at this epoch, nor the only great struggle he had to maintain. Whilst he was incessantly fighting in Germany, the work of policy commenced by his father Pepin in Italy called for his care and his exertions. The new king of the Lombards, Didier, and the new Pope, Adrian I., had entered upon a new war; and Didier was besieging Rome, which was energetically defended by the Pope and its inhabitants. In 773 Adrian invoked the aid of the King of the Franks, who, after having married Désirée, the daughter of Didier, had repudiated her, and taken as his wife the Suabian Hildegarde. Charlemagne tried, by means of special envoys, to obtain from the king of the Lombards what the Pope demanded. On Didier's refusal he at once set to work, convoked the general meetings of the Franks, at Geneva, in the autumn of 773, gained them over, not without encountering some objections, to the projected Italian expedition, and forthwith commenced the campaign with two armies. He finally took Pavia, where his father-in-law had shut himself up, received the submission of all the Lombard dukes and counts, save one only, Aregisius, duke of Beneventum, and entered France, leading with him, as prisoner, King Didier, whom he banished to a monastery, first at Liege and then at Corbie, where the dethroned Lombard, say the chroniclers, ended his days in saintly fashion.

"Three years afterwards, in 777, the Saracen chief Ibn al-Arabi," says Eginhard, "came to Paderborn in Westphalia, to present himself before the king. He had arrived from Spain, together with other Saracens in his train, to surrender to the King of the Franks himself and all the towns which the King of the Saracens had confided to his keeping." For a long time past the Christians of the West had given the Mussulmans, Arab or other, the name of *Saracens*. Ibn-al-Arabi was governor of Saragossa, and one of the Spanish-Arab chieftains in league against Abdel-Rhaman, the last offshoot of the Ommiad khalifs, who, with the assistance of the Berbers, had seized the government of Spain. Amidst the troubles of his country and his nation, Ibn-al-Arabi summoned to his aid, against Abdel-Rhaman, the Franks and the Christians.

A.D. 778. Charlemagne in Spain. Roncesvalles.

Charlemagne accepted the summons with alacrity. With the coming of spring in the following year, 778, and with the full assent of his chief warriors, he started on his march towards the Pyrenees. This expedition, however, begun under the most brilliant and favourable auspices, came to a melancholy conclusion, the rear-guard of the Franks being cut to pieces in the passes of

Roncesvalles on their return home. This disaster, and the heroism of the warriors who perished there, became, in France, the object of popular sympathy, and the favourite topic for the exercise of the popular fancy. *The Song of Roland*, a real Homeric poem in its great beauty, and yet rude and simple as became its national character, bears witness to the prolonged importance attained in Europe by this incident in the history of Charlemagne. Four centuries later the comrades of William the Conqueror, marching to battle at Hastings for the possession of England, struck up *The Song of Roland* "to prepare themselves for victory or death." There is no determining how far history must be made to participate in these reminiscences of national feeling; but assuredly the figures of Roland and Oliver, and Archbishop Turpin, and the pious, unsophisticated, and tender character of their heroism are not pure fables invented by the fancy of a poet, or the credulity of a monk. If the accuracy of historical narrative must not be looked for in them, their moral truth must be recognized in their pourtrayal of a people and an age.

Results of Charlemagne's wars.

Although continually obliged to watch, and often still to fight, Charlemagne might well believe that he had nearly gained his end. He had everywhere greatly extended the frontiers of the Frankish dominions, and subjugated the populations comprised in his conquests. He had proved that his new frontiers would be vigorously defended against new invasions or dangerous neighbours. He had pursued the Huns and the Slavons to the confines of the empire of the East, and the Saracens to the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. The centre of the dominion was no longer in ancient Gaul; he had transferred it to a point not far from the Rhine, in the midst and within reach of the Germanic populations, at the town of Aix-la-Chapelle, which he had founded, and which was his favourite residence; but the principal parts of the Gallo-Frankish kingdom, Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy were effectually welded in one single mass. The moral influence of Charlemagne was on a par with his material power; he had everywhere protected the missionaries of Christianity; he had twice entered Rome, also in the character of protector, and he could count on the faithful support of the Pope at least as much as the Pope could count on him. He had received embassies and presents from the sovereigns of the East, Christian and Mussulman, from the emperors at Constantinople and the khalifs at Bagdad. Everywhere, in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia, he was feared and respected by kings and people. Such, at the close of the eighth century were, so far as he was concerned, the result of his wars,

of the superior capacity he had displayed, and of the successes he had won and kept.

A D. 800 He is crowned emperor.

In 799 he received, at Aix-la-Chapelle, news of serious disturbances which had broken out at Rome; he remained all the winter at Aix-la-Chapelle, spent the first months of the year 800 on affairs connected with Western France; then journeying towards Italy, he arrived on the 23rd of November, 800, at the gates of Rome. The pope "received him there as he was dismounting; then, the next day, standing on the steps of the basilica of St. Peter and amidst general hallelujahs, he introduced the king into the sanctuary of the blessed Apostle, glorifying and thanking the Lord for this happy event." Some days were spent in examining into the grievances which had been set down to the pope's account, and in receiving two monks arrived from Jerusalem to present to the king, with the patriarch's blessing, the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary, as well as the sacred standard. Lastly, on the 25th of December, 800, "the day of the Nativity of our Lord," says Eginhard, "the king came into the Basilica of the blessed St. Peter, apostle, to attend the celebration of mass. At the moment when, in his place before the altar, he was bowing down to pray, Pope Leo placed on his head a crown, and all the Roman people shouted, 'Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!' After this proclamation the pontiff prostrated himself before him and paid him adoration, according to the custom established in the days of the old emperors; and thenceforward Charles, giving up the title of patrician, bore that of emperor and Augustus."

Charlemagne's government.

It has just been shown how Charlemagne by his wars, which had for their object and result permanent and well-secured conquests, had stopped the fresh incursions of barbarians, that is, had stopped disorder coming from without. An attempt will now be made to show by what means he set about suppressing disorder from within and putting his own rule in the place of the anarchy that prevailed in the Roman world which lay in ruins, and in the barbaric world which was a prey to blind and ill-regulated force.

A distinction must be drawn between the local and central governments.

Far from the centre of the State, in what have since been called the provinces, the power of the emperor was exercised by the medium of two classes of agents, one local and permanent, the other despatched from the centre and transitory.

In the first class we find:—

1st. The dukes, counts, vicars of counts, centeniers, sheriffs

(*scabini*), officers or magistrates residing on the spot, nominated by the emperor himself or by his delegates, and charged with the duty of acting in his name for the levying of troops, rendering of justice, maintenance of order, and receipt of imposts.

2nd. The beneficiaries or vassals of the emperor, who held of him, sometimes as hereditaments, more often for life, and more often still without fixed rule or stipulation, lands; domains, throughout the extent of which they exercised, a little bit in their own name and a little bit in the name of the emperor, a certain jurisdiction and nearly all the rights of sovereignty. There was nothing very fixed or clear in the position of the beneficiaries and in the nature of their power; they were at one and the same time delegates and independent, owners and enjoyers of usufruct, and the former or the latter character prevailed amongst them according to circumstances. But, altogether, they were closely bound to Charlemagne, who, in a great number of cases, charged them with the execution of his orders in the lands they occupied.

"Missi dominici"

Above these agents, local and resident, magistrates or beneficiaries, were the *missi dominici*, temporary commissioners, charged to inspect, in the emperor's name, the condition of the provinces; authorized to penetrate into the interior of the free lands as well as of the domains granted with the title of benefices; having the right to reform certain abuses, and bound to render an account of all to their master. The *missi dominici* were the principal instruments Charlemagne had, throughout the vast territory of his empire, of order and administration.

General assemblies.

As to the central government, setting aside for a moment the personal action of Charlemagne and of his counsellors, the general assemblies, to judge by appearances and to believe nearly all the modern historians, occupied a prominent place in it. They were, in fact, during his reign, numerous and active; from the year 776 to the year 813 we may count thirty-five of these national assemblies, March-parades and May-parades, held at Worms, Valenciennes, Geneva, Paderborn, Aix-la-Chapelle, Thionville, and several other towns, the majority situated round about the two banks of the Rhine. The number and periodical nature of these great political reunions are undoubtedly a noticeable fact. What, went on in their midst? What character and weight must be then, attached to their intervention in the government of the State?

Two striking facts are to be gathered from contemporary documents: the first, that the majority of the members composing these assemblies probably regarded as a burden the necessity for being

present at them, since Charlemagne took care to explain their convocation by declaring to them the motive for it and by always giving them something to do; the second, that the proposal of the capitularies, or, in modern phrase, the initiative proceeded from the emperor; the figure of Charlemagne alone fills the picture—he is the centre-piece of it and the soul of every thing. 'Tis he who wills that the national assemblies should meet and deliberate; 'tis he who inquires into the state of the country; 'tis he who proposes and approves of, or rejects the laws; with him rests will and motive, initiative and decision. He has a mind sufficiently judicious, unshackled, and elevated to understand that the nation ought not to be left in darkness about its affairs, and that he himself has need of communicating with it, of gathering information from it, and of learning its opinions. But we have here no exhibition of great political liberties, no people discussing its interests and its business, interfering effectually in the adoption of resolutions, and, in fact, taking in its government so active and decisive a part as to have a *right to say that it is self-governing*, or, in other words, a free people. It is Charlemagne, and he alone who governs; it is absolute government marked by prudence, ability, and grandeur.

What he was in his wars and his general relations with his nation has just been seen; he shall now be exhibited in all his administrative activity and his intellectual life, as a legislator and as a friend to the human mind. The same man will be recognized in every case; he will grow in greatness, without changing, as he appears under his various aspects.

Capitularies.

There are often joined together, under the title of *Capitularies* (*capitula*, small chapters, articles) a mass of Acts, very different in point of dates and objects, which are attributed indiscriminately to Charlemagne. This is a mistake. The *Capitularies* are the laws or legislative measures of the Frankish kings, Merovingian as well as Carlovingian. Those of the Merovingians are few in number and of slight importance, and amongst those of the Carlovingians, which amount to 152, 65 only are due to Charlemagne. When an attempt is made to classify these last according to their object, it is impossible not to be struck with their incoherent variety; and several of them are such as we should now-a-days be surprised to meet with in a code or in a special law. Amongst Charlemagne's 65 Capitularies, which contain 1151 articles, may be counted 87 of moral, 293 of political, 130 of penal, 110 of civil, 85 of religious, 305 of canonical, 73 of domestic, and 12 of incidental legislation. And it must not be supposed that all these articles are really acts of legislation, laws properly so called; we find amongst them the

texts of ancient national laws revised and promulgated afresh; extracts from and additions to these same ancient laws, Salic, Lombard, and Bavarian; extracts from acts of councils; instructions given by Charlemagne to his envoys in the provinces; questions that he proposed to put to the bishops or counts when they came to the national assembly; answers given by Charlemagne to questions addressed to him by the bishops, counts, or commissioners (*missi dominici*); judgments, decrees, royal pardons, and simple notes that Charlemagne seems to have had written down for himself alone, to remind him of what he proposed to do; in a word, nearly all the various acts which could possibly have to be framed by an earnest, far-sighted, and active government.

It is noticeable that the majority of Charlemagne's Capitularies belong to that epoch of his reign when he was Emperor of the West, when he was invested with all the splendour of sovereign power. Of the 65 Capitularies classed under different heads, 13 only are previous to the 25th of December, 800, the date of his coronation as emperor at Rome; 52 are comprised between the years 801 and 804.

Charlemagne's intellectual character.

The energy of Charlemagne as a warrior and a politician having thus been exhibited, it remains to say a few words about his intellectual energy. For that is by no means the least original or least grand feature of his character and his influence. Those amongst his habitual advisers whom he did not employ at a distance formed, in his immediate neighbourhood, a learned and industrious society, a *school of the palace*, according to some modern commentators, but an *academy* and not a *school*, according to others, devoted rather to conversation than to teaching. It probably fulfilled both missions; it attended Charlemagne at his various residences, at one time working for him at questions he invited them to deal with, at another giving to the regular components of his court, to his children and to himself, lessons in the different sciences called liberal, grammar, rhetoric, logic, astronomy, geometry, and even theology and the great religious problems it was beginning to discuss. Two men, Alcuin and Eginhard, have remained justly celebrated in the literary history of the age. Alcuin was the principal director of the school of the palace, and the favourite, the confidant, the learned adviser of Charlemagne. "If your zeal were imitated," said he one day to the emperor, "perchance one might see arise in France a new Athens, far more glorious than the ancient—the Athens of Christ." Eginhard, who was younger, received his scientific education in the school of the palace, and

The school of the palace.

was head of the public works to Charlemagne, before becoming his biographer, and, at a later period, the intimate adviser of his son Louis the Debonnair. Other scholars of the school of the palace, Angilbert, Leidrade, Adalhard, Agobard, Theodulph, were abbots of St. Riquier or Corbie, archbishops of Lyons, and bishops of Orleans. They had all assumed, in the school itself, names illustrious in pagan antiquity; Alcuin called himself *Flaccus;* Angilbert, *Homer;* Theodulph, *Pindar*. Charlemagne himself had been pleased to take, in their society, a great name of old, borrowed from the history of the Hebrews—he called himself *David;* and Eginhard, animated, no doubt, by the same sentiments, was Bezaleel, that nephew of Moses to whom God had granted the gift of knowing how to work skilfully in wood and all the materials which served for the construction of the ark and the tabernacle. Either in the lifetime of their royal patron or after his death all these scholars became great dignitaries of the Church, or ended their lives in monasteries of note; but, so long as they lived, they served Charlemagne or his sons not only with the devotion of faithful advisers, but also as followers proud of the master who had known how to do them honour by making use of them.

It was without effort and by natural sympathy that Charlemagne had inspired them with such sentiments; for he too really loved sciences, literature, and such studies as were then possible, and he cultivated them on his own account and for his own pleasure, as a sort of conquest. He caused to be commenced, and, perhaps, himself commenced the drawing up of the first Germanic grammar. He ordered that the old barbaric poems, in which the deeds and wars of the ancient kings were celebrated, should be collected for posterity. He gave Germanic names to the twelve months of the year. He distinguished the winds by twelve special terms, whereas before his time they had but four designations. He paid great attention to astronomy. In theological studies and discussions he exhibited a particular and grave interest; he also paid zealous attention to the instruction of the clergy, whose ignorance he deplored; he laid the foundation, in the cathedral churches and the great monasteries, of episcopal and cloistral schools for the education of ecclesiastics, and, carrying his solicitude still farther, he recommended to the bishops and abbots that, in those schools, "they should take care to make no difference between the sons of serfs and of free men, so that they might come and sit on the same benches to study grammar, music, and arithmetic" [Capitularies of 789, art. 70]. Thus, in the eighth century, he foreshadowed the

extension which, in the nineteenth, was to be accorded to primary instruction, to the advantage and honour not only of the clergy, but also of the whole people.

Charlemagne died at Aix-la-Chapelle, on Saturday, the 28th of January, 814, in his seventy-first year. If we sum up his designs and his achievements, we find an admirably sound idea and a vain dream, a great success and a great failure. He took in hand the work of placing upon a solid foundation the Frankish Christian dominion by stopping, in the north and south, the flood of barbarians and Arabs, Paganism and Islamism. In that he succeeded: the inundations of Asiatic populations spent their force in vain against the Gallic frontier. Western and Christian Europe was placed, territorially, beyond reach of attacks from the foreigner and infidel. No sovereign, no human being, perhaps, ever rendered greater service to the civilization of the world.

A.D. 814 Death of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne formed another conception and made another attempt. Like more than one great barbaric warrior, he admired the Roman empire that had fallen, its vastness all in one, and its powerful organization, under the hand of a single master. He thought he could resuscitate it, durably, through the victory of a new people and a new faith, by the hand of Franks and Christians. With this view he laboured to conquer, convert, and govern. He tried to be at one and the same time Cæsar, Augustus, and Constantine. And for a moment he appeared to have succeeded; but the appearance passed away with himself. The unity of the empire and the absolute power of the emperor were buried in his grave. The Christian religion and human liberty set to work to prepare for Europe other governments and other destinies.





CHAPTER III.

THE CARLOVINGIANS—FEUDAL FRANCE—THE CRUSADES.

A D. 814—987. The Carlovingians.

From the death of Charlemagne to the accession of Hugh Capet, that is, from 814 to 987, thirteen kings sat upon the throne of France. What then became, under their reign, and in the course of those hundred and seventy-three years, of the two great facts which swayed the mind and occupied the life of Charlemagne? What became, that is, of the solid territorial foundation of the kingdom of Christian France through efficient repression of foreign invasion, and of the unity of that vast empire wherein Charlemagne had attempted and hoped to resuscitate the Roman empire?

The fate of those two facts is the very history of France under the Carlovingian dynasty; it is the only portion of the events of that epoch which still deserves attention now-a-days, for it is the only one which has exercised any great and lasting influence on the general history of France.

The Northmen. Hastings.

Attempts at foreign invasion of France were renewed very often; it were tedious to relate or even enumerate all the incursions of the Northmen, with their monotonous incidents. When their frequency and their general character has been notified, all has been done that is due to them from history. However, there are three on which it may be worth while to dwell particularly, by reason of their grave historical consequences, as well as of the dramatic details which have been transmitted to us about them.

In the middle and during the last half of the ninth century, a chief of the Northmen, named Hastene or Hastings, appeared several times over on the coasts and in the rivers of France, with numerous vessels. He penetrated into the interior of the country in Poitou, Anjou, Brittany, and along the Seine; pillaged the monasteries of Jumièges, St. Vandrille, and St. Evroul; took possession of Chartres and appeared before Paris, where Charles the Bald, entrenched at St. Denis, was deliberating with his prelates and barons as to how he might resist the Northmen or treat with them. "After long parley with the Abbot of St. Denis," says a Chronicle, "and by reason of large gifts and promises," Hastings consented to stop his cruisings, to become a Christian, and to settle in the countship of Chartres, "which the king gave him as an hereditary possession, with all its appurtenances." According to other accounts, it was only some years later, under the young king Louis III., grandson of Charles the Bald, that Hastings was induced, either by reverses or by payment of money, to cease from his piracies and accept in recompense the countship of Chartres. Whatever may have been the date, he was, it is believed, the first chieftain of the Northmen who renounced a life of adventure and plunder, to become, in France, a great landed proprietor and a count of the king's.

In November, 885, under the reign of Charles the Fat, after having, for more than forty years, irregularly ravaged France, the Northmen resolved to unite their forces in order at length to obtain possession of Paris, whose outskirts they had so often pillaged without having been able to enter the heart of the place, in the Ile de la Cité, which had originally been and still was the real Paris. **A.D. 885. Siege of Paris.**

The siege was prolonged throughout the summer; and when, in November, 886, Charles the Fat at last appeared before Paris, "with a large army of all nations," it was to purchase the retreat of the Northmen at the cost of a heavy ransom, and by allowing them to go and winter in Burgundy, "whereof the inhabitants obeyed not the emperor."

Some months afterwards, in 887, Charles the Fat was deposed, at a diet held on the banks of the Rhine, by the grandees of Germanic France; and Arnulf, a natural son of Carloman, the brother of Louis III., was proclaimed emperor in his stead. At the same time Count Eudes, the gallant defender of Paris, was elected king at Compiègne and crowned by the Archbishop of Sens. Guy, duke of Spoleto, descended from Charlemagne in the female line, hastened to France, and was declared king at Langres

by the bishop of that town, but returned with precipitation to Italy, seeing no chance of maintaining himself in his French kingship. Elsewhere, Boso, duke of Arles, became king of Provence, and the Burgundian Count Rodolph had himself crowned at St. Maurice, in the Valais, king of Trans-juran Burgundy. There was still in France a legitimate Carlovingian, a son of Louis the Stutterer, who was hereafter to become Charles the Simple; but being only a child, he had been rejected or completely forgotten, and, in the interval that was to elapse ere his time should arrive, kings were being made in all directions.

Rollo.

In the midst of this confusion, the Northmen, though they kept at a distance from Paris, pursued in Western France their cruising and plundering. In Rollo they had a chieftain far superior to his vagabond predecessors.

When, in 898, Eudes was dead, and Charles the Simple, at hardly nineteen years of age, had been recognized sole king of France, the ascendency of Rollo became such that the necessity of treating with him was clear. In 911 Charles, by the advice of his councillors, and, amongst them, of Robert, brother of the late king Eudes, who had himself become Count of Paris and Duke of France, sent to the chieftain of the Northmen Franco, archbishop of Rouen, with orders to offer him the cession of a considerable portion of Neustria and the hand of his young daughter Gisèle, on condition that he became a Christian, and acknowledged himself the king's vassal. The treaty was made at St. Clair-sur-Epte; henceforth the vagabond pirates had a country to cultivate and defend; the Northmen were becoming French.

The Saracens.

The invasions of the Saracens in the south of France were still continued from time to time; but they did not threaten, as those of the Northmen did in the north, the security of the Gallo-Frankish monarchy, and the Gallo-Roman populations of the south were able to defend their national independence at the same time against the Saracens and the Franks. They did so successfully in the ninth and tenth centuries; and the French monarchy, which was being founded between the Loire and the Rhine, had thus for some time a breach in it without ever suffering serious displacement. The first of Charlemagne's grand designs, however, the territorial security of the Gallo-Frankish and Christian dominion, was accomplished. In the east and the north, the Germanic and Asiatic populations, which had so long upset it, were partly arrested at its frontiers, partly incorporated regularly in its midst. In the south the Mussulman populations, which in the eighth century had appeared so near overwhelming it, were powerless to deal it any

heavy blow. Substantially France was founded. But what had become of Charlemagne's second grand design, the resuscitation of the Roman empire at the hands of the barbarians that had conquered it and become Christians? When Louis the Debonnair became emperor, he began his reign by a reaction against the excesses, real or supposed, of the preceding reign; he established at his court, for his sisters as well as his servants, austere regulations. He restored to the subjugated Saxons certain of the rights of which Charlemagne had deprived them. He sent out every where his commissioners (*missi dominici*) with orders to listen to complaints and redress grievances, and to mitigate his father's rule, which was rigorous in its application and yet insufficient to repress disturbance, notwithstanding its preventive purpose and its watchful supervision.

A.D. 814. Louis the Debonnair

In 817 Louis summoned at Aix-la-Chapelle the general assembly of his dominions; and there, whilst declaring that "neither to those who were wisely-minded, nor to himself, did it appear expedient to break up, for the love he bare his sons, and by the will of man, the unity of the empire, preserved by God himself," he had resolved to share with his eldest son, Lothaire, the imperial throne. Lothaire was in fact crowned emperor; and his two brothers, Pepin and Louis, were crowned king; Pepin, over Aquitaine and a great part of Southern Gaul and of Burgundy; Louis, beyond the Rhine, over Bavaria, and the divers peoplets in the east of Germany." The rest of Gaul and of Germany, as well as the kingdom of Italy, was to belong to Lothaire, emperor and head of the Frankish monarchy, to whom his brothers would have to repair year by year to come to an understanding with him and receive his instructions.

Several insurrections burst out in the empire; the first amongst the Basques of Aquitaine; the next in Italy, where Bernard, son of Pepin, having, after his father's death, become king in 812, with the consent of his grandfather Charlemagne, could not quietly see his kingdom pass into the hands of his cousin Lothaire, at the orders of his uncle Louis. These two attempts were easily repressed, but the third was more serious. It took place in Brittany amongst those populations of Armorica who were excessively jealous of their independence, and was quelled with considerable difficulty.

Insurrections.

After the death of Hermangarde, his first wife, Louis had married Judith, daughter of Count Welf (Guelf) of Bavaria. In 823 he had, by her, a son, whom he called Charles, and who was hereafter to be known as Charles the Bald. This son became his mother's ruling, if not exclusive passion, and the source of his

father's woes. In 829, during an assembly held at Worms, Louis, yielding to Judith's entreaties, set at naught the solemn act whereby, in 817, he had shared his dominions amongst his three elder sons; and took away from two of them, in Burgundy and Allemannia, some of the territories he had assigned to them, and gave them to the boy Charles for his share. Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis thereupon revolted. Court intrigues were added to family differences; for ten years scenes of disorder kept repeating themselves again and again; rivalries and secret plots began once more between the three victorious brothers and their partisans; popular feeling revived in favour of Louis; a large portion of the clergy shared it; finally, in 834, two assemblies, one meeting at St. Denis and the other at Thionville, once more put Louis in possession of the imperial title and power. He displayed no violence in his use of it; but he was growing more and more irresolute and weak, when, in 838, the second of his rebellious sons, Pepin, king of Aquitaine, died suddenly. Louis, ever under the sway of Judith, speedily convoked at Worms, in 839, once more and for the last time, a general assembly, whereat, leaving his son Louis of Bavaria reduced to his kingdom in eastern Europe, he divided the rest of his dominions into two nearly equal parts, separated by the course of the Meuse and the Rhone. Between these two parts he left the choice to Lothaire, who took the eastern portion, promising at the same time to guarantee the western portion to his younger brother Charles. Louis the Germanic protested against this partition, and took up arms to resist it. His father, the emperor, set himself in motion towards the Rhine, to reduce him to submission; but on

A.D. 840. Death of Louis the Debonnair.

arriving close to Mayence he caught a violent fever, and died on the 20th of June, 840, at the castle of Ingelheim, on a little island in the river. His last acts were a fresh proof of his goodness towards even his rebellious sons, and of his solicitude for his last-born. He sent to Louis the Germanic his pardon, and to Lothaire the golden crown and sword, at the same time bidding him fulfil his father's wishes on behalf of Charles and Judith.

A.D. 843. Council of Verdun.

Charles the Bald was to succeed, Lothaire retaining the imperial dignity; as a matter of fact the three sons equally aspired to the throne. Charles and Louis having united for the purpose of resisting the ambition of their elder brother, defeated him in a terrible battle near the village of Fontenailles, six leagues from Auxerre. The Austrasian influence, till then triumphant in Gaul, perished there for ever (841). The victorious princes subsequently confirmed their union by what is generally called the *oaths of Strasburg*, a document regarded as the oldest specimen of the French

language. Finally, in August, 843, the three brothers assembling with their umpires, at Verdun, they at last came to an agreement about the partition of the Frankish empire, save the three countries which it had been beforehand agreed to except. Louis kept all the provinces of Germany of which he was already in possession, and received besides, on the left bank of the Rhine, the towns of Mayence, Worms, and Spire, with the territory appertaining to them. Lothaire, for his part, had the eastern belt of Gaul, bounded on one side by the Rhine and the Alps, on the other, by the courses of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhône, starting from the confluence of the two latter rivers, and, further, the country comprised between the Meuse and the Scheldt, together with certain count-ships lying to the west of that river. To Charles fell all the rest of Gaul; Vasconia or Biscaye, Septimania, the Marches of Spain, beyond the Pyrenees, and the other countries of Southern Gaul which had enjoyed hitherto, under the title of the Kingdom of Aquitaine, a special government, subordinated to the general government of the empire, but distinct from it, lost this last remnant of their Gallo-Roman nationality, and became integral portions of Frankish Gaul, which fell by partition to Charles the Bald, and formed one and the same kingdom under one and the same king.

Division of the Empire.

Thus fell through and disappeared, in 843, by virtue of the treaty of Verdun, the second of Charlemagne's grand designs, the resuscitation of the Roman empire by means of the Frankish and Christian masters of Gaul. The name of *emperor* still retained a certain value in the minds of the people and still remained an object of ambition to princes; but the empire was completely abolished, and, in its stead, sprang up three kingdoms, independent one of another, without any necessary connexion or relation. One of the three was thenceforth France.

Fall of the Carlovingians.

None of Charlemagne's successors was capable of exercising on the events of his time, by virtue of his brain and his own will, any notable influence. Not that they were all unintelligent, or timid, or indolent. It has been seen that Louis the Debonnair did not lack virtues and good intentions; and Charles the Bald was clear-sighted, dexterous, and energetic: he had a taste for information and intellectual distinction; he liked and sheltered men of learning and letters, and to such purpose that, instead of speaking, as under Charlemagne, of *the school of the palace*, people called the palace of Charles the Bald *the palace of the school*. Amongst the eleven kings who after him ascended the Carlovingian throne, several, such as Louis III. and Carloman, and especially Louis

the Ultramarine (d'Outremer) and Lothaire, displayed, on several occasions, energy and courage; and the kings elected at this epoch, without the pale of the Carlovingian dynasty, Eudes in 887 and Raoul in 923, gave proofs of a valour both discreet and effectual. The Carlovingians did not, as the Merovingians did, end in monkish retirement or shameful inactivity: even the last of them, and the only one termed *sluggard*, Louis V., was getting ready, when he died, for an expedition in Spain against the Saracens. The truth is that, mediocre or undecided or addle-pated as they may have been, they all succumbed, internally and externally, without initiating, and without resisting, to the course of events, and that, in 987, the fall of the Carlovingian line was the naturally and easily accomplished consequence of the new social condition which had been preparing in France under the empire.

Breaking up of the empire of the West.

Twenty-nine years after the death of Charlemagne, that is, in 843, when, by the treaty of Verdun, the sons of Louis of Debonnair had divided amongst them his dominions, the great empire split up into three distinct and independent kingdoms, the kingdoms of Italy, Germany, and France. The splits did not stop there. Forty-five years later, at the end of the ninth century, shortly after the death of Charles the Fat, the last of the Carlovingians who appears to have re-united for a while all the empire of Charlemagne, this empire had begotten seven instead of three kingdoms, those of France, of Navarre, of Provence or Cis-juran Burgundy, of Trans-juran Burgundy, of Lorraine, of Allemannia, and of Italy.

The same work was going on in France. About the end of the ninth century there were already twenty-nine provinces or fragments of provinces which had become petty states, the former governors of which, under the names of dukes, counts, marquises, and viscounts, were pretty nearly real sovereigns. Twenty-nine great fiefs, which have played a special part in French history, date back to this epoch.

From the end of the ninth pass we to the end of the tenth century, to the epoch when the Capetians take the place of the Carlovingians. Instead of seven kingdoms to replace the empire of Charlemagne, there were then no more than four. The kingdoms of Provence and Trans-juran Burgundy had formed, by reunion, the kingdom of Arles. The kingdom of Lorraine was no more than a duchy in dispute between Allemannia and France. The Emperor Otho the Great had united the kingdom of Italy to the empire of Allemannia. Overtures had produced their effects amongst the great states; but in the interior of the kingdom of France dis-

memberment has held on its course; and instead of the twenty-nine petty states or great fiefs observable at the end of the ninth century, we find, at the end of the tenth, fifty-five actually established.

Two causes, perfectly natural and independent of all human calculation, led to this dismemberment, one moral and the other political. They were the absence from the minds of men of any general and dominant idea; and the reflux, in social relations and manners, of the individual liberties but lately repressed or regulated by the strong hand of Charlemagne. In the ninth and tenth centuries there was no general and fructifying idea, save the Christian creed; no great intellectual vent; no great national feeling; no easy and rapid means of communication; mind and life were both confined in a narrow space, and encountered, at every step, stoppages and obstacles well nigh insurmountable. At the same time, by the fall of the empires of Rome and of Charlemagne, men regained possession of the rough and ready individual liberties which were the essential characteristic of Germanic manners: thus, settled upon a soil conquered by themselves, and partitioned amongst themselves, lived each by himself, master of himself and all that was his, family, servitors, husbandmen, and slaves: the territorial domain became the fatherland, and the owner remained a free man, a local and independent chieftain, at his own risk and peril.

Rise of the feudal system.

The consequences of such a state of things and of such a disposition of persons were rapidly developed. Territorial ownership became the fundamental characteristic of and warranty for independence and social importance. Local sovereignty, if not complete and absolute, at least in respect of its principal rights, right of making war, right of judicature, right of taxation, and right of regulating the police, became one with the territorial ownership, which before long grew to be hereditary, whether, under the title of *alleu* (*allodium*), it had been originally perfectly independent and exempt from any feudal tie, or under the title of *benefice*, had arisen from grants of land made by the chieftain to his followers, on condition of certain obligations. The offices, that is, the divers functions, military or civil, conferred by the king on his lieges, also ended by becoming hereditary. Having become established in fact, this heirship in lands and local powers was soon recognized by the law; from the ninth to the tenth century it had acquired full force.

Now go back to any portion of French history, and stop where you will, and you will everywhere find the feudal system considered, by the mass of the population, a foe to be fought, and

fought down at any price. At all times, whoever dealt it a blow has been popular in France.

Its political character.

The reason for this fact is in the political character of feudalism; it was a confederation of petty sovereigns, of petty despots, unequal amongst themselves, and having, one towards another, certain duties and rights, but invested in their own domains, over their personal and direct subjects, with arbitrary and absolute power. That is the essential element of the feudal system; therein it differs from every other aristocracy, every other form of government. Liberty, equality, and tranquillity were all alike wanting, from the tenth to the thirteenth century, to the inhabitants of each lord's domains; their sovereign was at their very doors, and none of them was hidden from him or beyond reach of his mighty arm; there was despotism just as in pure monarchies, and there was privilege just as in the very closest aristocracies. And both obtruded themselves in the most offensive and, so to speak, crude form. Despotism was not tapered off by means of the distance and elevation of a throne; and privilege did not veil itself behind the majesty of a large body Both were the appurtenances of an individual ever present and ever alone, ever at his subjects' doors, and never called upon, in dealing with their lot, to gather his peers around him.

Relations of the barons one with another.

And now we will leave the subjects in the case of feudalism, and consider the masters, the owners of fiefs, and their relations one with another. We here behold quite a different spectacle; we see liberties, rights, and guarantees, which not only give protection and honour to those who enjoy them, but of which the tendency and effect are to open to the subject population an outlet towards a better future. The grandeur of the system was neither dazzling nor unapproachable; it was but a short step from vassal to suzerain; they lived familiarly one with another, without any possibility that superiority should think itself illimitable, or subordination think itself servile. Thence came that extension of the domestic circle, that ennoblement of personal service, from which sprang one of the most generous sentiments of the middle ages, fealty, which reconciled the dignity of the man with the devotion of the vassal. It was, as it were, a people consisting of scattered citizens, of whom each, ever armed, accompanied by his following, or intrenched in his castle, kept watch himself over his own safety and his own rights, relying far more on his own courage and his own renown than on the protection of the public authorities. Such a condition bears less resemblance to an organized and settled society than to a constant prospect of peril

and war: but the energy and the dignity of the individual were kept up in it, and a more extended and better regulated society might issue therefrom.

Feudalism attacked.

And it did issue. The society of the future was not slow to sprout and grow in the midst of that feudal system so turbulent, so oppressive, so detested. No sooner was the feudal system in force, than, with its victory scarcely secured, it was attacked in the lower grades by the mass of the people attempting to regain certain liberties, ownerships and rights, and in the highest by royalty labouring to recover its public character, to become once more the head of a nation; in spite of the servitude into which the people had sunk at the end of the tenth century, from this moment the enfranchisement of the people makes way. In spite of the weakness, or rather nullity of the regal power at the same epoch, from this moment the regal power begins to gain ground. That monarchial system which the genius of Charlemagne could not found, kings far inferior to Charlemagne will little by little make triumphant. Those liberties and those guarantees which the German warriors were incapable of transmitting to a well-regulated society, the commonality will regain one after another. Nothing but feudalism could have sprung from the womb of barbarism; but scarcely is feudalism established when we see monarchy and liberty nascent and growing in its womb.

Struggle of the Roman and the Germanic principles.

From the end of the ninth to the end of the tenth century, two families were, in French history, the representatives and instruments of the two systems thus confronted and conflicted at that epoch, the imperial, which was falling, and the feudal, which was rising. After the death of Charlemagne, his descendants, to the number of ten, from Louis the Debonnair to Louis the Sluggard, strove obstinately, but in vain, to maintain the unity of the empire and the unity of the central power. In four generations, on the other hand, the descendants of Robert the Strong climbed to the head of feudal France. The former, though German in race, were imbued with the maxims, the traditions and the pretensions of that Roman world which had been for a while resuscitated by their glorious ancestor; and they claimed it as their heritage. The latter preserved, at their settlement upon Gallo-Roman territory, Germanic sentiments, manners, and instincts, and were occupied only with the idea of getting more and more settled and greater and greater in the new society which was little by little being formed upon the soil won by the barbarians; their forefathers, Louis the Ultramarine and Lothaire were not, we may suppose less personally brave than Robert the Strong and hi

but when the Northmen put the Frankish dominions in peril, it was not to the descendants of Charlemagne, not to the emperor Charles the Fat, but to the local and feudal chieftain, to Eudes, count of Paris, that the population turned for salvation; and Eudes it was who saved them.

In this painful parturition of French monarchy, one fact deserves to be remarked, and that is the lasting respect attached, in the minds of the people, to the name and the reminiscences of the Carlovingian rule, notwithstanding its decay. It was not alone the lustre of that name and of the memory of Charlemagne which inspired and prolonged this respect; a certain instinctive feeling about the worth of hereditary monarchy, as an element of stability and order, already existed amongst the populations, and glimpses thereof were visible amongst the rivals of the royal family in the hour of its dissolution.

A.D. 987. Hugh Capet king.

On the 29th or 30th of June, 987, Hugh Capet was crowned king by the grandees of Frankish Gaul assembled at Senlis, and the dynasty of the Capetians was founded under the double influence of German manners and feudal connexions. Amongst the ancient Germans royal heirship was generally confined to one and the same family; but election was often joined with heirship, and had more than once thrust the latter aside. Hugh Capet was head of the family which was the most illustrious in his time and the closest to the throne, on which the personal merits of Counts Eudes and Robert had already twice seated it. He was also one of the greatest chieftains of feudal society, duke of the country which was already called France, and Count of Paris, of that city which Clovis, after his victories, had chosen as the centre of his dominions. In view of the Roman rather than Germanic pretensions of the Carlovingian heirs and of their admitted decay, the rise of Hugh Capet was the natural consequence of the principal facts as well as of the manners of the period, and the crowning manifestation of the new social condition in France, that is, feudalism. Accordingly the event reached completion and confirmation without any great obstacle. The Carlovingian, Charles of Lorraine, vainly attempted to assert his rights; but, after some gleams of success, he died in 992, and his descendants fell, if not into obscurity, at least into political insignificance. In vain, again, did certain feudal lords, especially in Southern France, refuse for some time their adhesion to Hugh Capet. Hugh possessed that intelligent and patient moderation, which, when a position is once acquired, is the best pledge of continuance. Several facts indicate

that he did not under-estimate the worth and range of his title of king. At the same time, that by getting his son Robert crowned with him, he secured for his line the next succession; he also performed several acts which went beyond the limits of his feudal domains and proclaimed to all the kingdom the presence of the king. But those acts were temperate and wise; and they paved the way for the future without anticipating it. Hugh Capet confined himself carefully to the sphere of his recognized rights as well as of his effective strength, and his government remained faithful to the character of the revolution which had raised him to the throne, at the same time that it gave warning of the future progress of royalty independently of and over the head of feudalism. When he died, on the 24th of October, 996, the crown, which he hesitated, they say, to wear on his own head, passed without obstacle to his son Robert, and the course which was to be followed for eight centuries, under the government of his descendants, by civilization in France, began to develope itself.

It is worth while noticing that, far from aiding the accession of the new dynasty, the Court of Rome showed herself favourable to the old, and tried to save it without herself becoming too deeply compromised. Such was, from 985 to 996, the attitude of Pope John XVI., at the crisis which placed Hugh Capet upon the throne. In spite of this policy on the part of the Papacy, the French Church took the initiative in the event, and supported the new king; the Archbishop of Rheims affirmed the right of the people to accomplish a change of dynasty, and anointed Hugh Capet and his son Robert. The accession of the Capetians was a work independent of all foreign influence and strictly national, in Church as well as in State.

Attitude of the Church.

From 996 to 1108 the first three successors of Hugh Capet, his son Robert, his grandson Henry I., and his great-grandson Philip I., sat upon the throne of France; and during this long space of 112 years the kingdom of France had not, sooth to say, any history. Parcelled out, by virtue of the feudal system, between a multitude of princes, independent, isolated, and scarcely sovereigns in their own dominions, keeping up anything like frequent intercourse only with their neighbours, and loosely united, by certain rules or customs of vassalage, to him amongst them who bore the title of king, the France of the eleventh century existed in little more than name: Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Poitou, Anjou, Flanders, and Nivernais were the real states and peoples, each with its own distinct life and history. One single event, the Crusade, united, towards the end of the century, those

scattered sovereigns and peoples in one common idea and one combined action.

A.D. 1000. End of the world expected.

In A.D. 1000, in consequence of the sense attached to certain words in the Sacred Books, many Christians expected the end of the world. The time of expectation was full of anxieties; when the last day of the tenth and the first of the eleventh centuries were past, it was like a general regeneration; it might have been said that time was beginning over again; and the work was commenced of rendering the Christian world worthy of the future. "Especially in Italy and in Gaul," says the chronicler Raoul Glaber, "men took in hand the reconstruction of the basilicas, although the greater part had no need thereof." Christian art, in its earliest form of the Gothic style, dates from this epoch; the power and riches of the Christian Church, in its different institutions, received, at this crisis of the human imagination, a fresh impulse.

Other facts, some lamentable and some salutary, began, about this epoch, to assume in French history a place which was destined before long to become an important one. Piles of faggots were set up, first at Orleans and then at Toulouse, for the punishment of heretics. The heretics of the day were Manicheans; at the same time a double portion of ire blazed forth against the Jews. Amongst Christians acts of oppression and violence on the part of the great against the small became so excessive and so frequent that they excited in country parts, particularly in Normandy, insurrections which the insurgents tried to organize into permanent resistance. However, even in the midst of this cruel egotism and this gross unreason of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the necessity, from a moral and social point of view, of struggling against such disgusting irregularities made itself felt and found zealous advocates. From this epoch are to be dated the first efforts to establish, in different parts of France, what was called *God's peace, God's truce.* The words were well chosen for prohibiting at the same time oppression and revolt, for it needed nothing less than law and the voice of God to put some restraint upon the barbarous manners and passions of men, great or small, lord or peasant. King Robert always showed himself favourable to this pacific work; and he is the first amongst the five kings of France, in other respects very different,—himself, St. Louis, Louis XII., Henry IV., and Louis XVI.,—who were particularly distinguished for sympathetic kindness and anxiety for the popular welfare.

God's truce.

A.D. 1031—1108. Reigns of Henry I. and Philip I.

Though not so pious or so good as Robert, his son, Henry I., and his grandson, Philip I., were neither more energetic nor more

glorious kings. During their long reigns (the former from 1031 to 1060, and the latter from 1060 to 1108) no important and well-prosecuted design distinguished their government. Their public life was passed at one time in petty warfare, without decisive results, against such and such vassals, at another, in acts of capricious intervention in the quarrels of their vassals amongst themselves. Their home-life was neither less irregular nor conducted with more wisdom and regard for the public interest. In spite of their political mediocrity and their indolent licentiousness, however, Robert, Henry I., and Philip I. were not, in the eleventh century, insignificant personages, without authority or practical influence, whom their contemporaries could leave out of the account. French kingship in the eleventh century was sole power invested with a triple character, Germanic, Roman, and religious; its possessors were at the same time the chieftains of the conquerors of the soil, the successors of the Roman emperors and of Charlemagne, and the lay delegates and representatives of the God of the Christians. Whatever were their weaknesses and their personal short-comings, they were not the mere titularies of a power in decay, and the kingly post was strong and full of blossom, as events were not slow to demonstrate.

The kingship and the community.

And as with the kingship, so with the community of France in the eleventh century. In spite of its dislocation into petty incoherent and turbulent associations, it was by no means in decay. Irregularities of ambition, hatreds and quarrels amongst neighbours and relatives, outrages on the part of princes and peoples were incessantly renewed; but energy of character, activity of mind, indomitable will and zeal for the liberty of the individual were not wanting, and they exhibited themselves passionately and at any risk, at one time by brutal or cynical outbursts which were followed occasionally by fervent repentance and expiation, at another by acts of courageous wisdom and disinterested piety. In ideas, events, and persons there was a blending of the strongest contrasts; manners were rude and even savage, yet souls were filled with lofty and tender aspirations; the authority of religious creeds at one time was on the point of extinction, yet at another shone forth gloriously in opposition to the arrogance and brutality of mundane passions; ignorance was profound, and yet here and there, in the very heart of the mental darkness, gleamed bright centres of movement and intellectual labour. It was the period when Abelard, anticipating freedom of thought and of instruction, drew together upon Mount St. Geneviève thousands of hearers anxious to follow him in the study of the great problems of Nature

and of the destiny of man and the world. And, far away from this throng, in the solitude of the abbey of Bec, St. Anselm was offering to his monks a Christian and philosophical demonstration of the existence of God—"faith seeking understanding" (*fides quærens intellectum*), as he himself used to say. It was the period, too, when, distressed at the licentiousness which was spreading throughout the Church, as well as lay society, two illustrious monks, St. Bernard and St. Norbert, not only went preaching every where reformation of morals, but laboured at, and succeeded in establishing for monastic life a system of strict discipline and severe austerity. Lastly, it was the period when, in the laic world, was created and developed the most splendid fact of the middle ages, knighthood, that noble soaring of imaginations and souls towards the ideal of Christian virtue and soldierly honour.

Influence of Christianity

In the France of the middle ages, though practically crimes and disorders, moral and social evils abounded, yet men had in their souls and their imaginations loftier and purer instincts and desires; their notions of virtue and their ideas of justice were very superior to the practice pursued around them and amongst themselves; a certain moral ideal hovered above this low and tumultuous community and attracted the notice and obtained the regard of men in whose life it is but very faintly reflected. The Christian religion undoubtedly was, if not the only, at any rate the principal cause of this great fact; for its particular characteristic is to arouse amongst men a lofty moral ambition by keeping constantly before their eyes a type infinitely beyond the reach of human nature and yet profoundly sympathetic with it. To Christianity it was that the middle ages owed knighthood, that institution which, in the midst of anarchy and barbarism, gave a poetical and moral beauty to the period. It was feudal knighthood and Christianity together which produced the two great and glorious events of those times, the Norman conquest of England and the Crusades.

Conquest of England by the Normans.

From the time of Rollo's settlement in Normandy, the communications of the Normans with England had become more and more frequent and important for the two countries. The success of the invasions of the Danes in England in the tenth century and the reigns of three kings of the Danish line had obliged the princes of Saxon race to take refuge in Normandy, the duke of which, Richard I., had given his daughter Emma in marriage to their grandfather, Ethelred II. When at the death of the last Danish king, Hardicanute, the Saxon prince Edward ascended the throne of his fathers, he had passed twenty-seven years of exile in Normandy, and he returned to England "almost a stranger," in the

words of the chronicles, to the country of his ancestors; far more Norman than Saxon in his manners, tastes and language, and surrounded by Normans, whose numbers and prestige under his reign increased from day to day. A hot rivalry, nationally as well as courtly, grew up between them and the Saxons. At the head of these latter was Godwin, count of Kent, and his five sons, the eldest of whom, Harold, was destined before long to bear the whole brunt of the struggle. Between these powerful rivals Edward the Confessor, a pacific, pious, gentle, and undecided king, wavered incessantly; at one time trying to resist, and at another compelled to yield to the pretensions and seditions by which he was beset. In 1051 the Saxon party and its head, Godwin, had risen in revolt. Duke William, on invitation, perhaps, from King Edward, paid a brilliant visit to England, where he found Normans every where established and powerful, in Church as well as in State; in command of the fleets, ports, and principal English places. King Edward received him "as his own son; gave him arms, horses, hounds, and hawking-birds," and sent him home full of presents and hopes. The chronicler, Ingulf, who accompanied William on his return to Normandy, and remained attached to him as private secretary, affirms that, during this visit, not only was there no question, between King Edward and the Duke of Normandy, of the latter's possible succession to the throne of England, but that never as yet had this probability occupied the attention of William.

Duke William and Harold.

It is very doubtful whether William had said nothing upon the subject to King Edward at that time; and it is certain, from William's own testimony, that he had for a long while been thinking about it. Four years after this visit of the duke to England, King Edward was reconciled to and lived on good terms with the family of the Godwins. Their father was dead, and the eldest son, Harold, asked the king's permission to go to Normandy and claim the release of his brother and nephew, who had been left as hostages in the keeping of Duke William. The king did not approve of the project. "I have no wish to constrain thee," said he to Harold: "but if thou go, it will be without my consent: and, assuredly, thy trip will bring some misfortune upon thee and our country. I know Duke William and his crafty spirit; he hates thee, and will grant thee naught unless he see his advantage therefrom. The only way to make him give up the hostages will be to send some other than thyself." Harold, however, persisted, and went. William received him with apparent cordiality, promised him the release of the two hostages, escorted him and his

comrades from castle to castle, and from entertainment to entertainment, made them knights of the grand Norman order, and even invited them, "by way of trying their new spurs," to accompany him on a little warlike expedition he was about to undertake in Brittany. Harold and his comrades behaved gallantly; and he and William shared the same tent and the same table. On returning, as they trotted side by side, William turned the conversation upon his youthful connexion with the king of England. "When Edward and I," said he to the Saxon, "were living like brothers under the same roof, he promised, if ever he became king of England, to make me heir to his kingdom; I should very much like thee, Harold, to help me to realize this promise; and be assured that, if by thy aid I obtain the kingdom, whatsoever thou askest of me I will grant it forthwith." Harold, in surprise and confusion, answered by an assent which he tried to make as vague as possible. William took it as positive. "Since thou dost consent to serve me," said he, "thou must engage to fortify the castle of Dover, dig a well of fresh water there, and put it into the hands of my men-at arms; thou must also give me thy sister to be married to one of my barons, and thou must thyself espouse my daughter Adèle." Harold, "not witting," says the chronicler, "how to escape from this pressing danger," promised all the duke asked of him, reckoning, doubtless, on disregarding his engagement; and for the moment William asked him nothing more.

Harold confirms by oath his promises.

But a few days afterwards he summoned, at Avranches according to some, and at Bayeux according to others, and, more probably still, at Bonneville-sur-Touques, his Norman barons; and, in the midst of this assembly, at which Harold was present, William, seated with his naked sword in his hand, caused to be brought and placed upon a table covered with cloth of gold, two reliquaries. "Harold," said he, "I call upon thee, in presence of this noble assemblage, to confirm by oath the promises thou didst make me, to wit, to aid me to obtain the kingdom of England after the death of King Edward, to espouse my daughter Adèle, and to send me thy sister to be married to one of my people." Harold, who had not expected this public summons, nevertheless did not hesitate any more than he had hesitated in his private conversation with William; he drew near, laid his hand on the two reliquaries and swore to observe, to the best of his power, his agreement with the duke, should he live and God help. "God help!" repeated those who were present. William made a sign; the cloth of gold was removed and there was discovered a tub filled to the edge with bones and relics of all the saints that could be got

together. The chronicler-poet, Robert Wace, who, alone and long afterwards, recounts this last particular, adds that Harold was visibly troubled at sight of this saintly heap; but he had sworn. It is honourable to human nature not to be indifferent to oaths even when those who exact them have but small reliance upon them, and when he who takes them has but small intention of keeping them. And so Harold departed, laden with presents, leaving William satisfied but not over-confident. Edward the Confessor died on the 5th of January, 1066; the very day after the celebration of his obsequies Harold was proclaimed king, amidst no small public disquietude, and Aldred, archbishop of York, lost no time in anointing him.

Harold proclaimed king.

On receiving this unlooked for piece of intelligence William gathered together his most important and most trusted counsellors; and they were unanimous in urging him to resent the perjury and injury. He sent to Harold a messenger charged to say, "William, duke of the Normans, doth recall to thee the oath thou swarest to him with thy mouth and with thy hand, on real and saintly relics." "*It is true,*" answered Harold, "*that I sware,* but on compulsion; I promised what did not belong to me; my kingship is not mine own; I cannot put it off from me without the consent of the country. I cannot any the more, without the consent of the country, espouse a foreigner. As for my sister, whom the duke claims for one of his chieftains, she died within the year; if he will, I will send him the corpse." William replied without any violence, claiming the conditions sworn, and specially Harold's marriage with his daughter Adèle. For all answer to this summons Harold married a Saxon, sister of two powerful Saxon chieftains, Edwin and Morkar. There was an open rupture; and William swore that "within the year he would go and claim, at the sword's point, payment of what was due to him, on the very spot where Harold thought himself to be most firm on his feet."

A.D. 1066. The Normans start for England.

Dives was the place of assemblage appointed for fleet and army. William repaired thither about the end of August, 1066. But for several weeks contrary winds prevented him from putting to sea; some vessels which made the attempt perished in the tempest; and some of the volunteer adventurers got disgusted, and deserted. William maintained strict discipline amongst this multitude, forbidding plunder so strictly that "the cattle fed in the fields in full security." The soldiers grew tired of waiting in idleness and often in sickness. "Yon is a madman," said they, "who is minded to possess himself of another's land; God is against the design and so refuses us a wind." About the 20th of September the weather

changed. The fleet got ready, but could only go and anchor at St. Valery, at the mouth of the Somme. There it was necessary to wait several more days; impatience and disquietude were redoubled; "and there appeared in the heavens a star with a tail, a certain sign of great things to come." William had the shrine of St. Valery brought out and paraded about, being more impatient in his soul than any body, but more confident in his will and his good fortune. There was brought to him a spy whom Harold had sent to watch the forces and plans of the enemy; and William dismissed him, saying, "Harold hath no need to take any care or be at any charges to know how we be and what we be doing; he shall see for himself, and shall feel before the end of the year." At last, on the 27th of September, 1066, the sun rose on a calm sea and with a favourable wind; and towards evening the fleet set out.

Landing at Pevensey.

The *Mora*, the vessel on which William was, and which had been given to him by his wife Matilda, led the way; and a figure in gilded bronze, some say in gold, representing their youngest son William, had been placed on the prow, with the face towards England. Being a better sailor than the others, this ship was soon a long way ahead; and William had a mariner sent to the top of the mainmast to see if the fleet were following. "I see naught but sea and sky," said the mariner. William had the ship brought to; and the second time the mariner said, "I see four ships." Before long he cried, "I see a forest of masts and sails." On the 29th of September, St. Michael's-day, the expedition arrived off the coast of England, at Pevensey, near Hastings, and "when the tide had ebbed and the ships remained aground on the strand," says the chronicle, the landing was effected without obstacle; not a Saxon soldier appeared on the coast. William was the last to leave his ship; and on setting foot on the sand he made a false step and fell. "Bad sign!" was muttered around him; "God have us in His keeping!" "What say you, lords!" cried William: "by the glory of God I have grasped this land with my hands; all that there is of it is ours."

Harold defeats Tostig.

Whilst William was making for the southern coast of England, Harold was repairing by forced marches to the north, in order to defend, against the rebellion of his brother Tostig and the invasion of a Norwegian army, his short-lived kingship, thus menaced, at two ends of the country, by two formidable enemies. On the 25th of September, 1066, he gained at York a brilliant victory over his northern foe; and, wounded as he was, he no sooner learnt that Duke William had on the 29th pitched his camp and planted his flag at Pevensey, than he set out in haste for the south.

October 14. Battle of Senlac.

On the eve of the battle, the Saxons passed the night in amusement, eating, drinking, and singing, with great uproar; the Normans, on the contrary, were preparing their arms, saying their prayers, and "confessing to their priests—all who would." On the 14th of October, 1066, when Duke William put on his armour, his coat of mail was given to him the wrong way. "Bad omen!" cried some of his people: "if such a thing had happened to us, we would not fight to-day." "Be not disquieted," said the duke: "I have never believed in sorcerers and diviners, and I never liked them; I believe in God, and in Him I put my trust." He assembled his men-at-arms, and "setting himself upon a high place, so that all might hear him," he said to them, "My true and loyal friends, ye have crossed the seas for love of me, and for that I cannot thank ye as I ought; but I will make what return I may, and what I have ye shall have. I am not come only to take what I demanded or to get my rights, but to punish felonies, treasons, and breaches of faith committed against our people by the men of this country. Think, moreover, what great honour ye will have to-day if the day be ours. And bethink ye that, if ye be discomfited, ye be dead men without help; for ye have not whither ye may retreat, seeing that our ships be broken up and our mariners be here with us. He who flies will be a dead man; he who fights will be saved. For God's sake, let each man do his duty; trust we in God, and the day will be ours."

The address was too long for the duke's faithful comrade, William Fitz-Osbern. "My lord," said he, "we dally; let us all to arms and forward, forward!" The army got in motion, starting from the hill of Telham or Heathland, according to Mr. Freeman, marching to attack the English on the opposite hill of Senlac. A Norman, called Taillefer, "who sang very well, and rode a horse which was very fast, came up to the duke. 'My lord,' said he, 'I have served you long, and you owe me for all my service: pay me to-day, an it please you; grant unto me, for recompense in full, to strike the first blow in the battle.' 'I grant it,' quoth the duke. So Taillefer darted before him, singing the deeds of Charlemagne, of Roland, of Oliver, and of the vassals who fell at Roncesvalles." As he sang, he played with his sword, throwing it up into the air and catching it in his right hand; and the Normans followed, repeating his songs, and crying, "God help! God help!" The English, intrenched upon a plateau towards which the Normans were ascending, awaited the assault, shouting and defying the foe.

The battle, thus begun, lasted nine hours with equal obstinacy on both sides, and varied success from hour to hour; it ended, how-

ever, in the defeat of the English; their intrenchments were stormed. Harold fell mortally wounded by an arrow which pierced his skull; his two brothers and his bravest comrades fell at his side; the fight was prolonged between the English dispersed and the Normans pursuing; the standard sent from Rome to the Duke of Normandy had replaced the Saxon flag on the very spot where Harold had fallen; and all around, the ground continued to get covered with dead and dying, fruitless victims of the passions of the combatants. Next day William went over the field of battle; and he was heard to say in a tone of mingled triumph and sorrow, "Here is verily a lake of blood!"

There was, long after the battle of Senlac or Hastings, as it is commonly called, a patriotic superstition in the country to the effect that, when the rain had moistened the soil, there were to be seen traces of blood on the ground where it had taken place.

Consequences of the battle.

It was not every thing, however, to be victorious, it was still necessary to be recognized as king. When the news of the defeat at Hastings and the death of Harold was spread abroad in the country, the emotion was lively and seemed to be profound; the great Saxon national council, the *Wittenagemote*, assembled at London; the remnants of the Saxon army rallied there; and search was made for other kings than the Norman duke. Harold left two sons, very young and not in a condition to reign; but his two brothers-in-law, Edwin and Morkar, held dominion in the north of England, whilst the southern provinces, and amongst them the city of London, had a popular aspirant, a nephew of Edward the Confessor, in Edgar surnamed *Atheling* (*the noble, the illustrious*), as the descendant of several kings. What with these different pretensions, there was discussion, hesitation, and delay; but at last the young Edgar prevailed, and was proclaimed king. Meanwhile William was advancing with his army, slowly, prudently, as a man resolved to risk nothing and calculating upon the natural results of his victory. At some points he encountered attempts at resistance, but he easily overcame them, occupied successively Romney, Dover, Canterbury, and Rochester, appeared before London without trying to enter it, and moved on Winchester, which was the residence of Edward the Confessor's widow, Queen Editha, who had received that important city as dowry. Through respect for her, William, who presented himself in the character of relative and heir of King Edward, did not enter the place, and merely called upon the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to him and do him homage, which they did with the queen's consent. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, many other prelates and laic chieftains, the principal citizens of London, the two brothers-in-law of Harold,

Edwin and Morkar, and the young king of yesterday, Edgar Atheling himself, having tendered their submission to the conqueror, William entered London, and fixed for his coronation upon Christmas-day, December 25th, 1066. Either by desire of the prelate himself or by William's own order, it was not the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, who presided, according to custom, at the ceremony; the duty devolved upon the Archbishop of York, Aldred, who had but lately anointed Edgar Atheling. At the appointed hour, William arrived at Westminster Abbey, the latest work and the burial-place of Edward the Confessor. The Conqueror marched between two hedges of Norman soldiers, behind whom stood a crowd of people, cold and sad, though full of curiosity. A numerous cavalry guarded the approaches to the church and the quarters adjoining. Two hundred and sixty counts, barons, and knights of Normandy went in with the duke. Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, demanded, in French, of the Normans, if they would that their duke should take the title of King of the English. The Archbishop of York demanded of the English, in the Saxon tongue, if they would have for king the Duke of Normandy. Noisy acclamations arose in the church and resounded outside. The soldiery, posted in the neighbourhood, took the confused roar for a symptom of something wrong and in their suspicious rage set fire to the neighbouring houses. The flames spread rapidly. The people who were rejoicing in the church caught the alarm, and a multitude of men and women of every rank flung themselves out of the edifice. Alone and trembling, the bishops with some clerics and monks remained before the altar and accomplished the work of anointment upon the king's head, "himself trembling," says the chronicle. Nearly all the rest who were present ran to the fire, some to extinguish it, others to steal and pillage in the midst of the consternation. William terminated the ceremony by taking the usual oath of Saxon kings at their coronation, adding thereto, as of his own motion, a promise to treat the English people according to their own laws and as well as they had ever been treated by the best of their own kings. Then he went forth from the church King of England.

December 25. Coronation of William

Amongst the great events of European history none was for a longer time in preparation or more naturally brought about than the Crusades. Christianity, from her earliest days, had seen in Jerusalem her sacred cradle; it had been, in past times, the home of her ancestors, the Jews, and the centre of their history; and, afterwards, the scene of the life, death, and resurrection of her Divine Founder. Jerusalem became more and more the Holy

The crusades.

City. To go to Jerusalem, to visit the Mount of Olives, Calvary, and the tomb of Jesus, was, in their most evil days and in the midst of their obscurity and their martyrdoms, a pious passion with the early Christians. Events, however, soon rendered the pilgrimage to Jerusalem difficult, and for some time impossible; the Mussulmans, khalifs of Egypt or Persia, had taken Jerusalem; and the Christians, native inhabitants or foreign visitors, continued to be oppressed, harassed, and humiliated there. At two periods their condition was temporarily better. At the commencement of the ninth century, Charlemagne reached even there with the greatness of his mind and of his power; he kept up so close a friendship with Haroun-al-Raschid, king of Persia, that this prince preferred his good graces to the alliance of the sovereigns of the earth. Accordingly, when the ambassadors whom Charles had sent, with presents, to visit the sacred tomb of our divine Saviour and the site of the resurrection, presented themselves before him and expounded to him their master's wish, Haroun did not content himself with entertaining Charles's request, he wished, besides, to give up to him the complete proprietorship of those places hallowed by the certification of our redemption, and he sent him, with the most magnificent presents, the keys of the Holy Sepulchre. At the end of the same century, another Christian sovereign, far less powerful and less famous, John Zimisces, emperor of Constantinople, in a war against the Mussulmans of Asia, penetrated into Galilee, made himself master of Tiberias, Nazareth, and Mount Tabor, received a deputation which brought him the keys of Jerusalem, "and we have placed," he says himself, "garrisons in all the district lately subjected to our rule." These were but strokes of foreign intervention giving the Christians of Jerusalem gleams of hope rather than lasting diminution of their miseries. However, it is certain that, during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, pilgrimages multiplied and were often accomplished without obstacle. At last the crusading movement was brought about by the preaching of an obscure pilgrim, at first a soldier, then a married man and father of several children, then a monk and a vowed recluse, Peter the Hermit, who was born in the neighbourhood of Amiens, about 1050, and who had gone, as so many others had, to Jerusalem "to say his prayers there."

Condition of the Christians in Palestine.

A.D. 1095. Council of Clermont. Peter the Hermit preaches the crusade.

In 1095, Pope Urban II. was at Clermont, in Auvergne, presiding at the grand council, at which thirteen archbishops and two hundred and five bishops or abbots were met together, with so many princes and lay-lords, that "about the middle of the month of November the towns and villages of the neighbourhood were full of

people, and divers were constrained to have their tents and pavilions set up amidst the fields and meadows, notwithstanding that the season and the country were cold to an extreme." The first nine sessions of the council were devoted to the affairs of the Church in the West; but at the tenth Jerusalem and the Christians of the East became the subject of deliberation. The Pope went out of the church wherein the Council was assembled and mounted a platform erected upon a vast open space in the midst of the throng. Peter the Hermit, standing at his side, spoke first, and told the story of his sojourn at Jerusalem, all he had seen of the miseries and humiliations of the Christians, and all he himself had suffered there, for he had been made to pay tribute for admission into the Holy City, and for gazing upon the spectacle of the exactions, insults, and tortures he was recounting. After him Pope Urban II. spoke, in the French tongue, no doubt, as Peter had spoken, for he was himself a Frenchman, as the majority of those present were, grandees and populace. He made a long speech, entering upon the most painful details connected with the sufferings of the Christians of Jerusalem, "that royal city which the Redeemer of the human race had made illustrious by His coming, had honoured by His residence, had hallowed by His passion, had purchased by His death, had distinguished by His burial. She now demands of you her deliverance . . . . men of France, men from beyond the mountains, nations chosen and beloved of God, right valiant knights, recall the virtues of your ancestors, the virtue and greatness of King Charlemagne and your other kings; it is from you above all that Jerusalem awaits the help she invokes, for to you, above all nations, God has vouchsafed signal glory in arms. Take ye, then, the road to Jerusalem for the remission of your sins, and depart assured of the imperishable glory which awaits you in the kingdom of heaven."

Speech of Pope Urban II.

From the midst of the throng arose one prolonged and general shout, "God willeth it! God willeth it!" The pope paused for a moment; and then, making a sign with his hand as if to ask for silence, he continued, "If the Lord God were not in your souls, ye would not all have uttered the same words. In the battle, then, be those your war-cry, those words that came from God; in the army of the Lord let naught be heard but that one shout, 'God willeth it! God willeth it!' We ordain not, and we advise not that the journey be undertaken by the old or the weak, or such as be not suited for arms, and let not women set out without their husbands or their brothers; let the rich help the poor; nor priests nor clerks may go without the leave of their

Enthusiasm of the people

bishops; and no layman shall commence the march save with the blessing of his pastor. Whosoever hath a wish to enter upon this pilgrimage let him wear upon his brow or his breast the cross of the Lord, and let him who, in accomplishment of his desire, shall be willing to march away, place the cross behind him, between his shoulders; for thus he will fulfil the precept of the Lord, who said, 'He that doth not take up his cross and follow Me, is not worthy of Me.'"

The enthusiasm was general and contagious, as the first shout of the crowd had been; and a pious prelate, Adhémar, bishop of Puy, was the first to receive the cross from the pope's hands. It was of red cloth or silk, sewn upon the right shoulder of the coat or cloak, or fastened on the front of the helmet. The crowd dispersed to assume it and spread it.

Motives of the crusades.

Religious enthusiasm was not the only, but the first and the determining motive of the crusade; we must add to it the still vivid recollection of the evils caused to the Christians of the west by the Mussulman invasions in France, Spain and Italy, and the fear of seeing them begin again Finally, there was no doubt a great motive power in the spirit of adventure and the love of enterprise which characterize times of intellectual sloth and of partly monotonous existence.

A.D. 1096. First expedition.

As early as the 8th of March, 1096, and in the course of the spring three mobs rather than armies, amounting to three hundred thousand men, set out under the command of Peter the Hermit, Walter the Moneyless and other enthusiasts of the same rank. Peter walked at its head, with a rope about his waist, exhibiting every mark of monkish austerity; he took the road to Constantinople, but as no provision was made for the subsistence of the army on its march, its disorder was extreme; being constrained to exist by plunder, it first fell upon the Jews, and twelve thousand of that unfortunate nation were massacred in Bavaria alone, but as all the provinces did not abound in Jews to be robbed, the inhabitants attacked this unprovided body of crusaders, and slaughtered vast numbers; the remainder at length arrived at Jerusalem. The emperor Alexius Comnenus wisely assisted this formidable rabble to pass the Bosphorus with all convenient speed. As soon as they arrived on the plains of Asia, they were attacked by Soleyman, the Turkish sultan, and the chief part slain almost without resistance. Amongst the leaders fell Walter the Moneyless, who it is said had really acquired a considerable portion of military skill. Peter the Hermit found his way back to Constantinople, and indeed was afterwards present at the capture of the Holy Sepulchre. The more

disciplined armies soon after arrived at the Imperial city, under the command of Godfrey of Bouillon, a prince of Brabant; the counts of Vermandois and Toulouse; Robert, Duke of Normandy; Robert, earl of Flanders; and various other leaders of distinction. The soldiers of the Cross, when mustered on the banks of the Bosphorus, amounted to the amazing number of one hundred thousand horse and six hundred thousand foot. Notwithanding the intractable spirit and want of discipline in the Crusaders, yet their zeal, courage and force carried them irresistibly forward to the completion of their enterprise. With infinite jealousy and alarm, the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus beheld this mighty host in the neighbourhood of his capital, and his fleet was again put into requisition. The first attempt of the Crusaders was against the ancient city of Nicomedia: assisted by the emperor, they became masters of the place in seven weeks. After crossing the lesser Asia, they defeated Soleyman in the great battle of Dorylæum, and in the month of October besieged Antioch, which, after a siege of incredible labour and difficulty, surrendered to their persevering efforts in the following June (1098).

The Crusaders were now reduced to an effective force no greater than twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, and it was a year from the capture of Antioch before they found themselves in a condition to attack Jerusalem, which city, after siege of five weeks, was taken by storm. On the 14th of July, 1099, at day-break, the assault began at divers points; and next day, Friday, the 15th of July, at three in the afternoon, exactly at the hour at which, according to Holy Writ, Jesus Christ had yielded up the ghost, saying, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit," Jerusalem was completely in the hands of the crusaders. We have no heart to dwell on the massacres which accompanied the victory so dearly purchased by the conquerors. The historians, Latin or Oriental, set down at 70,000 the number of Mussulmans massacred on the ramparts, in the mosques, in the streets, underground, and wherever they had attempted to find refuge: a number exceeding that of the armed inhabitants and the garrison of the city. Battle-madness, thirst for vengeance, ferocity, brutality, greed, and every hateful passion were satiated without scruple, in the name of their holy cause. When they were weary of slaughter, "orders were given," says Robert the monk, "to those of the Saracens who remained alive and were reserved for slavery, to clean the city, remove from it the dead, and purify it from all traces of such fearful carnage. They promptly obeyed; removed, with tears, the dead; erected outside the gates dead-houses fashioned like citadels or

A.D. 1099. Taking of Jerusalem

defensive buildings; collected in baskets dissevered limbs; carried them away, and washed off the blood which stained the floors of temples and houses."

Eight or ten days after the capture of Jerusalem, the crusader-chiefs, assembled to deliberate upon the election of a king of their prize. There were several who were suggested for it and might have pretended to it. Robert *Shorthose,* duke of Normandy, gave an absolute refusal, "liking better," says an English chronicler, "to give himself up to repose and indolence in Normandy than to serve as a soldier the King of kings: for which God never forgave him." Raymond, count of Toulouse, was already advanced in years, and declared "that he would have a horror of bearing the name of king in Jerusalem, but that he would give his consent to the election of any one else." Tancred was and wished to be only the first of knights. Godfrey de Bouillon the more easily united votes in that he did not seek them. He was valiant, discreet, worthy, and modest; and his own servants, being privately sounded, testified to his possession of the virtues which are put in practice without any show. He was elected King of Jerusalem, and he accepted the burden whilst refusing the insignia. "I will never wear a crown of gold," he said, "in the place where the Saviour of the world was crowned with thorns." And he assumed only the title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre.

Godfrey de Bouillon elected king.

It is a common belief amongst historians that, after the capture of Jerusalem, and the election of her king, Peter the Hermit entirely disappeared from history. It is true that he no longer played an active part, and that, on returning to Europe, he went into retirement near Huy, in the diocese of Liège, where he founded a monastery, and where he died on the 11th of July, 1115. But William of Tyre bears witness that Peter's contemporaries were not ungrateful to him, and did not forget him when he had done his work. "The faithful," says he, "dwellers at Jerusalem, who four or five years before had seen the venerable Peter there, recognizing at that time in the same city him to whom the patriarch had committed letters invoking the aid of the princes of the West, bent the knee before him, and offered him their respects in all humility. They recalled to mind the circumstances of his first voyage; and they praised the Lord who had endowed him with effectual power of speech and with strength to rouse up nations and kings to bear so many and such long toils for love of the name of Christ. Both in private and in public all the faithful at Jerusalem exerted themselves to render to Peter the Hermit the

A.D. 1115. Death of Peter the Hermit.

highest honours, and attributed to him alone, after God, their happiness in having escaped from the hard servitude under which they had been for so many years groaning, and in seeing the holy city recovering her ancient freedom."

First results of the Crusades.

In the month of August, 1099, the Crusade, to judge by appearances, had attained its object. Jerusalem was in the hands of the Christians, and they had set up in it a king, the most pious and most disinterested of the crusaders. Close to this ancient kingdom were growing up likewise, in the two chief cities of Syria and Mesopotamia, Antioch and Edessa, two Christian principalities, in the possession of two crusader-chiefs, Bohemond and Baldwin. A third Christian principality was on the point of getting founded at the foot of Libanus, at Tripolis, for the advantage of another crusader, Bertrand, eldest son of Count Raymond of Toulouse. The conquest of Syria and Palestine seemed accomplished, in the name of the faith, and by the armies of Christian Europe; and the conquerors calculated so surely upon their fixture that, during his reign, short as it was (for he was elected king July 23, 1099, and died July 18, 1100, aged only forty years), Godfrey de Bouillon caused to be drawn up and published, under the title of *Assizes of Jerusalem*, a code of laws, which transferred to Asia the customs and traditions of the feudal system, just as they existed in France at the moment of his departure for the Holy Land.

Saladin's successes.

Forty-six years afterwards, in 1145, the Mussulmans, under the leadership of Zanghi, sultan of Aleppo and of Mossoul, had retaken Edessa. Forty-two years after that, in 1187, Saladin (Salah-el Eddyn), sultan of Egypt and of Syria, had put an end to the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem; and only seven years later, in 1194, Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, after the most heroic exploits in Palestine, on arriving in sight of Jerusalem, retreated in despair, covering his eyes with his shield, and saying that he was not worthy to look upon the city which he was not in a condition to conquer. When he re-embarked at St. Jean d'Acre, casting a last glance and stretching out his arms towards the coast, he cried, "Most Holy Land, I commend thee to the care of the Almighty; and may he grant me long life enough to return hither and deliver thee from the yoke of the infidels!" A century had not yet rolled by since the triumph of the first crusaders, and the dominion they had acquired by conquest in the Holy Land had become, even in the eyes of their most valiant and most powerful successors, an impossibility.

Nevertheless, repeated efforts and glory and even victories were

not then, and were not to be still later, unknown amongst the Christians in their struggle against the Mussulmans for the possession of the Holy Land. In the space of a hundred and seventy-one years, from the coronation of Godfrey de Bouillon as king of Jerusalem, in 1099, to the death of St. Louis, wearing the cross before Tunis, in 1270, seven grand crusades were undertaken with the same design by the greatest sovereigns of Christian Europe; the Kings of France and England, the Emperors of Germany, the King of Denmark, and princes of Italy successively engaged therein. And they all failed. It was in France, by the French people, and under French chiefs, that the crusades were begun; and it was with St. Louis, dying before Tunis beneath the banner of the cross, that they came to an end. They received in the history of Europe the glorious name of *Gesta Dei per Francos* (*God's works by French hands*); and they have a right to keep, in the history of France, the place they really occupied.

A.D. 1099—1270. Seven crusades take place.

Causes of the second crusade.

During a reign of twenty-nine years, Louis VI., called *the Fat*, son of Philip I., did not trouble himself about the East or the crusades, at that time in all their fame and renown. Being rather a man of sense than an enthusiast in the cause either of piety or glory, he gave all his attention to the establishment of some order, justice, and royal authority in his as yet far from extensive kingdom. A tragic incident, however, gave the crusade chief place in the thoughts and life of his son, Louis VII., called *the Young*, who succeeded him in 1137. He got himself rashly embroiled, in 1142, in a quarrel with Pope Innocent II., on the subject of the election of the Archbishop of Bourges. The pope and the king had each a different candidate for the see. "The king is a child," said the pope; "he must get schooling, and be kept from learning bad habits." "Never, so long as I live," said the king, "shall Peter de la Châtre (the pope's candidate) enter the city of Bourges." The chapter of Bourges, thinking as the pope thought, elected Peter de la Châtre; and Theobald II., count of Champagne, took sides for the archbishop elect. "Mind your own business," said the king to him; your dominions are large enough to occupy you; and leave me to govern my own as I have a mind." Theobald persisted in backing the elect of pope and chapter. The pope excommunicated the king. The king declared war against the Count of Champagne; and went and besieged Vitry. Nearly all the town was built of wood, and the besiegers set fire to it. The besieged fled for refuge to a church, in which they were invested; and the fire reached the church, which was entirely consumed, together with the thirteen hundred inhabitants, men, women, and

children, who had retreated thither. Then, by way of expiating so foul an act of cruelty, Louis the young joined with the Emperor Conrad III. in carrying on the second crusade, which was preached at Vezelay by the abbot of Clairvaux, the celebrated St. Bernard.

Having each a strength, it is said, of 100,000 men, the two monarchs marched by Germany and the Lower Danube, at an interval of two months between them, without committing irregularities and without meeting obstacles so serious as those of the first crusade, but still much incommoded and subjected to great hardships in the countries they traversed. The Emperor Conrad and the Germans first, and then King Louis and the French arrived at Constantinople in the course of the summer of 1147. Manuel Comnenus, grandson of Alexis Comnenus, was reigning there; and he behaved towards the crusaders with the same mixture of caresses and malevolence, promises and perfidy as had distinguished his grandfather. "There is no ill turn he did not do them," says the historian Nicetas, himself a Greek. Conrad was the first to cross into Asia Minor, and, whether it were unskilfulness or treason, the guides with whom he had been supplied by Manuel Comnenus led him so badly that, on the 28th of October, 1147, he was surprised and shockingly beaten by the Turks, near Iconium. An utter distrust of Greeks grew up amongst the French, who had not yet left Constantinople; and some of their chiefs and even one of their prelates, the Bishop of Langres, proposed to make, without further delay, an end of it with this emperor and empire, so treacherously hostile, and to take Constantinople in order to march more securely upon Jerusalem. But King Louis and the majority of his knights turned a deaf ear; accordingly, they continued their march across Asia Minor and gained in Phrygia, at the passage of the river Meander, so brilliant a victory over the Turks that, "if such men," says the historian Nicetas, "abstained from taking Constantinople, one cannot but admire their moderation and forbearance." But the success was short, and, ere long, dearly paid for. On entering Pisidia, the French army split up into two, and afterwards into several divisions, which scattered and lost themselves in the defiles of the mountains. The Turks waited for them, and attacked them at the mouths and from the top of the passes; before long there was nothing but disorder and carnage; the little band which surrounded the king was cut to pieces at his side; and Louis himself, with his back against a rock, defended himself, alone, for some minutes, against several Turks, till they, not knowing who he was, drew off, whereupon he, suddenly throwing himself upon a stray horse,

A.D. 1147. The French arrive at Constantinople.

Passage of the Meander.

rejoined his advanced guard, who believed him dead. The army continued their march pell-mell, king, barons, knights, soldiers, and pilgrims, uncertain day by day what would become of them on the morrow. The Turks harassed them afield; the towns in which there were Greek governors residing refused to receive them; provisions fell short; arms and baggage were abandoned on the road. On arriving in Pamphilia, at Satalia, a little port on the Mediterranean, the impossibility of thus proceeding became evident; they were still, by land, forty days' march from Antioch, whereas it required but three to get there by sea. Louis embarked with his queen, Eleanor, and his principal knights; and towards the end of March, 1148, he arrived at Antioch, having lost more than three quarters of his army.

A D. 1148. Differences between the king of France and his queen Eleanor.

Raymond of Poitiers, at that time Prince of Antioch, by his marriage with Constance, grand-daughter of the great Bohemond of the first crusade, was uncle to the Queen of France, Eleanor of Aquitaine. He had at heart, beyond every thing, the conquest of Aleppo and Cæsarea. In this design the King of France and the crusaders who were still about him might be of real service; and he attempted to win them over. Louis answered that he would engage in no enterprise until he had visited the holy places. Raymond was impetuous, irritable, and as unreasonable in his desires as unfortunate in his undertakings. He had quickly acquired great influence over his niece, Queen Eleanor; and he had no difficulty in winning her over to his plans. When the king, her husband, spoke to her of approaching departure, she emphatically refused, and, to justify her opposition, she declared that they could no longer live together, as there was, she asserted, a prohibited degree of consanguinity between them. Austere in morals, easily jealous, and religiously scrupulous, Louis was for a moment on the point of separating from his wife; but the counsels of his chief barons dissuaded him, and, thereupon, taking a sudden resolution, he set out from Antioch secretly, by night, carrying off the queen almost by force.

Louis VII. arrives at Jerusalem.

On approaching Jerusalem, in the month of April, 1148, Louis VII. saw coming to meet him King Baldwin III., and the patriarch and the people, singing, "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" at the same time arrived from Constantinople the Emperor Conrad, almost alone and in the guise of a simple pilgrim. All the remnant of the crusaders, French and German, hurried to join them. They decided upon the siege of

Siege of Damascus.

Damascus, the most important and the nearest of the Mussulman princedoms in Syria, and in the early part of June they moved

thither with forces incomplete and illunited. Neither the Prince of Antioch nor the Counts of Edessa and Tripolis had been summoned to St. Jean d'Acre; and Queen Eleanor had not appeared. At the first attack, the ardour of the assailants and the brilliant personal prowess of their chiefs, of the Emperor Conrad amongst others, struck surprise and consternation into the besieged, who, foreseeing the necessity of abandoning their city, laid across the streets beams, chains, and heaps of stones, to stop the progress of the conquerors, and give themselves time for flying, with their families and their wealth, by the northern and southern gates. But personal interest and secret negotiations before long brought into the Christian camp weakness together with discord; finally the crusader-sovereigns raised the siege, and returned to Jerusalem. The Emperor Conrad, in indignation and confusion, set out precipitately to return to Germany. King Louis could not make up his mind thus to quit the Holy Land in disgrace and without doing any thing for its deliverance. He prolonged his stay there for more than a year without any thing to show for his time and zeal; urged, however, by the repeated entreaties of his minister Suger, he at length made up his mind, embarked at St. Jean d'Acre at the commencement of July, 1149; and disembarked in the month of October at the port of St. Gilles, at the mouth of the Rhône.

A.D. 1149 Louis VII. returns to France.

This preference and this confidence were no more than Louis VII. owed to Suger. The Abbot of St. Denis, after having opposed the crusade with a freedom of spirit and a farsightedness unique, perhaps, in his times, had, during the king's absence, borne the weight of government with a political tact, a firmness and a disinterestedness rare in any times. He had upheld the authority of absent royalty, kept down the pretensions of vassals, and established some degree of order wherever his influence could reach; he had provided for the king's expenses in Palestine by good administration of the domains and revenues of the crown; and, lastly, he had acquired such renown in Europe, that men came from Italy and from England to view the salutary effects of his government, and that the name of Solomon of his age was conferred upon him by strangers, his contemporaries. With the exception of great sovereigns, such as Charlemagne or William the Conqueror, only great bishops or learned theologians, and that by their influence in the Church, or by their writings, had obtained this European reputation; from the ninth to the twelfth century, Suger was the first man who attained to it by the sole merit of his political conduct, and who offered an example of a minister justly admired, for his ability and wisdom, beyond the circle in which he moved.

A.D. 1082—1152. Suger. His character.

He died in 1152, aged seventy, and "thanking the Almighty,' says his biographer, "for having taken him to Him, not suddenly but little by little, in order to bring him step by step to the rest needful for the weary man." It is said that, in his last days and when St. Bernard was exhorting him not to think any more save only of the heavenly Jerusalem, Suger still expressed to him his regret at dying without having succoured the city which was so dear to them both.

Council of Beaugency

Almost at the very moment when Suger was dying, a French council, assembled at Beaugency, was annulling, on the ground of prohibited consanguinity, and with the tacit consent of the two persons most concerned, the marriage of Louis VII. and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Some months afterwards, at Whitsuntide in the same year, Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou, espoused Eleanor, thus adding to his already great possessions Poitou and Aquitaine, and becoming, in France, a vassal more powerful than the king his suzerain. Twenty months later, in 1154, at the death of King Stephen, Henry Plantagenet became King of England; and thus there was a recurrence, in an aggravated form, of the position which had been filled by William the Conqueror, and which was the first cause of rivalry between France and England and of the consequent struggles of considerably more than a century's duration.

A.D. 1153. Death of St. Bernard.

Little more than a year after Suger, on the 20th of April, 1153, St. Bernard died also. The two great men, of whom one had excited and the other opposed the second crusade, disappeared together from the theatre of the world. The crusade had completely failed. After a lapse of scarce forty years, a third crusade began.

A.D. 1187. Battle of Tiberias.

In the course of the year 1187, Europe suddenly heard tale upon tale about the repeated disasters of the Christians in Asia. On the 1st of May, the two religious and warlike orders which had been founded in the East for the defence of Christendom, the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem and the Templars, lost, at a brush in Galilee, 500 of their bravest knights. On the 3rd and 4th of July, near Tiberias, a Christian army was surrounded by the Saracens, and also, ere long, by the fire which Saladin had ordered to be set to the dry grass which covered the plain. Four days after, on the 8th of July, 1187, Saladin took possession of St. Jean d'Acre, and, on the 4th September following, of Ascalon. Finally, on the 18th of September, he laid siege to Jerusalem, wherein refuge had been sought by a multitude of Christian families driven from their homes by the ravages of the infidels throughout Palestine; and the Holy City contained at this time, it is said, nearly 100,000 Christians. The capitulation soon

Jerusalem capitulates to Saladin.

followed, and all Christians, however, with the exception of Greeks and Syrians, had orders to leave Jerusalem within four days.

The news of this terrible event, spreading through Europe, caused amongst all classes there, high and low, a deep feeling of sorrow, anger, disquietude, and shame. After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Christians of the East, in their distress, sent to the West their most eloquent prelate and gravest historian William, archbishop of Tyre, who, fifteen years before, in the reign of Baldwin IV., had been Chancellor of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He, accompanied by a legate of Pope Gregory VIII., scoured Italy, France, and Germany, recounting every where the miseries of the Holy Land, and imploring the aid of all Christian princes and peoples, whatever might be their own position of affairs and their own quarrels in Europe. At a parliament assembled at Gisors, on the 21st of January, 1188, and at a diet convoked at Mayence on the 27th of March following, he so powerfully affected the knighthood of France, England, and Germany, that the three sovereigns of these three States, Philip Augustus, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Frederick Barbarossa, engaged with acclamation in a new crusade. The eldest, Frederick Barbarossa, was first ready to plunge amongst the perils of the crusade. Starting from Ratisbonne about Christmas, 1189, with an army of 150,000 men, he traversed the Greek empire and Asia Minor, defeated the Sultan of Iconium, passed the first defiles of Taurus, and seemed to be approaching the object of his voyage when, on the 10th of June, 1190, having arrived at the borders of the Selef, a small river which throws itself into the Mediterranean close to Seleucia, he determined to cross it by fording, was seized with a chill and, according to some, drowned before his people's eyes, but, according to others, carried dying to Seleucia, where he expired. His young son Conrad, duke of Suabia, was not equal to taking the command of such an army; and it broke up.

A.D. 1188. A new crusade is determined on.

A.D. 1189. Frederick Barbarossa starts first.

On the 24th of June, 1190, Philip Augustus went and took the oriflamme at St. Denis, on his way to Vezelai, where he had appointed to meet Richard, and whence the two kings, in fact, set out, on the 4th of July, to embark with their troops, Philip at Genoa, and Richard at Marseilles. They had agreed to touch nowhere until they reached Sicily, where Philip was the first to arrive, on the 16th of September; and Richard was eight days later. But, instead of simply touching, they passed at Messina all the autumn of 1190 and all the winter of 1190-91, no longer seeming to think of any thing but quarrelling and amusing them-

A.D. 1190. Philip Augustus and Richard follow.

selves. Nor were grounds for quarrel or opportunities for amusements far to seek. Richard, in spite of his promise, was unwilling to marry the Princess Alice, Philip's sister; and Philip, after lively discussion, would not agree to give him back his word, save "in consideration of a sum of 10,000 silver marks, whereof he shall pay us 3000 at the feast of All Saints, and year by year in succession, at this same feast." Naturally independent, and disposed to act, on every occasion, according to his own ideas, Philip resolved, not to break with Richard, but to divide their commands, and separate their fortunes. On the approach of spring, 1191, he announced to him that the time had arrived for continuing their pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and that, as for himself, he was quite ready to set out. "I am not ready," said Richard; "and I cannot depart before the middle of August." Philip, after some discussion, set out alone, with his army, on the 30th of March, and on the 14th of April arrived before St. Jean d'Acre. This important place, of which Saladin had made himself master nearly four years before, was being besieged by the last King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, at the head of the Christians of Palestine, and by a multitude of crusaders, Genoese, Danish, Flemish, and German who had flocked freely to the enterprise. A strong and valiant Mussulman garrison was defending St. Jean d'Acre. Saladin manœuvred incessantly for its relief, and several battles had already been fought beneath the walls. When the King of France arrived, "he was received by the Christians besieging," say the chronicles of St. Denis, "with supreme joy, as if he were an angel come down from heaven." Philip set vigorously to work to push on the siege; but, at his departure he had promised Richard not to deliver the grand assault until they had formed a junction before the place with all their forces. Richard, who had set out from Messina at the beginning of May, though he had said that he would not be ready till August, lingered again on the way to reduce the island of Cyprus, and to celebrate there his marriage with Berengaria of Navarre, in lieu of Alice of France. At last he arrived, on the 7th of June, before St. Jean d'Acre; and several assaults in succession were made on the place with equal determination on the part of the besiegers and the besieged. On the 13th of July 1191, in spite of the energetic resistance offered by the garrison, which defended itself "as a lion defends his blood-stained den," St. Jean d'Acre surrendered. The terms of capitulation stated that 200,000 pieces of gold should be paid to the chiefs of the Christian army; that 1600 prisoners and the wood of the true cross should be given up to them; and that the garrison as well as all the people of the

A.D. 1191 Taking of St. Jean d'Acre.

town should remain in the conquerors' power, pending full execution of the treaty.

A.D. 1191. Philip Augustus returns to France.

Philip Augustus returned to France after the capture of St. Jean d'Acre, because he considered the ultimate success of the crusade impossible, and his return necessary for the interests of France and for his own. He was right in thus thinking and acting; and King Richard, when insultingly reproaching him for it, did not foresee that a year later he would himself be doing the same thing, and would give up the crusade without having obtained any thing more for Christendom except fresh reverses.

Results of the third crusade.

On the 31st of July, 1191, Philip, leaving with the army of the crusaders, 10,000 foot and 500 knights, under the command of Duke Hugh of Burgundy, who had orders to obey King Richard, set sail for France; and, a few days after Christmas in the same year, landed in his kingdom, and forthwith resumed, at Fontainebleau according to some, and at Paris according to others, the regular direction of his government. Thus ended the third crusade, undertaken by the three greatest sovereigns and the three greatest armies of Christian Europe, and with the loudly proclaimed object of retaking Jerusalem from the infidels and re-establishing a king over the sepulchre of Jesus Christ. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa perished in it before he had trodden the soil of Palestine. King Philip Augustus retired from it voluntarily, so soon as experience had foreshadowed to him the impossibility of success. King Richard abandoned it perforce, after having exhausted upon it his heroism and his knightly pride. The three armies, at the moment of departure from Europe, amounted, according to the historians of the time, to 500,000 or 600,000 men, of whom scarcely 100,000 returned; and the only result of the third crusade was to leave as head over all the most beautiful provinces of Mussulman Asia and Africa, Saladin, the most illustrious and most able chieftain, in war and in politics, that Islamry had produced since Mahomet.

Remaining expeditions to the Holy Land.

From the end of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century, between the crusade of Philip Augustus and that of Saint Louis, it is usual to count three crusades, over which we will not linger. Two of these crusades, one, from 1195 to 1198, under Henry VI., emperor of Germany, and the other, from 1216 to 1240, under the Emperor Frederick II. and Andrew II., king of Hungary, are unconnected with France and almost exclusively German, or, in origin and range, confined to Eastern Europe. They led, in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to wars, negotiations, and manifold complications; Jerusalem fell once more, for a while, into the hands of

the Christians; and there, on the 18th of March, 1229, in the church of the Resurrection, the Emperor Frederick II., at that time excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX., placed with his own hands the royal crown upon his head. But these events, confused, disconnected and short-lived as they were, did not produce in the West, and especially in France, any considerable reverberation, and did not exercise upon the relative situations of Europe and Asia, of Christendom and Islamry, any really historical influence.

The expedition which led to the conquest of Constantinople and to the foundation (1204) of a Latin empire in the East so far interests Frenchmen, that it was a Frenchman, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, seneschal of Theobald III., count of Champagne, who, after having been one of the chief actors in it, wrote the history of it; and his work, strictly historical as to facts, and admirably epic in description of character and warmth of colouring, is one of the earliest and finest monuments of French literature.

A.D. 1215. Louis IX. His character.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, whilst the enterprises which were still called crusades were becoming more and more degenerate in character and potency, there was born in France, on the 25th of April, 1215, not merely the prince, but the man who was to be the most worthy representative and the most devoted slave of that religious and moral passion which had inspired the crusades Louis IX., though born to the purple, a powerful king, a valiant warrior, a splendid knight, and an object of reverence to all those who at a distance observed his life, and of affection to all those who approached his person, was neither biassed nor intoxicated by any such human glories and delights; neither in his thoughts nor in his conduct did they ever occupy the foremost place; before all and above all he wished to be, and was indeed, a Christian, a true Christian, guided and governed by the idea and the resolve of defending the Christian faith and fulfilling the Christian law. Had he been born in the most lowly condition, as the world holds, or, as religion, the most commanding; had he been obscure, needy, a priest, a monk, or a hermit, he could not have been more constantly and more zealously filled with the desire of living as a faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and of ensuring, by pious obedience to God here, the salvation of his soul hereafter. This is the peculiar and original characteristic of St. Louis, and a fact rare and probably unique in the history of kings. (He was canonized on the 11th of August, 1297; and during twenty-four years nine successive popes had prosecuted the customary inquiries as to his faith and life.)

In the first years of his government, when he had reached his majority, there was nothing to show that the idea of the crusade

occupied Louis IX.'s mind; and it was only in 1239, when he was now four and twenty, that it showed itself vividly in him. Some of his principal vassals, the Counts of Champagne, Brittany, and Mâcon had raised an army of crusaders, and were getting ready to start for Palestine; and the king was not contented with giving them encouragement, but "he desired that Amaury de Montfort, his constable, should, in his name, serve Jesus Christ in this war; and for that reason he gave his arms and assigned to him per day a sum of money for which Amaury thanked him on his knees, that is, did him homage, according to the usage of those times. And the crusaders were mighty pleased to have this lord with them."

Illness of Louis IX.

Five years afterwards, at the close of 1244, Louis fell seriously ill at Pontoise, and having recovered, took the cross in consequence of a vow he had made to that effect. The crusades, however, although they still remained an object of religious and knightly aspiration, were from the political point of view decried; and, without daring to say so, many men of weight, lay or ecclesiastical, had no desire to take part in them. Under the influence of this public feeling, timidly exhibited but seriously cherished, Louis continued, for three years, to apply himself to the interior concerns of his kingdom and to his relations with the European powers, as if he had no other idea. At last, in June, 1248, after having received at St. Denis, together with the oriflamme, the scrip and staff of a pilgrim, he took leave, at Corbeil or Cluny, of his mother, Queen Blanche, whom he left regent during his absence, with the fullest powers. "Most sweet fair son," said she, embracing him, "fair tender son, I shall never see you more; full well my heart assures me." He took with him Queen Marguerite of Provence, his wife, who had declared that she would never part from him. On arriving in the early part of August at Aigues-Mortes, he found assembled there a fleet of thirty-eight vessels with a certain number of transport-ships which he had hired from the republic of Genoa; and they were to convey to the East the troops and personal retinue of the king himself. The number of those vessels proves that Louis was far from bringing one of those vast armies with which the first crusades had been familiar; it even appears that he had been careful to get rid of such mobs, for, before embarking, he sent away nearly ten thousand bowmen, Genoese, Venetian, Pisan, and even French, whom he had at first engaged, and of whom, after inspection, he desired nothing further. The sixth crusade was the personal achievement of St. Louis, not the offspring of a popular movement, and he carried it out with a picked army, furnished by the feudal

A.D. 1248 He starts for the Crusade.

chivalry and by the religious and military orders dedicated to the service of the Holy Land.

Arrives at Cyprus. The Isle of Cyprus was the trysting-place appointed for all the forces of the expedition. Louis arrived there on the 12th of September, 1248, and reckoned upon remaining there only a few days; for it was Egypt that he was in a hurry to reach. The French, however, left the island only in May, 1249, and, in spite of violent gales of wind, which dispersed a large number of vessels,

A.D. 1249. Lands at Damietta. they arrived on the 4th of June before Damietta, which was taken without the least difficulty. St. Louis and the crusaders unfortunately committed the same fault there as in the Isle of Cyprus: they halted there for an indefinite time. They were expecting fresh crusaders; and they spent the time of expectation in quarrelling over the partition of the booty taken in the city.

At length, on the 20th of November, 1249, after more than five months' inactivity at Damietta, the crusaders put themselves once more in motion, with the determination of marching upon Babylon, that outskirt of Cairo, now called *Old Cairo*, which the greater part of them, in their ignorance, mistook for the real Babylon, and where they flattered themselves they would find immense riches and avenge the olden sufferings of the Hebrew captives. The Mussulmans had found time to recover from their first fright and

A.D. 1250. Battle of Mansourah to organize, at all points, a vigorous resistance. On the 8th of February, 1250, a battle took place twenty leagues from Damietta, at Mansourah (*the city of victory*), on the right bank of the Nile. The king's brother, Robert, count of Artois, marched with the vanguard, and obtained an early success; elated by this result, he rushed forward into the town, where he found the Mussulmans numerous and perfectly rallied; in a few moments the count of Artois fell pierced with wounds, and more than 300 knights of his train, the same number of English, together with their leader William Longsword, and 280 Templars, paid with their lives for the senseless ardour of the French prince.

The king hurried up in all haste to the aid of his brother; but he had scarcely arrived, and as yet knew nothing of his brother's fate, when he himself engaged so impetuously in the battle that he was on the point of being taken prisoner by six Saracens who had already seized the reins of his horse. He was defending himself vigorously with his sword when several of his knights came up with him and set him free. He asked one of them if he had any news of his brother; and the other answered, "Certainly I have news of him: for I am sure that he is now in Paradise." "Praised be God!" answered the king, with a tear or two, and went on with

his fighting. The battle-field was left that day to the crusaders; but they were not allowed to occupy it as conquerors, for three days afterwards, on the 11th of February, 1250, the camp of St. Louis was assailed by clouds of Saracens, horse and foot, Mamelukes and Bedouins. All surprise had vanished; the Mussulmans measured at a glance the numbers of the Christians, and attacked them in full assurance of success, whatever heroism they might display; and the crusaders themselves indulged in no more self illusion, and thought only of defending themselves. An attempt was made by the king of France to negociate with the enemy, but to no purpose, and on the 5th of April, 1250, the crusaders decided upon retreating.

Retreat of the Christians.

This was the most deplorable scene of a deplorable drama; and, at the same time it was, for the king, an occasion for displaying, in their most sublime and most attractive traits, all the virtues of the Christian. Whilst sickness and famine were devastating the camp, Louis made himself visitor, physician, and comforter; and his presence and his words exercised upon the worst cases a searching influence. But neither his courage nor his servants' devotion were enough to ensure success even to the retreat; a truce was about to be concluded, and the Mussulman was taking off his ring from his finger as a pledge that he would observe it. "But during this," says Joinville, "there took place a great mishap. A traitor of a sergeant, whose name was Marcel, began calling to our people, 'Sirs knights, surrender, for such is the king's command: cause not the king's death.' All thought that it was the king's command; and they gave up their swords to the Saracens." Being forthwith declared prisoners, the king and all the rear-guard were removed to Mansourah; the king by boat; and his two brothers, the Counts of Anjou and Poitiers, and all the other crusaders, drawn up in a body and shackled, followed on foot on the river-bank. The advance-guard and all the rest of the army soon met the same fate.

St. Louis prisoner of the Mussulmans.

Ten thousand prisoners—this was all that remained of the crusade that had started eighteen months before from Aigues-Mortes. Nevertheless the lofty bearing and the piety of the king still inspired the Mussulmans with great respect. A negotiation was opened between him and the Sultan Malek-Moaddam, who, having previously freed him from his chains, had him treated with a certain magnificence; he perceived that he had to do with an indomitable spirit; and he did not insist any longer upon more than the surrender of Damietta and on a ransom of 500,000 livres (that is, about 10,132,000 francs, or 405,280*l.*, of modern money. "I

will pay willingly 500,000 livres for the deliverance of my people," said Louis, "and I will give up Damietta for the deliverance of my own person, for I am not a man who ought to be bought and sold for money." "By my faith," said the sultan, "the Frank is liberal not to have haggled about so large a sum. Go tell him that I will give him 100,000 livres to help towards paying the ransom." On the 7th of May, 1250, the faithful friend and companion of Saint Louis, Geoffrey de Sargines, gave up to the emirs the keys of Damietta; and the Mussulmans entered in tumultuously. The king was awaiting aboard his ship for the payment which his people were to make for the release of his brother, the Count of Poitiers; and when he saw approaching a bark on which he recognised his brother, "Light up; light up!" he cried instantly to his sailors; which was the signal agreed upon for setting out. And leaving forthwith the coast of Egypt, the fleet which bore the remains of the Christian army made sail for the shores of Palestine.

St. Louis leaves Egypt for Palestine.

The king, having arrived at St. Jean d'Acre on the 14th of May, 1250, accepted, without shrinking, the trial imposed upon him by his unfortunate situation. Twice he believed he was on the point of accomplishing his desire—the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from the Mussulmans, and the re-establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Towards the end of 1250, and again, in 1252, the Sultan of Aleppo and Damascus, and the Emirs of Egypt, being engaged in a violent struggle, made offers to him, by turns, of restoring the kingdom of Jerusalem if he would form an active alliance with one or the other party against its enemies. Louis sought means of accepting either of these offers without neglecting his previous engagements, and without compromising the fate of the Christians still prisoners in Egypt, or living in the territories of Aleppo and Damascus; but, during the negotiations entered upon with a view to this end, the Mussulmans of Syria and Egypt suspended their differences, and made common cause against the remnants of the Christian crusaders; and all hope of re-entering Jerusalem by these means vanished away. Another time, the Sultan of Damascus, touched by Louis' pious perseverance, had word sent to him that he, if he wished, could go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and should find himself in perfect safety. "The king," says Joinville, "held a great council; and none urged him to go. It was shown unto him that if he, who was the greatest king in Christendom, performed his pilgrimage without delivering the Holy City from the enemies of God, all the other kings and other pilgrims who came after him would hold themselves content with doing just as much, and would trouble themselves no more about the de-

liverance of Jerusalem." Richard Cœur de Lion, sixty years before, had refused to cast even a look upon Jerusalem, when he was unable to deliver her from her enemies. Louis, just as Richard had, refused the incomplete satisfaction which had been offered him, and for nearly four years, spent by him on the coasts of Palestine and Syria since his departure from Damietta, from 1250 to 1254, he expended, in small works of piety, sympathy, protection, and care for the future of the Christian populations in Asia, his time, his strength, his pecuniary resources, and the ardour of a soul which could not remain idly abandoned to sorrowing over great desires unsatisfied.

A.D. 1252 Death of Blanche of Castile.

At the commencement of the year 1253, at Sidon, the ramparts of which he was engaged in repairing, he heard that his mother, Queen Blanche, had died at Paris on the 27th of November, 1252. This melancholy news induced him to return to Europe; he embarked at St. Jean d'Acre, on the 24th of April, 1254, carrying away with him, on thirteen vessels, large and small, Queen Marguerite, his children, his personal retinue, and his own more immediate men-at-arms, and leaving the Christians of Syria, for their protection in his name, a hundred knights under the orders of Geoffrey de Sargines, that comrade of his in whose bravery and pious fealty he had the most entire confidence. After two months and a half at sea, the king and his fleet arrived, on the 8th of July, 1254, off the port of Hyères, where he landed, and, passing slowly through France, he made his solemn entry into Paris on the 7th of September, 1254.

A.D. 1254 St. Louis leaves Palestine.

State of the Christians in the East.

For seven years after his return to France, from 1251 to 1261, Louis seemed to think no more about them, and there is nothing to show that he spoke of them even to his most intimate confidants; but, in spite of his apparent calmness, he was living, so far as they were concerned, in a continual ferment of imagination and internal fever, ever flattering himself that some favourable circumstance would call him back to his interrupted work. And he had reason to believe that circumstances were responsive to his wishes. The Christians of Palestine and Syria were a prey to perils and evils which became more pressing every day; the cross was being humbled at one time before the Tartars of Tchingis-Khan, at another before the Mussulmans of Egypt; Pope Urban was calling upon the King of France; and Geoffrey de Sargines, the heroic representative whom Louis had left in St. Jean d'Acre, at the head of a small garrison, was writing to him that ruin was imminent and speedy succour indispensable to prevent it. In 1261,

Louis held, at Paris, a parliament at which, without any talk of a new crusade, measures were taken which revealed an idea of it: there were decrees for fasts and prayers on behalf of the Christians of the East, and for frequent and earnest military drill. In 1263, the crusade was openly preached; taxes were levied, even on the clergy, for the purpose of contributing towards it; and princes and barons bound themselves to take part in it. Louis was all approval and encouragement, without declaring his own intention. In 1267, a parliament was convoked at Paris. The king, at first, conversed discreetly with some of his barons about the new plan of crusade; and then, suddenly, having had the precious relics deposited in the Holy Chapel set before the eyes of the assembly, he opened the session by ardently exhorting those present "to avenge the insult which had so long been offered to the Saviour in the Holy Land, and to recover the Christian heritage possessed, for our sins, by the infidels." Next year, on the 9th February, 1268, at a new parliament assembled at Paris, the king took an oath to start in the month of May, 1270.

A D. 1270. St. Louis starts for another crusade.

Saint Louis left Paris on the 16th of March, 1270, a sick man almost already, but with soul content, and probably the only one without misgiving in the midst of all his comrades. It was once more at Aigues-Mortes that he went to embark. All was as yet dark and undecided as to the plan of the expedition. At last, on the 2nd of July, 1270, he set sail without any one's knowing and without the king's telling any one whither they were going. It was only in Sardinia, after four days' halt at Cagliari, that Louis announced to the chiefs of the crusade, assembled aboard his ship the *Mountjoy*, that he was making for Tunis, and that their Christian work would commence there. The King of Tunis (as he was then called), Mohammed Mostanser, had for some time been talking of his desire to become a Christian, if he could be efficiently protected against the seditions of his subjects. Louis welcomed with transport the prospect of Mussulman conversions. "Ah!" he cried, "if I could only see myself the gossip and sponsor of so great a godson!"

Lands at Tunis

But on the 17th of July, when the fleet arrived before Tunis, the admiral, Florent de Varennes, probably without the king's orders, and with that want of reflection which was conspicuous at each step of the enterprise, immediately took possession of the harbour and of some Tunisian vessels as prize, and sent word to the king "that he had only to support him and that the disembarcation of the troops might be effected in perfect safety."

Thus war was commenced at the very first moment against the Mussulman prince whom there had been a promise of seeing before long a Christian.

At the end of a fortnight, after some fights between the Tunisians and the crusaders, so much political and military blindness produced its natural consequences. On the 3rd of August Louis was attacked by the epidemic fever, and obliged to keep his bed in his tent; the illness soon took an unfavourable turn, and no hopes of recovery could be entertained. It was announced to him, on the 24th of August, that envoys from the Emperor Michael Palæologus had landed at Cape Carthage, with orders to demand his intervention with his brother Charles, king of Sicily, to deter him from making war on the but lately re-established Greek empire. Louis summoned all his strength to receive them in his tent, in the presence of certain of his counsellors, who were uneasy at the fatigue he was imposing upon himself. "I promise you, if I live," said he to the envoys, "to co-operate, so far as I may be able, in what your master demands of me; meanwhile, I exhort you to have patience, and be of good courage." This was his last political act, and his last concern with the affairs of the world; henceforth he was occupied only with pious effusions which had a bearing at one time on his hopes for his soul, at another on those Christian interests which had been so dear to him all his life. He kept repeating his customary orisons in a low voice; and he was heard murmuring these broken words: "Fair Sir God, have mercy on this people that bideth here, and bring them back to their own land! Let them not fall into the hands of their enemies, and let them not be constrained to deny Thy name!" And at the same time that he thus expressed his sad reflections upon the situation in which he was leaving his army and his people, he cried from time to time, as he raised himself on his bed, "Jerusalem! Jerusalem! we will go up to Jerusalem!" During the night of the 24th-25th of August he ceased to speak, all the time continuing to show that he was in full possession of his senses; he insisted upon receiving extreme unction out of bed, and lying upon a coarse sack-cloth covered with cinders, with the cross before him; and on Monday, the 25th of August, 1270, at 3 p.m., he departed in peace, whilst uttering these his last words: "Father, after the example of the Divine Master, into Thy hands I commend my spirit!"

His illness

A.D. 1270. and death (Aug. 25).



CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGSHIP, THE COMMONERS AND THE THIRD ESTATE.

Characteristics of the French kingship. At the first glance, two facts strike us in the history of the kingship in France. It was in France that it adopted soonest and most persistently maintained its fundamental principle, heredity; only in France was there, at any time during eight centuries, but a single king and a single line of kings. Unity and heredity, those two essential principles of monarchy, have been the invariable characteristics of the kingship in France.

A second fact, less apparent and less remarkable, but, nevertheless, not without importance or without effect upon the history of the kingship in France, is the extreme variety of character, of faculties, of intellectual and moral bent, of policy and personal conduct amongst the French kings. Absolute monarchical power in France was, almost in every successive reign, singularly modified, being at one time aggravated and at another alleviated according to the ideas, sentiments, morals, and spontaneous instincts of the monarchs. Nowhere else, throughout the great European monarchies, has the difference between kingly personages exercised so much influence on government and national condition. In that country the free action of individuals has filled a prominent place and taken a prominent part in the course of events.

It has been shown how insignificant and inert, as sovereigns, were the first three successors of Hugh Capet. The goodness to his people displayed by King Robert was the only kingly trait

which, during that period, deserved to leave a trace in history. The kingship appeared once more with the attributes of energy and efficiency on the accession of Louis VI., son of Philip I. Brought up in the monastery of St. Denis, he had the good fortune to find there a fellow-student capable of becoming a king's counsellor. Suger, a child born at St. Denis, of obscure parentage, and three or four years younger than Prince Louis, had been brought up for charity's sake in the abbey, and the Abbot Adam, who had perceived his natural abilities, had taken pains to develope them. A bond of esteem and mutual friendship was formed between the two young people, both of whom were disposed to earnest thought and earnest living; and when, in 1108, Louis ascended the throne, the monk Suger became his adviser whilst remaining his friend.

A very small kingdom was at that time the domain belonging properly and directly to the King of France. Ile-de-France, strictly so called, and a part of Orleanness (l'Orléanais), pretty nearly the five departments of the Seine, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, Oise and Loiret, besides, through recent acquisition, French Vexin (which bordered on the Ile-de-France and had for its chief place Pontoise, being separated by the little River Epte from Norman Vexin, of which Rouen was the capital), half the countship of Sens and the countship of Bourges—such was the whole of its extent. But this limited State was as liable to agitation, and often as troublous and as toilsome to govern as the very greatest of modern States. It was full of petty lords, almost sovereigns in their own estates, and sufficiently strong to struggle against their kingly suzerain, who had, besides, all around his domains, several neighbours more powerful than himself in the extent and population of their States. But lord and peasant, layman and ecclesiastic, castle and country and the churches of France were not long discovering, that, if the kingdom was small, it had verily a king. Louis did not direct to a distance from home his ambition and his efforts; it was within his own dominion, to check the violence of the strong against the weak, to put a stop to the quarrels of the strong amongst themselves, to make an end, in France at least, of unrighteousness and devastation, and to establish there some sort of order and some sort of justice, that he displayed his energy and his perseverance. Sometimes, when the people and their habitual protectors, the bishops, invoked his aid, Louis would carry his arms beyond his own dominions, by sole right of justice and kingship. "It is known," says Suger, "that kings have long hands."

His relations with his neighbours.

Into his relations with his two powerful neighbours, the King of England, duke of Normandy, and the Emperor of Germany, Louis

the Fat (such was his surname) introduced the same watchfulness, the same firmness, and, at need, the same warlike energy, whilst observing the same moderation and the same policy of holding aloof from all turbulent or indiscreet ambition, adjusting his pretensions to his power, and being more concerned to govern his kingdom efficiently than to add to it by conquest. Twice, in 1109 and in 1116, he had war in Normandy with Henry I., king of England, and he therein was guilty of certain temerities resulting in a reverse, which he hastened to repair during a vigorous prosecution of the campaign; but, when once his honour was satisfied, he showed a ready inclination for the peace which the pope, Calixtus II., in council at Rome, succeeded in establishing between the two rivals. The war with the Emperor of Germany, Henry V., in 1124, appeared, at the first blush, a more serious matter. The emperor had raised a numerous army of Lorrainers, Allemannians, Bavarians, Suabians, and Saxons, and was threatening the very city of Rheims with instant attack. Louis hastened to put himself in position; he went and took solemnly, at the altar of St. Denis, the banner of that patron of the kingdom, and flew with a mere handful of men to confront the enemy, and parry the first blow, calling on the whole of France to follow him. France summoned the flower of her chivalry; and at the news of this mighty host, and of the ardour with which they were animated, the Emperor Henry V. advanced no farther, and, before long, "marching, under some pretext, towards other places, he preferred the shame of retreating like a coward to the risk of exposing his empire and himself to certain destruction. After this victory, which was more than as great as a triumph on the field of battle, the French returned every one to their homes."

A.D. 1137. Marriage of Louis the Young.

The three elements which contributed to the formation and character of the kingship in France, the German element, the Roman element, and the Christian element, appear in conjunction in the reign of Louis the Fat. In his last days he found great cause for rejoicing as a father. William VII., duke of Aquitaine, had, at his death, entrusted to him the guardianship of his daughter Eleanor, heiress of all his dominions, that is to say, of Poitou, of Saintonge, of Gascony, and of the Basque country, the most beautiful provinces of the south-west of France from the lower Loire to the Pyrenees. A marriage between Eleanor and Louis the Young, already sharing his father's throne, was soon concluded; it took place at Bordeaux, at the end of July, 1137, and on the 8th of August following, Louis the Young, on his way back to Paris, was crowned at Poitiers as duke of Aquitaine. He there learned

that the king his father had lately died, on the 1st of August. Louis the Fat was far from foreseeing the deplorable issues of the marriage which he regarded as one of the blessings of his reign.

Barrenness of his reign

In spite of its long duration of forty-three years, the reign of Louis VII. called *the Young*, was a period barren of events and of persons worthy of keeping a place in history. We have already had the story of this king's unfortunate crusade, the commencement at Antioch of his imbroglio with his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and the subsequent divorce. A petty war or a sullen strife between the Kings of France and England, petty quarrels of Louis with some of the great lords of his kingdom, certain rigorous measures against certain districts in travail of local liberties, the first bubblings of that religious fermentation which resulted before long, in the south of France, in the crusade against the Albigensians —such were the facts which went to make up with somewhat of insipidity the annals of this reign. So long as Suger lived the kingship preserved, at home, the wisdom which it had been accustomed to display, and abroad the respect it had acquired under Louis the Fat; but at the death of Suger it went on languishing and declining without encountering any great obstacles. It was reserved for Louis the Young's son, Philip Augustus, to open for France and for the kingship in France a new era of strength and progress.

A.D. 1180—1223. Philip Augustus

Philip II., to whom history has preserved the name of Philip Augustus, given him by his contemporaries, had shared the crown, been anointed, and taken to wife Isabel of Hainault, a year before the death of Louis VII. put him in possession of the kingdom. He was as yet only fifteen, and his father, by his will, had left him under the guidance of Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, as regent, and of Robert Clement, marshal of France, as governor. But Philip, though he began his reign under this double influence, soon let it be seen that he intended to reign by himself, and to reign with vigour; it was not granted to Philip Augustus to resuscitate the Frankish empire of Charlemagne, a work impossible for him or any one whatsoever in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but he made the extension and territorial construction of the kingdom of France the chief aim of his life, and in that work he was successful. Out of the forty-three years of his reign, twenty-six at the least were war-years, devoted to that very purpose. During the first six, it was with some of his great French vassals, the Count of Champagne, the Duke of Burgundy, and even the Count of Flanders, sometime regent, that Philip had to do battle, for they all sought to profit by his minority so as to

Character of his Policy.

make themselves independent and aggrandize themselves at the expense of the crown; but, once in possession of the personal power as well as the title of king, it was, from 1187 to 1216, against three successive kings of England, Henry II., Richard Cœur de Lion, and John Lackland, masters of the most beautiful provinces of France, that Philip directed his persistent efforts. They were in respect of power, of political capacity and military popularity, his most formidable foes; he managed, however, to hold his own against them; and when, after Richard's death, he had to do with John Lackland, he had over him, even more than over his brother Richard, immense advantages. He made such use of them that after six years' struggling, from 1199 to 1205, he deprived John of the greater part of his French possessions, Anjou, Normandy, Touraine, Maine, and Poitou. Philip would have been quite willing to dispense with any legal procedure by way of sanction to his conquests, but John furnished him with an excellent pretext; for on the 3rd of April, 1203, he assassinated with his own hand, in the tower of Rouen, his young nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, and in that capacity vassal of Philip Augustus, to whom he was coming to do homage. The king of France thus recovered possession of nearly all the territories which his father, Louis VII., had kept but for a moment. He added, in succession, other provinces to his dominions; in such wise that the kingdom of France which was limited, as we have seen, under Louis the Fat, to the Ile-de-France and certain portions of Picardy and Orleanness, comprised besides, at the end of the reign of Philip Augustus, Vermandois, Artois, the two Vexins, French and Norman, Berri, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Touraine, and Auvergne.

Wars against England and Germany.

In 1206 the territorial work of Philip Augustus was well nigh completed; but his wars were not over. John Lackland when worsted kicked against the pricks, and was incessantly hankering, in his antagonism to the King of France, after hostile alliances and local conspiracies, easy to hatch amongst certain feudal lords discontented with their suzerain. Being on intimate terms with his nephew, Otho IV., emperor of Germany and the foe of Philip Augustus, he urged him to prepare for a grand attack upon the King of France, and the two allies had won over to their coalition some of his most important vassals, amongst others, Renaud de Dampierre, count of Boulogne. The invasion of England, boldly attempted by Philip, proved a failure; on the 8th of April, 1213, he convoked, at Soissons, his principal vassals or allies, explained to them the grounds of his design against the King of England,

and, by a sort of special confederation, they bound themselves, all of them, to support him. One of the most considerable vassals, however, the sometime regent of France during the minority of Philip, Ferrand, count of Flanders, did not attend the meeting to which he had been summoned and declared his intention of taking no part in the war against England. "By all the saints of France," cried Philip, "either France shall become Flanders, or Flanders France!" He entered Flanders accordingly, besieged and took several of the richest cities in the country, Cassel, Ypres, Bruges, and Courtrai, and pitched his camp before the walls of Ghent, "to lower," as he said, "the pride of the men of Ghent and make them bend their necks beneath the yoke of kings." The confederates had at their head the Emperor Otho IV., who had already won the reputation of a brave and able soldier; and they numbered in their ranks several of the greatest lords, German, Flemish, and Dutch, and Hugh de Boves, the most dreaded of those adventurers in the pay of wealthy princes who were known at that time by the name of *roadsters* (*routiers*, mercenaries). They proposed, it was said, to dismember France; and a promise to that effect had been made by the Emperor Otho to his principal chieftains assembled in secret conference. "It is against Philip himself and him alone," he had said to them, "that we must direct all our efforts; it is he who must be slain first of all, for it is he alone who opposes us and makes himself our foe in every thing. When he is dead, you will be able to subdue and divide the kingdom according to our pleasure; as for thee, Renaud, thou shalt take Péronne and all Vermandois; Hugh shall be master of Beauvais, Salisbury of Dreux, Conrad of Mantes together with Vexin, and as for thee, Ferrand, thou shalt have Paris."

A.D. 1214 Battle of Bouvines,

The two armies marched over the Low Countries and Flanders, seeking out both of them the most favourable position for commencing the attack. On Sunday, the 27th of July, 1214, Philip had halted near the bridge of Bouvines, not far from Lille, and was resting under an ash beside a small chapel dedicated to St. Peter. There came running to him a messenger, sent by Guérin, bishop of Senlis, his confidant in war as well as government, and brought him word that his rear-guard, attacked by the Emperor Otho, was not sufficient to resist him. Philip went into the chapel, said a short prayer, and cried as he came out, "Haste we forward to the rescue of our comrades!" Then he put on his armour, mounted his horse, and made swiftly for the point of attack, amidst the shouts of all those who were about him, "To arms! to arms!"

Both armies numbered in their ranks not only all the feudal

important part played in it by the communes.

chivalry on the two sides, but burgher-forces, those from the majority of the great cities of Flanders being for Otho, and those from sixteen towns or communes of France for Philip Augustus. These communal forces evidently filled an important place in the king's army at Bouvines, and maintained it brilliantly. The battle was not the victory of Philip Augustus, alone, over a coalition of foreign princes; the victory was the work of king and people, barons, knights, burghers, and peasants of Ile-de-France, of Orleanness, of Picardy, of Normandy, of Champagne, and of Burgundy. And this union of different classes and different populations in a sentiment, a contest and a triumph shared in common was a decisive step in the organization and unity of France. The victory of Bouvines marked the commencement of the time at which men might speak and indeed did speak, by one single name, of *the French.* The nation in France and the kingship in France on that day rose out of and above the feudal system.

Philip Augustus was about the same time apprised of his son Louis' success on the banks of the Loire. The incapacity and swaggering insolence of King John had made all his Poitevine allies disgusted with him; he had been obliged to abandon his attack upon the King of France in the provinces, and the insurrection, growing daily more serious, of the English barons and clergy for the purpose of obtaining Magna Charta, was preparing for him other reverses. He had ceased to be a dangerous rival to Philip.

Religious and intellectual state of France.

The organization of the kingdom, the nation, and the kingship in France was not the only great event and the only great achievement of that epoch. At the same time that this political movement was going on in the State, a religious and intellectual ferment was making head in the Church and in men's minds; in the course of this active and salutary participation in the affairs of the world, the Christian clergy lost somewhat of their primitive and proper character; religion in their hands was a means of power as well as of civilization; and its principal members became rich and frequently substituted material weapons for the spiritual authority which had originally been their only reliance. Morals had sunk far below the laws, and religion was in deplorable contrast to morals. It was not laymen only who abandoned themselves with impunity to every excess of violence and licentiousness; scandals were frequent amongst the clergy themselves; bishoprics and other ecclesiastical benefices, publicly sold or left by will, passed down through families from father to son, and from husband to wife, and the possessions of the Church served for dowry to the daughters of

bishops. Absolution was at a low quotation in the market, and redemption for sins of the greatest enormity cost scarcely the price of founding a church or a monastery. In the midst of such irregularities, the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the outbreak of a grand religious, moral and intellectual fermentation, and it was the Church herself that had the honour and the power of taking the initiative in the reformation. Under the influence of Gregory VII. the rigour of the popes began to declare itself against the scandals of the episcopate, the traffic in ecclesiastical benefices and the bad morals of the secular clergy. At the same time, austere men exerted themselves to rekindle the fervour of monastic life, re-established rigid rules in the cloister, and refilled the monasteries by their preaching and example. Rich and powerful laymen, filled with ardour for their faith or fear for their eternal welfare, went seeking after solitude, and devoted themselves to prayer in the monasteries they had founded or enriched with their wealth; whole families were dispersed amongst various religious houses; and all the severities of penance hardly sufficed to quiet imaginations scared at the perils of living in the world or at the vices of their age. And, at the same time, in addition to this outburst of piety, ignorance was decried and stigmatized as the source of the prevailing evils; the function of teaching was included amongst the duties of the religious estate; and every newly-founded or reformed monastery became a school in which pupils of all conditions were gratuitously instructed in the sciences known by the name of liberal arts. Bold spirits began to use the rights of individual thought in opposition to the authority of established doctrines; and others, without dreaming of opposing, strove at any rate to understand, which is the way to produce discussion. Activity and freedom of thought were receiving development at the same time that fervent faith and fervent piety were. The quarrel of Abélard with St. Bernard and the crusade against the Albigensians are the two most striking events in connection with this part of our subject; they show us how Northern France and Southern France differed one from the other before the bloody crisis which was to unite them in one single name and one common destiny.

Reforms in the Church.

Progress of learning.

It was in the very midst of the clergy themselves, amongst literates and teachers, that, in Northern France, the intellectual and innovating movement of the period was manifested and concentrated. The movement was vigorous and earnest, and it was a really studious host which thronged to the lessons of Abélard at Paris, on Mount St. Geneviève, at Melun, at Corbeil, and at the Paraclete; it was to expound and propagate what they regarded as

A.D. 1079—1142. Abélard.

the philosophy of Christianity that masters and pupils made bold use of the freedom of thought; they made but slight war upon the existing practical abuses of the Church; they differed from her in the interpretation and comments contained in some of her dogmas; and they considered themselves in a position to explain and confirm faith by reason. The chiefs of the Church, with St. Bernard at their head, were not slow to decry, in these interpretations and comments based upon science, danger to the simple and pure faith of the Christian; they saw the apparition of dawning rationalism confronting orthodoxy. They had Abélard's doctrines condemned at the councils of Soissons and Sens; they prohibited him from public lecturing; and they imposed upon him the seclusion of the cloister; but they did not even harbour the notion of having him burnt as a heretic, and science and glory were respected in his person, even when his ideas were proscribed. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluni, one of the most highly considered and honoured prelates of the Church, received him amongst his own monks and treated him with paternal kindness, taking care of his health as well as of his eternal welfare; and he who was the adversary of St. Bernard, and the teacher condemned by the councils of Soissons and Sens, died peacefully, on the 21st of April, 1142, in the abbey of St. Marcellus, near Chalon-sur-Saône, after having received the sacraments with much piety and in presence of all the brethren of the monastery.

His doctrines condemned.

The struggle of Abélard with the Church of Northern France and the crusade against the Albigensians in Southern France are divided by much more than diversity and contrast; there is an abyss between them. In Northern France, in spite of internal disorder and through the influence of its bishops, missionaries, and monastic reformers, the orthodox Church had obtained a decided superiority and full dominion; but in Southern France, on the contrary, all the controversies, all the sects, and all the mystical or philosophical heresies which had disturbed Christendom from the second century to the ninth, had crept in and spread abroad. In it there were Arians, Manicheans, Gnostics, Paulicians, Cathars (*the pure*), and other sects of more local or more recent origin and name, Albigensians, Vaudians, Good People and Poor of Lyons, some piously possessed with the desire of returning to the pure faith and fraternal organization of the primitive evangelical Church, others given over to the extravagances of imagination or asceticism. The princes and the great laic lords of the country, the Counts of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminges, the Viscount of Béziers, and many others had not remained unaffected by this condition of the

Religious condition of Southern France

people: the majority were accused of tolerating and even protecting the heretics; and some were suspected of allowing their ideas to penetrate within their own households.

The Albigensians.

After a not very effectual mission of St. Bernard, who died in 1153, and for half a century, the orthodox Church was several times occupied with the heretics of Southern France, who were before long called Albigensians, either because they were numerous in the diocese of Albi, or because the council of Lombers, one of the first at which their condemnation was expressly pronounced (in 1165), was held in that diocese. Innocent III. at first employed against them only spiritual and legitimate weapons. Before proscribing, he tried to convert them; but the murder of Peter de Castelnau, his legate, by supposed agents of Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, brought matters to extremities. The crusade against the Albigensians was the most striking application of two principles, equally false and fatal, which did more than as much evil to the Catholics as to the heretics and to the papacy as to freedom; and they are, the right of the spiritual power to claim for the coercion of souls the material force of the temporal powers, and its right to strip temporal sovereigns, in case they set at nought its injunctions, of their title to the obedience of their people; in other words, denial of religious liberty to conscience and of political independence to States. It was by virtue of these two principles, at that time dominant, but not without some opposition, in Christendom, that Innocent III., in 1208, summoned the king of France, the great lords and the knights, and the clergy, secular and regular, of the kingdom to assume the cross and go forth to extirpate from Southern France the Albigensians "worse than the Saracens;" and that he promised to the chiefs of the crusaders the sovereignty of such domains as they should win by conquest from the princes who were heretics or protectors of heretics.

A.D. 1208—1229. Crusade against them.

Through all France and even outside of France the passions of religion and ambition were aroused at this summons. Twelve abbots and twenty monks of Cîteaux dispersed themselves in all directions preaching the crusade; and lords and knights, burghers and peasants, laymen and clergy, hastened to respond. Peter of Vaulx-Cernay, the chief contemporary chronicler of this crusade, says that, at the siege of Carcassonne, one of the first operations of the crusaders, "it was said that their army numbered fifty thousand men." Whatever may be the truth about the numbers, the crusaders were passionately ardent and persevering: the war against the Albigensians lasted twenty-one years (from 1208 to 1229), and of the two leading spirits, one ordering and the other

executing, Pope Innocent III. and Simon de Montfort, neither saw the end of it. During these twenty-one years, in the region situated between the Rhône, the Pyrenees, the Garonne, and even the Dordogne, nearly all the towns and strong castles were taken, lost, retaken, given over to pillage, sack, and massacre, and burnt by the crusaders with all the cruelty of fanatics, and all the greed of conquerors.

In the midst of these atrocious unbridlements of passions supposed to be religious, other passions were not slow to make their appearance. Innocent III. had promised the crusaders the enjoyment of the domains they might win by conquest from princes who were heretics or protectors of heretics. After the capture, in 1209, of Béziers and Carcassonne, the sovereignty of these possessions was granted by the Pope to Simon, lord of Montfort, earl of Leicester; from this time forth the war in Southern France changed character, or, rather, it assumed a double character; with the war of religion was openly joined a war of conquest; it was no longer merely against the Albigensians and their heresies, it was against the native princes of Southern France and their domains that the crusade was prosecuted. Simon de Montfort was eminently qualified to direct, and accomplished this twofold design; when, however, it became evident that the question lay far less between catholics and heretics than between the independence of the southern people and the triumph of warriors come from the north of France, that is to say, between two different races, civilizations, and languages, the count of Toulouse, Raymond VI. and his son recovered certain supports and opportunities of which hitherto the accusation of heresy and the judgments of the court of Rome had robbed them; their neighbouring allies and their secret or intimidated partisans took fresh courage; the fortune of battle became shifty; successes and reverses were shared by both sides; and not only many small places and castles but the largest towns, Toulouse amongst others, fell into the hands of each party alternately. Innocent III.'s successor in the Holy See, Pope Honorius III., though at first very pronounced in his opposition to the Albigensians, had less ability, less perseverance, and less influence than his predecessor. Finally, on the 25th of June, 1218, Simon de Montfort, who had been for nine months unsuccessfully besieging Toulouse, which had again come into the possession of Raymond VI., was killed by a shower of stones under the walls of the place, and left to his son Amaury the inheritance of his war and his conquests, but not of his vigorous genius and his warlike renown. The struggle still dragged on for five years with varied

The war changes character. Simon de Montfort.

A D. 1218. He is killed at Toulouse.

fortune on each side, but Amaury de Montfort was losing ground every day, and Raymond VI., when he died in August, 1222, had recovered the greater part of his dominions. His son, Raymond VII., continued the war for eighteen months longer, with enough of popular favour and of success to make his enemies despair of recovering their advantages; and, on the 14th of January, 1224, Amaury de Montfort, after having concluded with the counts of Toulouse and Foix a treaty which seemed to have only a provisional character, ceded to Louis VIII., then king of France, his rights over the domains which the crusaders had conquered.

Whilst this cruel war lasted Philip Augustus would not take any part in it. Not that he had any leaning towards the Albigensian heretics on the score of creed or religious liberty; but his sense of justice and moderation was shocked at the violence employed against them, and he had a repugnance to the idea of taking part in the devastation of the beautiful southern provinces. Nevertheless, on the pope's repeated entreaty, he authorized his son to join in the war with such lords as might be willing to accompany him; but he ordered that the expedition should not start before the spring, and, on the occurrence of some fresh incident, he had it further put off until the following year. He received visits from Count Raymond VI., and openly testified good will towards him. When Simon de Montfort was decisively victorious, and in possession of the places wrested from Raymond, Philip Augustus recognized accomplished facts, and received the new count of Toulouse as his vassal; but when, after the death of Simon de Montfort and Innocent III. the question was once more thrown open, and when Raymond VI. first and then his son Raymond VII. had recovered the greater part of their dominions, Philip formally refused to recognize Amaury de Montfort as successor to his father's conquests; nay, he did more, he refused to accept the cession of those conquests, offered to him by Amaury de Montfort and pressed upon him by Pope Honorius III. Philip Augustus was not a scrupulous sovereign, nor disposed to compromise himself for the mere sake of defending justice and humanity; but he was too judicious not to respect and protect, to a certain extent, the rights of his vassals as well as his own, and, at the same time, too discreet to involve himself, without necessity, in a barbarous and dubious war. He held aloof from the crusade against the Albigensians with as much wisdom and more than as much dignity as he displayed, seventeen years before, in withdrawing from the crusade against the Saracens.

Discretion of Philip Augustus.

He had, in 1216, another great chance of showing his discretion.

A.D. 1216 Expedition of Prince Louis into England.

The English barons were at war with their king, John Lackland, in defence of Magna Charta, which they had obtained the year before; and they offered the crown of England to the king of France, for his son, Prince Louis. Philip Augustus, who in his youth had dreamed of resuscitating the empire of Charlemagne, was strongly tempted to seize the opportunity of doing over again the work of William the Conqueror; but he hesitated to endanger his power and his kingdom in such a war against King John and the pope. Foreseeing the dangers of events to come, he did not give his public consent, and, without any expression of wish or counsel, permitted the young prince to go, with the gift of his blessing. It was the ambitious princess Blanche of Castile, wife of Prince Louis, and destined to be the mother of St. Louis, who, after her husband's departure for England, made it her business to raise troops for him and to send him means of sustaining the war. Events justified the discreet reserve of Philip Augustus; for John Lackland, after having suffered one reverse previously, died on the 18th of October, 1216; his death broke up the party of the insurgent barons; and his son, Henry III., who was crowned on the 28th of October in Gloucester cathedral, immediately confirmed the Great Charter. Thus the national grievance vanished, and national feeling resumed its sway in England; the French everywhere became unpopular; and after a few months' struggle, with equal want of skill and success, Prince Louis gave up his enterprise and returned to France with his French comrades, on no other conditions but a mutual exchange of prisoners and an amnesty for the English who had been his adherents.

At this juncture, as well as in the crusade against the Albigensians, Philip Augustus behaved towards the pope with a wisdom and ability hard of attainment at any time, and very rare in his own: he constantly humoured the papacy without being subservient to it, and he testified towards it his respect and at the same time his independence. In his political life he always preserved this proper mean, and he found it succeed; but in his domestic life there came a day when he suffered himself to be hurried out of his usual deference towards the pope; and, after a violent attempt at resistance, he resigned himself to submission. The circumstance we are alluding to is his repudiation of Ingeburga of Denmark, and his marriage with the Tyrolese princess Agnes of Merania, daughter of Bethold, Marquis of Istria, whom, about 1180, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa had made Duke of Moravia. The pope threatened Philip with the interdict; that is, the suspension of all religious ceremonies, festivals, and forms in

A.D. 1196. Philip Augustus marries Agnes of Merania.

The interdict.

the Church of France. The king resisted not only the threat, but also the sentence of the interdict, which was actually pronounced, first in the churches of the royal domain, and afterwards in those of the whole kingdom. For four years the struggle went on. At last Philip yielded to the injunction of the pope and the feeling of his people; he sent away Agnes, and recalled Ingeburga.

Philip Augustus was as energetic and effective in the internal administration of his kingdom as in foreign affairs; thus, during his reign, we find a record of forty-one acts confirming certain communes already established or certain privileges previously granted to certain populations, forty-three acts establishing new communes, or granting new local privileges, and nine acts decreeing suppression of certain communes or a repressive intervention of the royal authority in their internal regulation, on account of quarrels or irregularities in their relations either with their lord, or, especially, with their bishop. These mere figures show the liberal character of the government of Philip Augustus in respect of this important work of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Nor are we less struck by his efficient energy in his care for the interests and material civilization of his people; "he ordered that all the thoroughfares and streets of Paris should be paved with hard and solid stone, for this right Christian prince aspired to rid Paris of her ancient name, *Lutetia (Mud-town)*." In 1190, on the eve of his departure for the crusade, "he ordered the burghers of Paris to surround with a good wall flanked by towers the city he loved so well, and to make gates thereto;" and, in twenty years, this great work was finished on both sides of the Seine. "The king gave the same orders," adds the historian Rigord, "about the towns and castles of all his kingdom." His foresight went beyond such important achievements. "He had a good wall built to enclose the wood of Vincennes, heretofore open to any sort of folk. The King of England, on hearing thereof, gathered a great mass of fawns, hinds, does, and bucks, taken in his forests in Normandy and Aquitaine; and having had them shipped aboard a large covered vessel, with suitable fodder, he sent them by way of the Seine to King Philip Augustus, his liege-lord at Paris. King Philip received the gift gladly, had his parks stocked with the animals and put keepers over them." A feeling, totally unconnected with the pleasures of the chase, caused him to order an enclosure very different from that of Vincennes. "The common cemetery of Paris, hard by the Church of the Holy Innocents, opposite the street of St. Denis, had remained up to that time open to all passers, man and beast, without any thing to prevent it from

Administration of the kingdom.

being confounded with the most profane spot; and the king, hurt at such indecency, had it onclosed by high stone-walls, with as many gates as were judged necessary, which were closed every night." At the same time he had built, in this same quarter, the first great municipal market-places, enclosed, likewise, by a wall, with gates shut at night, and surmounted by a sort of covered gallery. Before his time, the ovens employed by the baking-trade in Paris were a monopoly for the profit of certain religious or laic establishments; but when Philip Augustus ordered the walling-in of the new and much larger area of the city "he did not think it right to render its new inhabitants subject to these old liabilities, and he permitted all the bakers to have ovens wherein to bake their bread, either for themselves, or for all individuals who might wish to make use of them." His reign saw the completion, and, it might also be said, the construction of *Notre-Dame de Paris*, the frontage of which, in particular, was the work of this epoch. At the same time the king had the palace of the Louvre repaired and enlarged; and he added to it that strong tower in which he kept in captivity for more than twelve years, Ferrand, count of Flanders, taken prisoner at the battle of Bouvines. We must also add to these proofs of manifold and indefatigable activity on the part of Philip Augustus the constant interest he testified in letters, science, study, the University of Paris, and its masters and pupils. It was to him that in 1200, after a violent riot, in which they considered they had reason to complain of the provost of Paris, the students owed a decree, which, by regarding them as clerics, exempted them from the ordinary criminal jurisdiction so as to render them subject only to ecclesiastical authority. At that time there was no idea how to efficiently protect freedom save by granting some privilege.

Death of the king.

A death which seems premature for a man as sound and strong in constitution as in judgment struck down Philip Augustus at the age of only fifty-eight, as he was on his way from Pacy-sur-Eure to Paris to be present at the council which was to meet there and once more take up the affair of the Albigensians. He had for several months been battling with an incessant fever; he was obliged to halt at Mantes, and there he died on the 14th of January, 1222, leaving the kingdom of France far more extensive and more compact, and the kingship in France far stronger and more respected than he had found them. His son, Louis VIII., inherited a great kingdom, an undisputed crown, and a power that was respected. It was matter of general remark, moreover, that, by his mother, Isabel of Hainault, he was descended in the direct line

A.D. 1223. Louis VIII. king.

His character.

from Hermengarde, countess of Namur, daughter of Charles of Lorraine, the last of the Carlovingians. Thus the claims of the two dynasties of Charlemagne and of Hugh Capet were united in his person; and, although the authority of the Capetians was no longer disputed, contemporaries were glad to see in Louis VIII. this twofold heirship, which gave him the perfect stamp of a legitimate monarch. He was a man of downright mediocrity, without foresight, volatile in his resolves, and weak and fickle in the execution of them. He, as well as Philip Augustus, had to make war on the king of England and negotiate with the pope on the subject of the Albigensians; but at one time he followed, without well understanding it, his father's policy, at another he neglected it for some whim or under some temporary influence. He died on the 8th of November, 1226, after a reign of three years, adding to the history of France no glory save that of having been the son of Philip Augustus, the husband of Blanche of Castile, and the father of St. Louis.

A.D. 1226 Louis IX. ascends the throne

We have already perused the most brilliant and celebrated amongst the events of St. Louis' reign, his two crusades against the Mussulmans; and we have learned to know the man at the same time with the event, for it was in these warlike outbursts of his Christian faith that the king's character, nay, his whole soul, was displayed in all its originality and splendour. It was his good fortune, moreover, to have at that time as his comrade and biographer, Sire de Joinville, one of the most sprightly and charming writers of the nascent French language. It is now of Louis in France and of his government at home that we have to take note. And in this part of his history he is not the only royal and really regnant personage we encounter; for of the forty-four years of St. Louis' reign, nearly fifteen, with a long interval of separation, pertained to the government of Queen Blanche of Castile rather than that of the king her son. Louis, at his accession, in 1226, was only eleven; and he remained a minor up to the age of twenty-one, in 1236, for the time of majority in the case of royalty was not yet specially and rigorously fixed. During those ten years Queen Blanche governed France; not at all, as is commonly asserted, with the official title of regent, but simply as guardian of the king her son. With a good sense really admirable in a person so proud and ambitious, she saw that official power was ill suited to her woman's condition and would weaken rather than strengthen her; and she screened herself from view behind her son. He it was who, in 1226, wrote to the great vassals bidding them to his consecration; he it was who reigned and commanded; and his name alone

A.D. 1226—1236. Government of Blanche of Castile.

appeared on royal decrees and on treaties. It was not until twenty-two years had passed, in 1248, that Louis, on starting for the crusade, officially delegated to his mother the kingly authority, and that Blanche, during her son's absence, really governed with the title of regent, up to the 1st of December, 1252, the day of his death.

Her qualities.

During the first period of his government, and so long as her son's minority lasted, Queen Blanche had to grapple with intrigues, plots, insurrections, and open war, and, what was still worse for her, with the insults and calumnies of the crown's great vassals, burning to seize once more, under a woman's government, the independence and power which had been effectually disputed with them by Philip Augustus. Blanche resisted their attempts, at one time with open and persevering energy, at another dexterously with all the tact, address and allurements of a woman. Neither in the events nor in the writings of the period is it easy to find any thing which can authorize the accusations made by the foes of Queen Blanche, to the effect that she encouraged the passion of Theobald IV., count of Champagne; but it is certain that neither the poetry nor the advances of the nobleman made any difference in the resolutions and behaviour of the queen. She continued her resistance to the pretensions and machinations of the great vassals, whether foes or lovers, and she carried forward, in the face and in the teeth of all, the extension of the domains and the power of the kingship.

Her political foresight.

She saw by profound instinct what forces and alliances might be made serviceable to the kingly power against its rivals. When, on the 29th of November, 1226, only three weeks after the death of her husband Louis VIII., she had her son crowned at Rheims, she bade to the ceremony not only the prelates and grandees of the kingdom, but also the inhabitants of the neighbouring communes; wishing to let the great lords see the people surrounding the royal child. In 1228, amidst the insurrection of the barons, who were assembled at Corbeil, and who meditated seizing the person of the young king during his halt at Montlhéry on his march to Paris, Queen Blanche had summoned to her side, together with the faithful chivalry of the country, the burghers of Paris and of the neighbourhood; and they obeyed the appeal with alacrity. Eight years later, in 1236, Louis IX. attained his majority, and Blanche transferred to him a power respected, feared and encompassed by vassals always turbulent and still often aggressive, but disunited, weakened, intimidated, or discredited, and always outwitted, for a space of ten years, in their plots.

A.D. 1234. Marriage of the king.

In 1234, amidst great rejoicings, he married by his

mother's advice the princess Marguerite, older daughter of Raymond Béranger, count of Provence.

The entrance of Louis IX. upon personal exercise of the kingly power produced no change in the conduct of public affairs. There was no vain seeking after innovation on purpose to mark the accession of a new master, and no reaction in the deeds and words of the sovereign or in the choice and treatment of his advisers; the kingship of the son was a continuance of the mother's government. Louis persisted in struggling for the preponderance of the crown against the great vassals; succeeded in taming Peter Mauclerc, the turbulent count of Brittany; wrung from Theobald IV., count of Champagne, the rights of suzerainty in the countships of Chartres, Blois, and Sancerre, and the viscountship of Châteaudun; and purchased the fertile countship of Mâcon from its possessor. It was almost always by pacific procedure, by negotiations ably conducted, and conventions faithfully executed, that he accomplished these increments of the kingly domain; and when he made war on any of the great vassals, he engaged therein only on their provocation, to maintain the rights or honour of his crown, and he used victory with as much moderation as he had shown before entering upon the struggle. Thus Hugh de Lusignan, count of la Marche, had not only declined doing homage to the king's brother, Alphonso, count of Poitiers, whose vassal he was, but had also excited to rebellion certain powerful lords, of la Marche, Saintonge, and Angoumois, and had called to his assistance Henry III., king of England, son of the countess of la Marche. Louis summoned the crown's vassals to a parliament; and "What think you," he asked them, "should be done to a vassal who would fain hold land without owning a lord, and who goeth against the fealty and homage due from him and his predecessors?" The answer was that the lord ought in that case to take back the fief as his own property. "As my name is Louis," said the king, "the count of la Marche doth claim to hold land in such wise, land which hath been a fief of France since the days of the valiant King Clovis, who won all Aquitaine from King Alaric, a pagan without faith or creed, and all the country to the Pyrenean mount." And the barons promised the king their energetic co-operation.

Maintains the rights of the crown against the great vassals.

Rebellion of the count of La Marche.

A Parliament summoned.

The war was pushed on zealously by both sides. In this young king of France, this docile son of an able mother, none knew what a hero there was, until he revealed himself on a sudden. Near two towns of Saintonge, Taillebourg and Saintes, at a bridge which covered the approaches of one and in front of the walls of the other, Louis, on the 21st and 22nd of July, delivered two battles

A.D. 1242. Battle of Taillebourg.

in which the brilliancy of his personal valour and the affectionate enthusiasm he excited in his troops secured victory and the surrender of the two places. The successes he had gained in his campaign of 1242 were not for him the first step in an endless career of glory and conquest; he was anxious only to consolidate them, whilst securing, in Western Europe, for the dominions of his adversaries as well as for his own the benefits of peace. He entered into negotiations, successively, with the count of la Marche, the king of England, the count of Toulouse, the king of Aragon, and the various princes and great feudal lords who had been more or less engaged in the war; and in January, 1243, the treaty of Lorris marked the end of feudal troubles for the whole duration of St. Louis' reign. He drew his sword no more, save only against the enemies of the Christian faith and Christian civilization, the Mussulmans.

A.D. 1243. Treaty of Lorris.

Nevertheless there was no lack of opportunities for interfering with a powerful arm amongst the sovereigns his neighbours, and for working their disagreements to the profit of his ambition, had ambition guided his conduct; but into his relations with foreign sovereigns, his neighbours, he imported the most loyal spirit. "Certain of his council used to tell him," reports Joinville, "that he did not well in not leaving these foreigners to their warfare; for, if he gave them his good leave to impoverish one another, they would not attack him so readily as if they were rich. To that the king replied that they said not well; for, quoth he, if the neighbouring princes perceived that I left them to their warfare, they might take counsel amongst themselves, and say, 'It is through malice that the king leaves us to our warfare;' then it might happen that by cause of the hatred they would have against me, they would come and attack me, and I might be a great loser thereby. Without reckoning that I should thereby earn the hatred of God, who says, 'Blessed be the peacemakers!'"

Relations of Louis IX. with foreign sovereigns.

So well established was his renown as a sincere friend of peace and a just arbiter in great disputes between princes and peoples, that his intervention and his decisions were invited wherever obscure and dangerous questions arose. Louis gave not only to the king of England, but to the whole English nation, a striking proof of his judicious and true-hearted equity. An obstinate civil war was raging between Henry III. and his barons. Neither party, in defending its own rights, had any notion of respecting the rights of its adversaries, and England was alternating between a kingly and an aristocratic tyranny. Louis, chosen as arbiter by both sides, delivered solemnly, on the 23rd of January, 1264, a

A D. 1264. Is chosen arbiter between Henry III. of England and his barons.

decision which was favourable to the English kingship, but at the same time expressly upheld the Great Charter and the traditional liberties of England. He concluded his decision with the following suggestions of amnesty: "We will also that the king of England and his barons do forgive one another mutually, that they do forget all the resentments that may exist between them by consequence of the matters submitted to our arbitration, and that henceforth they do refrain reciprocally from any offence and injury on account of the same matters." But when men have had their ideas, passions, and interests profoundly agitated and made to clash, the wisest decisions and the most honest counsels in the world are not sufficient to re-establish peace; the cup of experience has to be drunk to the dregs; and the parties are not resigned to peace until one or the other, or both have exhausted themselves in the struggle, and perceive the absolute necessity of accepting either defeat or compromise. In spite of the arbitration of the king of France, the civil war continued in England; but Louis did not seek in any way to profit by it so as to extend, at the expense of his neighbours, his own possessions or power; he held himself aloof from their quarrels, and followed up by honest neutrality his ineffectual arbitration. Five centuries afterwards the great English historian, Hume, rendered him due homage in these terms: "Every time this virtuous prince interfered in the affairs of England, it was invariably with the view of settling differences between the king and the nobility. Adopting an admirable course of conduct, as politic probably as it certainly was just, he never interposed his good offices save to put an end to the disagreements of the English; he seconded all the measures which could give security to both parties, and he made persistent efforts, though without success, to moderate the fiery ambition of the earl of Leicester." (Hume, *History of England*, t. ii. p. 465.)

Fairness of his decision.

To watch over the position and interests of all parties in his dominions and to secure to all his subjects strict and prompt justice, this was what continually occupied the mind of Louis IX. On this subject we may transcribe Joinville's often-quoted account of St. Louis's familiar intervention in his subjects' disputes about matters of private interest. "Many a time," says he, "it happened in summer that the king went and sat down in the wood of Vincennes after Mass, and leaned against an oak and made us sit down round about him. And all those who had business came to speak to him without restraint of usher or other folk. And then he demanded of them with his own mouth, 'Is there here any who hath a suit?' and they who had their suit rose up; and then he

His administration of justice.

said, 'Keep silence all of ye; and ye shall have despatch one after the other.' And then he called my lord Peter de Fontaines and my lord Geoffrey de Villette (two learned lawyers of the day and counsellors of St. Louis), and said to one of them, 'Despatch me this suit.' And when he saw ought to amend in the words of those who were speaking for another, he himself amended it with his own mouth. I sometimes saw in summer that, to despatch his people's business, he went into the Paris garden, clad in camlet coat and linsey surcoat without sleeves, a mantle of black taffety round his neck, hair right well combed and without coif, and on his head a hat with white peacock's plumes. And he had carpets laid for us to sit round about him. And all the people who had business before him set themselves standing around him; and then he had their business despatched in the manner I told you of before as to the wood of Vincennes." (Joinville, chap. xii.)

The active benevolence of St. Louis was not confined to this paternal care for the private interests of such subjects as approached his person; he was equally attentive and zealous in the case of measures called for by the social condition of the times and the general interests of the kingdom. Amongst the twenty-six government ordinances, edicts, or letters, contained under the date of his reign in the first volume of the *Recueil des Ordonnances des Rois de France*, seven, at the least, are great acts of legislation and administration of a public kind; and these acts are all of such a stamp as to show that their main object is not to extend the power of the crown or subserve the special interests of the kingship at strife with other social forces; they are real reforms, of public and moral interest, directed against the violence, disturbances, and abuses of the feudal system. As for the large collection of legislative enactments known by the name of *Établissements de Saint Louis*, it is probably a lawyer's work, posterior, in great part at least, to his reign, full of incoherent and even contradictory enactments, and without any claim to be considered as a general code of law of St. Louis' date and collected by his order, although the paragraph which serves as preface to the work is given under his name and as if it had been dictated by him.

His laws and ordinances.

"Établissements de Saint Louis."

Another act, known by the name of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, has likewise got placed, with the date of March, 1268, in the *Recueil des Ordonnances des Rois de France*, as having originated with St. Louis. Its object is, first of all, to secure the rights, liberties, and canonical rules, internally, of the Church of France; and, next, to interdict "the exactions and very heavy money-charges which have been imposed or may hereafter be imposed on the said Church by

"Pragmatic Sanction."

"The Gallican Church."

the court of Rome, and by the which our kingdom hath been miserably impoverished; unless they take place for reasonable, pious, and very urgent cause, through inevitable necessity, and with our spontaneous and express consent, and that of the Church of our kingdom." The authenticity of this act, vigorously maintained in the seventeenth century by Bossuet (in his *Défense de la Déclaration du Clergé de France de* 1682, chap. ix. t. xliii. p. 26), and in our time by M. Daunou (in the *Histoire littéraire de la France, continuée par des Membres de l'Institut*, t. xvi. p. 75, and t. xix. p. 169), has been and still is rendered doubtful for strong reasons, which M. Félix Faure, in his *Histoire de Saint Louis* (t. ii. p. 271), has summed up with great clearness. There is no design of entering here upon an examination of this little historical problem; but it is a bounden duty to point out that, if the authenticity of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, as St. Louis', is questionable, the act has, at bottom, nothing but what bears a very strong resemblance to and is quite in conformity with the general conduct of that prince. He was profoundly respectful, affectionate, and faithful towards the papacy, but, at the same time, very careful in upholding both the independence of the crown in things temporal and its right of superintendence in things spiritual.

Police in Paris. Stephen Boileau.

One special fact in the civil and municipal administration of St. Louis deserves to find a place in history. After the time of Philip Augustus there was malfeasance in the police of Paris. The provostship of Paris, which comprehended functions analogous to those of prefect, mayor, and receiver-general, became a purchaseable office, filled sometimes by two provosts at a time. The burghers no longer found justice or security in the city where the king resided. At his return from his first crusade, Louis recognized the necessity for applying a remedy to this evil; the provostship ceased to be a purchaseable office; and he made it separate from the receivership of the royal domain. In 1258, he chose as provost Stephen Boileau, a burgher of note and esteem in Paris; and in order to give this magistrate the authority of which he had need, the king sometimes came and sat beside him, when he was administering justice at the Châtelet. Stephen Boileau justified the king's confidence, and maintained so strict a police that he had his own godson hanged for theft. His administrative foresight was equal to his judicial severity. He established registers wherein were to be inscribed the rules habitually followed in respect of the organization and work of the different corporations of artisans, the tariffs of the dues charged, in the name of the king, upon the admittance of provisions and merchandise, and the titles on which the

abbots and other lords founded the privileges they enjoyed within the walls of Paris. The corporations of artisans, represented by their sworn masters or *prud'hommes*, appeared one after the other before the provost to make declaration of the usages in practice amongst their communities, and to have them registered in the book prepared for that purpose. This collection of regulations relating to the arts and trades of Paris in the thirteenth century, known under the name of *Livre des Métiers d'Étienne Boileau*, is the earliest monument of industrial statistics drawn up by the French administration.

All the chroniclers of the age, all the historians of his reign have celebrated the domestic virtues of Saint Louis, his charity as much as his piety; and the philosophers of the eighteenth century almost forgave him his taste for relics in consideration of his beneficence. And it was not merely legislative and administrative beneficence; St. Louis did not confine himself to founding and endowing hospitals, hospices, asylums, the Hôtel-Dieu at Pontoise, that at Vernon, that at Compiègne, and, at Paris, the house of Quinze-Vingts, for 300 blind; but he did not spare his person in his beneficence, and regarded no deed of charity as beneath a king's dignity. "Every day, wherever the king went, one hundred and twenty-two of the poor received each two loaves, a quart of wine, meat or fish for a good dinner, and a Paris denier. The mothers of families had a loaf more for each child. Besides these hundred and twenty-two poor having out-door relief, thirteen others were every day introduced into the hôtel and there lived as the king's officers; and three of them sat at table at the same time with the king, in the same hall as he, and quite close." . . . . "Many a time," says Joinville, "I saw him cut their bread and give them to drink. He asked me one day if I washed the feet of the poor on Holy Thursday: 'Sir,' said I, 'what a benefit! The feet of those knaves! Not I.' 'Verily,' said he, 'that is ill said, for you ought not to hold in disdain what God did for our instruction. I pray you, therefore, for love of me, accustom yourself to wash them.'"

Charity and piety of the king.

He who thus felt and acted was no monk, no prince enwrapt in mere devoutness and altogether given up to works and practices of piety; he was a knight, a warrior, a politician, a true king, who attended to the duties of authority as well as to those of charity, and who won respect from his nearest friends as well as from strangers, whilst astonishing them at one time by his bursts of mystic piety and monastic austerity, at another by his flashes of the ruler's spirit and his judicious independence, even towards the representatives of the faith and Church with whom he was in sympathy. "He passed for the wisest man in all his council." He

delighted in books and literates; "He was sometimes present at the discourses and disputations of the University; but he took care to search out for himself the truth in the word of God and in the traditions of the Church. . . . . Having found out, during his travels in the East, that a Saracenic sultan had collected a quantity of books for the service of the philosophers of his sect, he was shamed to see that Christians had less zeal for getting instructed in the truth than infidels had for getting themselves made dexterous in falsehood; so much so that, after his return to France, he had search made in the abbeys for all the genuine works of St. Augustin, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Gregory, and other orthodox teachers, and, having caused copies of them to be made, he had them placed in the treasury of Sainte-Chapelle. He used to read them when he had any leisure, and he readily lent them to those who might get profit from them for themselves or for others. Sometimes, at the end of the afternoon meal, he sent for pious persons with whom he conversed about God, about the stories in the Bible and the histories of the saints, or about the lives of the Fathers." He had a particular friendship for the learned Robert of Sorbon, founder of the Sorbonne, whose idea was a society of secular ecclesiastics, who, living in common and having the necessaries of life, should give themselves up entirely to study and gratuitous teaching. Not only did St. Louis give him every facility and every aid necessary for the establishment of his learned college; but he made him one of his chaplains, and often invited him to his presence and his table in order to enjoy his conversation.

His fondness for learning.

For all his moral sympathy, and superior as he was to his age, St. Louis, nevertheless, shared and even helped to prolong two of its greatest mistakes; as a Christian he misconceived the rights of conscience in respect of religion, and, as a king, he brought upon his people deplorable evils and perils for the sake of a fruitless enterprise. War against religious liberty was, for a long course of ages, the crime of Christian communities and the source of the most cruel evils as well as of the most formidable irreligious reactions the world has had to undergo. The thirteenth century was the culminating period of this fatal notion and the sanction of it conferred by civil legislation as well as ecclesiastical teaching. St. Louis joined, so far, with sincere conviction, in the general and ruling idea of his age; and the jumbled code which bears the name of *Établissements de Saint Louis*, formally condemns heretics to death, and bids the civil judges to see to the execution, in this respect, of the bishops' sentences. In 1255 St. Louis himself demanded of Pope Alexander IV. leave for the Dominicans and

His blunders.—Misconception of the rights of conscience.

Franciscans to exercise, throughout the whole kingdom, the inquisition already established, on account of the Albigensians, in the old domains of the counts of Toulouse. His extreme severity towards what he called the *knavish oath* (*vilain serment*), that is, blasphemy, an offence for which there is no definition save what is contained in the bare name of it, is, perhaps, the most striking indication of the state of men's minds, and especially of the king's, in this respect. Every blasphemer was to receive on his mouth the imprint of a red-hot iron. In the matter of religious liberty St. Louis is a striking example of the vagaries which may be fallen into, under the sway of public feeling, by the most equitable of minds and the most scrupulous of consciences. A solemn warning, in times of great intellectual and popular ferment, for those men whose hearts are set on independence in their thoughts as well as in their conduct, and whose only object is justice and truth. As for the crusades, the situation of Louis was with respect to them quite different and his responsibility far more personal. It was a great error in his judgment that he prolonged, by his blindly prejudiced obstinacy, a movement which was more and more inopportune and illegitimate, for it was becoming day by day more factitious and more inane.

A.D. 1270. Philip III. (the bold) king of France.

St. Louis was succeeded by his son, Philip III., a prince, no doubt, of some personal valour, since he has retained in history the nickname of *The Bold*, but not, otherwise, beyond mediocrity. His reign had an unfortunate beginning. After having passed several months before Tunis, in slack and unsuccessful continuation of his father's crusade, he gave it up and re-embarked in November, 1270, with the remnants of an army anxious to quit "that accursed land," wrote one of the crusaders, "where we languish rather than live, exposed to torments of dust, fury of winds, corruption of atmosphere and putrefaction of corpses." He arrived at Paris, on the 21st of May, 1271, bringing back with him five royal biers, that of his father, that of his brother John Tristan, count of Nevers, that of his brother-in-law Theobald king of Navarre, that of his wife and that of his son. The day after his arrival he conducted them all in state to the Abbey of St. Denis, and was crowned, at Rheims, not until the 30th of August following. His reign, which lasted fifteen years, was a period of neither repose nor glory. He engaged in war several times over in Southern France and in the north of Spain, in 1272, against Roger Bernard, count of Foix, and in 1275 against Don Pedro III., king of Aragon, attempting conquests and gaining victories, but becoming easily disgusted with his enterprises and gaining no result of importance or durability.

Without his taking himself any official or active part in the matter, the name and credit of France were more than once compromised in the affairs of Italy through the continual wars and intrigues of his uncle Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, who was just as ambitious, just as turbulent and just as tyrannical as his brother St. Louis was scrupulous, temperate and just. It was in the reign of Philip the Bold that there took place in Sicily, on the 30th of March, 1282, that notorious massacre of the French which is known by the name of *Sicilian Vespers*, which was provoked by the unbridled excesses of Charles of Anjou's comrades, and through which many noble French families had to suffer cruelly. At the same time, the celebrated Italian admiral Roger de Loria inflicted, by sea, on the French party in Italy, the Provençal navy, and the army of Philip the Bold, who was engaged upon incursions into Spain, considerable reverses and losses. At the same period the foundations were being laid in Germany and in the north of Italy, in the person of Rudolph of Hapsburg, elected emperor, of the greatness reached by the House of Austria, which was destined to be so formidable a rival to France. The government of Philip III. showed hardly more ability at home than in Europe; not that the king was himself violent, tyrannical, greedy of power or money, and unpopular; but he was weak, credulous, very illiterate, and without penetration, foresight, or intelligent and determined will. He fell under the influence of an inferior servant of his house, Peter de la Brosse, who had been surgeon and barber first of all to St. Louis and then to Philip III., who made him, before long, his chancellor and familiar counsellor. This barber-mushroom was soon a mark for the jealousy and the attacks of the great lords of the court; he joined issue with them, and even with the young queen, Maria of Brabant, the second wife of Philip III. Accusations of treason, of poisoning and peculation were raised against him, and, in 1278, he was hanged at Paris, on the thieves' gibbet, in presence of the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant, the count of Artois, and many other personages of note, who took pleasure in witnessing his execution. Peter de la Brosse was one of the first examples, in French history, of those favourites who did not understand that, if the scandal caused by their elevation were not to entail their ruin, it was incumbent upon them to be great men.

A.D. 1282. "Sicilian Vespers."

Character of Philip's government.

Peter de la Brosse.

In spite of the want of ability and the weakness conspicuous in the government of Philip the Bold, the kingship in France had, in his reign, better fortunes than could have been expected. The death, without children, of his uncle Alphonso, St. Louis's brother, count of Poitiers and also count of Toulouse, through his wife,

Joan, daughter of Raymond VII., put Philip in possession of those fair provinces. He at first possessed the countship of Toulouse merely with the title of count, and as a private domain which was not definitely incorporated with the crown of France until a century later. Certain disputes arose between England and France in respect of this great inheritance; and Philip ended them by ceding Agenois to Edward I., king of England, and keeping Quercy. He also ceded to Pope Urban IV., the county of Venaissin, with its capital Avignon, which the court of Rome claimed by virtue of a gift from Raymond VII., count of Toulouse, and which, through a course of many disputations and vicissitudes, remained in possession of the Holy See until it was reunited to France on the 19th of February, 1797, by the treaty of Tolentino. But, notwithstanding these concessions, when Philip the Bold died, at Perpignan, the 5th of October, 1285, on his return from his expedition in Aragon, the sovereignty in Southern France, as far as the frontiers of Spain, had been won for the kingship of France.

A Flemish chronicler, a monk at Egmont, describes the character of Philip the Bold's successor in the following words: "A certain king of France, also named Philip, eaten up by the fever of avarice and cupidity." And that was not the only fever inherent in Philip IV., called *the Handsome;* he was a prey also to that of ambition, and above all, to that of power. When he mounted the throne, at seventeen years of age, he was handsome, as his nickname tells us, cold, taciturn, harsh, brave at need, but without fire or dash, able in the formation of his designs and obstinate in prosecuting them by craft or violence, by means of bribery or cruelty, with wit to choose and support his servants, passionately vindictive against his enemies, and faithless and unsympathetic towards his subjects, but from time to time taking care to conciliate them either by calling them to his aid in his difficulties or his dangers, or by giving them protection against other oppressors. Never, perhaps, was king better served by circumstances or more successful in his enterprises; but he is the first of the Capetians who had a scandalous contempt for rights, abused success, and thrust the kingship, in France, upon the high-road of that arrogant and reckless egotism which is sometimes compatible with ability and glory, but which carries with it in the germ, and sooner or later brings out in full bloom, the native vices and fatal consequences of arbitrary and absolute power.

A.D. 1285. Philip IV (the handsome).—His character.

Relations with England,

Away from his own kingdom, in his own dealings with foreign countries, Philip the Handsome had a good fortune, which his predecessors had lacked, and which his successors lacked still more.

Through William the Conqueror's settlement in England and Henry II.'s marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, the kings of England had, by reason of their possessions and their claims in France, become the natural enemies of the kings of France, and war was almost incessant between the two kingdoms. But Edward I., king of England, ever since his accession to the throne, in 1272, had his ideas fixed upon, and his constant efforts directed towards the conquests of the countries of Wales and Scotland, so as to unite under his sway the whole Island of Great Britain. In spite, then, of frequent interruptions, the reign of Edward I. was on the whole a period of peace between England and France, being exempt, at any rate, from premeditated and obstinate hostilities.

And with Aragon.

In Southern France, at the foot of the Pyrenees, Philip the Handsome, just as his father Philip the Bold, was, during the first year of his reign, at war with the kings of Aragon, Alphonso III. and Jayme II.; but these campaigns, originating in purely local quarrels or in the ties between the descendants of St. Louis and of his brother Charles of Anjou, king of the Two Sicilies, rather than in furtherance of the general interests of France, were terminated in 1291 by a treaty concluded at Tarascon between the belligerents, and have remained without historical importance.

His quarrels with the Flemings.

The Flemish were the people with whom Philip the Handsome engaged in and kept up, during the whole of his reign, with frequent alternations of defeat and success, a really serious war. In the thirteenth century Flanders was the most populous and the richest country in Europe. She owed the fact to the briskness of her manufacturing and commercial undertakings not only amongst her neighbours, but throughout Southern and Eastern Europe, in Italy, in Spain, in Sweden, in Norway, in Hungary, in Russia, and even as far as Constantinople, where, as we have seen, Baldwin I., count of Flanders, became, in 1204, Latin Emperor of the East. Cloth and all manner of woollen stuffs were the principal articles of Flemish production, and it was chiefly from England that Flanders drew her supply of wool, the raw material of her industry. Thence arose between the two countries commercial relations, which could not fail to acquire political importance At the time of Philip the Handsome's accession to the throne, Guy de Dampierre, of noble Champagnese origin, had been for five years count of Flanders, as heir to his mother Marguerite II. He was a prince who did not lack courage, or, on a great emergency, high-mindedness and honour; but he was ambitious, covetous, as parsimonious as his mother had been munificent, and above all concerned to get his children married in a manner conducive to his own political

Guy de Dampierre count of Flanders.

importance. In 1293 he was secretly negotiating the marriage of Philippa, one of his daughters, with Prince Edward, eldest son of the king of England. Philip the Handsome, having received due warning, invited the count of Flanders to Paris, "to take counsel with him and the other barons touching the state of the kingdom." At first Guy hesitated; but he dared not refuse, and he repaired to Paris with his sons John and Guy. The three princes were marched off at once to the tower of the Louvre, where Guy remained for six months, and did not then get out save by leaving as hostage to the king of France his daughter Philippa herself, who was destined to pass in this prison her young and mournful life. On once more entering Flanders, and driven to extremity by the haughty severity of Philip, Count Guy at last came to a decision, concluded a formal treaty with Edward I., affianced to the English crown-prince the most youthful of his daughters, Isabel of Flanders, and formally renounced his allegiance to Philip the Handsome. This meant war. And it was prompt and sharp on the part of the king of France, slow and dull on the part of the king of England, who was always more bent upon the conquest of Scotland than upon defending, on the Continent, his ally the count of Flanders. The French arms were at first crowned with success; but the greed and cruelty of the conquerors soon led to an outburst of violent sedition. A simple weaver, obscure, poor, undersized and one-eyed, but valiant and eloquent in his Flemish tongue, one Peter Deconing, became the leader of revolt in Bruges; accomplices flocked to him from nearly all the towns of Flanders; and he found allies amongst their neighbours. In 1302 war again broke out; but it was no longer a war between Philip the Handsome and Guy de Dampierre: it was a war between the Flemish communes and their foreign oppressors. Every where resounded the cry of insurrection: "Our bucklers and our friends for the lion of Flanders! Death to all Walloons!" Philip the Handsome precipitately levied an army of sixty thousand men, says Villani, and gave the command of it to Count Robert of Artois, the hero of Furnes. The forces of the Flemings amounted to no more than twenty thousand fighting men. The two armies met near Courtrai. The French chivalry were full of ardour and confidence; and the Italian archers in their service began the attack with some success. "My lord," said one of his knights to the count of Artois, "these knaves will do so well that they will gain the honour of the day; and, if they alone put an end to the war, what will be left for the noblesse to do?" "Attack then!" answered the prince. Two grand attacks succeeded one another; the first under the orders of

Is arrested in Paris.

A.D. 1297. Invasion of Flanders.

A.D. 1301. Revolt at Bruges.

A.D. 1302. Battle of Courtrai.

the Constable Raoul of Nesle, the second under those of the count of Artois in person. After two hours' fighting, both failed against the fiery national passion of the Flemish communes, and the two French leaders, the Constable and the count of Artois, were left both of them lying on the field of battle amidst twelve or fifteen thousand of their dead. "I yield me! I yield me!" cried the count of Artois, but, "We understand not thy lingo," ironically answered in their own tongue the Flemings who surrounded him; and he was forthwith put to the sword. Too late to save him galloped up a noble ally of the insurgents, Guy of Namur. "From the top of the towers of our monastery," says the abbot of St. Martin's of Tournai, "we could see the French flying over the roads, across fields and through hedges, in such numbers that the sight must have been seen to be believed. There were in the outskirts of our town and in the neighbouring villages so vast a multitude of knights and men-at-arms tormented with hunger, that it was a matter horrible to see. They gave their arms to get bread."

A French knight, covered with wounds, whose name has remained unknown, hastily scratched a few words upon a scrap of parchment dyed with blood; and that was the first account Philip the Handsome received of the battle of Courtrai, which was fought and lost on the 11th of July, 1302.

The news of this great defeat of the French spread rapidly throughout Europe, and filled with joy all those who were hostile to or jealous of Philip the Handsome. The wily monarch spent two years in negotiations, for the purpose of gaining time, and of letting the edge wear off the Flemings' confidence. In the spring of 1304, the cry of war resounded every where. Philip had laid an impost extraordinary upon all real property in his kingdom; regulars and reserves had been summoned to Arras, to attack the Flemings by land and sea. He had taken into his pay a Genoese fleet commanded by Regnier de Grimaldi, a celebrated Italian admiral; and it arrived in the North Sea, and blockaded Zierikzee, a maritime town of Zealand. On the 10th of August, 1304, the Flemish fleet which was defending the place was beaten and dispersed. Philip hoped for a moment that this reverse would discourage the Flemings; but it was not so at all. A great battle took place on the 17th of August between the two land armies at Mons-en-Puelle (or, Mont-en-Pévèle, according to the true local spelling), near Lille; the action was for some time indecisive, and even after it was over both sides hesitated about claiming the victory; but when the Flemings saw their camp swept off and rifled, and when they no longer found in it, say the chroniclers,

A.D. 1304 The war breaks out again.

Battle of Mons-en-Puelle.

"their fine stuffs of Bruges and Ypres, their wines of Rochelle, their beers of Cambrai and their cheeses of Béthune, "they declared that they would return to their hearths; and their leaders, unable to restrain them, were obliged to shut themselves up in Lille, whither Philip, who had himself retired at first to Arras, came to besiege them. Thus during ten years, from 1305 to 1314, there was between France and Flanders a continual alternation of reciprocal concessions and retractions, of treaties concluded and of renewed insurrections without decisive and ascertained results. It was neither peace nor war; and, after the death of Philip the Handsome, his successors were destined for a long time to come to find again and again amongst the Flemish communes deadly enmities and grievous perils.

Struggles with the Papacy.

At the same time that he was prosecuting this interminable war against the Flemings, Philip was engaged, in this case also beyond the boundaries of his kingdom, in a struggle which was still more serious owing to the nature of the questions which gave rise to it and to the quality of his adversary. The French kingship and papacy, the representatives of which had but lately been great and glorious princes such as Philip Augustus and St. Louis, Gregory VII. and Innocent. III., were, at the end of the thirteenth century, vested in the persons of men of far less moral worth and less political wisdom, Philip the Handsome and Boniface VIII. We have already had glimpses of Philip the Handsome's greedy, ruggedly obstinate, haughty and tyrannical character; and Boniface VIII. had the same defects, with more hastiness and less ability.

Philip the Handsome curtails the privileges of theChurch.

Philip the Handsome had been nine years king when Boniface VIII. became pope. On his accession to the throne he had testified an intention of curtailing the privileges and power of the Church. He had removed the clergy from judicial functions, in the domains of the lords as well as in the domain of the king, and he had every where been putting into the hands of laymen the administration of civil justice. He had considerably increased the per centage to be paid on real property acquired by the Church (called *possessions in mortmain*), by way of compensation for the mutation-dues which their fixity caused the State to lose. At the time of the crusades the property of the clergy had been subjected to a special tax of a tenth of the revenues, and this tax had been several times renewed for reasons other than the crusades. In 1296, Philip the Handsome, at war with the king of England and the Flemings, imposed upon the clergy two fresh tenths. The bishops alone were called upon to vote them; and the order of Cîteaux refused to pay them, and addressed to the pope a protest, with a

comparison between Philip and Pharaoh. Boniface not only entertained the protest, but addressed to the king a bull (called *Clericis laicos*, from its first two words), in which, led on by his zeal to set forth the generality and absoluteness of his power, he laid down as a principle that churches and ecclesiastics could not be taxed save with the permission of the sovereign-pontiff, and that "all emperors, kings, dukes, counts, barons, or governors whatsoever, who should violate this principle, and all prelates or other ecclesiastics who should through weakness lend themselves to such violation, would by this mere fact incur excommunication and would be incapable of release therefrom, save *in articulo mortis*, unless by a special decision of the Holy See." This was going far beyond the traditions of the French Church, and, in the very act of protecting it, to strike a blow at its independence in its dealings with the French State. Philip was mighty wroth, but he did not burst out; he confined himself to letting the pope perceive his displeasure by means of divers administrative measures, amongst others by forbidding the exportation from the kingdom of gold, silver, and valuable articles, which found their way chiefly to Rome. Boniface, on his side, was not slow to perceive that he had gone too far, and that his own interests did not permit him to give so much offence to the king of France. A year after the bull *Clericis laicos* he modified it by a new bull, which not only authorized the collection of the two tenths voted by the French bishops, but recognized the right of the king of France to tax the French clergy with their consent and without authorization from the Holy See, whenever there was a pressing necessity for it. Philip, on his side, testified to the pope his satisfaction at this concession by himself making one at the expense of the religious liberty of his subjects.

A.D. 1296. Bull "Clericis laicos."

Thus the two absolute sovereigns changed their policy and made temporary sacrifice of their mutual pretensions, according as it suited them to fight or to agree. But there arose a question in respect of which this continual alternation of pretensions and compromises, of quarrels and accommodations, was no longer possible; in order to keep up their position in the eyes of one another they were obliged to come to a deadly clash; and in this struggle, perilous for both, Boniface VIII. was the aggressor, and with Philip the Handsome remained the victory. An opportunity for a splendid confirmation of the pope's universal supremacy in the Christian world came to tempt him. A quarrel had arisen between Philip and the archbishop of Narbonne on the subject of certain dues claimed by both in that great diocese. Boniface

Policy of the king and of the Pope.

was loud in his advocacy of the archbishop against the officers of the king: he sent to Paris, to support his words, Bernard de Saisset, whom he, on his own authority, had just appointed bishop of Pamiers. On arriving in Paris as the pope's legate, Saisset made use there of violent and inconsiderate language; Philip had, at that time, as his chief councillors, lay-lawyers, servants passionately attached to the kingship. They were Peter Flotte, his chancellor, William of Nogaret, judge-major at Beaucaire, and William of Plasian, lord of Vézenobre, the two latter belonging, as Bernard de Saisset belonged, to Southern France, and determined to withstand, in the south as well as the north, the domination of ecclesiastics. They, in their turn, rose up against the doctrine and language of the bishop of Pamiers. He was arrested and committed to the keeping of the archbishop of Narbonne; and Philip sent to Rome his chancellor Peter Flotte himself, and William of Nogaret, with orders to demand the condemnation of the bishop of Pamiers. Boniface replied by changing the venue to his own personal tribunal in the case of Bernard de Saisset. "My power—the spiritual power," said the pope to the chancellor of France, "embraces the temporal, and includes it." "Be it so," answered Peter Flotte; "but your power is nominal, the king's real."

Bernard de Saisset, bishop of Pamiers.

Here was a coarse challenge hurled by the crown at the tiara: and Boniface VIII. unhesitatingly accepted it. But, instead of keeping the advantage of a defensive position by claiming, in the name of lawful right, the liberties and immunities of the Church, he assumed the offensive against the kingship by proclaiming the supremacy of the Holy See in things temporal as well as spiritual, and by calling upon Philip the Handsome to acknowledge it. On the 5th of December, 1301, he addressed to the king, commencing with the words, "*Hearken, most dear Son*" (*Ausculta, carissime fili*), a long bull in which, with circumlocutions and expositions full of obscurity and subtlety, he laid down and affirmed, at bottom, the principle of the final sovereignty of the spiritual power, being of divine origin, over every temporal power, being of human creation. The final supremacy of the pope in the body politic and over all sovereigns meant the absorption of the laic community in the religious and the abolition of the State's independence not in favour of the national Church, but to the advantage of the foreign head of the universal Church. The defenders of the French kingship formed a better estimate than was formed at Rome of the effect which would be produced by such doctrine on France, in the existing condition of the French mind; they entered upon no theo-

A.D. 1301. Bull "Ausculta fili."

logical and abstract polemics; they confined themselves entirely to setting in a vivid light the pope's pretensions and their consequences, feeling sure that by confining themselves to this question they would enlist in their opposition not only all laymen, nobles, and commoners, but the greater part of the French ecclesiastics themselves, who were no strangers to the feeling of national patriotism, and to whom the pope's absolute power in the body politic was scarcely more agreeable than the king's. On the 11th of February, 1302, the bull *Hearken, most dear Son*, was solemnly burnt at Paris in presence of the king and a numerous multitude. Philip convoked, for the 8th of April following, an assembly of the barons, bishops, and chief ecclesiastics, and of deputies from the communes to the number of two or three for each city, all being summoned "to deliberate on certain affairs which in the highest degree concern the king, the kingdom, the churches, and all and sundry." This assembly, which really met on the 10th of April at Paris in the church of Notre-Dame, is reckoned in French history as the first "states-general." The three estates wrote separately to Rome; the clergy to the pope himself, the nobility and the deputies of the communes to the cardinals, all, however, protesting against the pope's pretensions in matters temporal, the two laic orders writing in a rough and threatening tone, the clergy making an appeal "to the wisdom and paternal clemency of the Holy Father with tearful accents and sobs mingled with their tears." The king evidently had on his side the general feeling of the nation: and the publication of a third bull (*Unam sanctam*), which threatened him with excommunication, only the more irritated him; he resolved to act speedily. Notification must be sent to the pope of the king's appeal to the future council. Philip could no longer confide this awkward business to his chancellor Peter Flotte; for he had fallen at Courtrai, in the battle against the Flemings. William of Nogaret undertook it, at the same time obtaining from the king a sort of blank commission authorizing and ratifying in advance all that, under the circumstances, he might consider it advisable to do. Notification of the appeal had to be made to the pope at Anagni, his native town, whither he had gone for refuge, and the people of which, being zealous in his favour, had already dragged in the mud the lillies and the banner of France. Nogaret was bold, ruffianly, and clever. He repaired in haste to Florence to the king's banker, got a plentiful supply of money, established communications in Anagni, and secured, above all, the co-operation of Sciarra Colonna, who was passionately hostile to the pope, had been formerly proscribed by him, and,

A.D. 1302 The States-general convoked in Paris.

A.D. 1303 William of Nogaret at Anagni.

having fallen into the hands of corsairs, had worked at the oar for them during many a year rather than reveal his name and be sold to Boniface Gaetani. On the 7th of September, 1303, Colonna and his associates introduced Nogaret and his following into Anagni, with shouts of "Death to Pope Boniface! Long live the king of France!" The populace, dumb-founded, remained motionless. The pope, deserted by all, even by his own nephew, tried to touch the heart of Colonna himself, whose only answer was a summons to abdicate, and to surrender at discretion.

A.D. 1303. Death of Pope Boniface VIII. Thus outraged in spite of his advanced years (he was seventy-five), Boniface maintained a dauntless attitude under the grossest insults, but died very shortly after.

On the 22nd of October, 1303, eleven days after the death of Boniface VIII., Benedict XI., son of a simple shepherd, was elected at Rome to succeed him. Philip the Handsome at once sent his congratulations, but by William of Plasian, who had lately been the accuser of Boniface, and who was charged to hand to the new pope, on the king's behalf, a very bitter memorandum touching his predecessor. Philip at the same time caused an address to be presented to himself in his own kingdom and in the vulgar tongue, called *a supplication from the people of France to the king against Boniface.* Benedict XI. exerted himself to give satisfaction to the conqueror; Nogaret and the direct authors of the assault at Anagni were alone excepted from the general amnesty. The pope reserved for a future occasion the announcement of their absolution, when he should consider it expedient. But, on the 7th of June, 1304, instead of absolving them, he launched a fresh bull of excommunication against "certain wicked men who had dared to commit a hateful crime against a person of good memory, Pope Boniface."

A.D. 1304. Death of Pope Benedict XI. A month after this bull Benedict XI. was dead. It is related that a young woman had put before him at table a basket of fresh figs, of which he had eaten and which had poisoned him. The chroniclers of the time impute this crime to William of Nogaret, to the Colonnas, and to their associates at Anagni; a single one names King Philip. The king of France, who had gained the battle of Mons-en-Puelle, then took advantage of his success to procure the election of a pope who would be entirely and exclusively his creature. The archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand de Got, proclaimed under the title of Clement V., had to accept, in return, the harshest conditions, such as pronouncing the condemnation of

Trial and condemnation of the knights-templars. Boniface VIII., transferring the Papal See from Rome to Avignon, authorizing the suppression of the order of the Knights Templars, etc. This last clause cost the new pontiff a great deal of pains,

and it was with the utmost reluctance that he yielded to it. The great wealth possessed by the order of the Temple was the true cause of Philip's hatred, but as some plausible cause was needed to procure their condemnation, they were accused of heresy, immorality and sacrilege. The council of Vienne condemned them, but the Grand Master Jacques Molay protested of their innocence to the very last; a poet chronicler, Godfrey of Paris, who was a witness of the scene, thus describes it: "The Grand Master, seeing the fire prepared, stripped himself briskly; I tell just as I saw; he bared himself to his shirt, light-heartedly and with a good grace, without a whit of trembling, though he was dragged and shaken mightily. They took hold of him to tie him to the stake, and they were binding his hands with a cord, but he said to them, 'Sirs, suffer me to fold my hands awhile, and make my prayer to God, for verily it is time. I am presently to die; but wrongfully, God wot. Wherefore woe will come, ere long, to those who condemn us without a cause. God will avenge our death.'"

Jacques Molay burnt alive.

It was probably owing to these last words that there arose a popular rumour, soon spread abroad, that Jacques Molay, at his death, had cited the pope and the king to appear with him, the former at the end of forty days, and the latter within a year, before the judgment-seat of God. Events gave a sanction to the legend: for Clement V. actually died on the 20th of April, 1314, and Philip the Handsome on the 29th of November, 1314; the pope, undoubtedly uneasy at the servile acquiescence he had shown towards the king, and the king expressing some sorrow for his greed, and for the imposts (*maltôte, maletolta,* or *black mail*) with which he had burdened his people.

A.D. 1314, Death of Pope Clement V. (April 20), and of the king of France (April 29).

In excessive and arbitrary imposts, indeed, consisted the chief grievance for which France, in the fourteenth century, had to complain of Philip the Handsome; and, probably, it was the only wrong for which he upbraided himself. As he was no stranger to the spirit of order in his own affairs, he tried, towards the end of his reign, to obtain an exact account of his finances. His chief adviser, Enguerrand de Marigny, became his superintendent-general, and on the 19th of January, 1311, at the close of a grand council held at Poissy, Philip passed an ordinance which established, under the headings of *expenses and receipts*, two distinct tables and treasuries, one for ordinary expenses, the civil list and the payment of the great bodies of the State, incomes, pensions, &c., and the other for extraordinary expenses.

General view of Philip the Handsome's government.

* The general history of France has been more indulgent towards Philip the Handsome than his contemporaries were; it has

expressed its acknowledgments to him for the progress made, under his sway, by the particular and permanent characteristics of civilization in France. The kingly domain received in the Pyrenees, in Aquitaine, in Franche-Comté, and in Flanders territorial increments which extended national unity. The legislative power of the king penetrated into, and secured footing in the lands of his vassals. The scattered semi-sovereigns of feudal society bowed down before the incontestable pre eminence of the kingship, which gained the victory in its struggle against the papacy. The general constitution of the judiciary power, as delegated from the kingship, the creation of several classes of magistrates devoted to this great social function, and, especially, the strong organization and the permanence of the parliament of Paris, were important progressions in the development of civil order and society in France. But it was to the advantage of absolute power that all these facts were turned, and the perverted ability of Philip the Handsome consisted in working them for that single end. He was a profound egotist; he mingled with his imperiousness the leaven of craft and patience, but he was quite a stranger to the two principles which constitute the morality of governments, respect for rights and patriotic sympathy with public sentiment; he concerned himself about nothing but his own position, his own passions, his own wishes, or his own fancies. And this is the radical vice of absolute power. Philip the Handsome is one of the kings of France who have most contributed to stamp upon the kingship in France this lamentable characteristic from which France has suffered so much even in the midst of her glories, and which, in our time, was so grievously atoned for by the kingship itself when it no longer deserved the reproach.

Development of civil order.

A.D. 1314—1328. Reigns of Philip the Handsome's three sons.

Philip the Handsome left three sons, Louis X., called *le Hutin* (*the quarreller*), Philip V., called *the Long*, and Charles IV., called *the Handsome*, who, between them, occupied the throne only thirteen years and ten months. Not one of them distinguished himself by his personal merits; and the events of the three reigns hold scarcely a higher place in history than the actions of the three kings do. Shortly before the death of Philip the Handsome, his greedy despotism had already excited amongst the people such lively discontent that several *leagues* were formed in Champagne, Burgundy, Artois, and Beauvaisis, to resist him; and the members of these leagues, "nobles and commoners," say the accounts, engaged to give one another mutual support in their resistance "at their own cost and charges." After the death of Philip the Handsome the opposition made head more extensively and effectually; and it

produced two results: ten ordinances of Louis the Quarreller for redressing the grievances of the feudal aristocracy, for one; and, for the other, the trial and condemnation of Enguerrand de Marigny, "coadjutor and rector of the kingdom" under Philip the Handsome. Marigny was accused, condemned by a commission assembled at Vincennes, and hanged on the gibbet of Montfaucon which he himself, it is said, had set up.

Whilst the feudal aristocracy was thus avenging itself of kingly tyranny, the spirit of Christianity was noiselessly pursuing its work, the general enfranchisement of men. Louis the Quarreller had to keep up the war with Flanders, which was continually being renewed; and in order to find, without hateful exactions, the necessary funds, he was advised to offer freedom to the serfs of his domains; accordingly he issued, on the 3rd of July, 1315, an edict to that effect.

A.D. 1315 Emancipation of the serfs on the royal domains.

Another fact which has held an important place in the history of France, and exercised a great influence over her destinies, likewise dates from this period; and that is the exclusion of women from the succession to the throne, by virtue of an article, ill understood, of the Salic law. The ancient law of the Salian Franks, drawn up, probably, in the seventh century, had no statute at all touching this grave question; the article relied upon was merely a regulation of civil law prescribing that "no portion of really Salic land (that is to say, in the full territorial ownership of the head of the family) should pass into the possession of women, but it should belong altogether to the virile sex." From the time of Hugh Capet heirs male had never been wanting to the crown, and the succession in the male line had been a fact uninterrupted indeed, but not due to prescription or law. Louis the Quarreller, at his death, on the 5th of June, 1316, left only a daughter, but his second wife, Queen Clémence, was pregnant. As soon as Philip the Long, then count of Poitiers, heard of his brother's death, he hurried to Paris, assembled a certain number of barons, and got them to decide that he, if the queen should be delivered of a son, should be regent of the kingdom for eighteen years; but that if she should bear a daughter he should immediately take possession of the crown. On the 15th of November, 1316, the queen gave birth to a son, who was named John, and who figures as John I. in the series of French kings, but the child died at the end of five days, and on the 6th of January, 1317, Philip the Long was crowned king at Rheims. He forthwith summoned, there is no knowing exactly where and in what numbers, the clergy, barons, and third estate, who declared, on the 2nd of February, that "the

The Salic law.

laws and customs, inviolably observed among the Franks, excluded daughters from the crown." There was no doubt about the fact; but the law was not established, nor even in conformity with the entire feudal system or with general opinion. And "thus the kingdom went," says Froissart, "as seemeth to many folks, out of the right line." But the measure was evidently wise and salutary for France as well as for the kingship; and it was renewed, after Philip the Long died, on the 3rd of January, 1322, and left daughters only, in favour of his brother Charles the Handsome,

Consequences of the Salic law.

who died, in his turn, on the 1st of January, 1328, and likewise left daughters only. The question as to the succession to the throne then lay between the male line represented by Philip, count of Valois, grandson of Philip the Bold through Charles of Valois, his father, and the female line represented by Edward III., king of England, grandson, through his mother Isabel, sister of the late king Charles the Handsome, of Philip the Handsome. A war of more than a century's duration between France and England was the result of this lamentable rivalry, which all but put the kingdom of France under an English king; but France was saved by the stubborn resistance of the national spirit and by Joan of Arc, inspired by God. One hundred and twenty-eight years after the triumph of the national cause and four years after the accession of Henry IV., which was still disputed by the League, a decree of the parliament of Paris, dated the 28th of June, 1593, maintained, against the pretentions of Spain, the authority of the Salic law, and on the 1st of October, 1789, a decree of the National Assembly, in conformity with the formal and unanimous wish of the memorials drawn up by the States-general, gave a fresh sanction to that principle, which, confining the heredity of the crown to the male line, had been salvation to the unity and nationality of the monarchy in France.

We have traced the character and progressive development of the French kingship from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, through the reigns of Louis the Fat, of Philip Augustus, of St. Louis and of Philip the Handsome, princes very diverse and very unequal in merit, but all of them able and energetic. This period was likewise the cradle of the French nation. That was the time when it began to exhibit itself in its different elements, and to arise under monarchical rule from the midst of the feudal system.

The Communes.

The *Communes*, which should not be confounded with the *Third Estate*, are the first to appear in history. They appear there as local facts, isolated one from another, often very different in point of origin though analogous in their aim, and in every case neither

assuming nor pretending to assume any place in the government of the State. Local interests and rights, the special affairs of certain populations agglomerated in certain spots, are the only objects, the only province of the communes. With this purely municipal and individual character they come to their birth, their confirmation and their development from the eleventh to the fourteenth century; and at the end of two centuries they enter upon their decline, they occupy far less room and make far less noise in history. It is exactly then that the *Third Estate* comes to the front, and uplifts itself as a general fact, a national element, a political power. It is the successor, not the contemporary, of the *Communes;* they contributed much towards, but did not suffice for its formation; it drew upon other resources, and was developed under other influences than those which gave existence to the communes. The struggles which from the eleventh to the fourteenth century gave existence to so many communes had no such profound character; the populations did not pretend to any fundamental overthrow of the regimen they attacked; they conspired together, they *swore together*, as the phrase is according to the documents of the time—they rose to extricate themselves from the outrageous oppression and misery they were enduring, but not to abolish feudal sovereignty and to change the personality of their masters. When they succeeded, they obtained those treaties of peace called *charters*, which brought about in the condition of the insurgents salutary changes accompanied by more or less effectual guarantees. When they failed or when the charters were violated, the result was violent reactions, mutual excesses; the relations between the populations and their lords were tempestuous and full of vicissitude; but at bottom neither the political regimen nor the social system of the communes were altered.

Their character.

Feudal oppression and insurrection were the chief cause, but not the sole origin of the communes. The first cause was the continuance of the Roman municipal regimen, which kept its footing in a great number of towns, especially in those of Southern Gaul, Marseilles, Arles, Nismes, Narbonne, Toulouse, &c.; as the feudal system grew and grew, those Roman municipalities still went on in the midst of universal darkness and anarchy. They had penetrated into the north of Gaul in fewer numbers and with a weaker organization than in the south, but still keeping their footing and vaunting themselves on their Roman origin in the face of their barbaric conquerors. Under different names, in accordance with changes of language, the Roman municipal regimen held on and adapted itself to new social conditions.

Cause of the communes. Roman municipal regime.

Part played by the kingship,

In our own day there has been far too much inclination to dispute the active and effective part played by the kingship in the formation and protection of the French communes. Not only did the kings often interpose as mediators in the quarrels of the communes with their laic or ecclesiastical lords, but many amongst them assumed in their own domains and to the profit of the communes an intelligent and beneficial initiative. Nor was it the kings alone who in the middle ages listened to the counsels of reason, and recognized in their behaviour towards their towns the rights of justice. Many bishops had become the feudal lords of the episcopal city; and the Christian spirit enlightened and animated many amongst them just as the monarchical spirit sometimes enlightened and guided the kings. The third and chief source of the communes was the case of those which met feudal oppression with energetic resistance, and which after all the sufferings, vicissitudes and outrages, on both sides, of a prolonged struggle ended by winning a veritable administrative and, to a certain extent, political independence. The number of communes thus formed from the eleventh to the thirteenth century was great, and we have a detailed history of the fortunes of several amongst them, Cambrai, Beauvais, Laon, Amiens, Rheims, Étampes, Vézelay, &c. When, however, we arrive at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century we see a host of communes falling into decay or entirely disappearing; they cease really to belong to, and govern themselves; some, like Laon, Cambrai, Beauvais, and Rheims, fought a long while against decline, and tried more than once to re-establish themselves in all their independence; but they could not do without the king's support in their resistance to their lords, laic or ecclesiastical; and they were not in a condition to resist the kingship which had grown whilst they were perishing. Others, Meulan and Soissons for example (in 1320 and 1335), perceived their weakness early, and themselves requested the kingship to deliver them from their communal organization and itself assume their administration. And so it is about this period, under St. Louis and Philip the Handsome, that there appear in the collections of acts of the French kingship, those great ordinances which regulate the administration of all communes within the kingly domains.

and by the clergy.

Feudal oppression.

Decline of the communes.

Rise of the Third Estate.

At the very time that the communes were perishing and the kingship was growing, a new power, a new social element, the *Third Estate*, was springing up in France; and it was called to take a far more important place in the history of France, and to exercise far more influence upon the fate of the French fatherland,

than it had been granted to the communes to acquire during their short and incoherent existence.

It may astonish many who study the records of French history from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, not to find any where the words *third estate;* it was at the great States of Tours, in 1468, that, for the first time, the third order bore the name which has been given to it by history.

The fact was far before its name. The third estate drew its origin and nourishment from all sorts of sources; and whilst one was within an ace of drying up, the others remained abundant and fruitful. Independently of the commune properly so called and invested with the right of self-government, many towns had privileges, serviceable though limited franchises, and under the administration of the king's officers they grew in population and wealth. These towns did not share, towards the end of the thirteenth century, in the decay of the once warlike and victorious communes. The majority amongst the officers of the king were burghers, and their number and their power were turned to the advantage of burgherdom, and led day by day to its further extension and importance. Of all the original sources of the third estate this it is, perhaps, which has contributed most to bring about the social preponderance of that order. Just when burgherdom, but lately formed, was losing in many of the communes a portion of its local liberties, at that same moment it was seizing by the hand of parliaments, provosts, judges, and administrators of all kinds, a large share of central power. It was through burghers admitted into the king's service and acting as administrators or judges in his name, that communal independence and charters were often attacked and abolished; but at the same time they fortified and elevated burgherdom, they caused it to acquire from day to day more wealth, more credit, more importance and power in the internal and external affairs of the State. **Burgherdom.**

Philip the Handsome was under no delusion when in 1302, 1308 and 1314, on convoking the first states-general of France, he summoned thither "the deputies of the good towns." His son, Philip the Long, was under no delusion when in 1317 and 1321 he summoned to the states-general "the communalties and good towns of the kingdom" to decide upon the interpretation of the Salic law as to the succession to the throne, "or to advise as to the means of establishing a uniformity of coins, weights, and measures;" and the three estates played the prelude to the formation, painful and slow as it was, of constitutional monarchy when, in 1338, under Philip of Valois, they declared, "in presence of the said

king, Philip of Valois, who assented thereto, that there should be no power to impose or levy talliage in France if urgent necessity or evident utility did not require it, and then only by grant of the people of the estates."

The Third Estate in France a unique fact,

Taking the history of France in its entirety and under all its phases, the third estate has been the most active and determining element in the process of French civilization. If we follow it in its relation with the general government of the country, we see it at first allied for six centuries to the kingship, struggling without cessation against the feudal aristocracy, and giving predominance in place thereof to a single central power, pure monarchy, closely bordering, though with some frequently repeated but rather useless reservations, on absolute monarchy. But. so soon as it had gained this victory and brought about this revolution, the third estate went in pursuit of a new one, attacking that single power to the foundation of which it had contributed so much, and entering upon the task of changing pure monarchy into constitutional monarchy.

This fact is unique in the history of the world. We recognize in the career of the chief nations of Asia and ancient Europe nearly all the great facts which have agitated France; but nowhere is there any appearance of a class which, starting from the very lowest, from being feeble, despised, and almost imperceptible at its origin,

proved by a survey of ancient history.

rises by perpetual motion and by labour without respite, strengthens itself from period to period, acquires in succession whatever it lacked, wealth, enlightenment, influence, changes the face of society and the nature of government, and arrives at last at such a pitch of predominance that it may be said to be absolutely the country.

Let us pass to the Europe of the Greeks and Romans. At the first blush we seem to discover some analogy between the progress of these brilliant societies and that of French society; but the analogy is only apparent; there is, once more, nothing resembling the fact and the history of the French third estate. One thing only has struck sound judgments as being somewhat like the struggle of burgherdom in the middle ages against the feudal aristocracy, and that is the struggle between the plebeians and patricians at Rome. They have often been compared; but it is a baseless comparison. The struggle between the plebeians and patricians commenced from the very cradle of the Roman republic; it was not, as happened in the France of middle ages, the result of a slow, difficult, incomplete development on the part of a class which, through a long course of great inferiority in strength, wealth, and credit, little by little, extended itself and raised itself, and ended by engaging in a real contest with the superior class.

and shown to be essentially national.

Not only is the fact new, but it is a fact eminently French, essentially national. Nowhere has burgherdom had so wide and so productive a career as that which fell to its lot in France. There have been communes in the whole of Europe, in Italy, Spain, Germany, and England, as well as in France. Not only have there been communes every where, but the communes of France are not those which, as communes, under that name and in the middle ages, have played the chiefest part and taken the highest place in history. The Italian communes were the parents of glorious republics. The German communes became free and sovereign towns, which had their own special history, and exercised a great deal of influence upon the general history of Germany. The communes of England made alliance with a portion of the English feudal aristocracy, formed with it the preponderating house in the British government, and thus played, full early, a mighty part in the history of their country. Far were the French communes, under that name and in their day of special activity, from rising to such political importance and to such historical rank. And yet it is in France that the people of the communes, the burgherdom, reached the most complete and most powerful development, and ended by acquiring the most decided preponderance in the general social structure. There have been communes, we say, throughout Europe; but there has not really been a victorious third estate any where, save in France.



CHAPTER V.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

A.D. 1328. **Philip VI. of Valois, king of France.**

In the fourteenth century a new and a vital question arose: will the French dominion preserve its nationality? Will the kingship remain French or pass to the foreigner? This question brought ravages upon France and kept her fortunes in suspense for a hundred years of war with England, from the reign of Philip of Valois to that of Charles VII.; and a young girl of Lorraine, called Joan of Arc, had the glory of communicating to France that decisive impulse which brought to a triumphant issue the independence of the French nation and kingship.

Some weeks after his accession, on the 29th of May, 1328, Philip was crowned at Rheims, in presence of a brilliant assemblage of princes and lords, French and foreign; next year, on the 6th of June, Edward III., king of England, being summoned to fulfil a vassal's duties by doing homage to the king of France for the duchy of Aquitaine, which he held, appeared in the cathedral of Amiens, with his crown on his head, his sword at his side, and his gilded spurs on his heels; and on the 30th of March, 1331, he recognized, by letters express, "that the said homage which we did at Amiens to the king of France in general terms, is, and must be understood as liege: and that we are bound, as duke of Aquitaine, and peer of France, to show him faith and loyalty."

The relations between the two kings were not destined to be for long so courteous and so pacific.

Philip VI. had embroiled himself with a prince of his line, Robert of Artois, great-grandson of Robert the first count of Artois, who was a brother of St. Louis, and was killed during the crusade in Egypt, at the battle of Mansourah. As early as the reign of Philip the Handsome, Robert claimed the countship of Artois as his heritage; but having had his pretensions rejected by a decision of the peers of the kingdom, he had hoped for more success under Philip of Valois, whose sister he had married. Philip tried to satisfy him with another domain raised to a peerage; but Robert, more and more discontented, got involved in a series of intrigues, plots, falsehoods, forgeries, and even, according to public report, imprisonments and crimes which, in 1332, led to his being condemned by the court of peers to banishment and the confiscation of his property. He fled for refuge first to Brabant, and then to England, to the court of Edward III., who received him graciously, and whom he forthwith commenced inciting to claim the crown of France, "his inheritance," as he said, "which King Philip holds most wrongfully." In the soul of Edward temptation overcame indecision. As early as the month of June, 1336, in a parliament assembled at Northampton, he had complained of the assistance given by the king of France to the Scots, and he had expressed a hope that "if the French and the Scots were to join, they would at last offer him battle, which the latter had always carefully avoided." In September of the same year he employed similar language in a parliament held at Nottingham, and he obtained therefrom subsidies for the war going on, not only in Scotland, but also in Aquitaine against the French king's lieutenants. In April and May of the following year, 1337, he granted to Robert of Artois, his tempter for three years past, court favours which proved his resolution to have been already taken. On the 21st of August following he formally declared war against the king of France, and addressed to all the sheriffs, archbishops, and bishops of his kingdom a circular in which he attributed the initiative to Philip; on the 26th of August he gave his ally, the emperor of Germany, notice of what he had just done, whilst, for the first time, insultingly describing Philip as "setting himself up for king of France." At last, on the 7th of October, 1337, he proclaimed himself king of France, as his lawful inheritance, designating as representatives and supporters of his right the duke of Brabant, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Hainault, and William de Bohun, earl of Northampton.

A.D. 1332. Robert, count of Artois, sentenced to banishment.

A D. 1337. Edw. III. declares war against France.

The enterprise had no foundation in right, and seemed to have few chances of success. No national interest, no public ground

was provocative of war between the two peoples; it was a war of personal ambition like that which in the eleventh century William the Conqueror had carried into England. The memory of that great event was still in the fourteenth century so fresh in France, that when the pretensions of Edward were declared, and the struggle was begun, an assemblage of Normans, barons and knights, or, according to others, the Estates of Normandy themselves came and proposed to Philip to undertake once more and at their own expense the conquest of England, if he would put at their head his eldest son John, their own duke. The king received their deputation at Vincennes, on the 23rd of March, 1339, and accepted their offer. They bound themselves to supply for the expedition 4000 men-at-arms and 20,000 foot, whom they promised to maintain for ten weeks and even a fortnight beyond, if, when the duke of Normandy had crossed to England, his council should consider the prolongation necessary.

His policy. Edward III., though he had proclaimed himself king of France, did not at the outset of his claim adopt the policy of a man firmly resolved and burning to succeed. From 1337 to 1340 he behaved as if he were at strife with the count of Flanders rather than with the king of France.

A D. 1340. Assumes the title of king of France.

He obtained the support of the famous brewer Van Artevelde, head of the populace of Ghent, and so a French prince and a Flemish burgher prevailed upon the king of England to pursue, as in assertion of his avowed rights, the conquest of the kingdom of France. King, prince, and burgher fixed Ghent as their place of meeting for the official conclusion of the alliance; and there, in January, 1340, the mutual engagement was signed and sealed. The king of England "assumed the arms of France quartered with those of England," and thenceforth took the title of king of France.

Then burst forth in reality that war which was to last a hundred years; which was to bring upon the two nations the most violent struggles as well as the most cruel sufferings, and which, at the end of a hundred years, was to end in the salvation of France from her tremendous peril, and the defeat of England in her unrighteous attempt. In January, 1340, Edward thought he had won the most useful of allies; Artevelde thought the independence of the Flemish communes and his own supremacy in his own country secured; and Robert d'Artois thought with complacency how he had gratified his hatred for Philip of Valois. And all three were deceiving themselves in their joy and their confidence. A brilliant victory which Edward gained at Sluys (1340) struck a serious blow at the French navy; a truce followed, which was concluded

Victory of Sluys (June 24).

on the 25th of September, 1340, at first for nine months, and was afterwards renewed on several occasions up to the month of June, 1342. Neither sovereign, and none of their allies gave up any thing or bound themselves to any thing more than not to fight during that interval; but they were, on both sides, without the power of carrying on without pause a struggle which they would not entirely abandon. **Treaty (September).**

An unexpected incident led to its recommencement in spite of the truce; not, however, throughout France, or directly between the two kings, but with fiery fierceness, though it was limited to a single province, and arose not in the name of the kingship of France but out of a purely provincial question. John III., duke of Brittany and a faithful vassal of Philip of Valois, died suddenly at Caen, on the 30th of April, 1341, on returning to his domain. Though he had been thrice married he left no child. The duchy of Brittany then reverted to his brothers or their posterity; but his very next brother, Guy, count of Penthièvre, had been dead six years and had left only a daughter, Joan called the Cripple, married to Charles of Blois, nephew of the king of France. The third brother was still alive; he, too, was named John, had from his mother the title of count of Montfort, and claimed to be heir to the duchy of Brittany in preference to his niece Joan. The niece, on the contrary, believed in her own right to the exclusion of her uncle. At the death of John III., his brother, the count of Montfort, immediately put himself in possession of the inheritance, seized the principal Breton towns, Nantes, Brest, Rennes, and Vannes, and crossed over to England, to secure the support of Edward III. His rival, Charles of Blois, appealed to the decision of the king of France, his uncle and natural protector. Philip of Valois thus found himself the champion of succession in the female line in Brittany, whilst he was himself reigning in France by virtue of the Salic law, and Edward III. took up in Brittany the defence of succession in the male line, which he was disputing and fighting against in France. Philip and his court of peers declared on the 7th of September, 1341, that Brittany belonged to Charles of Blois, who at once did homage for it to the king of France, whilst John of Montfort demanded and obtained the support of the king of England. War broke out between the two claimants, effectually supported by the two kings, who nevertheless were not supposed to make war upon one another and in their own dominions. **Succession to the Duchy of Brittany.** **A.D. 1341. Decision of the court of peers.** **War between Jean de Montfort and Charles de Blois.**

If the two parties had been reduced for leaders to the two claimants only, the war would not, perhaps, have lasted long. In the first campaign the count of Montfort was made prisoner at the

siege of Nantes, carried off to Paris and shut up in the tower of the Louvre, whence he did not escape until three years were over. The countess his wife all the while strove for his cause with the same indefatigable energy. He escaped in 1345, crossed over to England, swore fealty and homage to Edward III. for the duchy of Brittany, and immediately returned to take in hand, himself, his own cause. But in that very year, on the 26th of September, 1345, he died at the Castle of Hennebon, leaving once more his wife,

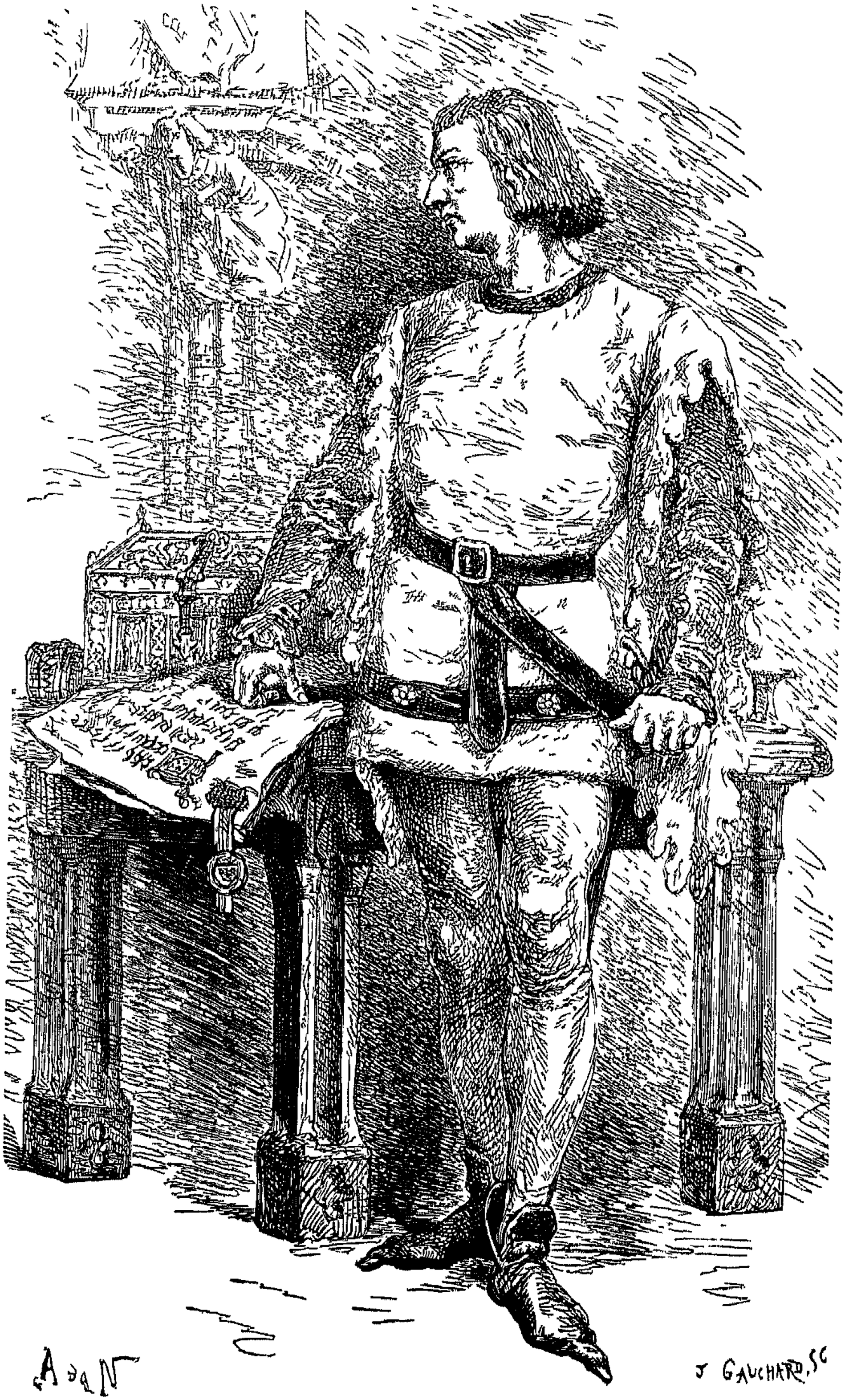
Death of the count of Montfort.

with a young child, alone at the head of his party and having in charge the future of his house. The Countess Joan maintained the rights and interests of her son as she had maintained those of her husband. For nineteen years, she, with the help of England, struggled against Charles of Blois, the head of a party growing more and more powerful, and protected by France. Fortune shifted her favours and her asperities from one camp to the other. Charles of Blois had at first pretty considerable success; but, on the 18th of June, 1347, in a battle in which he personally displayed a brilliant courage, he was in his turn made prisoner, carried to England, and immured in the Tower of London. There he remained nine years. But he too had a valiant and indomitable wife, Joan of Penthièvre, the Cripple. She did for her husband what Joan of Montfort was doing for hers. All the time that he was a prisoner in the Tower of London, she was the soul and the head of his party, in the open country as well as in the towns, turning to profitable account the inclinations of the Breton population, whom the presence and the ravages of the English had excited against John of Montfort and his cause. During nine years, from 1347 to 1356, the two Joans were the two heads of their parties in politics and in war. Charles of Blois at last obtained his liberty from Edward III. on hard conditions, and returned to Brittany to take up the conduct of his own affairs. The struggle between the two claimants still lasted eight years with vicissitudes ending in

A.D. 1364. Battle of Auray (Sept. 29).

nothing definite, and on the 29th of September, 1364, the battle of Auray cost Charles of Blois his life and the countship of Brittany. From that day forth John of Montfort remained in point of fact duke of Brittany, and Joan of Penthièvre, the Cripple, the proud princess who had so obstinately defended her rights against him, survived for full twenty years the death of her husband and the loss of her duchy.

Whilst the two Joans were exhibiting in Brittany, for the preservation or the recovery of their little dominion, so much energy and persistency, another Joan, no princess, but not the less a heroine, was, in no other interest than the satisfaction of her love



CHARLES V.

and her vengeance, making war, all by herself, on the same territory. Several Norman and Breton lords, and amongst others Oliver de Clisson and Godfroy d'Harcourt were suspected, nominally attached as they were to the king of France, of having made secret overtures to the king of England. Philip of Valois had them arrested at a tournament, and had them beheaded without any form of trial, in the middle of the market-place at Paris, to the number of fourteen. The head of Clisson was sent to Nantes, and exposed on one of the gates of the city. At the news thereof, his widow, Joan of Belleville, attended by several men of family, her neighbours and friends, set out for a castle occupied by the troops of Philip's candidate, Charles of Blois. The fate of Clisson was not yet known there, it was supposed that his wife was on a hunting excursion; and she was admitted without distrust. As soon as she was inside, the blast of a horn gave notice to her followers, whom she had left concealed in the neighbouring woods. They rushed up and took possession of the castle; and Joan de Clisson had all the inhabitants—but one—put to the sword. But this was too little for her grief and her zeal. At the head of her troops, augmented, she scoured the country and seized several places, every where driving out or putting to death the servants of the king of France. Philip confiscated the property of the house of Clisson. Joan moved from land to sea. She manned several vessels, attacked the French ships she fell in with, ravaged the coasts, and ended by going and placing at the service of the countess of Montfort her hatred and her son, a boy of seven years of age whom she had taken with her in all her expeditions, and who was afterwards the great constable Oliver de Clisson. Accordingly the war for the duchy of Buttany in the fourteenth century has been called in history the war of the three Joans.

The war of the "three Joans."

Although Edward III. by supporting with troops and officers, and sometimes even in person, the cause of the countess of Montfort—and Philip of Valois, by assisting in the same way Charles of Blois and Joan of Penthièvre, took a very active, if indirect, share in the war in Brittany, the two kings persisted in not calling themselves at war; and when either of them proceeded to acts of unquestionable hostility, they eluded the consequences of them by hastily concluding truces incessantly violated and as incessantly renewed. They had made use of this expedient in 1340; and they had recourse to it again in 1342, 1343, and 1344. The last of these truces was to have lasted up to 1346; but, in the spring of 1345, Edward resolved to put an end to this equivocal position, and to openly recommence war. He announced his intention to Pope

A.D. 1340—1346. Truces between the French and the English.

Clement IV., to his own lieutenants in Brittany, and to all the cities and corporations of his kingdom. The tragic death of Van Artevelde, however, (1345) proved a great loss to the king of England. He was so much affected by it that he required a whole year before he could resume with any confidence his projects of war; and it was not until the 2nd of July, 1346, that he embarked at Southampton, taking with him, besides his son the prince of Wales, hardly sixteen years of age, an army which comprised, according to Froissart, seven earls, more than thirty-five barons, a great number of knights, four thousand men-at-arms, ten thousand English archers, six thousand Irish and twelve thousand Welsh infantry, in all something more than thirty-two thousand men. By the advice of Godfrey d'Harcourt, he marched his army over Normandy; he took and plundered on his way Barfleur, Cherbourg, Valognes, Carentan, St Lô, and Caen; then, continuing his march, he occupied Louviers, Vernon, Verneuil, Mantes, Meulan, and Poissy, where he took up his quarters in the old residence of King Robert; and thence his troops advanced and spread themselves as far as Ruel, Neuilly, Boulogne, St. Cloud, Bourg-la-Reine and almost to the gates of Paris, whence could be seen "the fire and smoke from burning villages." Philip recalled in all haste his troops from Aquitaine, commanded the burgher-forces to assemble, and gave them, as he had given all his allies, St. Denis for the rallying-point. At sight of so many great lords and all sorts of men of war flocking together from all points, the Parisians took fresh courage. "For many a long day there had not been at St. Denis a king of France in arms and fully prepared for battle."

A.D. 1346. Invasion of France by the English.

Edward began to be afraid of having pushed too far forward, and of finding himself endangered in the heart of France, confronted by an army which would soon be stronger than his own. He, accordingly, marched northward, where he flattered himself he would find partisans, counting especially on the help of the Flemings, who, in fulfilment of their promise, had already advanced as far as Béthune to support him. Philip moved with all his army into Picardy in pursuit of the English army, which was in a hurry to reach and cross the Somme, and so continue its march northward.

A.D. 1346. Battle of Crécy (Aug. 25).

When Edward, after passing the Somme, had arrived near Crécy, five leagues from Abbeville, in the countship of Ponthieu, which had formed part of his mother Isabel's dowry, "Halt we here," said he to his marshals; "I will go no farther till I have seen the enemy; I am on my mother's rightful inheritance, which was given her on her marriage; I will defend it against mine adversary, Philip of Valois;" and he rested in the open fields, he and all his

men, and made his marshals mark well the ground where they would set their battle in array. Philip, on his side, had moved to Abbeville, where all his men came and joined him, and whence he sent out scouts to learn the truth about the English. When he knew that they were resting in the open fields near Crécy and showed that they were awaiting their enemies, the king of France was very joyful, and said that, please God, they should fight him on the morrow [the day after Friday, Aug. 25, 1346].

On Saturday, the 26th of August, after having heard mass, Philip started from Abbeville with all his barons. The battle began with an attack by 15,000 Genoese bowmen, who marched forward, and leaped thrice with a great cry: their arrows did little execution, as the strings of their bows had been relaxed by the damp; the English archers now taking their bows from their cases, poured forth a shower of arrows upon this multitude, and soon threw them into confusion: the Genoese falling back upon the French cavalry, were by them cut to pieces, and being allowed no passage, were thus prevented from again forming in the rear: this absurd inhumanity lost the battle, as the young Prince of Wales, taking advantage of the irretrievable disorder, led on his line at once to the charge. "No one can describe or imagine," says Froissart, "the bad management and disorder of the French army, though their troops were out of number." Philip was led from the field by John of Hainault, and he rode till he came to the walls of the castle of Broye, where he found the gates shut: ordering the governor to be summoned, when the latter enquired, it being dark, who it was that called at so late an hour, he answered: "Open, open, governor; it is the fortune of France;" and accompanied by five barons only he entered the castle.

The Genoese cut to pieces.

Whilst Philip, with all speed, was on the road back to Paris with his army, as disheartened as its king, and more disorderly in retreat than it had been in battle, Edward was hastening, with ardour and intelligence, to reap the fruits of his victory. In the difficult war of conquest he had undertaken, what was clearly of most importance to him was to possess on the coast of France, as near as possible to England, a place which he might make, in his operations by land and sea, a point of arrival and departure, of occupancy, of provisioning and of secure refuge. Calais exactly fulfilled these conditions. On arriving before the place, September 3rd, 1346, Edward "immediately had built all round it," says Froissart, "houses and dwelling-places of solid carpentry and arranged in streets as if he were to remain there for ten or twelve years, for his intention was not to leave it winter or summer, whatever time and

Siege of Calais (September 3).

whatever trouble he must spend and take. He called this new town *Villeneuve la Hardie;* and he had therein all things necessary for an army, and more too, as a place appointed for the holding of a market on Wednesday and Saturday; and therein were mercers' shops and butchers' shops, and stores for the sale of cloth and bread and all other necessaries. King Edward did not have the city of Calais assaulted by his men, well knowing that he would lose his pains, but said he would starve it out, however long a time it might cost him, if King Philip of France did not come to fight him again, and raise the siege."

Calais had for its governor John de Vienne, a valiant and faithful Burgundian knight, "the which seeing," says Froissart, "that the king of England was making every sacrifice to keep up the siege, ordered that all sorts of small folk, who had no provisions, should quit the city without further notice. The Calaisians endured for eleven months all the sufferings arising from isolation and famine. The king of France made two attempts to relieve them. On the 20th of May, 1347, he assembled his troops at Amiens; but they were not ready to march till about the middle of July, and as long before as the 23rd of June a French fleet of ten galleys and thirty-five transports had been driven off by the English.

Surrender of the Calaisians.

When the people of Calais saw that all hope of a rescue had slipped from them, they held a council, resigned themselves to offer submission to the king of England rather than die of hunger, and begged their governor, John de Vienne, to enter into negotiations for that purpose with the besiegers. Walter de Manny, instructed by Edward to reply to these overtures, said to John de Vienne, "The king's intent is that ye put yourselves at his free will to ransom or put to death such as it shall please him; the people of Calais have caused him so great displeasure, cost him so much money and lost him so many men, that it is not astonishing if that weighs heavily upon him." In his final answer to the petition of the unfortunate inhabitants, Edward said, "Go, Walter, to them of Calais, and tell the governor that the greatest grace they can find in my sight is that six of the most notable burghers come forth from their town bare-headed, bare-footed, with ropes round their necks and with the keys of the town and castle in their hands. With them I will do according to my will, and the rest I will receive to mercy." It is well known how the king would have put to death Eustace de St. Pierre and his companions, and how their lives were spared at the intercession of Queen Philippa.

Eustace de St. Pierre.

Eustace, more concerned for the interests of his own town than for those of France, and being more of a Calaisian burgher than a

national patriot, showed no hesitation, for all that appears, in serving, as a subject of the king of England, his native city for which he had shown himself so ready to die. At his death, which happened in 1351, his heirs declared themselves faithful subjects of the king of France, and Edward confiscated away from them the possessions he had restored to their predecessor. Eustace de St. Pierre's cousin and comrade in devotion to their native town, John d'Aire, would not enter Calais again; his property was confiscated, and his house, the finest, it is said, in the town, was given by King Edward to Queen Philippa, who showed no more hesitation in accepting it than Eustace in serving his new king. Long-lived delicacy of sentiment and conduct was rarer in those rough and rude times than heroic bursts of courage and devotion.

The battle of Crécy and the loss of Calais were reverses from which Philip of Valois never even made a serious attempt to recover; he hastily concluded with Edward a truce, twice renewed, which served only to consolidate the victor's successes. A calamity of European extent came as an addition to the distresses of France. From 1347 to 1349 a frightful disease, brought from Egypt and Syria through the ports of Italy, and called the *black plague* or the *plague of Florence*, ravaged Western Europe, especially Provence and Languedoc, where it carried off, they say, two-thirds of the inhabitants. When the epidemic had well nigh disappeared, the survivors, men and women, princes and subjects, returned passionately to their pleasures and their galas; to mortality, says a contemporary chronicler, succeeded a rage for marriage; and Philip of Valois himself, now fifty-eight years of age, took for his second wife Blanche of Navarre, who was only eighteen. She was a sister of that young king of Navarre, Charles II., who was soon to get the name of Charles *the Bad*, and to become so dangerous an enemy of Philip's successors. Seven months after his marriage, and on the 22nd of August, 1350, Philip died at Nogent-le-Roi in the Haute-Marne, strictly enjoining his son John to maintain with vigour his well ascertained right to the crown he wore, and leaving his people bowed down beneath a weight "of extortions so heavy that the like had never been seen in the kingdom of France."

A.D. 1347—1349. The plague.

A.D. 1350. Death of Philip VI. (Aug. 22).

Only one happy event distinguished the close of this reign. As early as 1343 Philip had treated, on a monetary basis, with Humbert II., count and Dauphin of Viennese, for the cession of that beautiful province to the crown of France after the death of the then possessor. Humbert, an adventurous and fantastic prince, plunged, in 1346, into a crusade against the Turks, from which he returned in the following year without having obtained any suc-

A D. 1349. Cession of Vienness to France (July 16),

cess. Tired of seeking adventures as well as of reigning, he, on the 16th of July, 1349, before a solemn assembly held at Lyons, abdicated his principality in favour of Prince Charles of France, grandson of Philip of Valois and afterwards Charles V. The new dauphin took the oath, between the hands of the bishop of Grenoble, to maintain the liberties, franchises and privileges of the Dauphiny; and the ex-dauphin, after having taken holy orders and passed successively through the archbishopric of Rheims and the bishopric of Paris, both of which he found equally unpalatable, went to die at Clermont in Auvergne, in a convent belonging to the order of Dominicans, whose habit he had donned.

and of Montpellier (April 18).

In the same year, on the 18th of April, 1349, Philip of Valois bought of Jayme of Arragon, the last king of Majorca, for 120,000 golden crowns, the lordship and town of Montpellier, thus trying to repair to some extent, for the kingdom of France, the losses he had caused it.

John II., "the good" king of France.

His successor, John II., called *the Good*, on no other ground than that he was gay, prodigal, credulous and devoted to his favourites, did nothing but reproduce, with aggravations, the faults and reverses of his father.

His government.

He compromised more and more seriously every day his own safety and that of his successor by vexing more and more, without destroying, his most dangerous enemy. He showed no greater prudence or ability in the government of his kingdom. Always in want of money, because he spent it foolishly on galas or presents to his favourites, he had recourse, for the purpose of procuring it, at one time to the very worst of all financial expedients, debasement of the coinage; at another, to disreputable imposts, such as the tax upon salt and upon the sale of all kinds of merchandise. In the single year of 1352 the value of a silver mark varied sixteen times, from 4 livres 10 sous to 18 livres. To meet the requirements of his government and the greediness of his courtiers, John twice, in 1355 and 1356, convoked the states-general, which did not refuse him their support; but John had not the wit either to make good use of the powers with which he was furnished or to inspire the states-general with that confidence which alone could decide them upon continuing their gifts. And, nevertheless, King John's necessities were more evident and more urgent than ever: war with England had begun again.

The truth is that, in spite of the truce still existing, the English, since the accession of King John, had at several points resumed hostilities. The disorders and dissensions to which France was a

prey, the presumptuous and hare-brained incapacity of her new king were for so ambitious and able a prince as Edward III. very strong temptations. Nor did opportunities for attack and chances of success fail him any more than temptations. He found in France, amongst the grandees of the kingdom and even at the king's court, men disposed to desert the cause of the king and of France, to serve a prince who had more capacity, and who pretended to claim the crown of France as his lawful right. As early as 1351, amidst all his embroilments and all his reconciliations with his father-in-law, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, had concluded with Edward III. a secret treaty, whereby, in exchange for promises he received, he recognized his title as king of France. In 1355 his treason burst forth. The king of Navarre, who had gone for refuge to Avignon, under the protection of Pope Clement VI., crossed France by English Aquitaine, and went and landed at Cherbourg, which he had an idea of throwing open to the king of England. He once more entered into communications with King John, once more obtained forgiveness from him, and for a while appeared detached from his English alliance. But Edward III. had openly resumed his hostile attitude; and he demanded that Aquitaine and the countship of Ponthieu, detached from the kingdom of France, should be ceded to him in full sovereignty, and that Brittany should become all but independent. John haughtily rejected these pretensions, which were merely a pretext for recommencing war. And it recommenced accordingly, and the king of Navarre resumed his course of perfidy. He had lands and castles in Normandy, which John put under sequestration, and ordered the officers commanding in them to deliver up to him. Six of them, the commandants of the castles of Cherbourg and Evreux amongst others, refused, believing, no doubt, that in betraying France and her king, they were remaining faithful to their own lord.

Charles "the Bad," king of Navarre. His treachery.

At several points in the kingdom, especially in the northern provinces, the first-fruits of the war were not favourable for the English. King Edward, who had landed at Calais with a body of troops, made an unsuccessful campaign in Artois and Picardy and was obliged to re-embark for England, falling back before King John, whom he had at one time offered and at another refused to meet and fight at a spot agreed upon. But in the south-west and south of France, in 1355 and 1356, the prince of Wales at the head of a small picked army and with John Chandos for comrade, victoriously overran Limousin, Périgord, Languedoc, Auvergne, Berry, and Poitou, ravaging the country and plundering the towns into which he could force an entrance and the environs of those

Success of the invaders.

that defended themselves behind their walls. He met with scarcely any resistance, and he was returning by way of Berry and Poitou back again to Bordeaux when he heard that King John, starting from Normandy with a large army, was advancing to give him battle. John, in fact, with easy self-complacency and some-

The Prince of Wales in Southern France.

what proud of his petty successes against King Edward in Picardy, had been in a hurry to move against the prince of Wales, in hopes of forcing him also to re-embark for England. He was at the head of forty or fifty thousand men, with his four sons, twenty-six dukes or counts, and nearly all the baronage of France; and such was his confidence in this noble army, that on crossing the Loire he dismissed the burgher forces, "which was madness in him and in those who advised him," said even his contemporaries. John, even more than his father Philip, was a king of courts, ever surrounded by his nobility and caring little for his people. When the two armies were close to one another on the platform of Maupertuis, two leagues to the north of Poitiers, two legates from the pope came hurrying up from that town with instructions to negotiate peace between the kings of France, England, and Navarre. John consented to an armistice of twenty-four hours. The prince of Wales, seeing himself cut off from Bordeaux by forces very much superior to his own, for he had but eight or ten thousand men, offered to restore to the king of France "all that he had conquered this bout, both towns and castles, and all the prisoners that he and his had taken, and to swear that, for seven whole years, he would bear arms no more against the king of France;" but King John and his council would not accept any thing of the sort, saying that "the prince and a hundred of his knights must come and put themselves as prisoners in the hands of the king of France." Neither the prince of Wales nor Chandos had any hesitation in rejecting such a demand: "God forbid," said Chandos, "that we should go without a fight! If we be taken or discomfited by so many fine men-at-arms and in so great a host we shall incur no blame; and if the day be for us and fortune be pleased to consent thereto we shall be the most honoured folk in

A.D. 1356. Battle of Poitiers (Sept. 19).

the world." The battle took place on the 19th of September, 1356, in the morning; here as at Crécy it was a case of undisciplined forces, without co-operation or order, and ill-directed by their commanders, advancing, bravely and one after another, to get broken against a compact force under strict command, and as docile as heroic. Two divisions of the French, in which were the dauphin and two of his brothers, being repulsed, precipitately fled; but the king himself, with his youngest son by his side, a youth of

fourteen, fought valiantly, and endeavoured to retrieve the disaster by strenuously continuing the contest, but in vain. Left almost alone in the field, John might easily have been slain, had not every one been desirous of taking alive the royal prisoner. The king, unwilling to surrender himself to a person of inferior condition, still cried out, "Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales?" At length, giving his right hand gauntled to Denis de Morbecque, a knight of Arras, who had been expelled from France for a homicide, committed in an affray, he said, "Sir Knight, I surrender." He was taken first to Bordeaux, and then to England, where he remained a captive, yet most honourably and considerately treated by his victors.

The Dauphin assumes the government.

The Dauphin Charles, aged nineteen, in spite of his youth and his any thing but glorious retreat from Poitiers, took the title of lieutenant of the king, and had hardly re-entered Paris, on the 29th of September, when he summoned, for the 15th of October, the states-general of Languedoc, who met, in point of fact, on the 17th, in the great chamber of parliament. Fresh subsidies were granted, but only on very hard conditions. The deputies demanded of Charles "that he should deprive of their offices such of the king's councillors as they should point out, have them arrested, and confiscate all their property. Twenty-two men of note, the chancellor, the premier president of the parliament, the king's stewards, and several officers in the household of the dauphin himself were thus pointed out. They were accused of having taken part to their own profit in all the abuses for which the Government was reproached, and of having concealed from the king the true state of things and the misery of the people. The commissioners elected by the estates were to take proceedings against them: if they were found guilty, they were to be punished; and if they were innocent, they were at the very least to forfeit their office and their property, on account of their bad counsels and their bad administration."

Pretensions of the deputies.

They further insisted that the deputies, under the title of reformers, should traverse the provinces as a check upon the malversations of the royal officials, and that twenty-eight delegates, chosen from amongst the three orders, four prelates, twelve knights, and twelve burgesses, should be constantly placed near the king's person "with power to do and order every thing in the kingdom, just like the king himself, as well for the purpose of appointing and removing public officers as for other matters." It was taking away the entire government from the crown, and putting it into the hands of the estates. Finally, they spoke about setting at liberty the king of Navarre, who had been imprisoned by King John,

and said to the dauphin that "since this deed of violence no good had come to the king or the kingdom because of the sin of having imprisoned the said king of Navarre." And yet Charles *the Bad* was already as infamous as he has remained in history; he had laboured to embroil the dauphin with his royal father; and there was no plot or intrigue, whether with the malcontents in France or with the king of England, in which he was not, with good reason, suspected of having been mixed up and of being ever ready to be mixed up. He was clearly a dangerous enemy for the public peace as well as for the crown, and, for the states-general who were demanding his release, a bad associate.

A.D. 1358. States-general. Stephen Marcel.

In the face of such demands and such forebodings the dauphin did all he could to gain time. The next year, however, the states under the direction of Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants, and Robert Lecoq, bishop of Laon, showed themselves still more severe. Not content with checking the authority of the dauphin by setting Charles the Bad at liberty, impeaching the ministers, and creating a commission of thirty-six members, chosen from amongst themselves, and enjoying all the prerogatives of the sovereign, these revolutionists of the fourteenth century entered the Louvre by force Marcel ascended, followed by a band of armed men, to the apartments of the dauphin, "whom he requested very sharply," says Froissart, "to restrain so many companies from roving about on all sides, damaging and plundering the country." The duke replied that he would do so willingly if he had the wherewithal to do it, but that it was for him who received the dues belonging to the kingdom to discharge that duty. "I know not why or how," adds Froissart, "but words were multiplied on the part of all, and became very high." "My lord duke," suddenly said the provost, "do not alarm yourself; but we have somewhat to do here;" and turned towards his fellows in the caps, saying, "Dearly beloved, do that for the which ye are come;" the mob immediately massacred the lord de Conflans, marshal of Champagne, and Robert de Clermont, marshal of Normandy, both at the time unarmed, so close to the dauphin that his robe was covered with their blood. The dauphin shuddered; and the rest of his officers fled. "Take no heed, lord duke," said Marcel; "you have naught to fear." He handed to the dauphin his own red and blue cap, and himself put on the dauphin's, which was of black stuff with golden fringe. The corpses of the two marshals were dragged into the courtyard of the palace, where they remained until evening without any one's daring to remove them; and Marcel with his fellows repaired to the mansion-house, and harangued from an open window the mob collected on the

Murder of the Marshals.

Place de Grève. "What has been done is for the good and the profit of the kingdom," said he; "the dead were false and wicked traitors." "We do own it and will maintain it!" cried the people who were about him.

The house from which Marcel thus addressed the people was his own property, and was called the *Pillar-house*. There he accommodated the town-council, which had formerly held its sitting in divers *parlours*.

Dictatorship of Marcel.

For a month after this triple murder, committed with such official parade, Marcel reigned dictator in Paris. He removed from the council of thirty-six deputies such members as he could not rely upon, and introduced his own confidants. He cited the council, thus modified, to express approval of the blow just struck; and the deputies, "some from conviction and others from *doubt* (that is, fear), answered that they believed that for what had been done there had been good and just cause." The king of Navarre was recalled from Nantes to Paris, and the dauphin was obliged to assign to him, in the king's name, "as a make-up for his losses," 10,000 livres a year on landed property in Languedoc. On the 25th of March, the young Prince succeeded in leaving Paris, and repaired first of all to Senlis, and then to Provins, where he found the estates of Champagne eager to welcome him. In the meanwhile, an event occurred outside which seemed to open to Marcel a prospect of powerful aid, perhaps of decisive victory. Throughout several provinces the peasants, whose condition, sad and hard as it already was under the feudal system, had been still further aggravated by the outrages and irregularities of war, not finding any protection in their lords, and often being even oppressed by them as if they had been foes, had recourse to insurrection in order to escape from the evils which came down upon them every day and from every quarter. They bore and would bear any thing, it was said, and they got the name of *Jacques Bonhomme* (*Jack Goodfellow*); but this taunt they belied in a terrible manner. We will quote from the last continuer of William of Nangis, the least declamatory and least confused of all the chroniclers of that period: "In this same year 1358, says he, "in the summer [the first rising took place on the 28th of May], the peasants in the neighbourhood of St. Loup de Cérent and Clermont in the diocese of Beauvais took up arms against the nobles of France. They assembled in great numbers, set at their head a certain peasant named William Karle [or Cale, or Callet], of more intelligence than the rest, and marching by companies under their own flag, roamed over the country, slaying and massacring all the nobles they met,

A.D. 1358. The Jacquery (May).

even their own lords. Not content with that, they demolished the houses and castles of the nobles: and, what is still more deplorable, they villainously put to death the noble dames and little children who fell into their hands; and afterwards they strutted about, they and their wives, bedizened with the garments they had stripped from their victims The number of men who had thus risen amounted to five thousand, and the rising extended to the outskirts of Paris. They had begun it from sheer necessity and love of justice, for their lords oppressed instead of defending them; but before long they proceeded to the most hateful and criminal deeds. They took and destroyed from top to bottom the strong castle of Ermenonville, where they put to death a multitude of men and dames of noble family who had taken refuge there. For some time the nobles no longer went about as before; none of them durst set a foot outside the fortified places." *Jacquery* had taken the form of a fit of demagogic fury, and the *Jacks* [or *Goodfellows*] swarming out of their hovels were the terror of the castles.

Their excesses.

The insurrection having once broken out, Marcel hastened to profit by it, and encouraged and even supported it at several points. Amongst other things he sent from Paris a body of three hundred men to the assistance of the peasants who were besieging the castle of Ermenonville.

Put down at Montdidier (July).

The reaction against *Jacquery* was speedy and shockingly bloody. The nobles, the dauphin, and the king of Navarre, a prince and a noble at the same time that he was a scoundrel, made common cause against the *Goodfellows*, who were the more disorderly in proportion as they had become more numerous, and believed themselves more invincible. The ascendancy of the masters over the rebels was soon too strong for resistance. At Meaux, of which the *Goodfellows* had obtained possession, they were surprised and massacred to the number, it is said, of seven thousand, with the town burning about their ears. In Beauvaisis, the king of Navarre, after having made a show of treating with their chieftain, William Karle or Callet, got possession of him, and had him beheaded, wearing a trivet of red-hot iron, says one of the chroniclers, by way of crown. He then moved upon a camp of *Goodfellows* assembled near Montdidier, slew three thousand of them and dispersed the remainder. These figures are probably very much exaggerated, as nearly always happens in such accounts; but the continuer of William of Nangis, so justly severe on the outrages and barbarities of the insurgent peasants, is not less so on those of their conquerors.

Marcel from that moment perceived that his case was lost, and

no longer dreamed of any thing but saving himself and his, at any price; "for he thought," says Froissart, "that it paid better to slay than to be slain." Being reduced to depend entirely during this struggle upon such strength as could be supplied by a municipal democracy, incoherent, inexperienced, and full of divisions in its own ranks, and by a mad insurrection in the country districts, he rapidly fell into the selfish and criminal condition of the man whose special concern is his own personal safety. This he sought to secure by an unworthy alliance with the most scoundrelly amongst his ambitious contemporaries, and he would have given up his own city as well as France to the king of Navarre and the English, had not another burgher of Paris, John Maillart, stopped him, and put him to death at the very moment when the patriot of the states-general of 1355 was about to become a traitor to his country. Hardly thirteen years before, when Stephen Marcel was already a full-grown man, the great Flemish burgher, James van Artevelde, had, in the cause of his country's liberties, attempted a similar enterprise and, after a series of great deeds at the outset and then of faults also similar to those of Marcel, had fallen into the same abyss, and had perished by the hand of his fellow-citizens, at the very moment when he was labouring to put Flanders, his native country, into the hands of a foreign master, the prince of Wales, son of Edward III., king of England.

Stephen Marcel murdered (July 31).

One single result of importance was won for France by the states-general of the fourteenth century, namely, the principle of the nation's right to intervene in their own affairs, and to set their government straight when it had gone wrong or was incapable of performing that duty itself. Up to that time, in the thirteenth century and at the opening of the fourteenth, the states-general had been hardly any thing more than a temporary expedient employed by the kingship itself to solve some special question or to escape from some grave embarrassment. Starting from King John, the states-general became one of the principles of national right: a principle which did not disappear even when it remained without application, and the prestige of which survived even its reverses. Faith and hope fill a prominent place in the lives of peoples as well as of individuals; having sprung into real existence in 1355, the states-general of France found themselves alive again in 1789; and we may hope that, after so long a trial, their rebuffs and their mistakes will not be more fatal to them in our day.

Result of the states-general.

On the 2nd of August, 1358, in the evening, the dauphin Charles re-entered Paris, and was accompanied by John Maillart,

who "was mightily in his grace and love." On being re-settled in the capital, he showed neither clemency nor cruelty. He let the reaction against Stephen Marcel run its course, and turned it to account without further exciting it or prolonging it beyond measure. The property of some of the condemned was confiscated; some attempts at a conspiracy for the purpose of avenging the provost of tradesmen were repressed with severity; and John Maillart and his family were loaded with gifts and favours. On becoming king, Charles determined himself to hold his son at the baptismal font; but Robert Lecocq, bishop of Laon, the most intimate of Marcel's accomplices, returned quietly to his diocese; two of Marcel's brothers, William and John, owing their protection, it is said, to certain youthful reminiscences on the prince's part, were exempted from all prosecution; Marcel's widow even recovered a portion of his property; and as early as the 10th of August, 1358, Charles published an amnesty, from which he excepted only "those who had been in the secret council of the provost of tradesmen in respect of the great treason;" and on the same day another amnesty quashed all proceeding for deeds done during the *Jacquery*, "whether by nobles or ignobles." Charles knew that in acts of rigour or of grace impartiality conduces to the strength and the reputation of authority.

Reconciliation between the Dauphin and Charles the Bad.

A reconciliation then took place between him and the king of Navarre, whose wife, Joan of France, was the dauphin's sister; "the town of Melun," says the chronicler, "was restored to the lord duke; the navigation of the river once more became free up stream and down; great was the satisfaction in Paris and throughout the whole country; and, peace being thus made, the two princes returned both of them home."

The king of Navarre knew how to give an appearance of free will and sincerity to changes of posture and behaviour which seemed to be pressed upon him by necessity; and we may suppose that the dauphin, all the while that he was interchanging graceful acts, was too well acquainted by this time with the other to become his dupe, but, by their apparent reconciliation, they put an end, for a few brief moments, to a position which was burthensome to both.

King John "the good" in England.

While these events, from the battle of Poitiers to the death of Stephen Marcel (from the 19th of September, 1356, to the 1st of August, 1358), were going on in France, King John was living as a prisoner in the hands of the English, first at Bordeaux, afterwards in London, and then at Windsor, much more concerned about the reception he met with and the galas he was present at than about

the affairs of his kingdom. Towards the end of April, 1359, the dauphin-regent received at Paris the text of a treaty which the king his father had concluded in London with the king of England. "The cession of the western half of France, from Calais to Bayonne, and the immediate payment of four million golden crowns," such was, according to the terms of this treaty, the price of King John's ransom; and the regent resolved to leave to the judgment of France the acceptance or refusal of such exorbitant demands. The indignation of the people was roused to the highest pitch; the estates replied that the treaty was not "tolerable or feasible," and in their patriotic enthusiasm "decreed to make fair war on the English." But it was not enough to spare the kingdom the shame of such a treaty; it was necessary to give the regent the means of concluding a better. On the 2nd of June, the nobles announced to the dauphin that they would serve for a month at their own expense, and that they would pay besides such imposts as should be decreed by the good towns. The churchmen also offered to pay them. The city of Paris undertook to maintain "six hundred swords, three hundred archers, and a thousand *brigands*." The good towns offered twelve thousand men; but they could not keep their promise, the country being utterly ruined.

A.D. 1359. Treaty of London.

Rejected by the states-general.

Edward III., on his side, at once took measures for recommencing the war; but, before engaging in it, he had King John removed from Windsor to Hertford Castle, and thence to Somerton, where he set a strong guard. Having thus made certain that his prisoner would not escape from him, he put to sea and, on the 28th of October, 1359, landed at Calais with a numerous and well supplied army. Then, rapidly traversing northern France, he did not halt till he arrived before Rheims, which he was in hopes of surprising, and where, it is said, he purposed to have himself, without delay, crowned king of France. But he found the place so well provided and the population so determined to make a good defence, that he raised the siege and moved on Châlons, where the same disappointment awaited him. Passing from Champagne to Burgundy he then commenced the same course of scouring and ravaging; but the Burgundians entered into negotiations with him, and by a treaty concluded on the 10th of March, 1360, and signed by Joan of Auvergne, queen of France, second wife of King John and guardian of the young duke of Burgundy, Philip de Rouvre, they obtained at the cost of two hundred thousand golden *sheep* (*moutons*) an agreement that for three years Edward and his army "would not go scouring and burning" in Burgundy as they were doing in the other parts of France. At this same time, another province, Picardy,

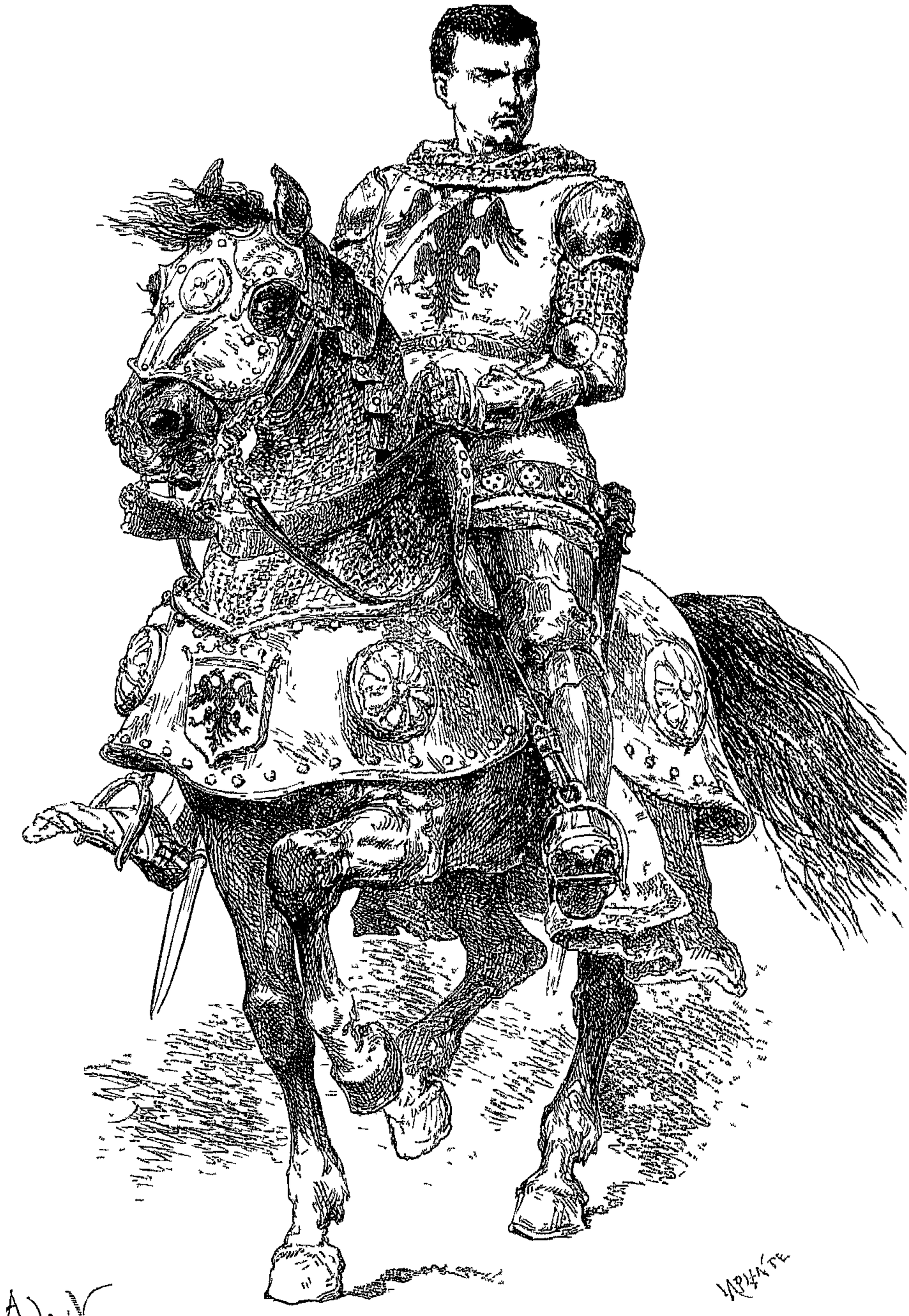
Edward III in Picardy.

aided by many Normans and Flemings its neighbours, "nobles, burgesses, and common-folk," was sending to sea an expedition which was going to try, with God's help, to deliver King John from his prison in England, and bring him back in triumph to his kingdom. The expedition landed in England on the 14th of March, 1360; it did not deliver King John, but it took and gave over to flames and pillage for two days the town of Winchelsea, after which it put to sea again and returned to its hearths.

Edward approaches Paris.

Edward III., weary of thus roaming with his army over France without obtaining any decisive result, and without even managing to get into his hands any one "of the good towns which he had promised himself," says Froissart, "that he would tan and hide in such sort that they would be glad to come to some accord with him," resolved to direct his efforts against the capital of the kingdom, where the dauphin kept himself close. On the 7th of April, 1360, he arrived hard by Montrouge, and his troops spread themselves over the outskirts of Paris in the form of an investing or besieging force. But he had to do with a city protected by good ramparts and well supplied with provisions, and with a prince cool, patient, determined, free from any illusion as to his danger or his strength, and resolved not to risk any of those great battles of which he had experienced the sad issue. Foreseeing the advance of the English, he had burnt the villages in the neighbourhood of Paris, where they might have fixed their quarters; he did the same with the suburbs of St. Germain, St. Marcel, and Notre-Dame-des-Champs; he turned a deaf ear to all King Edward's warlike challenges; and some attempts at an assault on the part of the English knights and some sorties on the part of the French knights, impatient of their inactivity, came to nothing. At the end of a week Edward, whose "army no longer found aught to eat," withdrew from Paris, overtures for peace were then made by the Regent of France, and on the 8th of May, 1360, was concluded the treaty of Brétigny, a peace disastrous indeed, but become necessary. Aquitaine ceased to be a French fief, and was exalted, in the king of England's interest, to an independent sovereignty, together with the provinces attached to Poitou, Saintonge, Aunis, Agénois, Périgord, Limousin, Quercy, Bigorre, Angoumois, and Rouergue. The king of England, on his side, gave up completely to the king of France Normandy, Maine, and the portion of Touraine and Anjou situated to the north of the Loire. He engaged, further, to solemnly renounce all pretentions to the crown of France so soon as King John had renounced all rights of suzerainty over Aquitaine. King John's ransom was fixed at three millions of golden crowns payable

A.D. 1360. Treaty of Brétigny (May 8).



BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN

in six years, and John Galeas Visconti, duke of Milan, paid the first instalment of it (600,000 florins) as the price of his marriage with Isabel of France, daughter of King John. Hard as these conditions were, the peace was joyfully welcomed in Paris and throughout northern France; and, on the 8th of July following, King John, having been set at liberty, was brought over by the prince of Wales to Calais, where Edward III. came to meet him. The two kings treated one another there with great courtesy. Meanwhile the prince-regent of France was arriving at Amiens, and there receiving from his brother-in-law, Galeas Visconti, duke of Milan, the sum necessary to pay the first instalment of his royal father's ransom. Payment having been made, the two kings solemnly ratified at Calais the treaty of Brétigny. Two sons of King John, the duke of Anjou and the duke of Berry, with several other personages of consideration, princes of the blood, barons, and burgesses of the principal good towns, were given as hostages to the king of England for the due execution of the treaty; and Edward III. negotiated between the king of France and Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, a reconciliation as precarious as ever. In 1362, John committed the gravest fault of his reign, a fault which was destined to bring upon France and the French kingship even more evils and disasters than those which had made the treaty of Brétigny a necessity. The young duke of Burgundy, Philip de Rouvre, the last of the first house of the dukes of Burgundy, descendants of King Robert, had died without issue, leaving several pretenders to his rich inheritance. King John was the nearest of blood and at the same time the most powerful; he immediately took possession of the duchy and disposed of it in favour of his fourth son Philip, who "freely exposed himself to death with us and, all wounded as he was, remained unwavering and fearless at the battle of Poitiers." Thus was founded that second house of the dukes of Burgundy, which was destined to play for more than a century so great and often so fatal a part in the fortunes of France.

Burgundy annexed to France.

Whilst he was thus preparing a gloomy future for his country and his line, King John heard that his second son, the duke of Anjou, one of the hostages left in the hands of the king of England as security for the execution of the treaty of Brétigny, had broken his word of honour and escaped from England, in order to go and join his wife at Guise Castle. Knightly faith was the virtue of King John; and it was, they say, on this occasion that he cried, as he was severely upbraiding his son, that "if good faith were banished from the world, it ought to find an asylum in the hearts of kings." He announced to his councillors, assembled at Amiens,

A.D. 1364. King John returns to England.

His death (April 8).

his intention of going in person to England. Shortly after his arrival in London, he fell seriously ill, and died on the 8th of April, 1364, at the Savoy; France was at last about to have in Charles V. a practical and an effective king.

State of France at the accession of Charles V.

In spite of the discretion he had displayed during his four years of regency (from 1356 to 1360) his reign opened under the saddest auspices. In 1363, one of those contagious diseases, all at that time called the plague, committed cruel ravages in France. "None," says the contemporary chronicler, "could count the number of the dead in Paris, young or old, rich or poor; when death entered a house, the little children died first, then the menials, then the parents. In the smallest villages as well as in Paris the mortality was such that at Argenteuil, for example, where there were wont to be numbered seven hundred hearths, there remained no more than forty or fifty." The ravages of the armed thieves or bandits who scoured the country added to those of the plague.

King Charles V. had a very difficult work before him. Between himself and his great rival, Edward III., king of England, there was only such a peace as was fatal and hateful to France. To escape some day from the treaty of Brétigny and recover some of the provinces which had been lost by it—this was what king and country secretly desired and laboured for. Pending a favourable opportunity for promoting this higher interest, war went on in Brittany between John of Montfort and Charles of Blois, who continued to be encouraged and patronized, covertly, one by the king of England, the other by the king of France. Almost immediately after the accession of Charles V. it broke out again between him and his brother-in-law, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, the former being profoundly mistrustful and the latter brazen-facedly perfidious, and both detesting one another and watching to seize the moment for taking advantage one of the other. The states bordering on France, amongst others Spain and Italy, were a prey to discord and even civil wars, which could not fail to be a source of trouble or serious embarrassment to France. In Spain two brothers, Peter the Cruel and Henry of Transtamare, were disputing the throne of Castile. Shortly after the accession of Charles V., and in spite of his lively remonstrances, in 1367, Pope Urban V. quitted Avignon for Rome, whence he was not to return to Avignon till three years afterwards, and then only to die. The emperor of Germany was, at this period, almost the only one of the great sovereigns of Europe who showed for France and her kings a sincere good will.

Difficulty of the king's position.

In order to maintain the struggle against these difficulties, within

and without, the means which Charles V. had at his disposal were of but moderate worth. He had three brothers and three sisters calculated rather to embarrass and sometimes even injure him than to be of any service to him. Of his brothers the eldest, Louis, duke of Anjou, was restless, harsh, and bellicose. He upheld authority with no little energy in Languedoc, of which Charles had made him governor, but at the same time made it detested; and he was more taken up with his own ambitious views upon the kingdom of Naples, which Queen Joan of Hungary had transmitted to him by adoption, than with the interests of France and her king. The second, John, duke of Berry, was an insignificant prince who has left no strong mark on history. The third, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, after having been the favourite of his father, King John, was likewise of his brother, Charles V., who did not hesitate to still further aggrandize this vassal already so great, by obtaining for him in marriage the hand of Princess Marguerite, heiress to the countship of Flanders; and this marriage, which was destined at a later period to render the dukes of Burgundy such formidable neighbours for the kings of France, was even in the lifetime of Charles V. a cause of unpleasant complications both for France and Burgundy. Of King Charles' three sisters, the eldest, Joan, was married to the king of Navarre, Charles the Bad, and much more devoted to her husband than to her brother; the second, Mary, espoused Robert, duke of Bar, who caused more annoyance than he rendered service to his brother-in-law the king of France; and the third, Isabel, wife of Galéas Visconti, duke of Milan, was of no use to her brother beyond the fact of contributing, as we have seen, by her marriage to pay a part of King John's ransom. Charles V., by kindly and judicious behaviour in the bosom of his family, was able to keep serious quarrels or embarrassments from arising thence; but he found therein neither real strength nor sure support.

The king's relations with his family,

His civil councillors, his chancellor, William de Dormans, cardinal-bishop of Beauvais; his minister of finance, John de la Grange, cardinal-bishop of Amiens; his treasurer, Philip de Savoisy; and his chamberlain and private secretary, Bureau de la Rivière, were, undoubtedly, men full of ability and zeal for his service, for he had picked them out and maintained them unchangeably in their offices. There is reason to believe that they conducted themselves discreetly, for we do not observe that after their master's death there was any outburst against them, on the part either of court or people, of that violent and deadly hatred which has so often caused bloodshed in the history of France. Bureau de la Rivière was attacked and

and his ministers.

prosecuted, without, however, becoming one of the victims of judicial authority at the command of political passions. None of Charles V.'s councillors exercised over his master that preponderating and confirmed influence which makes a man a premier minister.

Character of his government.

The government of Charles V. was the personal government of an intelligent, prudent, and honourable king, anxious for the interests of the State, at home and abroad, as well as for his own, with little inclination for, and little confidence in, the free co-operation of the country in its own affairs, but with wit enough to cheerfully call upon it when there was any pressing necessity, and accepting it then without any chicanery or cheating, but safe to go back as soon as possible to that sole dominion, a medley of patriotism and selfishness, which is the very insufficient and very precarious resource of peoples as yet incapable of applying their liberty to the art of their own government. Charles V. had recourse three times, in July, 1367, and in May and December, 1369, to a convocation of the states-general, in order to be put in a position to meet the political and financial difficulties of France. It was his good fortune, besides, to find amongst his servants a man to be the thunderbolt of war and the glory of knighthood of his reign; we mean Bertrand du Guesclin, a Breton gentleman, who had already distinguished himself on

A.D. 1364. Du Guesclin. Battle of Cocherel (May 16).

the field of battle. Having received the command of the royal troops, he inaugurated the new reign by the victory of Cocherel, when he defeated John de Grailly, Captal of Buch, the best of the generals of the king of Navarre. Charles the Bad lost by this affair nearly all his possessions in Normandy.

Charles V., encouraged by his success, determined to take part likewise in the war which was still going on between the two claimants to the duchy of Brittany, Charles of Blois and John of Montfort. Du Guesclin was sent to support Charles of Blois; he entered at once on the campaign, and marched upon Auray which was being besieged by the count of Montfort. But there he was destined to encounter the most formidable of his adversaries. John of Montfort had claimed the support of his patron the king of England, and John Chandos, the most famous of the English commanders, had applied to the prince of Wales to know what he was to do. "You may go full well," the prince had answered, "since the French are going for the count of Blois; I give you good leave." The battle took place on the 29th of September, 1364, before Auray; Charles of Blois was killed and Du Guesclin was made prisoner. The cause of John of Montfort was clearly won; and he, on taking possession of the duchy of Brittany, asked nothing better than to acknowledge himself vassal of the king of France and swear fidelity

A.D. 1364. Du Guesclin in Brittany. Battle of Auray (September 29).

to him. Accordingly he made peace at Guérande, on the 11th of April, 1365, after having disputed the conditions inch by inch; and some weeks previously, on the 6th of March, at the indirect instance of the king of Navarre, who, since the battle of Cocherel, had felt himself in peril, Charles V. had likewise put an end to his open struggle against his perfidious neighbour, of whom he certainly did not cease to be mistrustful. Being thus delivered from every external war and declared enemy, the wise king of France was at liberty to devote himself to the re-establishment of internal peace and of order throughout his kingdom, which was in the most pressing need thereof.

The "Grand companies."

Charles V. was not, as Louis XII. and Henry IV. were, of a disposition full of affection and sympathetically inclined towards his people; but he was a practical man, who in his closet and in the library growing up about him, took thought for the interests of his kingdom as well as for his own; he had at heart the public good, and lawlessness was an abomination to him. Having purchased, at a ransom of a hundred thousand francs, the liberty of Bertrand du Guesclin, who had remained a prisoner in the hands of John Chandos, after the battle of Auray, an idea occurred to him that the valiant Breton might be of use to him in extricating France from the deplorable condition to which she had been reduced by the bands of plunderers who, under the name of *Grand Companies*, were roaming over the land.

Civil war in Spain.

There was, at that time, a civil war raging in Spain between Don Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, and his natural brother, Henry of Transtamare, and that was the theatre on which Du Guesclin proposed to launch the vagabond army which he desired to get out of France.

The French and the English in Spain.

With a strength, it is said, of 30,000 men, he took the decided resolution of supporting Prince Henry's cause, and on the 1st of January, 1366, entered Barcelona, whither Henry of Transtamare came to join him. There is no occasion to give a detailed account here of that expedition, which appertains much more to the history of Spain than to that of France. Edward III. in London, and the prince of Wales at Bordeaux, could not see without serious disquietude, the most famous warrior amongst the French crossing the Pyrenees with a following for the most part French, and setting upon the throne of Castile a prince necessarily allied to the king of France. The question of rivalry between the two kings and the two peoples was thus transferred into Spain; after several months preparation the prince of Wales, purchasing the complicity of the king of Navarre, marched into Spain in February, 1367, with an

army of 27,000 men, and John Chandos, the most able of the English warriors. Henry of Transtamare had troops more numerous but less disciplined and experienced. The two armies joined battle on the 3rd of April, 1367, at Najara or Navarette, not far from the Ebro. Disorder and even sheer rout soon took place amongst that of Henry, who flung himself before the fugitives, shouting, "Why would ye thus desert and betray me, ye who have made me king of Castile? Turn back and stand by me; and by the grace of God the day shall be ours." Du Guesclin and his men-at-arms maintained the fight with stubborn courage, but at last they were beaten and either slain or taken. To the last moment Du Guesclin, with his back against a wall, defended himself heroically against a host of assailants. The prince of Wales coming up, cried out, "Gentle marshals of France, and you too, Bertrand, yield yourselves to me." "Why, yonder men are my foes," cried the king Don Pedro; "it is they who took from me my kingdom, and on them I mean to take vengeance." Du Guesclin darting forward struck so rough a blow with his sword at Don Pedro that he brought him fainting to the ground, and then turning to the prince of Wales said, "Nathless I give up my sword to the most valiant prince on earth." The prince of Wales took the sword, and charged the Captal of Buch with the prisoner's keeping. "Aha! sir Bertrand," said the Captal to Du Guesclin, you took me at the battle of Cocherel, and to-day I've got you." "Yes," replied Du Guesclin; "but at Cocherel I took you myself, and here you are only my keeper."

A.D. 1367. Battle of Navarette (April 3).

Du Guesclin made prisoner,

The captivity of the Breton commander was not of long duration; Du Guesclin proudly fixed his ransom at a hundred thousand francs, which seemed a large sum, even to the prince of Wales. "Sir," cried Du Guesclin to him, "the king in whose keeping is France will lend me what I lack, and there is not a spinning wench in France who would not spin to gain for me what is necessary to put me out of your clutches." The advisers of the prince of Wales would have had him think better of it, and break his promise; but "that which we have agreed to with him we will hold to," said the prince; "it would be shame and confusion of face to us if we could be reproached with not setting him to ransom when he is ready to set himself down at so much as to pay a hundred thousand francs." Prince and knight were both as good as their word. Du Guesclin found amongst his Breton friends a portion of the sum he wanted; King Charles V. lent him thirty thousand Spanish doubloons, which, by a deed of December 27th, 1367, Du Guesclin undertook to repay: and at

and released.

the beginning of 1368 the prince of Wales set the French warrior at liberty.

The consequences of this unfortunate campaign were soon felt. The expenses incurred for the purpose of carrying it on having involved the prince of Wales in great embarrassment, he was compelled to levy heavy taxes on his newly acquired provinces. The Gascons and Aquitanians became irritated. The prince's more temperate advisers, even those of English birth, tried in vain to move him from his stubborn course. John Chandos himself, the most notable as well as the wisest of them, failed, and withdrew to his domain of St. Sauveur, in Normandy, that he might have nothing to do with measures of which he disapproved. Being driven to extremity, the principal lords of Aquitaine, the counts of Comminges, of Armagnac, of Périgord, and many barons besides, set out for France, and made complaint, on the 30th of June, 1368, before Charles V. and his peers, "on account of the grievances which the prince of Wales was purposed to put upon them." They had recourse, they said, to the king of France as their sovereign lord, who had no power to renounce his suzerainty or the jurisdiction of his court of peers and of his parliament.

The Prince of Wales irritates the Gascons and Aquitanians.

Nothing could have corresponded better with the wishes of Charles V. For eight years past he had taken to heart the treaty of Brétigny, and he was as determined not to miss as he was patient in waiting for an opportunity for a breach of it. Having ascertained the legal means of maintaining that the stipulations of the treaty of Brétigny had not all of them been performed by the king of England, and that, consequently, the king of France had not lost all his rights of suzerainty over the ceded provinces, he summoned the prince of Wales to appear before a court of his peers at Paris, to be judged as a rebellious vassal. "When the prince of Wales had read this letter," says Froissart, "he shook his head and looked askant at the aforesaid Frenchman; and when he had thought a while, he answered, 'We will go willingly, at our own time, since the king of France doth bid us, but it shall be with our casque on our head, and with sixty thousand men at our back.'"

This was a declaration of war; and deeds followed at once upon words. Edward III., after a short and fruitless attempt at an accommodation, assumed on the 3rd of June, 1369, the title of king of France, and ordered a levy of all his subjects between sixteen and sixty, laic or ecclesiastical, for the defence of England, threatened by a French fleet which was cruising in the Channel. Profiting by the lessons of experience, Charles V. abstained from

A.D. 1369. Charles V. declares war against England.

Success of the French.

general engagements, confining himself to fortifying his cities, laying waste the country, and destroying in detail the forces of the enemy. Thus it was that an English army, which had landed at Calais (1369), and advanced as far as Paris, melted away before it had time to reach Bordeaux. Another one, partly ruined by want of provisions, was crushed at Pontvalain by Du Guesclin, lately named constable of France (1370). At the same time, the French navy, renewed by the wise foresight of the king, and reinforced by Spanish ships, gained a signal victory at La Rochelle. These successes and others besides allowed Charles V. to recover from the English the greater part of the provinces which they had on the continent. The leading actors in this historical drama did not know how near were the days when they would be called away from this arena still so crowded with their exploits or their reverses. A few weeks after the destruction of Limoges, the prince of Wales lost, at Bordeaux, his eldest son, six years old, whom he loved with all the tenderness of a veteran warrior, so much the more affected by gentle impressions as they were a rarity to him; and he was himself so ill that "his doctors advised him to return to England, *his own land*, saying that he would probably get better health there. Accordingly he left France, which he would never see again, and he died on the 8th of June, 1376, in possession of a popularity that never shifted and was deserved by such qualities as showed a nature great indeed and generous, though often sullied by the fits of passion of a character harsh even to ferocity. "The good fortune of England," says his contemporary Walsingham, "seemed bound up with his person, for it flourished when he was well, fell off when he was ill, and vanished at his death. As long as he was on the spot the English feared neither the foe's invasion nor the meeting on the battle-field; but with him died all their hopes." A year after him, on the 21st of June, 1377, died his father, Edward III., a king who had been able, glorious, and fortunate for nearly half a century, but had fallen towards the end of his life into contempt with his people and into forgetfulness on the continent of Europe, where nothing was heard about him beyond whispers of an indolent old man's indulgent weaknesses to please a covetous mistress.

A.D. 1376. Death of the "Black Prince" (June 8).

A.D. 1377. and of Edward III (June 21).

Whilst England thus lost her two great chiefs, France still kept hers. For three years longer Charles V. and Du Guesclin remained at the head of her government and her armies. A truce between the two kingdoms had been twice concluded, between 1375 and 1377: it was still in force when the prince of Wales died, and Charles, ever careful to practise knightly courtesy, had a

solemn funeral service performed for him in the Sainte-Chapelle; but the following year, at the death of Edward III, the truce had expired. The war prosecuted by Charles V. between Edward III.'s death and his own had no result of importance; the attempt, by law and arms, which he made in 1378, to make Brittany his own and reunite it to the crown completely failed, thanks to the passion with which the Bretons, nobles, burgesses and peasants were attached to their country's independence. Charles V. actually ran a risk of embroiling himself with the hero of his reign; he had ordered Du Guesclin to reduce to submission to the countship of Rennes, his native land, and he showed some temper because the constable not only did not succeed, but advised him to make peace with the duke of Brittany and his party. Du Guesclin, grievously hurt, sent to the king his sword of constable, adding that he was about to withdraw to the court of Castile, to Henry of Transtamare, who would show more appreciation of his services. All Charles V.'s wisdom did not preserve him from one of those deeds of haughty levity which the handling of sovereign power sometimes causes even the wisest kings to commit, but reflection made him promptly acknowledge and retrieve his fault. He charged the dukes of Anjou and Bourbon to go and, for his sake, conjure Du Guesclin to remain his constable; and, though some chroniclers declare that Du Guesclin refused, his will, dated the 9th of July, 1380, leads to a contrary belief, for in it he assumes the title of constable of France, and this will preceded the hero's death only by four days. Having fallen sick before Châteauneuf-Randon, a place he was besieging in the Gévaudan, Du Guesclin expired on the 13th of July, 1380, at sixty-six years of age, and his last words were an exhortation to the veteran captains around him "*never to forget that, in whatsoever country they might* be making war, churchmen, women, children, and the poor people were not their enemies." According to certain contemporary chronicles, or, one might almost say, legends, Châteauneuf-Randon was to be given up the day after Du Guesclin died. The marshal de Sancerre, who commanded the king's army, summoned the governor to surrender the place to him; but the governor replied that he had given his word to Du Guesclin, and would surrender to no other. He was told of the constable's death: "Very well," he rejoined, "I will carry the keys of the town to his tomb." To this the marshal agreed; the governor marched out of the place at the head of his garrison, passed through the besieging army, went and knelt down before Du Guesclin's corpse, and actually laid the keys of Châteauneuf on his bier. The body of the constable was carried

A.D. 1378 Charles V. and Du Guesclin.

A.D. 1380. Death of Du Guesclin (July 13).

to Paris to be interred at St. Denis, hard by the tomb which Charles V. had ordered to be made for himself; and nine years afterwards, in 1389, Charles V.'s successor, his son Charles VI., caused to be celebrated in the Breton warrior's honour a fresh funeral, at which the princes and grandees of the kingdom, and the young king himself, were present in state. The life, character, and name of Bertrand du Guesclin were and remained one of the most popular, patriotic, and legitimate boasts of the middle ages, then at their decline.

Death of Charles V. (September 16).

Two months after the constable's death, on the 16th of September, 1380, Charles V. died at the castle of Beauté-sur-Marne, near Vincennes, at forty-three years of age, quite young still after so stormy and hard-working a life. His contemporaries were convinced, and he was himself convinced, that he had been poisoned by his perfidious enemy, King Charles of Navarre.

His character.

Charles V., taking upon his shoulders at nineteen years of age, first as king's lieutenant and as dauphin and afterwards as regent, the government of France, employed all his soul and his life in repairing the disasters arising from the wars of his predecessors and preventing any repetition. No sovereign was ever more resolutely pacific; he carried prudence even into the very practice of war, as was proved by his forbidding his generals to venture any general engagement with the English, so great a lesson and so deep an impression had he derived from the defeats of Crécy and Poitiers and the causes which led to them. But without being a warrior, and without running any hazardous risks, he made himself respected and feared by his enemies. At his death he left in the royal treasury a surplus of seventeen million francs, a large sum for those days. Nor the labours of government, nor the expenses of war, nor farsighted economy had prevented him from showing a serious interest in learned works and studies, and from giving effectual protection to the men who devoted themselves thereto. The university of Paris, notwithstanding the embarrassments it sometimes caused him, was always the object of his good-will. "He was a great lover of wisdom," says Christine de Pisan, "and when certain folks murmured for that he honoured clerks so highly, he answered, 'So long as wisdom is honoured in this realm, it will continue in prosperity; but when wisdom is thrust aside, it will go down.'" He collected nine hundred and fifty volumes (the first foundation of the Royal Library), which were deposited in a tower of the Louvre, called the *library tower*, and of which he, in 1373, had an inventory drawn up by his personal attendant, Gilles de Presle. His taste for literature and science was not confined to collecting manuscripts. He had a

French translation made, for the sake of spreading a knowledge thereof, of the Bible in the first place, and then of several works of Aristotle, of Livy, of Valerius Maximus, of Vegetius, and of St. Augustine. He was fond of industry and the arts as well as of literature. Henry de Vic, a German clockmaker, constructed for him the first public clock ever seen in France, and it was placed in what was called the Clock Tower in the Palace of Justice; and the king even had a clockmaker by appointment, named Peter de St. Béathe. Several of the Paris monuments, churches, or buildings for public use were undertaken or completed under his care. He began the building of the Bastille, that fortress which was then so necessary for the safety of Paris, where it was to be, four centuries later, the object of the wrath and earliest excesses on the part of the populace. Charles the Wise, from whatever point of view he may be regarded, is, after Louis the Fat, Philip Augustus, St. Louis, and Philip the Handsome, the fifth of those kings who powerfully contributed to the settlement of France in Europe, and of the kingship in France. He was not the greatest nor the best, but, perhaps, the most honestly able.

A.D. 1380 1422. Charles VI. His uncles.

Scarcely was Charles V. laid on his bier when it was seen what a loss he was and would be to his kingdom. Discord arose in the king's own family. In order to shorten the ever critical period of minority, Charles V. had fixed the king's majority at the age of fourteen. His son, Charles VI., was not yet twelve, and so had two years to remain under the guardianship of his four uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon; but the last being only a maternal uncle and a less puissant prince than his paternal uncles, it was between the other three that strife began for temporary possession of the kingly power. Though very unequal in talent and in force of character, they were all three ambitious and jealous. The eldest, the duke of Anjou, who was energetic, despotic, and stubborn, aspired to dominion in France for the sake of making French influence subserve the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, the object of his ambition. The duke of Berry was a mediocre, restless, prodigal, and grasping prince. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, the most able and the most powerful of the three, had been the favourite, first of his father, King John, and then of his brother, Charles V., who had confidence in him and readily adopted his counsels; his father-in-law, Count Louis of Flanders, was in almost continual strife with the great Flemish communes, ever on the point of rising against the taxes he heaped upon them and the blows he struck at their privileges. The city of Ghent in particular joined complaint with menace, and in 1381 the quarrel

became war; and in November, of the following year, the king of France and his army marched into Flanders in support of the count. Several towns, Cassel, Bergues, Gravelines, and Turnhout, hastily submitted to him; and on the 28th of November the two armies found themselves close together at Rosebecque, between Ypres and Courtrai. Twenty-five thousand Flemings fell on the field, together with their leader, Van Artevelde, the concoctor of this rebellion, whose corpse, discovered with great trouble amongst a heap of slain, was, by order of Charles VI, hung upon a tree in the neighbourhood. The French also lost in this struggle some noble knights, not less illustrious by birth than valour; amongst others forty-four valiant men, who, being the first to hurl themselves upon the ranks of the enemy to break them, thus won for themselves great glory.

A.D. 1382. Battle of Rosebecque (November 28).

The victory of Rosebecque was a great cause for satisfaction and pride to Charles VI. and his uncle, the duke of Burgundy. They had conquered on the field in Flanders the commonalty of Paris as well as that of Ghent; and in France there was great need of such a success, for, since the accession of the young king, the Parisians had risen with a demand for actual abolition of the taxes of which Charles V., on his death-bed, had deplored the necessity, and all but decreed the cessation. Armed with all sorts of weapons, with strong mallets amongst the rest, they spread in all directions, killing the collectors, and storming and plundering the Hotel de Ville. They were called *the Malleteers*. They were put down with as much timidity as cruelty. Returning victorious from Flanders to France, Charles VI. re-entered Paris, he alone being mounted, in the midst of his army. The burgesses went out of the city to meet him and offer him their wonted homage, but they were curtly ordered to retrace their steps; the king and his uncles, they were informed, could not forget offences so recent. Fundamental order having been thus upheld, reprisals began to be taken for the outbreaks of the Parisians, municipal magistrates or populace, burgesses or artisans, rich or poor, in the course of the two preceding years; arrests, imprisonments, fines, confiscations, executions, severities of all kinds fell upon the most conspicuous and the most formidable of those who had headed or favoured popular movements. The most solemn and most iniquitous of these punishments was that which befell the advocate-general, John Desmarets. "For nearly a whole year," says the monk of St. Denis, "he had served as mediator between the king and the Parisians; but, yielding to the prayers of this rebellious and turbulent mob, he, instead of leaving Paris as the rest of his profession had done, had remained there, and throwing himself boldly amidst the storms of civil discord,

The "Malleteers."

he had advised the assumption of arms and the defence of the city, which he knew was very displeasing to the king and the grandees." Public respect accompanied the old and courageous magistrate beyond the scaffold; his corpse was taken up by his friends, and at a later period honourably buried in the church of St. Catherine.

Charles VI. marries Isabel of Bavaria.

Free at last from the *surveillance* of his uncles, Charles VI. married Isabel of Bavaria, whose wantonness was destined to bring the kingdom to the verge of destruction. Now, yielding to the impetuous suggestions of his character, he prepared against England a gigantic armament, which the delays of the Duke of Berry rendered useless. Matters were getting worse in France, when a serious misfortune came to destroy the already exhausted constitution of the king, and to give up the country to the unprincipled ambition of his uncles. On the 13th of June, 1392, the constable, Oliver de Clisson, was waylaid as he was returning home after a banquet given by the king at the hostel of St. Paul. The assassin was Peter de Craon, cousin of John IV., duke of Brittany. He believed De Clisson to be dead, and left him bathed in blood at a baker's door in the street called Culture-Sainte-Catherine. The king was just going to bed, when one of his people came and said to him, "Ah! sir, a great misfortune has happened in Paris." "What, and to whom?" said the king. "To your constable, sir, who has just been slain." "Slain!" cried Charles; "and by whom?" "Nobody knows; but it was close by here, in St. Catherine Street." "Lights! quick!" said the king: "I will go and see him;" and he set off without waiting for his following. When he entered the baker's shop, De Clisson, grievously wounded, was just beginning to recover his senses. "Ah! constable," said the king, "and how do you feel?" "Very poorly, dear sir." "And who brought you to this pass?" "Peter de Craon and his accomplices; traitorously and without warning." "Constable," said the king, "never was any thing so punished or dearly paid for as this shall be; take thought for yourself, and have no further care; it is my affair." Orders were immediately given to seek out Peter de Craon and hurry on his trial. He had taken refuge, first in his own castle of Sablé, and afterwards with the duke of Brittany, who kept him concealed, and replied to the king's envoys that he did not know where he was. The king proclaimed his intention of making war on the duke of Brittany until Peter de Craon should be discovered and justice done to the constable. Preparations for war were begun; and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy received orders to get ready for it, themselves and their vassals.

A.D. 1392. Oliver de Clisson murdered (June 13).

The king had got together his uncles and his troops at Le Mans;

The king struck with madness.

and, after passing three weeks there, he gave the word to march for Brittany. They had just entered the great forest of Le Mans, when all at once there started from behind a tree by the roadside a tall man, with bare head and feet, clad in a common white smock, who, dashing forward and seizing the king's horse by the bridle, cried, "Go no farther; thou art betrayed!" So unusual an appearance brought on a fit of frenzy from which Charles never recovered, and which indeed was augmented by a strange accident which occurred at a masquerade, some time after. Five young noblemen with the king appeared as savages linked together, in a dress of linen, to which fur was cemented by the means of rosin: the secret was so well kept, that they remained undiscovered. The Duke of Orleans, either from levity or accident, ran a lighted torch against one of the party, which immediately set his combustible costume on fire; the flame was quickly communicated to the rest; but the masks, in the midst of their torments, crying out "Save the king, save the king!" his aunt, the duchess of Berry, recollecting his person, threw her robes over him, and by wrapping them close, extinguished the fire. One of the mummers saved his life by leaping into a cistern of water; but the remaining four were so dreadfully scorched that they died. On the king's good days he was sometimes brought in to sit at certain councils at which there was a discussion about the diminution of taxes and relief of the people, and he showed symptoms, at intervals, of taking an interest in them. A fair young Burgundian, Odette de Champdivers, was the only one amongst his many favourites who was at all successful in soothing him during his violent fits. It was Duke John the Fearless, who had placed her near the king that she might promote his own influence, and she took advantage of it to further her own fortunes, which, however, did not hinder her from passing into the service of Charles VII. against the House of Burgundy. For thirty years, from 1392 to 1422, the crown remained on the head of this poor madman, whilst France was a victim to the bloody quarrels of the royal house, to national dismemberment, to licentiousness in morals to civil anarchy, and to foreign conquest.

A.D. 1392—1402. The dukes of Burgundy and of Berry at the head of the State.

The dukes of Burgundy and Berry being thus in possession of power, exercised it for ten years, from 1392 to 1402, without any great dispute between themselves, the duke of Burgundy's influence being predominant, or with the king, who, save certain lucid intervals, took merely a nominal part in the government. During this period no event of importance disturbed France internally. In 1393 the king of England, Richard II., son of the Black Prince, sought in marriage the daughter of Charles VI.,

Isabel of France, only eight years old. In both courts and in both countries there was a desire for peace; the contract was signed on the 9th of March, 1396, with a promise that, when the princess had accomplished her twelfth year, she should be free to assent to or refuse the union; and ten days after the marriage, the king's uncles and the English ambassadors mutually signed a truce, which promised—but quite in vain—to last for eight and twenty years.

Intrigue between Isabel of Bavaria and the Duke of Orleans.

Rivalries, intrigues, and scandals of every kind were, in the meanwhile, disgracing the *entourage* of the mad king, and bringing about the curse and the shame of France. There had grown up between Queen Isabel of Bavaria and Louis, duke of Orleans, brother of the king, an intimacy which, throughout the city and amongst all honourable people, shocked even the least strait-laced. It was undoubtedly through the queen's influence that Charles VI., in 1402, suddenly decided upon putting into the hands of the duke of Orleans the entire government of the realm and the right of representing him in every thing during the attacks of his malady. The duke of Burgundy wrote at once about it to the parliament of Paris, saying, "Take counsel and pains that the interests of the king and his dominion be not governed as they now are, for, in good truth, it is a pity and a grief to hear what is told me about it." In spite of his malady and his affection for his brother, Charles VI. yielded to the councils of certain wise men who represented to him "that it was neither a reasonable nor an honourable thing to entrust the government of the realm to a prince whose youth needed rather to be governed than to govern." He withdrew the direction of affairs from the duke of Orleans and restored it to the duke of Burgundy, who took it again and held it with a strong grasp, and did not suffer his nephew Louis to meddle in any thing. But from that time forward open distrust and hatred were established between the two princes and their families. In the very midst of this court-crisis Duke Philip the Bold fell ill and died within a few days, on the 27th of April, 1404. John the Fearless, count of Nevers, his son and successor in the dukedom of Burgundy, was not slow to prove that there was reason to regret his father. His expedition to Hungary, ending as it did by the terrible disaster of Nicopolis, for all its bad leadership and bad fortune, had created esteem for his courage and for his firmness under reverses, but little confidence in his direction of public affairs. He was a man of violence, unscrupulous and indiscreet, full of jealousy and hatred, and capable of any deed and any risk for the gratification of his passions or his fancies. At his accession he made some popular moves; he appeared disposed to prosecute

John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy.

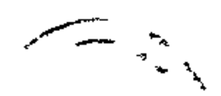
vigorously the war against England which was going on sluggishly; he testified a certain spirit of conciliation by going to pay a visit to his cousin, the duke of Orleans, lying ill at his castle of Beauté, near Vincennes; when the duke of Orleans was well again, the two princes took the communion together and dined together at their uncle's, the duke of Berry's; and the duke of Orleans invited the new duke of Burgundy to dine with him the next Sunday. The Parisians took pleasure in observing these little matters, and in hoping for the re-establishment of harmony in the royal family. They were soon to be cruelly undeceived.

A.D. 1407. Murder of the duke of Orleans (Nov. 23).

On the 23rd of November, 1407, the duke of Orleans was murdered in the streets of Paris by ruffians hired for the purpose by the duke of Burgundy, who openly dared to justify the assassination.

Valentine Visconti, the duke of Milan's daughter, whose dowry had gone to pay the ransom of King John, was at Château-Thierry when she heard of, the duke of Orleans, her husband's murder. Hers was one of those natures, full of softness and at the same time of fire, which grief does not overwhelm, and in which a passion for vengeance is excited and fed by their despair. She started for Paris in the early part of December, 1407, during the roughest winter, it was said ever known for several centuries, taking with her all her children. Dismounting at the hostel of St. Paul, she threw herself on her knees before the king with the princes and council around him, and demanded of him justice for her husband's cruel death. Justice was promised by the chancellor in the name of the king, and Valentine even obtained a kind of moral reparation during the absence of her deadly foe; but she died on the 4th of December, 1408, at Blois, far from satisfied, and clearly foreseeing that against the duke of Burgundy, flushed with victory and present in person, she would obtain nothing of what she had asked. For spirits of the best mettle, and especially for a woman's heart, impotent passion is a heavy burden to bear; and Valentine Visconti, beautiful, amiable, and unhappy even in her best days through the fault of the husband she loved, sank under this trial. At the close of her life she had taken for devise, "Naught have I more, more hold I naught" (*Rien ne m'est plus; plus ne m'est rien*); and so fully was that her habitual feeling that she had the words inscribed upon the black tapestry of her chamber. In her last hours she had by her side her three sons and her daughter, but there was another still whom she remembered. She sent for a child, six years of age, John, a natural son of her husband by Marietta d'Enghien, wife of sire de Cany-Dunois. "This one," said she, "was filched from me;

A.D. 1408. Death of Valentine, duchess of Orleans (Dec. 4).





JOHN THE FEARLESS.

yet there is not a child so well cut out as he to avenge his father's death." Twenty-five years later John was the famous bastard of Orleans, Count Dunois, Charles VII.'s lieutenant-general and Joan of Arc's comrade in the work of saving the French kingship and France.

The duke of Burgundy's negotiations at Tours were not fruitless. The result was that on the 9th of March, 1409, a treaty was concluded and an interview effected at Chartres between the duke on one side and on the other the king, the queen, the dauphin, all the royal family, the councillors of the crown, the young duke of Orleans, his brother, and a hundred knights of their house, all met together to hear the king declare that he pardoned the duke of Burgundy. The duke prayed "my lord of Orleans and my lords his brothers to banish from their hearts all hatred and vengeance;" and the princes of Orleans "assented to what the king commanded them, and forgave their cousin the duke of Burgundy every thing entirely." But falsehood does not extinguish the facts it attempts to disguise. The hostility between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy could not fail to survive the treaty of Chartres and cause search to be made for a man to head the struggle so soon as it could be recommenced. The hour and the man were not long waited for. In the very year of the treaty, Charles of Orleans, eldest son of the murdered duke and Valentine of Milan, lost his wife, Isabel of France, daughter of Charles VI.; and as early as the following year (1410) the princes, his uncles, made him marry Bonne d'Armagnac, daughter of Count Bernard d'Armagnac, one of the most powerful, the most able, and the most ambitious lords of southern France. Forthwith, in concert with the duke of Berry, the duke of Brittany, and several other lords, Count Bernard put himself at the head of the Orleans party, and prepared to proceed against the duke of Burgundy in the cause of dominion combined with vengeance. From 1410 to 1415 France was a prey to civil war between the Armagnacs and Burgundians, and to their alternate successes and reverses brought about by the unscrupulous employment of the most odious and desperate means. The Burgundians had generally the advantage in the struggle, for Paris was chiefly the centre of it, and their influence was predominant there. Their principal allies there, says the chronicle, were the butchers, the boldest and most ambitious corporation in the city; and they numbered amongst their most active associates one, Caboche, a flayer of beasts in the shambles of Hôtel-Dieu, and master John de Troyes, a surgeon with a talent for speaking. Their company consisted of prentice-butchers, medical students, skinners, tailors, and every kind of lewd

The Burgundians and the Armagnacs.

fellows. When any body caused their displeasure they said, 'Here's an Armagnac,' and despatched him on the spot, and plundered his house, or dragged him off to prison to pay dear for his release. The rich burgesses lived in fear and peril. More than three hundred of them went off to Melun with the provost of tradesmen, who could no longer answer for the tranquillity of the city. The Armagnacs, in spite of their general inferiority, sometimes got the upper hand, and did not then behave with much more discretion than the others. Eager to avenge themselves on the men of the north for all the misfortunes their own ancestors had endured during the crusade of the Albigenses, the Armagnacs, distinguished by a white scarf fastened on the right shoulder, marched towards Paris and laid waste all the provinces on the banks of the Seine. Masters of the metropolis, the Burgundians were enabled to retaliate severely upon the Armagnacs, and even to drive them southwards. Both parties were anxious to secure the support of the king of England. The Armagnacs had promised the half of France to Henry, and thus induced him to espouse their quarrel. The duke of Burgundy however, and Charles II. whom he had in his power, declared them enemies of the State, and besieged them in the city of Bourges (1412). There a peace was concluded, but proved of very short duration. The death of Henry of Lancaster, by lessening the immediate chances of a foreign war, rendered the conflict at home much more terrible.

Vicissitudes of the struggle.

This time, and after the useless assembly of the States-general in 1413, the Cabochians committed such excesses in Paris, that the citizens came to an understanding to expel them. The Armagnacs immediately entered the metropolis, and not only maintained themselves there, but, commanded by Charles VI., pursued their enemies as far as Arras. There they consented to sign a treaty of peace by virtue of which John the Fearless pledged himself to break off his recent alliance with the English (1414). The next year Henry V. started upon an expedition for the purpose of claiming the execution of the treaty of Bretigny. The two armies met in the plains of Agincourt (25th October, 1415), where a most terrible battle took place.

A D. 1415.

Battle of Agincourt (Oct. 25).

It was a monotonous and lamentable repetition of the disasters of Crécy and Poitiers; disasters almost inevitable, owing to the incapacity of the leaders, and ever the same defects on the part of the French nobility, defects which rendered their valorous and generous qualities not only fruitless but fatal. Never had that nobility been more numerous and more brilliant than in this premeditated struggle. On the eve of the battle, marshal de Boucicaut

had armed five hundred new knights; the greater part passed the night on horseback, under arms, on ground soaked with rain; and men and horses were already distressed in the morning, when the battle began. It were tedious to describe the faulty manœuvres of the French army and their deplorable consequences on that day. Never was battle more stubborn or defeat more complete and bloody. Eight thousand men of family, amongst whom were a hundred and twenty lords bearing their own banners, were left on the field of battle. The duke of Brabant, the count of Nevers, the duke of Bar, the duke of Alençon, and the constable D'Albret were killed. The duke of Orleans was dragged out wounded from under the dead. When Henry V., after having spent several hours on the field of battle, retired to his quarters, he was told that the duke of Orleans would neither eat nor drink. He went to see him. "What fare, cousin?" said he. "Good, my lord." Why will ye not eat or drink?" "I wish to fast." "Cousin," said the king gently, "make good cheer: if God has granted me grace to gain the victory, I know it is not owing to my deserts; I believe that God wished to punish the French; and, if all I have heard is true, it is no wonder, for they say that never were seen disorder, licentiousness, sins, and vices like what is going on in France just now. Surely God did well to be angry." It appears that the king of England's feeling was that also of many amongst the people of France. "On reflecting upon this cruel mishap," says the monk of St. Denis, "all the inhabitants of the kingdom, men and women, said, 'In what evil days are we come into this world that we should be witnesses of such confusion and shame!'"

Its results.

State of public feeling in France.

These successes of the king of England were so many reverses and perils for the count of Armagnac. He had in his hands Paris, the king, and the dauphin; in the people's eyes the responsibility of government and of events rested on his shoulders; and at one time he was doing nothing, at another he was unsuccessful in what he did. Whilst Henry V. was becoming master of nearly all the towns of Normandy, the constable, with the king in his army, was besieging Senlis; and he was obliged to raise the siege. The legates of Pope Martin V. had set about establishing peace between the Burgundians and Armagnacs as well as between France and England; they had prepared on the basis of the treaty of Arras a new treaty with which a great part of the country and even of the burgesses of Paris showed themselves well pleased; but the constable had it rejected on the ground of its being adverse to the interests of the king and of France; and his friend, the chancellor, Henry de Marle, declared that, if the king were disposed to sign it,

Success of the English.

he would have to seal it himself, for that as for him, the chancellor, he certainly would not seal it. Bernard of Armagnac and his confidential friend, Tanneguy Duchâtel, a Breton nobleman, provost of Paris, were hard and haughty. When a complaint was made to them of any violent procedure, they would answer, "What business had you there? If it were the Burgundians, you would make no complaint." The Parisian population was becoming every day more

A.D. 1418 The Burgundians in Paris. Perrinet Leclerc.

Burgundian. In the latter days of May, 1418, a plot was contrived for opening to the Burgundians one of the gates of Paris. Perrinet Leclerc, son of a rich iron-merchant having influence in the quarter of St. Germain des Prés, stole the keys from under the bolster of his father's bed; a troop of Burgundian men-at-arms came in, and they were immediately joined by a troop of Parisians. They spread over the city, shouting, "Our Lady of peace! Hurrah for the king! Hurrah for Burgundy! Let all who wish for peace take arms and follow us!" The people swarmed from the houses and followed them accordingly. The Armagnacs were surprised and seized with alarm. Tanneguy Duchâtel, a man of prompt and resolute spirit, ran to the dauphin's, wrapped him in his bedclothes, and carried him off to the Bastille, where he shut him up with several of his partisans. The count of Armagnac, towards whose house the multitude thronged, left by a back-door and took refuge at a mason's where he believed himself secure. In a few hours the Burgundians were masters of Paris. Their chief, the lord of Isle-Adam, had the doors of the hostel of St. Paul broken in, and presented himself before the king. "How fares my cousin of Burgundy?" said Charles VI., "I have not seen him for some time." That was all he said. He was set on horseback and marched through the streets. He showed no astonishment at anything; he had all but lost memory as well as reason, and no longer knew the difference between Armagnac and Burgundian. A devoted Burgundian, sire Guy de Bar, was named provost of Paris in the place of Tanneguy Duchâtel.

Henry negotiates.

Henry of England negotiated with both parties; but though Burgundy and the queen having possession of the person of the afflicted sovereign carried the appearance of legal authority, every Frenchman who paid any regard to the true interests of his country adhered to the dauphin. From the enmity of the contending factions, a circumstance occurred which facilitated Henry's views more readily than he could possibly have anticipated. A simulated reconciliation having taken place between the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin, an interview was appointed on the bridge of the town of Montereau.

In the duke's household many of his most devoted servants were opposed to this meeting; the place, they said, had been chosen by, and would be under the ordering of the dauphin's people, of the old servants of the duke of Orleans and the count of Armagnac. At the same time four successive messages came from Paris urging the duke to make the plunge; and at last he took his resolution. "It is my duty," said he, "to risk my person in order to get at so great a blessing as peace. Whatever happens, my wish is peace. If they kill me, I shall die a martyr. Peace being made, I will take the men of my lord the dauphin to go and fight the English. He has some good men of war and some sagacious captains. Tanneguy and Barbazan are valiant knights. Then we shall see which is the better man, Jack (Hannotin) of Flanders or Henry of Lancaster." He set out for Bray on the 10th of September, 1419, and arrived about two o'clock before Montereau. Tanneguy Duchâtel came and met him there. "Well," said the duke, "on your assurance we are come to see my lord the dauphin, supposing that he is quite willing to keep the peace between himself and us as we also will keep it, all ready to serve him according to his wishes." "My most dread lord," answered Tanneguy, "have ye no fear; my lord is well pleased with you, and desires henceforth to govern himself according to your counsels. You have about him good friends who serve you well." A conversation then took place between the dauphin and the duke, the former reproaching the latter with his inertness against the English, and with his alliances amongst the promoters of civil war. The conversation was becoming more and more acrid and biting. "In so doing," added the dauphin, "you were wanting to your duty." "My lord," replied the duke, "I did only what it was my duty to do." "*Yes*, you were wanting," repeated Charles. "*No*," replied the duke. It was probably at these words that, the lookers-on also waxing wroth, Tanneguy Duchâtel told the duke that the time had come for expiating the murder of the duke of Orleans, which none of them had forgotten, and raised his battle-axe to strike the duke. Sire de Navailles, who happened to be at his master's side, arrested the weapon; but, on the other hand, the viscount of Narbonne raised his over Navailles, saying, "Whoever stirs, is a dead man." At this moment, it is said, the mob which was thronging before the barriers at the end of the bridge heard cries of "Alarm! slay, slay." Tanneguy had struck and felled the duke; several others ran their swords into him; and he expired. The dauphin had withdrawn from the scene and gone back into the town. After his departure his partisans forced the barrier, charged the

A.D. 1419. Interview at Montereau.

Murder of the duke of Burgundy (Sept. 10).

dumbfounded Burgundians, sent them flying along the road to Bray, and returning on to the bridge would have cast the body of Duke John, after stripping it, into the river; but the minister of Montereau withstood them and had it carried to a mill near the bridge. "Next day he was put in a pauper's shell, with nothing on but his shirt and drawers, and was subsequently interred at the church of Notre-Dame de Montereau, without winding-sheet and without pall over his grave."

Preliminaries of peace.

Henry V., king of England, as soon as he heard about the murder of Duke John, set himself to work to derive from it all the advantages he anticipated. "A great loss," said he, "is the duke of Burgundy; he was a good and true knight and an honourable prince; but through his death we are by God's help at the summit of our wishes. We shall thus, in spite of all Frenchmen, possess *dame Catherine*, whom we have so much desired." As early as the 24th of September, 1419, Henry V. gave full powers to certain of his people to treat "with the illustrious city of Paris and the other towns in adherence to the said city." On the 17th of October was opened at Arras a congress between the plenipotentiaries of England and those of Burgundy. On the 20th of November a special truce was granted to the Parisians, whilst Henry V., in concert with Duke Philip of Burgundy, was prosecuting the war against the dauphin. On the 2nd of December the bases were laid of an agreement between the English and the Burgundians. The preliminaries of the treaty which was drawn up in accordance with these bases were signed on the 9th of April, 1420, by King Charles VI., and on the 20th communicated at Paris by the chancellor of France to the parliament and to all the religious and civil, royal and municipal authorities of the capital.

A.D. 1420. Peace of Troyes (May 21).

After this communication, the chancellor and the premier president of parliament went with these preliminaries to Henry V. at Pontoise, whence he set out with a division of his army for Troyes, where the treaty, definitive and complete, was at last signed and promulgated in the cathedral of Troyes, on the 21st of May, 1420.

Of the twenty-eight articles in this treaty, five contained its essential points and fixed its character:—1st. The king of France, Charles VI., gave his daughter Catherine in marriage to Henry V., king of England. 2nd. "Our son, King Henry, shall place no hindrance or trouble in the way of our holding and possessing as long as we live and as at the present time the crown, the kingly dignity of France and all the revenues, proceeds, and profits which are attached thereto for the maintenance of our state and the

charges of the kingdom. 3rd. It is agreed that immediately after our death, and from that time forward, the crown and kingdom of France, with all their rights and appurtenances, shall belong perpetually, and shall be continued to our son King Henry and his heirs. 4th. Whereas we are, at most times, prevented from advising by ourselves and from taking part in the disposal of the affairs of our kingdom, the power and the practice of governing and ordering the commonweal shall belong and shall be continued, during our life, to our son King Henry, with the counsel of the nobles and sages of the kingdom who shall obey us, and shall desire the honour and advantage of the said kingdom. 5th. Our son King Henry shall strive with all his might, and as soon as possible, to bring back to their obedience to us, all and each of the towns, cities, castles, places, districts, and persons in our kingdom that belong to the party commonly called of the dauphin or Armagnac."

Its chief conditions.

This substitution, in the near future, of an English for the French kingship; this relinquishment, in the present, of the government of France to the hands of an English prince nominated to become before long her king; this authority given to the English prince to prosecute in France, against the dauphin of France, a civil war; this complete abdication of all the rights and duties of the kingship, of paternity and of national independence; and, to sum up all in one word, this anti-French state-stroke accomplished by a king of France, with the co-operation of him who was the greatest amongst French lords, to the advantage of a foreign sovereign—there was surely in this enough to excite the most ardent and most legitimate national feelings. The revulsion against the treaty of Troyes was real and serious, even in the very heart of the party attached to the duke of Burgundy. A popular poet of the time, Alan Chartier, constituted himself censor of the moral corruption, and interpreter of the patriotic paroxysms caused by the cold and harsh supremacy of this unbending foreigner, who set himself up for the king of France and had not one feeling in sympathy with the French. Alan Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif* is a lively and sometimes eloquent allegory in which France personified implores her three children, the clergy, the chivalry, and the people, to forget their own quarrels and unite to save their mother whilst saving themselves; and this political pamphlet getting spread about amongst the provinces did good service to the national cause against the foreign conqueror. An event more powerful than any human eloquence occurred to give the dauphin and his partisans earlier hopes. Towards the end of August, 1422,

Its results.

Alan Chartier's "Quadrilogue."

A.D. 1422. Death of Henry V. of England (Aug. 31).

Henry V. fell ill; and, too stout-hearted to delude himself as to his condition, he thought no longer of any thing but preparing himself for death. He expired at Vincennes on the 31st of August, 1422, at the age of thirty-four. A great soul and a great king; but a great example also of the boundless errors which may be fallen into by the greatest men when they pursue with arrogant confidence their own views, forgetting the laws of justice and the rights of other men.

Death of Charles VI. of France (Oct. 22).

On the 22nd of October, 1422, less than two months after the death of Henry V., Charles VI., king of France, died at Paris in the forty-third year of his reign. As soon as he had been buried at St. Denis, the duke of Bedford, regent of France according to the will of Henry V., caused a herald to proclaim, "Long live Henry of Lancaster, king of England and of France!" The people's voice made very different proclamation. It had always been said that the public evils proceeded from the state of illness into which the unhappy King Charles had fallen. The goodness he had given glimpses of in his lucid intervals had made him an object of tender pity. Some weeks yet before his death, when he had entered Paris again, the inhabitants, in the midst of their sufferings and under the harsh government of the English, had seen with joy their poor mad king coming back amongst them, and had greeted him with thousand-fold shouts of "Noël!" His body lay in state for three days, with the face uncovered, in a hall of the hostel of St. Paul, and the multitude went thither to pray for him, saying, "Ah! dear prince, never shall we have any so good as thou wert; never shall we see thee more. Accursed be thy death! Since thou dost leave us, we shall never have aught but wars and troubles. As for thee, thou goest to thy rest; as for us, we remain in tribulation and sorrow. We seem made to fall into the same distress as the children of Israel during the captivity in Babylon."

He is regretted by his subjects.

The people's instinct was at the same time right and wrong. France had yet many evil days to go through and cruel trials to endure; she was, however, to be saved at last; Charles VI. was to be followed by Charles VII. and Joan of Arc.

It was only when he knew that, on the 27th of October, the parliament of Paris had, not without some little hesitation and ambiguity, recognized "as king of England and of France, Henry VI., son of Henry V. lately deceased," that the dauphin Charles assumed on the 30th of October, in his castle of Melun-sur-Yèvre, the title of king, and repaired to Bourges to inaugurate in the cathedral of that city his reign as Charles VII.

At a time when not only the crown of the kingdom but the

existence and independence of the nation were at stake, the new king had not given any signs of being strongly moved by patriotic feelings. "He was, in person, a handsome prince, and handsome in speech with all persons and compassionate towards poor folks," says his contemporary Monstrelet; "but he did not readily put on his harness, and he had no heart for war if he could do without it." On ascending the throne, this young prince, so little of the politician and so little of the knight, encountered at the head of his enemies the most able amongst the politicians and warriors of the day in the duke of Bedford, whom his brother Henry V. had appointed regent of France and had charged to defend on behalf of his nephew, Henry VI., a child in the cradle, the crown of France already more than half won. Never did struggle appear more unequal, or native king more inferior to foreign pretender. **Charles VII.**

Sagacious observers, however, would have easily discerned in the cause which appeared the stronger and the better supported many seeds of weakness and danger. When Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, heard at Arras, that Charles VI. was dead, it occurred to him immediately that if he attended the obsequies of the English king of France he would be obliged, French prince as he was, and cousin-german of Charles VI., to yield precedence to John, duke of Bedford, regent of France and uncle of the new king Henry VI. He resolved to hold aloof, and contented himself with sending to Paris chamberlains to make his excuses and supply his place with the regent. The war, though still carried on with great spirit, could not and in fact did not bring about any decisive result from 1422 to 1429. Towns were alternately taken, lost, and retaken, at one time by the French, at another by the English or Burgundians; petty encounters and even important engagements took place with vicissitudes of success and reverses on both sides. At Crovant-sur-Yonne, on the 31st of July, 1423, and at Verneuil, in Normandy, on the 17th of August, 1424, the French were beaten, and their faithful allies, the Scots, suffered considerable loss. In the latter affair, however, several Norman lords deserted the English flag, refusing to fight against the king of France. In order to put an end to this doubtful condition of events and of minds, the duke of Bedford determined to aim a grand blow at the national party in France and at her king. After Paris and Rouen, Orleans was the most important city in the kingdom; it was as supreme on the banks of the Loire as Paris and Rouen were on those of the Seine. After having obtained from England considerable reinforcements, commanded by leaders of experience, the English commenced, in October, 1428, the siege of Orleans. The approaches to the place

A.D. 1423—24. The war continues Battles of Crovant and of Verneuil.

A.D. 1428. Siege of Orleans.

were occupied in force, and bastilles closely connected one with another were constructed around the walls. As a set off, the most valiant warriors of France, La Hire, Dunois, Xaintrailles, and the marshal La Fayette threw themselves into Orleans, the garrison of which amounted to scarcely twelve hundred men. Several towns, Bourges, Poitiers, and La Rochelle sent thither money, munitions, and militia; the states-general, assembled at Chinon, voted an extraordinary aid; and Charles VII. called out the regulars and the reserves. Assaults on the one side and sorties on the other were begun with ardour. Besiegers and besieged quite felt that they were engaged in a decisive struggle. The first encounter was unfortunate for the Orleannese. In a fight called the *herring affair*, they were unsuccessful in an attempt to carry off a supply of victuals and salt fish which Sir John Falstolf was bringing to the besiegers.

A.D. 1478. "The Herring affair."

This very year, on the 6th of January, 1428, at Domremy, a little village in the valley of the Meuse, between Neufchâteau and Vaucouleurs, on the edge of the frontier from Champagne to Lorraine, the young daughter of simple tillers-of-the-soil "of good life and repute, herself a good, simple, gentle girl, no idler, occupied hitherto in sewing or spinning with her mother or driving afield her parent's sheep and sometimes even, when her father's turn came round, keeping for him the whole flock of the commune," was fulfilling her sixteenth year. It was Joan of Arc, whom all her neighbours called Joannette. Her early childhood was passed amidst the pursuits characteristic of a country life; her behaviour was irreproachable, and she was robust, active, and intrepid. Her imagination becoming inflamed by the distressed situation of France, she dreamed that she had interviews with St. Margaret, St. Catherine, and St. Michael, who commanded her, in the name of God, to go and raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct Charles to be crowned at Rheims. Accordingly she applied to Robert de Baudricourt, captain of the neighbouring town of Vaucouleurs, revealing to him her inspiration, and conjuring him not to neglect the voice of God, which spoke through her. This officer for some time treated her with neglect; but at length, prevailed on by repeated importunities, he sent her to the king at Chinon, to whom, when introduced, she said: "Gentle dauphin, my name is Joan the Maid, the King of heaven hath sent me to your assistance; if you please to give me troops, by the grace of God and the force of arms, I will raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct you to be crowned at Rheims, in spite of your enemies." Her requests were now granted: she was armed *cap-a-pie*, mounted on horseback, and provided with a suitable retinue. Previous to her attempting any exploit, she wrote

Joan of Arc.

Her interview with the king.

a long letter to the young English monarch, commanding him to withdraw his forces from France, and threatening his destruction in case of refusal. She concluded with "hear this advice from God and *la Pucelle*."

Her enemies.

But, side by side with these friends, she had an adversary in the king's favourite, George de la Trémoille, an ambitious courtier, jealous of any one who seemed within the range of the king's good graces, and opposed to a vigorous prosecution of the war, since it hampered him in the policy he wished to keep up towards the duke of Burgundy. To the ill-will of La Trémoille was added that of the majority of courtiers enlisted in the following of the powerful favourite, and that of warriors irritated at the importance acquired at their expense by a rustic and fantastic little adventuress. Here was the source of the enmities and intrigues which stood in the way of all Joan's demands, rendered her successes more tardy, difficult, and incomplete, and were one day to cost her more dearly still.

A.D. 1429. She starts to relieve Orleans.

At the end of about five weeks the expedition was in readiness. It was a heavy convoy of revictualment protected by a body of ten or twelve thousand men commanded by marshal de Boussac, and numbering amongst them Xaintrailles and La Hire. The march began on the 27th of April, 1429. Joan had caused the removal of all women of bad character, and had recommended her comrades to confess. She took the Communion in the open air, before their eyes; and a company of priests, headed by her chaplain, Pasquerel, led the way whilst chanting sacred hymns. Great was the surprise amongst the men-at-arms. Many had words of mockery on their lips. It was the time when La Hire used to say, "If God were a soldier, He would turn robber." Nevertheless, respect got the better of habit; the most honourable were really touched; the coarsest considered themselves bound to show restraint. On the 29th of April they arrived before Orleans. But, in consequence of the road they had followed, the Loire was between the army and the town; the expeditionary corps had to be split in two; the troops were obliged to go and feel for the bridge of Blois in order to cross the river; and Joan was vexed and surprised. Dunois, arrived from Orleans in a little boat, urged her to enter the town that same evening. "Are you the bastard of Orleans?" asked she, when he accosted her. "Yes; and I am rejoiced at your coming." "Was it you who gave counsel for making me come hither by this side of the river and not the direct way, over yonder where Talbot and the English were?" "Yes; such was the opinion of the wisest captains."

Enters Orleans (April 29).

Joan's first undertaking was against Orleans, which she entered without opposition on the 29th of April, 1429, on horseback, completely armed, preceded by her own banner, and having beside her Dunois, and behind her the captains of the garrison and several of the most distinguished burgesses of Orleans, who had gone out to meet her. The population, one and all, rushed thronging round her, carrying torches, and greeting her arrival "with joy as great as if they had seen God come down amongst them." With admirable good sense, discovering the superior merits of Dunois, the bastard of Orleans, a celebrated captain, she wisely adhered to his instructions: and by constantly harassing the English, and beating up their intrenchments in various desperate attacks, in all of which she displayed the most heroic courage, Joan in a few weeks compelled the earl of Suffolk and his army to raise the siege, having sustained the loss of six thousand men. The proposal of crowning Charles at Rheims would formerly have appeared like madness, but the Maid of Orleans now insisted on its fulfilment. She accordingly recommenced the campaign on the 10th of June; to complete the deliverance of Orleans an attack was begun upon the neighbouring places, Jargeau, Meung, and Beaugency; thousands of the late dispirited subjects of Charles now flocked to his standard, many towns immediately declared for him; and the English, who had suffered in various actions, at that of Jargeau, when the earl of Suffolk was taken prisoner, and at that of Patay, when Sir John Fastolfe fled without striking a blow, seemed now to be totally dispirited. On the 16th of July King Charles entered Rheims, and the ceremony of his coronation was fixed for the morrow.

Marches towards Rheims.

Coronation of the king (July 16).

It was solemn and emotional as are all old national traditions which recur after a forced suspension. Joan rode between Dunois and the archbishop of Rheims, chancellor of France. The air resounded with the *Te Deum* sung with all their hearts by clergy and crowd. "In God's name," said Joan to Dunois, "here is a good people and a devout; when I die, I should much like it to be in these parts." "Joan," inquired Dunois, "know you when you will die and in what place?" "I know not," said she, "for I am at the will of God." Then she added, "I have accomplished that which my Lord commanded me, to raise the siege of Orleans and have the gentle king crowned. I would like it well if it should please Him to send me back to my father and mother, to keep their sheep and their cattle and do that which was my wont." "When the said lords," says the chronicler, an eye-witness, "heard these words of Joan, who, with eyes towards heaven, gave thanks to God, they the more believed that it was somewhat sent from God and not otherwise."

Historians and even contemporaries have given much discussion to the question whether Joan of Arc, according to her first ideas, had really limited her design to the raising of the siege of Orleans and the coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims. However that may be, when Orleans was relieved and Charles VII. crowned, the situation, posture, and part of Joan underwent a change. She no longer manifested the same confidence in herself and her designs. She no longer exercised over those in whose midst she lived the same authority. She continued to carry on war, but at hap-hazard, sometimes with and sometimes without success, just like La Hire and Dunois; never discouraged, never satisfied, and never looking upon herself as triumphant. After the coronation, her advice was to march at once upon Paris, in order to take up a fixed position in it, as being the political centre of the realm of which Rheims was the religious. Nothing of the sort was done. She threw herself into Compiègne, then besieged by the duke of Burgundy. The next day (May 25th, 1430), heading a sally upon the enemy, she was repulsed and compelled to retreat after exerting the utmost valour; when, having nearly reached the gate of the town, an English archer pursued her, and pulled her from her horse. The joy of the English at this capture was as great as if they had obtained a complete victory. Joan was committed to the care of John of Luxembourg, count of Liguy, from whom the duke of Bedford purchased the captive for ten thousand pounds, and a pension of three hundred pounds a year to the bastard of Vendôme, to whom she surrendered. Joan was now conducted to Rouen, where, loaded with irons, she was thrown into a dungeon, preparatory to appear before a court assembled to judge her.

Siege of Compiègne, Joan of Arc taken prisoner, and conducted to Rouen.

The trial lasted from the 21st of February to the 30th of May, 1431. The court held forty sittings, mostly in the chapel of the castle, some in Joan's very prison. On her arrival there, she had been put in an iron cage; afterwards she was kept "no longer in the cage, but in a dark room in a tower of the castle, wearing irons upon her feet, fastened by a chain to a large piece of wood, and guarded night and day by four or five soldiers of low grade." She complained of being thus chained; but the bishop told her that her former attempts at escape demanded this precaution. "It is true," said Joan, as truthful as heroic, "I did wish and I still wish to escape from prison, as is the right of every prisoner." At her examination, the bishop required her to take "an oath to tell the truth about every thing as to which she should be questioned." "I know not what you mean to question me about; perchance you may ask me things I would not tell you; touching my revelations,

A.D. 1431. Her trial,

for instance, you might ask me to tell something I have sworn not to tell; thus I should be perjured, which you ought not to desire." The bishop insisted upon an oath absolute and without condition. "You are too hard on me," said Joan; "I do not like to take an oath to tell the truth save as to matters which concern the faith." **answers to the judges,** The bishop called upon her to swear on pain of being held guilty of the things imputed to her. "Go on to something else," said she. And this was the answer she made to all questions which seemed to her to be a violation of her right to be silent. Wearied and hurt at these imperious demands, she one day said, "I come on God's business, and I have naught to do here; send me back to God from whom I come." "Are you sure you are in God's grace?" asked the bishop. "If I be not," answered Joan, "please God to bring me to it; and if I be, please God to keep me in it!" The bishop himself remained dumbfounded.

There is no object in following through all its sittings and all its twistings this odious and shameful trial, in which the judges' prejudiced servility and scientific subtlety were employed for three months to wear out the courage or overreach the understanding of a young girl of nineteen, who refused at one time to lie, and at **and death.** another to enter into discussion with them, and made no defence beyond holding her tongue or appealing to God who had spoken to her and dictated to her that which she had done. In the end she was condemned for all the crimes of which she had been accused, aggravated by that of heresy, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, to be fed during life on bread and water. The English were enraged that she was not condemned to death. "Wait but a little," said one of the judges, "we shall soon find the means to ensnare her." And this was effected by a grievous accusation, which, though somewhat countenanced by the Levitical law, has been seldom urged in modern times, the wearing of man's attire. Joan had been charged with this offence, but she promised not to repeat it. A suit of man's apparel was designedly placed in her chamber, and her own garments, as some authors say, being removed, she clothed herself in the forbidden garb, and her keepers surprising her in that dress, she was adjudged to death as a relapsed heretic, and was condemned to be burnt in the market-place at Rouen. (1431).

Four centuries have rolled by since Joan of Arc, that modest and heroic servant of God, made a sacrifice of herself for France. For four and twenty years after her death, France and the king appeared to think no more of her. However, in 1455, remorse came upon Charles VII. and upon France. Nearly all the provinces, all the

towns were freed from the foreigner; and shame was felt that nothing was said, nothing done for the young girl who had saved every thing. At Rouen, especially, where the sacrifice was completed, a cry for reparation arose. It was timidly demanded from the spiritual power which had sentenced and delivered over Joan as a heretic to the stake. Pope Calixtus III. entertained the request preferred not by the king of France but in the name of Isabel Romée, Joan's mother, and her whole family. Regular proceedings were commenced and followed up for the rehabilitation of the martyr; and, on the 7th of July, 1456, a decree of the court assembled at Rouen quashed the sentence of 1431, together with all its consequences, and ordered "a general procession and solemn sermon at St. Ouen Place and the Vieux-Marché, where the said maid had been cruelly and horribly burned; besides the planting of a cross of honour (*crucis honestæ*) on the Vieux-Marché, the judges reserving the official notice to be given of their decision throughout the cities and notable places of the realm."

A.D. 1456. Her rehabilitation (July 7).

After the execution of Joan the war resumed its course, though without any great events. By way of a step towards solution, the duke of Bedford, in November, 1431, escorted to Paris King Henry VI., scarcely ten years old, and had him crowned at Notre-Dame. The ceremony was distinguished for pomp but not for warmth. The duke of Burgundy was not present; it was an Englishman, the cardinal-bishop of Winchester, who anointed the young Englander king of France.

Peace, however, was more and more the general desire. Scarcely had one attempt at pacification failed when another was begun. The constable De Richemont's return to power led to fresh overtures. He was a statesman as well as a warrior; and his inclinations were known at Dijon and London as well as at Chinon. The advisers of King Henry VI. proposed to open a conference, on the 15th of October, 1433, at Calais. The capture of several towns by the generals of Charles VII. contributed much to restore universal confidence to the French, and in the year 1435 the treaty of Arras, concluded between the king and the duke of Burgundy, led, if not to the active support, at least to the neutrality of a lord who had been one of the most dangerous enemies of the crown of France. The conditions imposed by this treaty were certainly of a rather humiliating character, but the immediate result more than compensated for them; Paris opened its gates on May 29th, 1436, and the English troops who had shut themselves up in the Bastille, offered to give up that fortress on condition that they might be allowed to retire with all their property, and accompanied by those

Attempts at pacification.

who would like to follow them. These terms being accepted, they left Paris by the gate Saint Antoine, marched round the walls and embarked on the Seine for the purpose of returning to Rouen. The constable de Richemont's easy occupation of the capital led the majority of the small places in the neighbourhood, St. Denis, Chevreuse, Marcoussis, and Montlhéry to decide either upon spontaneous surrender, or allowing themselves to be taken after no great resistance.

Change in the king's disposition

Charles VII, on his way through France to Lyon, in Dauphiny, Languedoc, Auvergne, and along the Loire, recovered several other towns, for instance, Château-Landon, Nemours, and Charny. He laid siege in person to Montereau, an important military post with which a recent and sinister reminiscence was connected. A great change now made itself apparent in the king's behaviour and disposition. He showed activity and vigilance, and was ready to expose himself without any care for fatigue or danger.

A.D. 1437. He re-enters Paris.

On the day of the assault (10th of October, 1437) he went down into the trenches, remained there in water up to his waist, mounted the scaling-ladder sword in hand, and was one of the first assailants who penetrated over the top of the walls right into the place. After the surrender of the castle as well as the town of Montereau, he marched on Paris, and made his solemn re-entry there on the 12th of November, 1437, for the first time since in 1418 Tanneguy-Duchâtel had carried him away, whilst still a child, wrapped in his bed-clothes. Charles was received and entertained as became a recovered and a victorious king; but he passed only three weeks there, and went away once more, on the 3rd of December, to go and resume at Orleans first and then at Bourges, the serious cares of government.

Agnes Sorel.

It is said to have been at this royal entry into Paris that Agnes Sorel or Soreau, who was soon to have the name of *Queen of Beauty*, and to assume in French history an almost glorious though illegitimate position, appeared with brilliancy in the train of the queen, Mary of Anjou, to whom the king had appointed her a maid of honour.

The war continued.

There was a continuance of war to the north of the Loire; and amidst many alternations of successes and reverses the national cause made great way there. Charles resolved, in 1442, to undertake an expedition to the south of the Loire, in Aquitaine, where the English were still dominant; and he was successful. He took from the English Tartas, Saint-Sever, Marmande, La Réole, Blaye, and Bourg-sur-Mer. Their ally, Count John d'Armagnac, submitted to the king of France. These successes cost Charles VII. the brave La Hire, who died at Montauban of his wounds. On returning to Normandy, where he had left Dunois, Charles, in

1443, conducted a prosperous campaign there. The English leaders were getting weary of a war without any definite issue; and they had proposals made to Charles for a truce, accompanied with a demand on the part of their young king, Henry VI., for the hand of a French princess, Margaret of Anjou, daughter of King René, who wore the three crowns of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, without possessing any one of the kingdoms The truce and the marriage were concluded at Tours, in 1444. Neither of the arrangements was popular in England; the English people, who had only a far-off touch of suffering from the war, considered that their government made too many concessions to France. In France, too, there was some murmuring; the king, it was said, did not press his advantages with sufficient vigour; every body was in a hurry to see all Aquitaine reconquered. Charles VII. and his advisers employed the leisure afforded by the truce in preparing for a renewal of the struggle. They were the first to begin it again; and from 1449 to 1451 it was pursued by the French king and nation with ever increasing ardour, and with obstinate courage by the veteran English warriors, astounded at no longer being victorious. Normandy and Aquitaine, which was beginning to be called Guyenne only, were throughout this period the constant and the chief theatre of war. Amongst the great number of fights and incidents which distinguished the three campaigns in those two provinces the recapture of Rouen by Dunois in October, 1449, the battle of Formigny, won near Bayeux on the 15th of April, 1450, by the constable De Richemont, and the twofold capitulation of Bordeaux, first on the 28th of June, 1451, and next on the 9th of October, 1453, in order to submit to Charles VII., are the only events to which a place in history is due, for those were the days on which the question was solved touching the independence of the nation and the kingship in France. The battle of Formigny lasted nearly three hours; the English were forced to fly at three points, and lost 3700 men; several of their leaders were made prisoners; those who were left retired in good order; Bayeux, Avranches, Caen, Falaise, and Cherbourg fell one after the other into the hands of Charles VII.; and by the end of August, 1450, the whole of Normandy had been completely won back by France.

A.D. 1444 Truce of Tours,

not popular.

A.D. 1449. Hostilities resumed.

A.D. 1450 Battle of Formigny (April 15).

The conquest of Guyenne, which was undertaken immediately after that of Normandy, was at the outset more easy and more speedy. Amongst the lords of southern France several hearty patriots, such as John of Blois, count of Périgord, and Arnold Amanieu, sire d'Albret, of their own accord began the strife, and on

the 1st of November, 1450, inflicted a somewhat severe reverse upon the English, near Blanquefort. In the spring of the following year Charles VII. authorized the count of Armagnac to take the field, and sent Dunois to assume the command-in-chief. An army of twenty thousand men mustered under his orders; and, in the course of May, 1451, some of the principal places of Guyenne, such as St. Emilion, Blaye, Fronsac, Bourg-en-Mer, Libourne, and Dax were taken by assault or capitulated. Bordeaux and Bayonne held out for some weeks; but, on the 12th of June, a treaty concluded between the Bordelese and Dunois secured to the three estates of the district the liberties and privileges which they had enjoyed under English supremacy; and it was further stipulated that, if by the 24th of June the city had not been succoured by English forces, the estates of Guyenne should recognize the sovereignty of King Charles. When the 24th of June came, a herald went up to one of the towers of the castle and shouted, "Succour from the king of England for them of Bordeaux!" None replied to this appeal; so Bordeaux surrendered, and on the 29th of June Dunois took possession of it in the name of the king of France. The siege of Bayonne, which was begun on the 6th of August, came to an end on the 20th by means of a similar treaty. Guyenne was thus completely won. But the English still had a considerable following there. They had held it for three centuries; and they had always treated it well in respect of local liberties, agriculture, and commerce. Charles VII., on recovering it, was less wise. He determined to establish there forthwith the taxes, the laws, and the whole regimen of northern France; and the Bordelese were as prompt in protesting against these measures as the king was in employing them. In August, 1452, a deputation from the three estates of the province waited upon Charles at Bourges, but did not obtain their demands. On their return to Bordeaux an insurrection was organized; and Peter de Montferrand, sire de Lesparre, repaired to London and proposed to the English government to resume possession of Guyenne. On the 22nd of October, 1452, Talbot appeared before Bordeaux with a body of five thousand men; the inhabitants opened their gates to him; and he installed himself there as lieutenant of the king of England, Henry VI. Nearly all the places in the neighbourhood, with the exception of Bourg and Blaye, returned beneath the sway of the English; considerable reinforcements were sent to Talbot from England; and at the same time an English fleet threatened the coasts of Normandy. But Charles VII. was no longer the blind and indolent king he had been in his youth. Nor can

A.D. 1451. Campaign in Guyenne

Insurrection at Bordeaux.

the prompt and effectual energy he displayed in 1453 be any longer attributed to the influence of Agnes Sorel, for she died on the 9th of February, 1450. Charles left Richemont and Dunois to hold Normandy; and, in the early days of spring, moved in person to the south of France with a strong army and the principal Gascon lords who two years previously had brought Guyenne back under his power. On the 2nd of June, 1453, he opened the campaign at St. Jean d'Angély. Several places surrendered to him as soon as he appeared before their walls; and on the 13th of July he laid siege to Castillon, on the Dordogne, which had shortly before fallen into the hands of the English. The Bordelese grew alarmed and urged Talbot to oppose the advance of the French. "We may very well let them come nearer yet," said the old warrior, then eighty years of age; "rest assured that, if it please God, I will fulfil my promise when I see that the time and the hour have come." On the night between the 16th and the 17th of July, Talbot set out with his troops to raise the siege of Castillon; the result, however, was unfavourable to the English, and their brave commander met his death on the field of battle. Castillon surrendered; and at unequal intervals Libourne, St. Emilion, Château-Neuf de Médoc, Blanquefort, St. Macaire, Cadillac, &c., followed the example. At the commencement of October, 1453, Bordeaux alone was still holding out. The promoters of the insurrection which had been concerted with the English, amongst other sires de Duras and de Lesparre, protracted the resistance rather in their own self-defence than in response to the wishes of the population; the king's artillery threatened the place by land, and by sea a king's fleet from Rochelle and the ports of Brittany blockaded the Gironde. "The majority of the king's officers," says the contemporary historian, Thomas Basin, "advised him to punish by at least the destruction of their walls the Bordelese who had recalled the English to their city; but Charles, more merciful and more soft-hearted, refused." He confined himself to withdrawing from Bordeaux her municipal privileges, which, however, she soon partially recovered, and to imposing upon her a fine of a hundred thousand gold crowns, afterwards reduced to thirty thousand; he caused to be built at the expense of the city two fortresses, the fort of the Hâ and the castle of Trompette, to keep in check so bold and fickle a population; and an amnesty was proclaimed for all but twenty specified persons, who were banished. On these conditions the capitulation was concluded and signed on the 17th of October; the English re-embarked; and Charles, without entering Bordeaux, returned to Touraine. The English had no

A.D. 1453. Siege of Castillon. Death of Talbot.

Taking of Bordeaux (Oct. 17).

End of the war.

longer any possession in France but Calais and Guines; the Hundred Years' War was over.

And to whom was the glory due?

Charles VII. himself decided the question. When in 1455, twenty-four years after the death of Joan of Arc, he at Rome and at Rouen prosecuted her claims for restoration of character and did for her fame and her memory all that was still possible, he was but relieving his conscience from a load of ingratitude and remorse which in general weighs but lightly upon men and especially upon kings; *La Pucelle*, first amongst all, had a right to the glory, for she had been the first to contribute to the success.

Constable de Richemont.

Next to Joan of Arc, the constable De Richemont was the most effective and the most glorious amongst the liberators of France and of the king. He was a strict and stern warrior, unscrupulous and pitiless towards his enemies, especially towards such as he despised, severe in regard to himself, dignified in his manners, never guilty of swearing himself, and punishing swearing as a breach of discipline amongst the troops placed under his orders. Like a true patriot and royalist, he had more at heart his duty towards France and the king than he had his own personal interests. Dunois, La Hire, Xaintrailles, and marshals De Boussac and De La Fayette were, under Charles VII., brilliant warriors and useful servants of the king and of France; but, in spite of their knightly renown, it is questionable if they can be reckoned, like the constable De Richemont, amongst the liberators of national independence. There are degrees of glory, and it is the duty of history not to distribute it too readily and as it were by handfuls.

Jacques Cœur, his character.

Besides all these warriors, we meet, under the sway of Charles VII., at first in a humble capacity and afterwards at his court, in his diplomatic service and sometimes in his closest confidence, a man of quite a different origin and quite another profession, but one who nevertheless acquired by peaceful toil great riches and great influence; we mean Jacques Cœur, born at Bourges at the close of the fourteenth century. This eminent man, after acquiring a large fortune by commercial transactions, rose to the post of *argentier*, or administrator of the royal exchequer. In this quality he was for twelve years associated with the most important government transactions, and he administered the finances with the greatest probity and uprightness. The war was becoming daily more onerous; Jacques Cœur always knew how to provide the necessary means, and when the royal exchequer was empty, he supplied the deficiency out of his own private means. Thus it was that he lent to Charles VII. the 200,000 golden crowns (24,000,000 francs) necessary for the conquest of Normandy. "Sir,



JACQUES COEUR

what I have is yours," said he to the king. The courtiers took him at his word, and after an infamous lawsuit which they instituted against him, they divided, his spoils between them, and caused him to be shut up in a convent at Beaucaire. His former clerks, however, combined to set him free, and conducted him to Rome, where the Pope received him in the most honourable manner (1455). He died the following year at Chio, of a wound received in the course of a battle with the Turks. Another financial, Jean de Xaincoings, as innocent as Jacques Coeur, was likewise condemned to prison and all his property confiscated "pour avoir pris grandes et excessives sommes des deniers du Roi." **A.D. 1456. His death.**

We have now reached the end of events under this long reign; all that remains is to run over the substantial results of Charles VII.'s government, and the melancholy imbroglios of his latter years with his son, the turbulent, tricky, and wickedly able born conspirator who was to succeed him under the name of Louis XI.

Nature of the government of CharlesVII

One fact is at the outset to be remarked upon; it at the first blush appears singular, but it admits of easy explanation. In the first nineteen years of his reign, from 1423 to 1442, Charles VII. very frequently convoked the states-general, at one time of northern France or Langue d'oil, at another of southern France or Languedoc. Twenty-four such assemblies took place during this period at Bourges, at Selles in Berry, at Le Puy in Velay, at Meun-sur-Yèvre, at Chinon, at Sully-sur-Loire, at Tours, at Orleans, at Nevers, at Carcassonne, and at different spots in Languedoc. It was the time of the great war between France on the one side and England and Burgundy allied on the other, the time of intrigues incessantly recurring at court, and the time likewise of carelessness and indolence on the part of Charles VII., more devoted to his pleasures than regardful of his government. He had incessant need of states-general to supply him with money and men, and support him through the difficulties of his position. But when, dating from the peace of Arras (September 21, 1435), Charles VII., having become reconciled with the duke of Burgundy, was delivered from civil war, and was at grips with none but England alone, already half beaten by the divine inspiration, the triumph, and the martyrdom of Joan of Arc, his posture and his behaviour underwent a rare transformation. Without ceasing to be a coldly selfish and scandalously licentious king, he became a practical, hard-working, statesmanlike king, jealous and disposed to govern by himself, but at the same time watchful and skilful in availing himself of the able advisers who, whether it were by a happy accident or by his own choice, were

grouped around him. By assiduous toil, in concert with his advisers, he was able to take in hand and accomplish, in the military, financial, and judicial system of the realm, those bold and at the same time prudent reforms which wrested the country from the state of disorder, pillage, and general insecurity to which it had been a prey, and commenced the era of that great monarchical administration which, in spite of many troubles and vicissitudes, was destined to be during more than three centuries the government of France. The constable De Richemont and marshal De la Fayette were in respect of military matters Charles VII.'s principal advisers; and it was by their counsel and with their co-operation that he substituted for feudal service and for the bands of wandering mercenaries (*routiers*), mustered and maintained by hap-hazard, a permanent army, regularly levied, provided for, paid and commanded, and charged with the duty of keeping order at home, and at the same time subserving abroad the interests and policy of the State. In connexion with and as a natural consequence of this military system Charles VII. on his own sole authority established certain permanent imposts with the object of making up any deficiency in the royal treasury whilst waiting for a vote of such taxes extraordinary as might be demanded of the states-general. Jacques Cœur, the two brothers Bureau, Martin Gouge, Michel Laillier, William Cousinot, and many other councillors, of burgher origin, laboured zealously to establish this administrative system, so prompt and freed from all independent discussion. Weary of wars, irregularities, and sufferings, France, in the fifteenth century, asked for nothing but peace and security; and so soon as the kingship showed that it had an intention and was in a condition to provide her with them, the nation took little or no trouble about political guarantees which, as yet, it knew neither how to establish nor how to exercise; its right to them was not disputed in principle, they were merely permitted to fall into desuetude; and Charles VII., who during the first half of his reign had twenty-four times assembled the states-general to ask them for taxes and soldiers, was able in the second to raise personally both soldiers and taxes without drawing forth hardly any complaint. Charles VII. was a prince neither to be respected nor to be loved, and during many years his reign had not been a prosperous one; but "he re-quickened justice which had been a long while dead," says a chronicler devoted to the duke of Burgundy; "he put an end to the tyrannies and exactions of the men-at-arms, and out of an infinity of murderers and robbers he formed men of resolution and honest life; he made regular paths in murderous woods and forests, all roads safe, all towns peaceful, all nationalities

Military reforms.

Administrative measures.

of his kingdom tranquil; he chastised the evil and honoured the good, and he was sparing of human blood."

Questions of military, financial, and judicial organization were not the only ones which occupied the government of Charles VII. He attacked also ecclesiastical questions which were at that period a subject of passionate discussion in Christian Europe amongst the councils of the Church and in the closets of princes. The celebrated ordinance, known by the name of *Pragmatic Sanction*, which Charles VII. issued at Bourges on the 7th of July, 1438, with the concurrence of a grand national council, laic and ecclesiastical, was directed towards the carrying out, in the internal regulations of the French Church and in the relations either of the State with the Church in France, or of the Church of France with the papacy, of reforms long since desired or dreaded by the different powers and interests. It would be impossible to touch here upon these difficult and delicate questions without going far beyond the limits imposed upon the writer of this history. All that can be said is that there was no lack of a religious spirit or of a liberal spirit in the *Pragmatic Sanction* of Charles VII., and that the majority of the measures contained in it were adopted with the approbation of the greater part of the French clergy as well as of educated laymen in France.

Ecclesiastical questions.

In whatever light it is regarded, the government of Charles VII. in the latter part of his reign brought him not only in France but throughout Europe a great deal of fame and power. When he had driven the English out of his kingdom, he was called *Charles the Victorious;* and when he had introduced into the internal regulations of the State so many important and effective reforms he was called *Charles the Well-served.* "The sense he had by nature," says his historian Chastellain, "had been increased to twice as much again, in his straitened fortunes, by long constraint and perilous dangers which sharpened his wits perforce." "He is the king of kings," was said of him by the doge of Venice, Francis Foscari, a good judge of policy; "there is no doing without him."

Nevertheless, at the close, so influential and so tranquil, of his reign, Charles VII. was in his individual and private life the most desolate, the most harassed, and the most unhappy man in his kingdom. The dauphin Louis, after having from his very youth behaved in a factious, harebrained, turbulent way towards the king his father, had become at one time an open rebel, at another a venomous conspirator and a dangerous enemy. At his birth, in 1423, he had been named Louis in remembrance of his ancestor St. Louis and in hopes that he would resemble him. In 1440, at

Conduct of the Dauphin.

seventeen years of age, he allied himself with the great lords, who were displeased with the new military system established by Charles VII., and allowed himself to be drawn by them into the transient rebellion known by the name of *Praguery*. When the king, having put it down, refused to receive the rebels to favour, the dauphin said to his father, "My lord, I must go back with them, then; for so I promised them." "Louis," replied the king, "the gates are open, and if they are not high enough I will have sixteen or twenty fathom of wall knocked down for you, that you may go whither it seems best to you." Charles VII. had made his son marry Margaret Stuart of Scotland, that charming princess who was so smitten with the language and literature of France, that coming one day upon the poet Alan Chartier asleep upon a bench, she kissed him on the forehead in the presence of her mightily astonished train, for he was very ugly. The dauphin rendered his wife so wretched that she died in 1445, at the age of one and twenty, with these words upon her lips, "Oh! fie on life! Speak to me no more of it." In 1449, just when the king his father was taking up arms to drive the English out of Normandy, the dauphin Louis, who was now living entirely in Dauphiny, concluded at Briançon a secret league with the duke of Savoy "against the ministers of the king of France, *his enemies*." In 1456, in order to escape from the perils brought upon him by the plots which he in the heart of Dauphiny was incessantly hatching against his father, Louis fled from Grenoble and went to take refuge in Brussels with the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, who willingly received him, at the same time excusing himself to Charles VII. "on the ground of the respect he owed to the son of his suzerain," and putting at the disposal of Louis "his guest" a pension of thirty-six thousand livres. At Brussels the dauphin remained impassive, waiting with scandalous indifference for the news of his father's death. Charles sank into a state of profound melancholy and general distrust. At last, deserted by them of his own household and disgusted with his own life, he died on the 22nd of July, 1461.

The "Praguery."

A.D. 1461. Death of CharlesVII (July 22).



CHAPTER VI.

LOUIS XI.—CHARLES VIII.—LOUIS XII. (1461-1515).

A.D. 1461. Louis XI.

"Gentlemen," said Dunois on rising from table at the funeral-banquet held at the abbey of St. Denis in honour of the obsequies of King Charles VII., "we have lost our master; let each look after himself." The old warrior foresaw that the new reign would not be like that which had just ended. Charles VII. had been a prince of indolent disposition, more inclined to pleasure than ambition, whom the long and severe trials of his life had moulded to government without his having any passion for governing, and who had become in a quiet way a wise and powerful king without any eager desire to be incessantly and every where chief actor and master. His son Louis, on the contrary, was completely possessed with a craving for doing, talking, agitating, domineering, and reaching, no matter by what means, the different and manifold ends he proposed to himself. Any thing but prepossessing in appearance, supported on long and thin shanks, vulgar in looks and often designedly ill-dressed, and undignified in his manners though haughty in mind, he was powerful by the sheer force of a mind marvellously lively, subtle, unerring, ready, and inventive, and of a character indefatigably active, and pursuing success as a passion without any scruple or embarrassment in the employment of means. His contemporaries, after observing his reign for some time, gave him the name of *the universal spider*, so relentlessly did he labour to weave a web of which he himself occupied the centre and extended the filaments in all directions.

At the accession of Louis XI. the feudal system was still powerful At the summit, the houses of Burgundy, Bourbon, Orleans, Anjou and Brittany; the degrees immediately below were occupied by the families of Armagnac, Albret and Saint Pol. Against feudalism the king began a desperate warfare, and the first decrees which he published were as much the expression of his hatred, as of his determination to do away with every reminiscence of his father's government. Thus we account for the parsimonious character of the new court, the annulling of the pragmatic sanction, the prohibition of hunting, the dismissal of the late king's ministers, whose places were given to men of low extraction (Tristan l'Hermite, La Balue, Olivier le Daim), etc., etc. Thoroughly irritated by these measures, and by others besides, such as that which deprived the duke of Burgundy of the lieutenancy of Normandy, which had first been bestowed upon him, the great malcontents formed together, at the end of 1464, an alliance "for to remonstrate with the king," says Commynes, "upon the bad order and injustice he kept up in his kingdom, considering themselves strong enough to force him if he would not mend his ways; and this war was called *the common weal*, because it was undertaken under colour of being for the common weal of the kingdom, the which was soon converted into private weal." The aged duke of Burgundy, sensible and wary as he was, gave at first only a hesitating and slack adherence to the league; but his son Charles, count of Charolais, entered into it passionately, and the father was no more in a condition to resist his son than he was inclined to follow him. The number of the declared malcontents increased rapidly; and the chiefs received at Paris itself, in the church of Notre Dame, the adhesion and the signatures of those who wished to join them. Louis XI. had no sooner obtained a clear insight into the league of the princes than he set to work with his usual activity and knowledge of the world to checkmate it. To rally together his own partisans and to separate his foes, such was the two-fold end he pursued, at first with some success. He would have been glad to have nothing to do but to negotiate and talk. Though he was personally brave, he did not like war and its unforeseen issues. He belonged to the class of ambitious despots who prefer strategem to force. But the very ablest speeches and artifices, even if they do not remain entirely fruitless, are not sufficient to reduce matters promptly to order when great interests are threatened, passions violently excited, and factions let loose in the arena. Between the *League of the Common Weal* and Louis XI. there was a question too great to be, at the very outset, settled peacefully. It was feudalism in decline

A.D. 1464. League of the Common Weal.

Louis XI. grapples with feudalism.

at grips with the kingship which had been growing greater and greater for two centuries. The lords did not trust the king's promises; and one amongst those lords was too powerful to yield without a fight. At the beginning Louis had, in Auvergne and in Berry, some successes which decided a few of the rebels, the most insignificant, to accept truces and enter upon parleys; but the great princes, the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, and Berry, waxed more and more angry.

A.D. 1465. Battle of Montlhéry.

The two armies met at Montlhéry, on the 16th of July, 1465. Brézé, who commanded the king's advance-guard, immediately went into action and was one of the first to be killed. Louis came up to his assistance with troops in rather loose order; the affair became hot and general; the French for a moment wavered, and a rumour ran through the ranks that the king had just been killed. "No, my friends," said Louis, taking off his helmet, "no, I am not dead; defend your king with good courage." The wavering was transferred to the Burgundians, and the advantage virtually remained on the side of the French.

Treaties of Conflans and Saint Maur.

Negotiations for peace speedily followed. There was no difficulty about them. Louis was ready to make sacrifices as soon as he recognized the necessity for them, being quite determined, however, in his heart, to recall them as soon as fortune came back to him. Two distinct treaties were concluded: one at Conflans on the 5th of October, 1465, between Louis and the count of Charolais; and the other at St. Maur on the 29th of October, between Louis and the other princes of the League. By one or the other of the treaties the king granted nearly every demand that had been made upon him; to the count of Charolais he gave up all the towns of importance in Picardy; to the duke of Berry he gave the duchy of Normandy, with entire sovereignty; and the other princes, independently of the different territories that had been conceded to them, all received large sums in ready money. Scarcely were the treaties signed and the princes returned each to his own dominions, when a quarrel arose between the duke of Brittany and the new duke of Normandy. Louis, who was watching for dissensions between his enemies, went at once to see the duke of Brittany, and made with him a private convention for mutual security. Then, having his movements free, he suddenly entered Normandy to retake possession of it as a province which, notwithstanding the cession of it just made to his brother, the king of France could not dispense with. Evreux, Gisors, Gournay, Louviers, and even Rouen fell, without much resistance, again into his power.

In order to be safe in the direction of Burgundy as well as that

of Brittany, Louis had entered into negotiations with Edward IV., king of England, and had made him offers, perhaps even promises, which seemed to trench upon the rights ceded by the treaty of Conflans to the duke of Burgundy as to certain districts of Picardy. The count of Charolais was informed of it, and complained bitterly of the king's obstinate pretensions and underhand ways.

A.D. 1467. Death of Philip the Good.

A serious incident now happened, which for a while distracted the attention of the two rivals from their mutual recriminations. Duke Philip the Good, who had for some time past been visibly declining in body and mind, was visited at Bruges by a stroke of apoplexy, soon discovered to be fatal.

Insurrections at Ghent and Liège.

A few days after his death, several of the principal Flemish cities, Ghent first and then Liège, rose against the new duke of Burgundy in defence of their liberties already ignored or threatened. The intrigues of Louis were not unconnected with these seditions. He would undoubtedly have been very glad to have seen his most formidable enemy beset, at the very commencement of his ducal reign, by serious embarrassments, and obliged to let the king of France settle without trouble his differences with his brother Duke Charles of Berry and with the duke of Brittany. But the new duke of Burgundy was speedily triumphant over the Flemish insurrections; and after these successes, at the close of the year 1467, he was so powerful and so unfettered in his movements that Louis might with good reason fear the formation of a fresh league amongst his great neighbours in coalition against him, and perhaps even in communication with the English, who were ever ready to seek in France allies for the furtherance of their attempts to regain there the fortunes wrested from them by Joan of Arc and Charles VII. In view of such a position, Louis formed a resolution, unpalatable no doubt to one so jealous of his own power, but indicative of intelligence and boldness; he confronted the difficulties of home government in order to prevent perils from without.

He summoned the states-general to a meeting at Tours on the 1st of April, 1468, and obtained from them the annulment of the concessions he had made, more particularly with reference to Normandy, a province which was within so dangerous a proximity of England.

A.D. 1468. Treaty of Ancenis.

Thus fortified by their burst of attachment, Louis, by the treaty of Ancenis, signed on the 10th of September, 1468, put an end to his differences with Francis II., duke of Brittany, who gave up his alliance with the house of Burgundy, and undertook to prevail upon Duke Charles of France to accept an arbitration for the purpose of settling, before two years were over, the question of his territorial

appanage in the place of Normandy. In the meanwhile a pension of sixty thousand livres was to be paid by the crown to that prince. Thus Louis was left with the new duke, Charles of Burgundy, as the only adversary he had to face. His advisers were divided as to the course to be taken with this formidable vassal. Was he to be dealt with by war or by negotiation? Count De Dampmartin, marshal De Rouault, and nearly all the military men earnestly advised war; but the king did not like to risk the kingdom; and he had more confidence in negotiation than in violent measures. Two of his principal advisers, the constable De St. Pol and the cardinal De la Balue, bishop of Evreux, were of his opinion, and urged him to the top of his bent. Accordingly he started for Noyon on the 2nd of October, taking with him the constable, the cardinal, his confessor, and, for all his escort, four scoré of his faithful Scots and sixty men-at-arms. Duke Charles went to meet him outside the town. They embraced one another and returned on foot to Péronne, chatting familiarly, and the king with his hand resting on the duke's shoulder in token of amity. Louis had quarters at the house of the chamberlain of the town; the castle being, it was said, in too bad a state and too ill-furnished for his reception. "King Louis, on coming to Péronne, had not considered," says Commynes, "that he had sent two ambassadors to the folks of Liège to excite them against the duke. Nevertheless the said ambassadors had advanced matters so well that they had already made a great mass (of rebels). The Liégese came and took by surprise the town of Tongres, wherein were the bishop of Liège and the lord of Humbercourt, whom they took also, slaying moreover some servants of the said bishop." The fugitives who reported this news at Péronne made the matter a great deal worse than it was; they had no doubt, they said, but that the bishop and sire d'Humbercourt had also been murdered; and Charles had no more doubt about it than they. Exasperated by so glaring an act of treachery, Charles the Rash confined his sovereign within the tower where Charles the Simple had died in 929; and, through the happy mediation of Philip de Commynes, obliged him to sign the treaty of Péronne (1468). According to the terms of this agreement the king renounced every suzerainty over the possessions of the duke of Burgundy; he further gave the province of Champagne to his own brother, and consented to the destruction of the city of Liège. He had even the cruelty of witnessing the massacre of those whose rebellion he had not only encouraged but assisted.

Interview between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy at Péronne

Revolt of the Liégese.

But Louis XI.'s deliverance after his quasi-captivity at Péronne, and the new treaty he had concluded with Duke Charles, were and

could be only a temporary break in the struggle between these two princes, destined as they were both by character and position to irremediable incompatibility. They were too powerful and too different to live at peace when they were such close neighbours and when their relations were so complicated. Between 1468 and 1477, from the incident at Péronne to the death of Charles at the siege of Nancy, the history of the two princes was nothing but one constant alternation between ruptures and re-adjustments, hostilities and truces, wherein both were constantly changing their posture, their language, and their allies. It was at one time the affairs of the duke of Brittany or those of Prince Charles of France, become duke of Guienne; at another it was the relations with the different claimants to the throne of England, or the fate of the towns, in Picardy, handed over to the duke of Burgundy by the treaties of Conflans and Péronne, which served as a ground or pretext for the frequent recurrences of war. In 1471 St. Quentin opened its gates to Count Louis of St. Pol, constable of France. The next year (1472) war broke out. Duke Charles went and laid siege to Beauvais, and on the 27th of June delivered the first assault. The inhabitants were at this moment left almost alone to defend their town. A young girl of eighteen, Joan Fourquet, whom a burgher's wife of Beauvais, Madame Laisné, her mother by adoption, had bred up in the history, still so recent, of Joan of Arc, threw herself into the midst of the throng, holding up her little axe (*hachette*) before the image of St. Angadresme, patroness of the town, and crying, "O glorious virgin, come to my aid; to arms! to arms!" The assault was repulsed; reinforcements came up from Noyon, Amiens, and Paris, under the orders of the marshal de Rouault. Charles remained for twelve days longer before the place, looking for a better chance; but on the 12th of July he decided upon raising the siege, and took the road to Normandy. Some days before attacking Beauvais, he had taken, not without difficulty, Nesle in the Vermandois. "There it was," says Commynes, "that he first committed a horrible and wicked deed of war, which had never been his wont; this was burning every thing every where; those who were taken alive were hanged; a pretty large number had their hands cut off. It mislikes me to speak of such cruelty; but I was on the spot, and must needs say something about it." Commynes undoubtedly said something about it to Charles himself, who answered, "It is the fruit borne by the tree of war; it would have been the fate of Beauvais if I could have taken the town."

Continued rivalry between France and Burgundy.

A.D 1472. Siege of Beauvais. Joan Fourquet.

Relations with England.

Between the two rivals in France, relations with England were a subject of constant manœuvring and strife. In spite of reverses

on the Continent and civil wars in their own island, the kings of England had not abandoned their claims to the crown of France; they were still in possession of Calais; and the memory of the battles of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt was still a tower of strength to them. Between 1470 and 1472 the house of York had triumphed over the house of Lancaster; and Edward IV. was undisputed king. In his views touching France he found a natural ally in the duke of Burgundy; and it was in concert with Charles that Edward was incessantly concocting and attempting plots and campaigns against Louis XI. In 1474 he, by a herald, called upon Louis to give up to him Normandy and Guienne, else, he told him, he would cross over to France with his army. "Tell your master," answered Louis coolly, "that I should not advise him to." Edward landed at Calais on the 22nd of June, 1475, with an army of from sixteen to eighteen thousand men thirsting for conquest and pillage in France, and the duke of Burgundy had promised to go and join him with a considerable force; but the latter after having appeared for a moment at Calais to concert measures with his ally, returned no more, and even hesitated about admitting the English into his towns of Artois and Picardy. Edward waited for him nearly two months at Péronne, but in vain. During this time Louis negotiated; he fixed his quarters at Amiens, and Edward came and encamped half a league from the town. An agreement was soon come to as to the terms of peace. King Edward bound himself to withdraw with his army to England so soon as Louis XI. should have paid him seventy-five thousand crowns. Louis promised besides to pay annually to King Edward fifty thousand crowns, in two payments, during the time that both princes were alive. A truce for seven years was concluded; they made mutual promises to lend each other aid if they were attacked by their enemies or by their own subjects in rebellion; and Prince Charles, the eldest son of Louis XI., was to marry Elizabeth, Edward's daughter, when both should be of marriageable age. Lastly, Queen Margaret of Anjou, who had been a prisoner in England since the death of her husband, Henry VI., was to be set at liberty and removed to France, on renouncing all claim to the crown of England. These conditions having been formulated, they were signed by the two kings at Pecquigny on the Somme, three leagues from Amiens, on the 29th of August, 1475.

A.D. 1478. **The English land in Normandy.**

The duke of Burgundy, as soon as he found out that the king of France had, under the name of truce, made peace for seven years with the king of England, and that Edward IV. had recrossed the Channel with his army, saw that his attempts, so far, were a

Lorraine attacked by Charles the Rash.

failure. Accordingly he too lost no time in signing [on the 13th of September, 1475] a truce with King Louis for nine years, and directing his ambition and aiming his blows against other quarters than western France. Two little states, his neighbours on the east, Lorraine and Switzerland, became the object and the theatre of his passion for war. Lorraine had at that time for its duke René II., of the house of Anjou through his mother Yolande, a young prince who was wavering as so many others were between France and Burgundy. Charles suddenly entered Lorraine, took possession of several castles, had the inhabitants who resisted hanged, besieged Nancy, which made a valiant defence, and ended by conquering the capital as well as the country-places, leaving Duke René no asylum but the court of Louis XI, of whom the Lorraine prince had begged a support, which Louis after his custom had promised without rendering it effectual. Charles did not stop there. He had already been more than once engaged in hostilities with his neighbours the Swiss; and he now learned that they had just made a sanguinary raid upon the district of Vaud, the domain of a petty prince of the house of Savoy, and a devoted servant of the duke of Burgundy's. Scarcely two months after the capture of Nancy, Charles set out, on the 11th of June, 1476, to go and avenge his client and wreak his haughty and turbulent humour upon these bold peasants of the Alps.

Charles the Rash attacks Lorraine.

In spite of the truce he had but lately concluded with Charles the Rash, the prudent Louis did not cease to keep an attentive watch upon him, and to reap advantage, against him, from the leisure secured to the king of France by his peace with the king of England and the duke of Brittany. A late occurrence had still further strengthened his position: his brother Charles, who became duke of Guienne, in 1469, after the treaty of Péronne, had died on the 24th of May, 1472. There were sinister rumours abroad touching this death. Louis was suspected of having poisoned his brother. At any rate this event had important results for him. Not only did it set him free from all fresh embarrassment in that direction, but it also restored to him the beautiful province of Guienne and many a royal client. Of the great feudal chieftains who, in 1464, had formed against him the *League of the Common Weal*, the duke of Burgundy was the only one left on the scene and in a condition to put him in peril.

A.D 1472. Death of the duke of Guienne. (May 24).

Louis XI. felt, however, now sure of success, for his principal adversary, Charles the Rash, had begun the prosecution of a plan which proved beyond his strength, and the failure of which eventually turned to the advantage of the king of France. The dominions

of Charles consisted of the duchy and county of Burgundy on the one side, and of the Netherlands on the other—feudal régime here, communal régime there. Between these divisions no communications existed, and it was in order to form a homogeneous whole of the two discordant and antagonistic parts that Charles the Bold staked his power, his treasures and his life. He wished to be a king, and with the hope of obtaining the creation of a kingdom of Belgian-Gaul, he had courted the alliance of the emperor Frederick III., promising to the archduke Maximilian the hand of his daughter Mary. Nothing resulted from this scheme on account of the sudden retreat of the emperor, who left Trèves on the very day before that which had been fixed for the ceremony of consecration. Mad with fury, Charles the Rash then turned against Germany. After a long siege he failed to take the city of Neuss, and signed with Louis XI. the peace of Soleure which has been called *Trève Marchande*, on account of the stipulations it contained respecting freedom of commerce between France, England, and the Netherlands. Safe, as he thought, on that side, he had leisure to attack both the Swiss and the Lorraine where he had for his client the old king René. He started from Besançon on the 6th of February to take the field with an army amounting, it is said, to thirty or forty thousand men, provided with a powerful artillery and accompanied by an immense baggage-train, wherein Charles delighted to display his riches and magnificence in contrast with the simplicity and roughness of his personal habits. At the rumour of such an armament, the Swiss attempted to keep off the war from their country. Charles, however, gave no heed, saw nothing in their representations but an additional reason for hurrying on his movements with confidence, and on the 19th of February arrived before Granson, a little town in the district of Vaud, where war had already begun. There he was tremendously beaten by the Swiss; the squadrons of his chivalry were not able to make any impression upon the battalions of Berne, Schwitz, Soleure, and Fribourg, armed with pikes eighteen feet long; and at sight of the mountaineers marching with huge strides and lowered heads upon their foes and heralding their advance by the lowings of the *bull of Uri* and the *cow of Unterwalden*, two enormous instruments made of buffalo-horn, and given, it was said, to their ancestors by Charlemagne, the whole Burgundian army, seized with fright, fled in wild confusion. On the 22nd of June, another desperate battle was fought at Morat, and hopelessly lost by the Burgundians. Charles had still three thousand horse, but he saw them break up, and he himself had great difficulty in

"Trève Marchande."

A.D. 1476. Battles of Granson (Feb.),

and Morat (June).

getting away, with merely a dozen men behind him, and reaching Morges, twelve leagues from Morat. Eight or ten thousand of his men had fallen, more than half, it is said, killed in cold blood, after the fight. Never had the Swiss been so dead set against their foes; and "as cruel as at Morat" was for a long while a common expression.

The duke of Lorraine makes war

Charles learned before long that the Swiss were not his most threatening foes, and that he had something else to do instead of going after them amongst their mountains. During his two campaigns against them, the duke of Lorraine, René II., whom he had despoiled of his dominions and driven from Nancy, had been wandering amongst neighbouring princes and people in France, Germany, and Switzerland, at the courts of Louis XI. and the emperor Frederic III., on visits to the patricians of Berne, and in the free towns of the Rhine. He was young, sprightly, amiable, and brave; he had been well received and certain promises had been made him. His partisans in Lorraine recovered confidence in his fortunes; the city of Strasbourg gave him some cannon, four hundred cavalry, and eight hundred infantry; Louis XI. lent him some money; and René before long found himself in a position to raise a small army and retake Epinal, Saint-Dié, Vaudemont, and the majority of the minor towns in Lorraine. Finally he

A.D. 1477. Battle of Nancy. Death of Charles the Rash.

attacked and defeated the Burgundians at Nancy on January the 5th, 1477. The duke was killed on the field of battle. Charles the Rash had left only a daughter, Mary of Burgundy, sole heiress of all his dominions. To annex this magnificent heritage to the crown of France by the marriage of the heiress with the dauphin, who was one day to be Charles VIII., was clearly for the best interests of the nation as well as of the French kingship, and such had, accordingly, been Louis XI.'s first idea.

Mary of Burgundy marries the Emperor Maximilian.

All the efforts of Louis the XI., however, did not succeed. On the 18th of August, 1477, seven months after the battle of Nancy and the death of Charles the Rash, Archduke Maximilian, son of the emperor Frederic III., arrived at Ghent to wed Mary of Burgundy. "The moment he caught sight of his betrothed," say the Flemish chroniclers, "they both bent down to the ground and turned as pale as death; a sign of mutual love according to some, an omen of unhappiness according to others." Next day, August 19, the marriage was celebrated with great simplicity in the chapel of the Hôtel de Ville; and Maximilian swore to respect the privileges of Ghent. A few days afterwards he renewed the same oath at Bruges, in the midst of decorations bearing the modest device, "Most glorious prince, defend us lest we perish" (*Glorio.*

sissime princeps, defende nos ne pereamus). Not only did Louis XI. thus fail in his first wise design of incorporating with France, by means of a marriage between his son the dauphin and Princess Mary, the heritage of the dukes of Burgundy, but he suffered the heiress and a great part of the heritage to pass into the hands of the son of the German Emperor; and thereby he paved the way for that determined rivalry between the houses of France and Austria, which was a source of so many dangers and woes to both states during three centuries. In vain, when the marriage of Maximilian and Mary was completed, did Louis XI. attempt to struggle against his new and dangerous neighbour; his campaigns in the Flemish provinces, in 1478 and 1479, had no great result; he lost, on the 7th of August, 1479, the battle of Guinegate, between St. Omer and Thérouanne; and before long, tired of war, which was not his favourite theatre for the display of his abilities, he ended by concluding with Maximilian a truce at first, and then a peace, which, in spite of some conditionals favourable to France, left the principal and the fatal consequences of the Austro-Burgundian marriage to take full effect. This event marked the stoppage of that great, national policy which had prevailed during the first part of Louis XI.'s reign. Joan of Arc and Charles VII. had driven the English from France; and for sixteen years Louis XI. had, by fighting and gradually destroying the great vassals who made alliance with them, prevented them from regaining a footing there. That was work as salutary as it was glorious for the nation and the French kingship. At the death of Charles the Rash the work was accomplished; Louis XI. was the only Power left in France, without any great peril from without and without any great rival within; but he then fell under the sway of mistaken ideas and a vicious spirit. Old in years, master-power still though beaten in his last game of policy, he appeared to all as he really was and as he had been predisceerned to be by only such eminent observers as Commynes, that is, a crooked, swindling, utterly selfish, vindictive, cruel man. Not only did he hunt down implacably the men who, after having served him, had betrayed or deserted him; he revelled in the vengeance he took and the sufferings he inflicted on them. Note for instance, his treatment of Cardinal Balue, whom he caused to be confined in a cage, "eight feet broad," says Commynes, "and only one foot higher than a man's stature, covered with iron plates outside and inside, and fitted with terrible bars." In it the unfortunate prelate passed eleven years, and it was not until 1480 that he was let out, at the solicitation of Pope Sixtus IV., to whom

A.D. 1479. Battle of Guinegate

Cruelty of Louis XI.

Torture of Cardinal Balue.

Louis XI., being old and ill, thought he could not possibly refuse this favour.

He was still more pitiless towards a man more formidable and less subordinate, both in character and origin, than Cardinal Balue.

A.D. 1475. Death of the count of St. Pol.

Louis of Luxembourg, count of St. Pol, had been from his youth up engaged in the wars and intrigues of the sovereigns and great feudal lords of western Europe, France, England, Germany, Burgundy, Brittany and Lorraine. From 1433 to 1475 he served and betrayed them all in turn, seeking and obtaining favours, incurring and braving rancour, at one time on one side and at another time on another, acting as constable of France and as diplomatic agent for the duke of Burgundy, raising troops and taking towns for Louis XI., for Charles the Rash, for Edward IV., for the German emperor, and trying nearly always to keep for himself what he had taken on another's account; given up at last, by the duke of Burgundy, to the king, he was beheaded on the 19th of December, 1475, in Paris, on the Place de Grève.

In August, 1477, the battle of Nancy had been fought; Charles the Rash had been killed; and the line of the dukes of Burgundy had been extinguished. Louis XI. remained master of the battlefield on which the great risks and great scenes of his life had been passed through. It seemed as if he ought to fear nothing now, and that the day for clemency had come. But such was not the king's opinion; two cruel passions, suspicion and vengeance, had taken possession of his soul; he remained convinced, not without reason, that nearly all the great feudal lords who had been his foes were continuing to conspire against him, and that he ought not, on his side, ever to cease from striving against them. The trial of the constable, St. Pol, had confirmed all his suspicions; he had discovered thereby traces and almost proofs of a design for a long time past conceived and pursued by the constable and his associates, the design of seizing the king, keeping him prisoner, and setting his son, the dauphin, on the throne, with a regency composed of a council of lords. Amongst the declared or presumed adherents of this project, the king had found James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, the companion and friend of his youth, for his father, the count of Pardiac, had been governor to Louis, at that time dauphin. Arrested, sent to the Bastille, and tried on a charge of high treason, the duke de Nemours was beheaded on the 4th of August, 1477. A disgusting detail, reproduced by several modern writers, has almost been received into history. Louis XI., it is said, ordered the children of the duke of Nemours to be placed under the scaffold and besprinkled with their father's blood. None

A D 1477 Death of the duke of Nemours.

of his contemporaries, even the most hostile to Louis XI., and even amongst those who, at the states-general held in 1484, one of them after his death, raised their voices against the trial of the duke of Nemours and in favour of his children, has made any mention of this pretended atrocity.

The friends of Louis XI. Count de Dampmartin.

The same rule of historical equity makes it incumbent upon us to remark that, in spite of his feelings of suspicion and revenge, Louis XI. could perfectly well appreciate the men of honour in whom he was able to have confidence, and would actually confide in them even contrary to ordinary probabilities. He numbered amongst his most distinguished servants three men who had begun by serving his enemies and whom he conquered, so to speak, by his penetration and his firm mental grasp of policy. They were Philip of Chabannes, count de Dampmartin, Odet d'Aydie, lord of Lescun in Béarn, whom he created count of Comminges, and finally Philip de Commynes, the most precious of the politic conquests made by Louis in the matter of eminent counsellors, to whom he remained as faithful as they were themselves faithful and useful to him. The *Mémoires* of Commynes are the most striking proof of the rare and unfettered political intellect placed by the future historian at the king's service and of the estimation in which the king had wit enough to hold it.

The lord of Lescun.

Philip de Commynes.

Home administration.

Louis XI. rendered to France four centuries ago, during a reign of twenty-two years, three great services, the traces and influence of which exist to this day. He prosecuted steadily the work of Joan of Arc and Charles VII., the expulsion of a foreign kingship and the triumph of national independence and national dignity. By means of the provinces which he successively won, wholly or partly, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Artois, Provence, Anjou, Roussillon, and Barrois, he caused France to make a great stride towards territorial unity within her natural boundaries. By the defeat he inflicted on the great vassals, the favour he showed the middle classes, and the use he had the sense to make of this new social force, he contributed powerfully to the formation of the French nation and to its unity under a national government. Feudal society had not an idea of how to form itself into a nation or discipline its forces under one head; Louis XI. proved its political weakness, determined its fall, and laboured to place in its stead France and monarchy. Herein are the great facts of his reign and the proofs of his superior mind.

But side by side with these powerful symptoms of a new regimen appeared also the vices of which that regimen contained the germ, and those of the man himself who was labouring to found it.

Feudal society, perceiving itself to be threatened, at one time attacked Louis XI. with passion, at another entered into violent disputes against him; and Louis, in order to struggle with it, employed all the practices at one time crafty and at another violent that belong to absolute power. Craft usually predominated in his proceedings, violence being often too perilous for him to risk it; he did not consider himself in a condition to say brazen-facedly, "Might before right," but he disregarded right in the case of his adversaries, and he did not deny himself any artifice, any lie, any baseness, however specious, in order to trick them or ruin them secretly, when he did not feel himself in a position to crush them at a blow. He was "familiar," but "by no means vulgar;" he was in conversation able and agreeable, with a mixture, however, of petulance and indiscretion, even when he was meditating some perfidy; and "there is much need," he used to say, "that my tongue should sometimes serve me; it has hurt me often enough." The most puerile superstitions as well as those most akin to a blind piety found their way into his mind. When he received any bad news, he would cast aside for ever the dress he was wearing when the news came; and of death he had a dread which was carried to the extent of pusillanimity and ridiculousness. "Whilst he was every day," says M. de Barante, "becoming more suspicious, more absolute, more terrible to his children, to the princes of the blood, to his old servants, and to his wisest counsellors, there was one man who, without any fear of his wrath, treated him with brutal rudeness. This was James Coëttier, his doctor. When the king would sometimes complain of it before certain confidential servants: 'I know very well,' Coëttier would say, 'that some fine morning you'll send me where you've sent so many others; but, 'sdeath, you'll not live a week after!'" Then the king would coax him, overwhelm him with caresses, raise his salary to ten thousand crowns a month, make him a present of rich lordships; and he ended by making him premier president of the Court of Exchequer. All churches and all sanctuaries of any small celebrity were recipients of his oblations, and it was not the salvation of his soul but life and health that he asked for in return.

Character of LouisXI

His superstition.

Whether they were sincere or assumed, the superstitions of Louis XI. did not prevent him from appreciating and promoting the progress of civilization, towards which the fifteenth century saw the first real general impulse. He favoured the free development of industry and trade; he protected printing, in its infancy, and scientific studies, especially the study of medicine; by his authorization, it is said, the operation for the stone was tried, for the first

time in France, upon a criminal under sentence of death, who recovered and was pardoned; and he welcomed the philological scholars who were at this time labouring to diffuse through Western Europe the works of Greek and Roman antiquity. He instituted, at first for his own and before long for the public service, post-horses and the letter-post within his kingdom. Towards intellectual and social movement he had not the mistrust and antipathy of an old, one-grooved, worn-out, unproductive despotism; his kingly despotism was new, and, one might almost say, innovational, for it sprang and was growing up from the ruins of feudal rights and liberties which had inevitably ended in monarchy. But despotism's good services are shortlived; it has no need to last long before it generates iniquity and tyranny; and that of Louis XI., in the latter part of his reign, bore its natural, unavoidable fruits. "His mistrust," says M. de Barante, "became horrible and almost insane; every year he had surrounded his castle of Plessis with more walls, ditches and rails. On the towers were iron sheds, a shelter from arrows and even artillery. More than eighteen hundred of those planks bristling with nails, called caltrops, were distributed over the yonder side of the ditch. There were every day four hundred crossbow-men on duty, with orders to shoot whosoever approached. Every suspected passer-by was seized, and carried off to Tristan l'Hermite, the provost marshal. No great proofs were required for a swing on the gibbet or for the inside of a sack and a plunge in the Loire.

His reforms and improvements.

An unexpected event occurred at this time to give a little more heart to Louis XI., who was now very ill, and to mingle with his gloomy broodings a gleam of future prospects. Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Rash, died at Bruges on the 27th of March, 1482, leaving to her husband, Maximilian of Austria, a daughter, hardly three years of age, Princess Marguerite by name, heiress to the Burgundian-Flemish dominions which had not come into the possession of the king of France. Louis, as soon as he heard the news, conceived the idea and the hope of making up for the reverse he had experienced five years previously through the marriage of Mary of Burgundy. He would arrange espousals between his son the dauphin, Charles, thirteen years old, and the infant princess left by Mary, and thus recover for the crown of France the beautiful domains he had allowed to slip from him. A negotiation was opened at once on the subject between Louis, Maximilian, and the estates of Flanders, and, on the 23rd of December, 1482, it resulted in a treaty, concluded at Arras, which arranged for the marriage and regulated the mutual

A.D. 1482. Death of Mary of Burgundy.

conditions. In January, 1483, the ambassadors from the estates of Flanders and from Maximilian, who then for the first time assumed the title of archduke, came to France for the ratification of the treaty.

A.D. 1483. Marguerite of Austria betrothed to the Dauphin.

On the 2nd of June following, the infant princess, Marguerite of Austria, was brought by a solemn embassy to Paris first, and then, on the 23rd of June, to Amboise, where her betrothal to the dauphin, Charles, was celebrated. Louis XI. did not feel fit for removal to Amboise; and he would not even receive at Plessis-lès-Tours the new Flemish embassy. Assuredly neither the king nor any of the actors in this regal scene foresaw that this marriage, which they with reason looked upon as a triumph of French policy, would never be consummated; that, at the request of the court of France, the pope would annul the betrothal; and that, nine years after its celebration, in 1492, the Austrian princess, after having been brought up at Amboise under the guardianship of the duchess of Bourbon, Anne, eldest daughter of Louis XI, would be sent back to her father, Emperor Maximilian, by her affianced, Charles VIII., then king of France, who preferred to become the husband of a French princess with a French province for dowry, Anne, duchess of Brittany.

A.D. 1483. Death of Louis XI.

It was in March, 1481, that Louis XI. had his first attack of that apoplexy which, after several repeated strokes, reduced him to such a state of weakness that in June, 1483, he felt himself and declared himself not in a fit state to be present at his son's betrothal. Two months afterwards, on the 25th of August, St. Louis' day, he had a fresh stroke, and lost all consciousness and speech.

On Saturday, August 30th, 1483, between seven and eight in the evening, he expired, saying, "Our Lady of Embrun, my good mistress, have pity upon me; the mercies of the Lord will I sing for ever (*misericordias Domini in æternum cantabo*)."

Louis XI. has had the good fortune to be described and appraised, in his own day too, by the most distinguished and independent of his councillors, Philip de Commynes, and, three centuries afterwards, by one of the most thoughtful and the soundest intellects amongst the philosophers of the eighteenth century, Duclos, who, moreover, had the advantage of being historiographer of France and of having studied the history of that reign in authentic documents. We reproduce here the two judgments, the agreement of which is remarkable:—

"God," says Commynes, "had created our king more wise, liberal, and full of manly virtue than the princes who reigned with him and in his day, and who were his enemies and neighbours. In

all there was good and evil, for they were men; but, without flattery, in him were more things appertaining to the office of king than in any of the rest. I saw them nearly all, and know what they could do."

"Louis XI.," says Duclos, "was far from being without reproach; few princes have deserved so much; but it may be said that he was equally celebrated for his vices and his virtues, and that, everything being put in the balance, he was a king."

We will be more exacting than Commynes and Duclos; we will not consent to apply to Louis XI. the words *liberal*, *virtuous*, and *virtue*; he had not greatness of soul, nor uprightness of character, nor kindness of heart; he was neither a great king nor a good king; but we may assent to Duclos' last words—he was a king.

Family of Louis XI.

Louis XI. had by the queen, his wife, Charlotte of Savoy, six children; three of them survived him: Charles VIII., his successor; Anne, his eldest daughter, who had espoused Peter of Bourbon, sire de Beaujeu; and Joan, whom he had married to the duke of Orleans, who became Louis XII. At their father's death, Charles was thirteen; Anne twenty-two or twenty-three; and Joan nineteen. According to Charles V.'s decree, which had fixed fourteen as the age for the king's majority, Charles VIII., on his accession, was very nearly a major; but Louis XI., with good reason, considered him very far from capable of reigning as yet. On the other hand, he had a very high opinion of his daughter Anne, and it was to her far more than to sire de Beaujeu, her husband, that six days before his death and by his last instructions he entrusted the guardianship of his son, to whom he already gave the title of *king*, and the government of the realm. Louis, duke of Orleans, was a natural claimant to the regency; but Anne de Beaujeu, immediately and without consulting anybody, took up the position which had been entrusted to her by her father, and the fact was accepted without ceasing to be questioned. Louis XI. had not been mistaken in his choice; there was none more fitted than his daughter Anne to continue his policy under the reign and in the name of his successor.

Regency of Madame de Beaujeu.

She began by acts of intelligent discretion. She tried, not to subdue by force the rivals and malcontents, but to put them in the wrong in the eyes of the public and to cause embarrassment to themselves by treating them with fearless favour. Her brother-in-law, the duke of Bourbon, was vexed at being only in appearance and name the head of his own house; and she made him constable of France and lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The friends of Duke Louis of Orleans, amongst others his chief confi-

dant George of Amboise, bishop of Montauban, and Count Dunois, son of Charles VII.'s hero, persistently supported the duke's rights to the regency; and *Madame* (the title Anne de Beaujeu had assumed) made Duke Louis governor of Ile-de-France and of Champagne and sent Dunois as governor to Dauphiny. She kept those of Louis XI.'s advisers for whom the public had not conceived a perfect hatred like that felt for their master; and Commynes alone was set aside, as having received from the late king too many personal favours and as having too much inclination towards independent criticism of the new regency. Two of Louis XI.'s subordinate and detested servants, Oliver le Daim and John Doyac, were prosecuted, and one was hanged and the other banished; and his doctor, James Coëttier, was condemned to disgorge fifty thousand crowns out of the enormous presents he had received from his patient. At the same time that she thus gave some satisfaction to the cravings of popular wrath, Anne de Beaujeu threw open the prisons, recalled exiles, forgave the people a quarter of the talliage, cut down expenses by dismissing six thousand Swiss whom the late king had taken into his pay, re-established some sort of order in the administation of the domains of the crown, and, in fine, whether in general measures or in respect of persons, displayed impartiality without paying court and firmness without using severity.

Her energy and impartiality.

Anne's discretion was soon put to a great trial. A general cry was raised for the convocation of the states-general. The ambitious hoped thus to open a road to power; the public looked forward to it for a return to legalized government. No doubt Anne would have preferred to remain more free and less responsible in the exercise of her authority; for it was still very far from the time when national assemblies could be considered as a permanent power and a regular means of government. But Anne and her advisers did not waver; they were too wise and too weak to oppose a great public wish. The states-general were convoked at Tours for the 5th of January, 1484. The deputies had all at heart one and the same idea; they desired to turn the old and undisputed monarchy into a legalized and free government. Clergy, nobles, and third estate, there was not in any of their minds any revolutionary yearning or any thought of social war. It is the peculiar and the beautiful characteristic of the states-general of 1484 that they had an eye to nothing but a great political reform, a regimen of legality and freedom.

A D 1484. The States-general are convoked at Tours.

Two men, one a Norman and the other a Burgundian, the canon John Masselin and Philip Pot, lord of la Roche, a former counsellor of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, were the exponents of this

political spirit, at once bold and prudent, conservative and reformative. The nation's sovereignty and the right of the estates not only to vote imposts but to exercise a real influence over the choice and conduct of the officers of the crown, this was what they affirmed in principle and what in fact they laboured to get established. They voted the taxes for a period of two years, declared that at the end of that interval they would meet again as a matter of course, and separated only after having passed resolutions of the boldest character.

Their results.

Neither Masselin nor his descendants for more than three centuries were destined to see the labours of the states-general of 1481 obtain substantial and durable results. The work they had conceived and attempted was premature. The establishment of a free government demands either spontaneous and simple virtues such as may be found in a young and small community, or the lights, the scientific method, and the wisdom, painfully acquired and still so imperfect, of great and civilized nations. France of the fifteenth century was in neither of those conditions. But it is a crown of glory to have felt that honest and patriotic ambition which animated Masselin and his friends at their exodus from the corrupt and corrupting despotism of Louis XI. Who would dare to say that their attempt, vain as it was for them, was so also for generations separated from them by centuries? Time and space are as nothing in the mysterious development of God's designs towards men, and it is the privilege of mankind to get instruction and example from far-off memories of their own history. It was a duty to render to the states-general of 1484 the homage to which they have a right by reason of their intentions and their efforts on behalf of the good cause and in spite of their unsuccess.

Ambition of the duke of Orleans.

When the states-general had separated, Anne de Beaujeu, without difficulty or uproar, resumed, as she had assumed on her father's death, the government of France; and she kept it yet for seven years, from 1484 to 1491. During all this time she had a rival and foe in Louis, duke of Orleans, who was one day to be Louis XII. This ambitious prince induced François II., duke of Brittany, Richard III., king of England, Maximilian of Austria, and others to take up arms against the regent. She vanquished François at Nantes, and sent to the gallows Landais, minister of that prince, and the original instigator of the league. In order to divert the attention of Richard III., she gave her support to Henry Tudor, who ultimately gained the battle of Bosworth (1485) and ascended to the throne of England, under the title of Henry VII. To Maximilian she opposed with success the marshals d'Esquerdes

and De Gié. The *foolish war*, thus called on account of the precipitation with which it had been undertaken, came to an issue as speedily as it was unexpected. The counts of Albret and of Comminges had espoused the cause of the duke of Orleans: they were defeated on their own domains in the South of France. In July, 1488, Louis de la Trémoille came suddenly down upon Brittany, took one after the other Chateaubriant, Ancenis, and Fougères, and, on the 28th, gained at St. Aubin-du-Cormier, near Rennes, over the army of the duke of Brittany and his English, German, and Gascon allies, a victory which decided the campaign: six thousand of the Breton army were killed, and Duke Louis of Orleans, the prince of Orange and several French lords, his friends, were made prisoners.

A.D. 1488. Battle of St. Aubin-du-Cormier (July 28).

It was a great success for Anne de Beaujeu She had beaten her united foes. Two incidents that supervened, one a little before and the other a little after the battle of St. Aubin-du-Cormier, occurred to both embarrass the position, and at the same time call forth all the energy of Anne. Her brother-in-law, Duke John of Bourbon, the head of his house, died on the 1st of April, 1488, leaving to his younger brother, Peter, his title and domains. Having thus become duchess of Bourbon, and being well content with this elevation in rank and fortune, *Madame the Great* (as Anne de Beaujeu was popularly called) was somewhat less eagerly occupied with the business of the realm, was less constant at the king's council, and went occasionally with her husband to stay awhile in their own territories. Charles VIII., moreover, having nearly arrived at man's estate, made more frequent manifestations of his own personal will; and Anne, clear-sighted and discreet though ambitious, was little by little changing her dominion into influence. But some weeks after the battle of St. Aubin-du-Cormier, on the 7th or 9th of September, 1488, the death of Francis II., duke of Brittany, rendered the active intervention of the duchess of Bourbon natural and necessary: for he left his daughter, the Princess Anne, barely eighteen years old, exposed to all the difficulties attendant upon the government of her inheritance and to all the intrigues of the claimants to her hand. The count of Nassau, having arrived in Brittany with the proxy of Archduke Maximilian, had by a mock ceremony espoused the Breton princess in his master's name. Madame de Beaujeu immediately sent into Brittany a powerful army, and compelled the young heiress to bestow herself upon the suzerain, Charles VIII. The young princess Marguerite of Austria, who had for eight years been under guardianship and education at Amboise as the future

Charles VIII. marries Anne of Brittany.

wife of the king of France, was removed from France and taken back into Flanders to her father Archduke Maximilian with all the external honours that could alleviate such an insult. On the 7th of February, 1492, Anne was crowned at St. Denis; and next day, the 8th of February, she made her entry in state into Paris amidst the joyful and earnest acclamations of the public. A sensible and a legitimate joy: for the reunion of Brittany to France was the consolidation of the peace which, in this same century, on the 17th of September, 1453, had put an end to the Hundred Years' War between France and England, and was the greatest act that remained to be accomplished to insure the definitive victory and the territorial constitution of French nationality.

Brittany reunited to France.

Charles VIII. was pleased with and proud of himself. He had achieved a brilliant and a difficult marriage. In Europe and within his own household he had made a display of power and independence. In order to espouse Anne of Brittany he had sent back Marguerite of Austria to her father. He had gone in person and withdrawn from prison his cousin Louis of Orleans, whom his sister Anne de Beaujeu had put there; and so far from having got embroiled wi... her he saw all the royal family reconciled around him. This was no little success for a young prince of twenty-one. He thereupon devoted himself with ardour and confidence to his desire of winning back the kingdom of Naples which Alphonso I., king of Arragon, had wrested from the House of France, and of thereby re-opening for himself in the East and against Islamry that career of Christian glory which had made a saint of his ancestor Louis IX. By two treaties concluded in 1493 [one at Barcelona on the 19th of January and the other at Senlis on the 23rd of May], he gave up Roussillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, and Franche-Comté, Artois and Charolais to the House of Austria, and, after having at such a lamentable price purchased freedom of movement, he went and took up his quarters at Lyons to prepare for his Neapolitan venture.

It were out of place to follow out here in all its details a war which belongs to the history of Italy far more than to that of France; it will suffice to point out with precision the positions of the principal Italian States at this period, and the different shares of influence they exercised on the fate of the French expedition.

State of Italy.

Six principal States, Piedmont, the kingdom of the dukes of Savoy; the duchy of Milan; the republic of Venice; the republic of Florence; Rome and the pope; and the kingdom of Naples, co-existed in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. In August, 1494, when Charles VIII. started from Lyons on his Italian expe-

dition, Piedmont was governed by Blanche of Montferrat, widow of Charles the Warrior, duke of Savoy, in the name of her son Charles John Amadeo, a child only six years old. In the duchy of Milan the power was in the hands of Ludovic Sforza, called *the Moor*, who, being ambitious, faithless, lawless, unscrupulous, employed it in banishing to Pavia the lawful duke, his own nephew,

Its rulers temporal and spiritual.

John Galeas Mario Sforza, of whom the Florentine ambassador said to Ludovic himself, "This young man seems to me a good young man, and animated by good sentiments, but very deficient in wits." He was destined to die ere long, probably by poison. The republic of Venice had at this period for its doge Augustin Barbarigo; and it was to the council of Ten that in respect of foreign affairs as well as of the home department the power really belonged. Peter de' Medici, son of Lorenzo de' Medeci, *the father of the Muses*, was feebly and stupidly, though with all the airs and pretensions of a despot, governing the republic of Florence. Rome had for pope Alexander VI. (*Roderigo Borgia*), a prince who was covetous, licentious, and brazen-facedly fickle and disloyal in his policy, and who would be regarded as one of the most utterly demoralized men of the fifteenth century only that he had for son a Cæsar Borgia. Finally at Naples, in 1494, three months before the day on which Charles VIII. entered Italy, King Alphonso II. ascended the throne. "No man," says Commynes, "was ever more cruel than he, or more wicked, or more vicious and tainted, or more gluttonous." Such, in Italy, whether in her kingdoms or her republics, were the Heads with whom Charles VIII. had to deal when he went, in the name of a disputed right, three hundred leagues away from his own kingdom in quest of a bootless and ephemeral conquest.

Italian campaign of Charles VIII.

On his way to Italy, Charles VIII. had stopped at Lyons, and there he spent so much money in rejoicings that he was obliged to contract a loan before he could proceed with his undertaking. He conducted his army through Vienne (Dauphiné), Gap, the passage of mount Genevre and Susa as far as Asti, where he was detained by a serious illness. His fleet, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, gained at the same time a victory over the Neapolitans at Rapalto, near Genoa. From Asti, where he received the visit of Ludovic Sforza, Charles VIII. went to Placentia, and there he learnt both the deaths of the duke of Milan and the anticipated usurpation of the young prince's guardian. He then crossed the Apennine pass of Pontemoli which had been left defenceless, and entered Tuscany, delivering Pisa from the yoke of the Florentines, and respecting, in this last named city, the intrepidity of Pietro

Capponi and the inhabitants, who had risen to maintain their freedom. "Sound your trumpets," said they to the French, "we will ring our bells."

On the 1st of January, 1495, Charles VIII. entered Rome with his army; the pope having retired at first to the Vatican and afterwards to the castle of St. Angelo, and Charles remaining master of the city, which, in a fit of mutual ill-humour and mistrust, was for one day given over to pillage and the violence of the soldiery. At last, on the 15th of January, a treaty was concluded which regulated pacific relations between the two sovereigns, and secured to the French army a free passage through the States of the Church, both going to Naples and also returning, and provisional possession of the town of Civita Vecchia, on condition that it should be restored to the pope when the king returned to France. It was announced that, on the 23rd of January, the Arragonese king of Naples, Alphonso II., had abdicated in favour of his son, Ferdinand II.; and, on the 28th of January, Charles VIII. took solemn leave of the pope, received his blessing, and left Rome, as he had entered it, at the head of his army, and more confident than ever in the success of the expedition he was going to carry out.

A.D. 1495. Charles VIII. enters Rome (Jan. 1),

After such a beginning, the Italian campaign promised to be merely a brilliant military promenade, where the only trouble would be that necessitated by appointing every day the quarters for the troops. There was indeed the semblance of a fight at San-Germano, but the king of Naples, betrayed both by his army and by his subjects, was obliged to seek safety in the island of Ischia, from whence he reached Sicily. Charles VIII. entered Naples on the 22nd of February at the head of his troops, on horseback beneath a pall of cloth of gold borne by four great Neapolitan lords, and "received," says Guicciardini, "with cheers and a joy of which it would be vain to attempt a description; the incredible exultation of a crowd of both sexes, of every age, of every condition, of every quality, of every party, as if he had been the father and first founder of the city."

and Naples (Feb. 22).

At the news hereof the disquietude and vexation of the principal Italian powers were displayed at Venice as well as at Milan and at Rome; on the 31st of March, 1495, a league was concluded between Pope Alexander VI. Emperor Maximilian I., as king of the Romans, the king of Spain, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan: "To three ends," says Commynes, "for to defend Christendom against the Turks, for the defence of Italy, and for the preservation of their estates. There was nothing in it against the king, they told me, but it was so

A.D. 1495. League between the Pope, the Emperor, the Spaniards the Venetians, and Milanese (March 31)

secure themselves from him ; they did not like his so deluding the world with words by saying that all he wanted was the kingdom and then to march against the Turk, and all the while he was showing quite the contrary." Charles VIII. remained nearly two months at Naples after the Italian league had been concluded, and whilst it was making its preparations against him was solely concerned about enjoying, in his beautiful but precarious kifigdom, "all sorts of mundane pleasaunces," as his councillor, the cardinal of St. Malo, says, and giving entertainments to his new subjects, as much disposed as himself to forget every thing in amusement. On the 12th of May, 1495, all the population of Naples and of the neighbouring country was a-foot early to see their new king make his entry in state as *king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem,* with his Neapolitan court and his French troops ; and only a week afterwards, on the 20th of May, 1495, Charles VIII. started from Naples to return to France with an army at the most from twelve to fifteen thousand strong, leaving for guardian of his new kingdom his cousin Gilbert of Bourbon, count de Montpensier, a brave but indolent knight, (who never rose, it was said, until noon,) with eight or ten thousand men, scattered for the most part throughout the provinces.

Retreat of the French (May 20).

During the months of April and May, thus wasted by Charles VIII., the Italian league, and especially the Venetians and the duke of Milan, Ludovic the Moor, had vigorously pushed forward their preparations for war, and had already collected an army more numerous than that with which the king of France, in order to return home, would have to traverse the whole of Italy. He took more than six weeks to traverse it, passing three days at Rome, four at Siena, the same number at Pisa, and three at Lucca, though he had declared that he would not halt anywhere. He evaded entering Florence, where he had made promises which he could neither retract nor fulfil. It was in the duchy of Parma, near the town of Fornovo, on the right bank of the Taro, an affluent of the Po, that the French and Italian armies met, on the 5th of July, 1495. The French army was nine or ten thousand strong, with five or six thousand camp-followers, servants or drivers ; the Italian army numbered at least thirty thousand men, well supplied and well rested, whereas the French were fatigued with their long march and very badly off for supplies. The battle was very hotly contested, but did not last long, with alternations of success and reverse on both sides. The two principal commanders in the king's army, Louis de la Trémoille and John James Trivulzio, sustained without recoiling the shock of troops far more numerous than their own.

A.D. 1495. Battle of Fornovo (July 5).

Both armies might and did claim the victory, for they had, each of them, partly succeeded in their design. The Italians wished to unmistakably drive out of Italy Charles VIII., who was withdrawing voluntarily; but to make it an unmistakable retreat, he ought to have been defeated, his army beaten, and himself perhaps a prisoner. With that view they attempted to bar his passage and beat him on Italian ground: in that they failed; Charles, remaining master of the battle-field, went on his way in freedom and covered with glory, he and his army. He certainly left Italy, but he left it with the feeling of superiority in arms, and with the intention of returning thither better informed and better supplied. The Italian allies were triumphant, but without any ground of security or any lustre; the expedition of Charles VIII. was plainly only the beginning of the foreigner's ambitious projects, invasions and wars against their own beautiful land. The king of France and his men of war had not succeeded in conquering it, but they had been charmed with such an abode; they had displayed in their campaign knightly qualities more brilliant and more masterful than the studied duplicity and elegant effeminacy of the Italians of the fifteenth century, and, after the battle of Fornovo, they returned to France justly proud and foolishly confident notwithstanding the incompleteness of their success. **Its results.**

Charles VIII. reigned for nearly three years longer after his return to his kingdom; and for the first two of them he passed his time in indolently dreaming of his plans for a fresh invasion of Italy, and in frivolous abandonment to his pleasures and the entertainments at his court, which he moved about from Lyons to Moulins, to Paris, to Tours and to Amboise. The news which came to him from Italy was worse and worse every day. The count de Montpensier, whom he had left at Naples, could not hold his own there, and died a prisoner on the 11th of November, 1496, after having found himself driven from place to place by Ferdinand II., who by degrees recovered possession of nearly all his kingdom, merely, himself also, to die there on the 6th of October, leaving for his uncle and successor, Frederick III., the honour of recovering the last four places held by the French. Whilst still constantly talking of the war he had in view, Charles attended more often and more earnestly than he hitherto had done, to the internal affairs of his kingdom. His two immediate predecessors, Charles VII. and Louis XI. had decreed the collation and revision of local customs, so often the rule of civil jurisdiction; but the work made no progress; Charles VIII. by a decree dated March 15, 1497, abridged the formalities, and urged on the execution of it, **Latter years of Charles VIII.**

though it was not completed until the reign of Charles IX. By another decree, dated August 2, 1497, he organized and regulated, as to its powers as well as its composition, the king's grand council, the supreme administrative body which was a fixture at Paris. At the beginning of the year 1498, Charles VIII. was at Amboise, where considerable works had been begun under his direction by several excellent artists whom he had brought from Naples. When passing one day through a dark gallery, he knocked his forehead against a door with such violence that he died a few hours afterwards (April 7, 1498). He was only twenty-eight years old; Commines has said of him: "He had little understanding, but he was so good that it would have been impossible to find a kinder creature." With him the direct family of Valois became extinct, and was replaced by that of the Valois-Orleans. Under the reign of Charles VIII. the cultivation of the mulberry tree was first introduced into France; the earliest plantations were attempted in the neighbourhood of Montélimar with complete success.

A.D. 1498. Death of Charles VIII.

On ascending the throne Louis XII. reduced the public taxes and confirmed in their posts his predecessor's chief advisers, using to Louis de la Trémoille, who had been one of his most energetic foes, that celebrated expression, "The king of France avenges not the wrongs of the duke of Orleans." At the same time on the day of his coronation at Rheims [May 27, 1492], he assumed, besides his title of king of France, the titles of *king of Naples and of Jerusalem* and *duke of Milan*. This was as much as to say that he would pursue a pacific and conservative policy at home, and a warlike and adventurous policy abroad. And, indeed, his government did present these two phases so different and inharmonious. By his policy at home, Louis XII. deserved and obtained the name of *Father of the People;* by his enterprises and wars abroad, he involved France still more deeply than Charles VIII. had in that mad course of distant, reckless, and incoherent conquests for which his successor, Francis I., was destined to pay by capture at Pavia and by the lamentable treaty of Madrid, in 1526, as the price of his release. Let us follow these two portions of Louis XII.'s reign, each separately, without mixing up one with the other by reason of identity of dates. We shall thus get at a better understanding and better appreciation of their character and their results.

Louis XII. follows the policy of his predecessor.

Outside of France Milaness [the Milanese district] was Louis XII.'s first thought, at his accession, and the first object of his desire. He looked upon it as his patrimony. His grandmother, Valentine Visconti, widow of that duke of Orleans who had been assassinated at Paris in 1407 by order of John the Fearless, duke

Claims Milaness as his patrimony.

of Burgundy, had been the last to inherit the duchy of Milan which the Sforzas, in 1450, had seized. When Charles VIII. invaded Italy in 1494, "Now is the time," said Louis, "to enforce the rights of Valentine Visconti, my grandmother, to Milaness." And he, in fact, asserted them openly, and proclaimed his intention of vindicating them so soon as he found the moment propitious. Accordingly, in the month of August, 1499, the French army, with a strength of from twenty to five and twenty thousand men, of whom five thousand were Swiss, invaded Milaness. Duke Ludovic Sforza opposed to it a force pretty nearly equal in number, but far less full of confidence and of far less valour. In less than three weeks the duchy was conquered; in only two cases was any assault necessary; all the other places were given up by traitors or surrendered without show of resistance. On the 6th of October, 1499, Louis made his triumphal entry into Milan amidst cries of "Hurrah! for France." He reduced the heavy imposts established by the Sforzas, revoked the vexatious game-laws, instituted at Milan a court of justice analogous to the French parliaments, loaded with favours the scholars and artists who were the honour of Lombardy, and recrossed the Alps at the end of some weeks, leaving as governor of Milaness John James Trivulzio, the valiant *Condottiere*, who, four years before, had quitted the service of Ferdinand II., king of Naples, for that of Charles VIII. Unfortunately Trivulzio was himself a Milanese, and of the faction of the Guelphs. He had the passions of a partisan, and the habits of a man of war, and he soon became as tyrannical, and as much detested in Milaness as Ludovic the *Moor* had but lately been. A plot was formed in favour of the fallen tyrant, who was in Germany expecting it, and was recruiting, during expectancy, amongst the Germans and Swiss in order to take advantage of it. On the 25th of January 1500, the insurrection broke out; and two months later Ludovic Sforza had once more become master of Milaness, where the French possessed nothing but the castle of Milan.

A.D 1499. The French invade Italy.

Their first successes.

A.D. 1500. Insurrection at Milan (Jan. 25).

Louis XII., so soon as he heard of the Milanese insurrection, sent into Italy Louis de la Trémoille, the best of his captains, and the cardinal d'Amboise, his privy councillor and his friend; the former to command the royal troops, French and Swiss, and the latter "for to treat about the reconciliation of the rebel towns, and to deal with everything as if it were the king in his own person." The campaign did not last long. The Swiss who had been recruited by Ludovic and those who were in Louis XII.'s service had no mind to fight one another; and the former capitulated, surrendered the strong place of Novara, and promised to evacuate the country

on condition of a safe-conduct for themselves and their booty. Betrayed into the hands of the enemy, Ludovic was sent to France where he expired fourteen years after, a prisoner in the castle of Loches. The duchy of Milan then submitted to Louis XII., and this prince made immediate preparations for attacking Naples. With this view he signed with Ferdinand the Catholic the secret treaty of Granada (Nov. 11, 1500).

On hearing of the approach of the French, the new king Frederic requested the Spaniards to defend him, and gave over to them his fortresses: this was surrendering to the enemy. Dethroned without having fought, and made a prisoner in the island of Ischia, he was conducted first to Blois, and then to Tours, whilst his son was confined in Spain He was at least avenged by the disunion which took place between his enemies. Gonzalvo of Cordova, one of the most celebrated chieftains of the day, attempted to defend Barletta, but would have been compelled to surrender, had not the treaty of Lyons, by apparently bringing about a cessation of hostilities, permitted the treacherous Ferdinand to succour his general. The French suffered, in consequence, two defeats (Seminara, Cerignola), and lost nearly all their possessions in the kingdom of Naples (1503)

The French defeated at Seminara and Cerignola.

Louis XII. hasted to levy and send to Italy, under the command of Louis de la Trémoille, a fresh army for the purpose of relieving Gaeta and recovering Naples; but at Parma La Trémoille fell ill, and the command devolved upon the Marquis of Mantua, who marched on Gaeta. He found Gonzalvo of Cordova posted with his army on the left bank of the Garigliano, either to invest the place or to repulse reinforcements that might arrive for it. The two armies passed fifty days face to face almost, with the river and its marshes between them, and vainly attempting over and over again to join battle. At length the French were defeated, and Gaeta fell into the hands of the Spaniards on the 1st of January, 1504

A.D 1503. Battle of the Garigliano (Dec. 27).

At the news of these reverses the grief and irritation of Louis XII. were extreme. Not only was he losing his Neapolitan conquest, but even his Milanese was also threatened. The ill-will of the Venetians became manifest The determined prosecution of hostilities in the kingdom of Naples by Gonzalvo of Cordova, in spite of the treaty concluded at Lyons on the 5th of April, 1503, between the kings of France and Spain, was so much the more offensive to Louis XII. in that this treaty was the consequence and the confirmation of an enormous concession which he had, two years previously, made to the king of Spain on consenting to affiance his daughter, Princess Claude of France, two years old, to Ferdinand's



LOUIS XII



grandson, Charles of Austria, who was then only one year old, and who became *Charles the Fifth* (emperor)! Lastly, about the same time, Pope Alexander VI., who, willy nilly, had rendered Louis XII. so many services, died at Rome on the 12th of August, 1503. Louis had hoped that his favourite minister, Cardinal George d'Amboise, would succeed him, and that hope had a great deal to do with the shocking favour he showed Cæsar Borgia, that infamous son of a demoralized father. But the candidature of Cardinal d'Amboise failed; a four weeks' pope, Pius III., succeeded Alexander VI.; and, when the Holy See suddenly became once more vacant, Cardinal d'Amboise failed again; and the new choice was Cardinal Julian della Rovera, Pope Julius II., who soon became the most determined and most dangerous foe of Louis XII., already assailed by so many enemies.

A.D. 1504 Truce with Spain.

In order to put off the struggle which had succeeded so ill for him in the kingdom of Naples, Louis concluded on the 31st of March, 1504, a truce for three years with the king of Spain; and on the 22nd of September, in the same year, in order to satisfy his grudge on account of the Venetians' demeanour towards him, he made an alliance against them with Emperor Maximilian I. and Pope Julius II., with the design, all three of them, of wresting certain provinces from them. With those political miscalculations was connected a more personal and more disinterested feeling. Louis repented of having in 1501, under the influence of his wife, Anne of Brittany, affianced his daughter Claude to Prince Charles of Austria, and of the enormous concessions he had made by two treaties, one of April 5, 1503, and the other of September 22, 1504, for the sake of this marriage. He had assigned as dowry to his daughter, first the duchy of Milan, then the kingdom of Naples, then Brittany, and then the duchy of Burgundy and the countship of Blois. The latter of these treaties contained even the following strange clause: "If, by default of the Most Christian king or of the queen his wife, or of the Princess Claude, the aforesaid marriage should not take place, the Most Christian king doth will and consent, from now, that the said duchies of Burgundy and Milan and the countship of Asti, do remain settled upon the said Prince Charles, duke of Luxembourg, with all the rights therein possessed or possibly to be possessed by the Most Christian king." [*Corps Diplomatique du Droit des Gens*, by J. Dumont, t. iv. part i. p. 57.]

Dismemberment of France

It was dismembering France and at the same time settling on all her frontiers, to east, west, and south-west, as well as to north and south, a power which the approaching union of two crowns, the imperial and the Spanish, on the head of Prince Charles of Austria rendered so preponderating and so formidable.

A.D. 1506. Annulled by the States-general.

The states-general were convoked and met at Tours (1506) for the purpose of deliberating upon so important a step: the nation protested, through the voice of George d'Amboise, against the political arrangements made by Anne of Brittany, and the king seized the earliest opportunity of annulling by force what he would never have consented to, had the suggestion been offered to him whilst he was in the enjoyment of his usual health.

A.D 1506—1511. Summary of the Italian war.

Whatever displeasure must have been caused to the emperor of Germany and to the king of Spain by this resolution on the part of France and her king, it did not show itself either in acts of hostility, or even in complaints of a more or less threatening kind. Italy remained for some years longer the sole theatre of rivalry and strife between these three great powers; and, during this strife, the utter diversity of the combinations, whether in the way of alliance or of rupture, bore witness to the extreme changeability of the interests, passions, and designs of the actors. From 1506 to 1515, between Louis XII.'s will and his death, we find in the history of his career in Italy five coalitions and as many great battles of a profoundly contradictory character. In 1508, Pope Julius II., Louis XII., Emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, form together against the Venetians the *League of Cambrai*. In 1510, Julius II., Ferdinand, the Venetians, and the Swiss make a coalition against Louis XII. In 1512, this coalition, decomposed for a while, re-unites, under the name of the *League of the Holy Union*, between the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, and the kings of Arragon and Naples against Louis XII., *minus* the Emperor Maximilian and *plus* Henry VIII, king of England. On the 14th of May, 1509, Louis XII., in the name of the *League of Cambrai*, gains the battle of Agnadello against the Venetians. On the 11th of April, 1512, it is against Pope Julius II., Ferdinand the Catholic, and the Venetians that he gains the battle of Ravenna. On the 14th of March, 1513, he is in alliance with the Venetians, and it is against the Swiss that he loses the battle of Novara. In 1510, 1511, and 1512, in the course of all these incessant changes of political allies and adversaries, three councils met at Tours, at Pisa, and at St. John Lateran, with views still more discordant and irreconcilable than those of all these laic coalitions. We merely point out here the principal traits of the nascent sixteenth century; we have no intention of tracing with a certain amount of detail any incidents but those that refer to Louis XII. and to France, to their procedure and their fortunes.

Jealousy, ambition, secret resentment, and the prospect of despoiling them caused the formation of the *League of Cambrai* against the Venetians. Independently of their natural haughtiness

the Venetians were puffed up with the advantages they had obtained in a separate campaign against the Emperor Maximilian, and flattered themselves that they would manage to conquer one after the other, or to split up, or to tire out their enemies; and they prepared energetically for war. Louis XII., on his side, got together an army with a strength of 2300 lances (about 13,000 mounted troops), 10,000 to 12,000 French foot and 6000 or 8000 Swiss. One of his most distinguished officers was the celebrated Bayard, whose courage and high sense of honour merited for him the title of *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.* **The Venetians attacked.**

On the 14th of May, 1509, the French and the Venetians encountered near the village of Agnadello, in the province of Lodi, on the banks of the Adda. Louis XII. commanded his army in person, with Louis de la Trémoille and James Trivulzio for his principal lieutenants: the Venetians were under the orders of two generals, the count of Petigliano and Barthelemy d'Alviano, both members of the Roman family of the Orsini, but not on good terms with one another. The great blow fell upon the Venetians' infantry, which lost, according to some, eight thousand men; others say that the number of dead on both sides did not amount to more than six thousand. The territorial results of the victory were greater than the numerical losses of the armies. Within a fortnight the towns of Caravaggio, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona and Pizzighitone surrendered to the French. Peschiera alone, a strong fortress at the southern extremity of the Lake of Garda, resisted and was carried by assault. **A.D. 1509. Battle of Agnadello (May 14)**

Louis, so gentle at home, behaved barbarously in Italy; he put to the sword every garrison which dared to hold out against his forces, and sent to the gallows every peasant who cried "San Marco!" In this extremity, the republic saved itself by an act of wisdom which was at the same time a masterpiece of calculation. They withdrew their troops from all the cities on the mainland, and released their subjects from their oath of allegiance. These, no longer *constrained* to fidelity, made it a point of honour to remain *spontaneously* faithful. Concentrated between its own walls and safe by its inexpregnable position in the midst of the sea, Venice waited patiently for discord to break out amongst the confederates. This soon came to pass. Louis XII. committed the mistake of embroiling himself with the Swiss by refusing to add 20,000 livres to the pay of 60,000 he was giving them already, and by styling them "wretched mountain-shepherds who presumed to impose upon him a tax he was not disposed to submit to." The pope conferred the investiture of the kingdom of Naples upon **Political blunders of Louis XII.**

Ferdinand the Catholic, who at first promised only his neutrality, but could not fail to be drawn in still further when war was rekindled in Italy. In all these negotiations with the Venetians, the Swiss, the kings of Spain and England and the Emperor Maximilian, Julius II. took a bold initiative Maximilian alone remained for some time at peace with the king of France. In October, 1511, a league was formally concluded between the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss and King Ferdinand against Louis XII. A place was reserved in it for the king of England, Henry VIII., who, on ascending the throne, had sent word to the king of France that "he desired to abide in the same friendship that the king his father had kept up," but who, at the bottom of his heart, burned to resume on the Continent an active and a prominent part. The coalition thus formed was called the *League of Holy Union*. "I," said Louis XII., "am the Saracen against whom this league is directed."

He had just lost, a few months previously, the intimate and faithful adviser and friend of his whole life; Cardinal George d'Amboise, seized at Milan with a fit of the gout, during which Louis tended him with the assiduity and care of an affectionate brother, died at Lyons on the 25th of May, 1510, at fifty years of age. He was one, not of the greatest, but of the most honest ministers who ever enjoyed a powerful monarch's constant favour, and employed it, we will not say with complete disinterestedness, but with a predominant anxiety for the public weal. In the matter of external policy the influence of Cardinal d'Amboise was neither skilfully nor salutarily exercised: he, like his master, indulged in those views of distant, incoherent and improvident conquests which caused the reign of Louis XII. to be wasted in ceaseless wars, with which the Cardinal's desire of becoming pope was not altogether unconnected, and which, after having resulted in nothing but reverses, were a heavy heritage for the succeeding reign. But at home, in his relations with the king and in his civil and religious administration, Cardinal d'Amboise was an earnest and effective friend of justice, of sound social order, and of regard for morality in the practice of power. It is said that, in his latter days, he, virtuously weary of the dignities of this world, said to the infirmary-brother who was attending him, "Ah! Brother John, why did I not always remain Brother John!" A pious regret, the sincerity and modesty whereof are rare amongst men of high estate.

A.D. 1510. Death of Cardinal d'Amboise (May 25).

His character.

"At last, then, I am the only pope!" cried Julius II., when he heard that Cardinal d'Amboise was dead. But his joy was mis-

placed: the cardinal's death was a great loss to him; between the king and the pope the cardinal had been an intelligent mediator who understood the two positions and the two characters, and who, though most faithful and devoted to the king, had nevertheless a place in his heart for the papacy also, and laboured earnestly on every occasion to bring about between the two rivals a policy of moderation and peace. War was rekindled, or, to speak more correctly, resumed its course after the cardinal's death. Julius II. plunged into it in person, moving to every point where it was going on, living in the midst of camps, himself in military costume, besieging towns, having his guns pointed and assaults delivered under his own eyes. Men expressed astonishment, not unmixed with admiration, at the indomitable energy of this soldier-pope at seventy years of age. It was said that he had cast into the Tiber the keys of St. Peter to gird on the sword of St. Paul. His answer to everything was, "The barbarians must be driven from Italy." Louis XII. became more and more irritated and undecided.

Gaston de Foix commander of the French army.

From 1510 to 1512 the war in Italy was thus proceeding, but with no great results, when Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, came to take the command of the French army. He was scarcely twenty-three, and had hitherto only served under Trivulzio and la Palisse; but he had already a character for bravery and intelligence in war. Louis XII. loved this son of his sister Mary of Orleans, and gladly elevated him to the highest rank. Gaston, from the very first, justified this favour. Instead of seeking for glory in the field only, he began by shutting himself up in Milan which the Swiss were besieging. They made him an offer to take the road back to Switzerland, if he would give them a month's pay; the sum was discussed; Gaston considered that they asked too much for their withdrawal; the Swiss broke off the negotiation; but "to the great astonishment of everybody," says Guicciardini, "they raised the siege and returned to their own country." The pope was besieging Bologna; Gaston arrived there suddenly with a body of troops whom he had marched out at night through a tempest of wind and snow; and he was safe inside the place whilst the besiegers were still ignorant of his movement. The siege of Bologna was raised. Gaston left it immediately to march on Brescia, which the Venetians had taken possession of for the *Holy League*. He retook the town by a vigorous assault, gave it up to pillage, punished with death Count Louis Avogaro and his two sons, who had excited the inhabitants against France, and gave a beating to the Venetian army before its walls. All these successes had been gained in a fortnight. "According to uni-

versal opinion," says Guicciardini, "Italy for several centuries had seen nothing like these military operations."

A.D. 1512. Killed at Ravenna (April 11).

Finally, a decisive battle was fought at Ravenna (April 11th) which cost the life of the heroic French commander. When the fatal news was known, the consternation and grief were profound. At the age of twenty-three Gaston de Foix had in less than six months won the confidence and affection of the army, of the king and of France. It was one of those sudden and undisputed reputations which seem to mark out men for the highest destinies. "I would fain," said Louis XII., when he heard of his death, "have no longer an inch of land in Italy and be able at that price to bring back to life my nephew Gaston and all the gallants who perished with him. God keep us from often gaining such victories!" La Palisse, a warrior valiant and honoured, assumed the command of this victorious army; but under pressure of repeated attacks from the Spaniards, the Venetians and the Swiss, he gave up first the Romagna, then Milaness, withdrew from place to place, and ended by falling back on Piedmont. Julius II. won back all he had won and lost. Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovic the *Moor*, after twelve years of exile in Germany, returned to Milan to resume possession of his father's duchy. By the end of June, 1512, less than three months after the victory of Ravenna, the domination of the French had disappeared from Italy.

The domination of the French disappears from Italy.

Louis XII. had, indeed, something else to do besides crossing the Alps to go to the protection of such precarious conquests. Into France itself war was about to make its way; it was his own kingdom and his own country that he had to defend. In vain, after the death of Isabella of Castile, had he married his niece, Germaine de Foix, to Ferdinand the Catholic, whilst giving up to him all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. In 1512 Ferdinand invaded Navarre, took possession of the Spanish portion of that little kingdom, and thence threatened Gascony. Henry VIII., king of England, sent him a fleet, which did not withdraw until after it had appeared before Bayonne and thrown the south-west of France into a state of alarm. In the north Henry VIII. continued his preparations for an expedition into France, obtained from his parliament subsidies for that purpose, and concerted plans with Emperor Maximilian, who renounced his doubtful neutrality, and engaged himself at last in the *Holy League*. Louis XII. had in Germany an enemy as zealous almost as Julius II. was in Italy: Maximilian's daughter, Princess Marguerite of Austria, had never forgiven France or its king, whether he were called Charles VIII. or Louis XII., the treatment she had received from that court

The "Holy League."

when, after having been kept there and brought up for eight years to become queen of France, she had been sent away, and handed back to her father, to make way for Anne of Brittany. She was ruler of the Low Countries, active, able, full of passion, and in continual correspondence with her father, the emperor, over whom she exercised a great deal of influence. The Swiss, on their side, continuing to smart under the contemptuous language which Louis had imprudently applied to them, became more and more pronounced against him, rudely dismissed Louis de la Trémoille who attempted to negotiate with them, re-established Maximilian Sforza in the duchy of Milan, and haughtily styled themselves "vanquishers of kings and defenders of the holy Roman Church." And the Roman Church made a good defender of herself. Julius II. had convoked at Rome, at St. John Lateran, a council, which met on the 3rd of May, 1512, and in presence of which the council of Pisa and Milan, after an attempt at removing to Lyons, vanished away like a phantom. Everywhere things were turning out according to the wishes and for the profit of the pope; and France and her king were reduced to defending themselves on their own soil against a coalition of all their great neighbours.

On the 21st of February, 1513, ten months since Gaston de Foix the victor of Ravenna, had perished in the hour of his victory, Pope Julius II. died at Rome at the very moment when he seemed invited to enjoy all the triumph of his policy. He died without bluster and without disquietude, disavowing naught of his past life and relinquishing none of his designs as to the future. The death of Julius II. seemed to Louis XII. a favourable opportunity for once more setting foot in Italy, and recovering at least that which he regarded as his hereditary right, the duchy of Milan. He commissioned Louis de la Trémoille to go and renew the conquest; and, whilst thus reopening the Italian war, he commenced negotiations with certain of the coalitionists of the *Holy League*, in the hope of causing division amongst them, or even of attracting some one of them to himself. He knew that the Venetians were dissatisfied and disquieted about their allies, especially the Emperor Maximilian, the new duke of Milan, Maximilian Sforza, and the Swiss. He had little difficulty in coming to an understanding with the Venetian senate; and, on the 14th of May, 1513, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed at Blois between the king of France and the republic of Venice. Louis hoped also to find at Rome in the new pope, Leo X. [Cardinal John de' Medici, elected pope March 11, 1513], favourable inclinations; but they were at first very ambiguously and reservedly manifested. As a Florentine, Leo X.

A.D. 1513. Death of Pope Julius II. (Feb. 21).

State of Europe.

had a leaning towards France; but as pope, he was not disposed to relinquish or disavow the policy of Julius II. as to the independence of Italy in respect of any foreign sovereign, and as to the extension of the power of the Holy See; and he wanted time to make up his mind to infuse into his relations with Louis XII. goodwill instead of his predecessor's impassioned hostility. Louis had not and could not have any confidence in Ferdinand the Catholic; but he knew him to be as prudent as he was rascally, and he concluded with him at Orthez, on the 1st of April, 1513, a year's truce, which Ferdinand took great care not to make known to his allies, Henry VIII. king of England, and the Emperor Maximilian, the former of whom was very hot-tempered, and the latter very deeply involved, through his daughter Marguerite of Austria, in the warlike league against France. This was all that was gained during the year of Julius II.'s death by Louis XII.'s attempts to break up or weaken the coalition against France; and these feeble diplomatic advantages were soon nullified by the unsuccess of the French expedition in Milaness. Conquerors at Novara, the Swiss drove the French from the duchy of Milan, which La Trémoille had reconquered; in Burgundy they besieged Dijon; in the north the combined troops of Maximilian and Henry VIII. of England gained the battle of Guinegate, sometimes called *battle of the Spurs*, on account of the haste with which the French cavalry, under the influence of a panic flight, fled from the field of battle. The truce of Orleans, followed by the treaty of London, put a stop to these disasters, and the Italian question remained still undecided.

Poor results of the French foreign policy.

Such was the situation in which France, after a reign of fifteen years and in spite of so many brave and devoted servants, had been placed by Louis XII.'s foreign policy. Had he managed the home affairs of his kingdom as badly and with as little success as he had matters abroad, is it necessary to say what would have been his people's feelings towards him, and what name he would have left in history? Happily for France and for the memory of Louis XII., his home-government was more sensible, more clear-sighted, more able, more moral, and more productive of good results than his foreign policy was.

Home policy of Louis XII.

When we consider this reign from this new point of view, we are at once struck by two facts: 1st, the great number of legislative and administrative acts that we meet with, bearing upon the general interests of the country, interests political, judicial, financial, and commercial; the *Recueil des Ordonnances des Rois de France* contains forty-three important acts of this sort owing their origin to Louis XII.; it was clearly a government full of watchfulness,

activity, and attention to good order and the public weal; 2nd, the profound remembrance remaining in succeeding ages of this reign and its deserts; a remembrance which was manifested, in 1560 amongst the states-general of Orleans, in 1576 and 1588 amongst the states of Blois, in 1593 amongst the states of the League, and even down to 1614 amongst the states of Paris. During more than a hundred years France called to mind, and took pleasure in calling to mind the administration of Louis XII. as the type of a wise, intelligent, and effective regimen. Confidence may be felt in a people's memory when it inspires them for so long afterwards with sentiments of justice and gratitude.

His administration

If from the simple table of the acts of Louis XII.'s home-government we pass to an examination of their practical results, it is plain that they were good and salutary.

Foreigners were not less impressed than the French themselves with the advance in order, activity, and prosperity which had taken place amongst the French community. Macchiavelli admits it, and, with the melancholy of an Italian politician acting in the midst of rivalries amongst the Italian republics, he attributes it above all to French unity, superior to that of any other State in Europe.

As to the question, to whom reverts the honour of the good government at home under Louis XII., and of so much progress in the social condition of France, it may be attributed, in a great measure, to the influence of the states assembled at Tours, in 1484, at the beginning of the reign of Charles VIII.; but Louis XII.'s personal share in the good home-government of France during his reign was also more meritorious. His chief merit, a rare one amongst the powerful of the earth, especially when there is a question of reforms and of liberty, was that he understood and entertained the requirements and wishes of his day; he was a mere young prince of the blood when the states of 1484 were sitting at Tours; but he did not forget them when he was king, and, far from repudiating their patriotic and modest work in the cause of reform and progress, he entered into it sincerely and earnestly with the aid of Cardinal d'Amboise, his honest, faithful, and ever influential councillor. The character and natural instincts of Louis XII. inclined him towards the same views as his intelligence and moderation in politics suggested. He was kind, sympathetic towards his people, and anxious to spare them every burden and every suffering that was unnecessary, and to have justice, real and independent justice, rendered to all. He reduced the talliages a tenth at first and a third at a later period. He refused to accept the dues usual on a joyful accession. When the wars in Italy caused him some extra-

His intelligence and moderation.

ordinary expense he disposed of a portion of the royal possessions, strictly administered as they were, before imposing fresh burdens upon the people. His court was inexpensive, and he had no favourites to enrich. His economy became proverbial; it was sometimes made a reproach to him, and things were carried so far that he was represented, on the stage of a popular theatre, ill, pale, and surrounded by doctors, who were holding a consultation as to the nature of his malady: they at last agreed to give him a potion of gold to take; the sick man at once sat up, complaining of nothing more than a burning thirst. When informed of this scandalous piece of buffoonery, Louis contented himself with saying, "I had rather make courtiers laugh by my stinginess than my people weep by my extravagance." He was pressed to punish some insolent comedians, but, "No," said he, "amongst their ribaldries they may sometimes tell us useful truths; let them amuse themselves, provided that they respect the honour of women." In the administration of justice he accomplished important reforms, called for by the states-general of 1484 and promised by Louis XI. and Charles VIII., but nearly all of them left in suspense. The purchase of offices was abolished and replaced by a two-fold election: in all grades of the magistracy, when an office was vacant, the judges were to assemble to select three persons from whom the king should be bound to choose. The irremovability of the magistrates, which had been accepted but often violated by Louis XI., became under Louis XII. a fundamental rule. It was forbidden to every one of the king's magistrates, from the premier-president to the lowest provost, to accept any place or pension from any lord, under pain of suspension from their office or loss of their salary. The annual *Mercurials* (Wednesday meetings) became, in the supreme courts, a general and standing usage. The expenses of the law were reduced. In 1501, Louis XII. instituted at Aix, in Provence, a new Parliament; in 1499 the court of exchequer at Rouen, hitherto a supreme but movable and temporary court, became a fixed and permanent court which afterwards received, under Francis I., the title of *Parliament*. Being convinced before long, by facts themselves, that these reforms were seriously meant by their author and were practically effective, the people conceived, in consequence, towards the king and the magistrates a general sentiment of gratitude and respect.

Administration of justice.

Louis XII.'s private life also contributed to win for him, we will not say the respect and admiration, but the goodwill of the public. He was not, like Louis IX., a model of austerity and sanctity; but after the licentious court of Charles VII., the coarse habits of Louis XI. and the easy morals of Charles VIII., the French public

Private life.

was not exacting. Louis XII. was thrice married. His first wife, Joan, daughter of Louis XI., was an excellent and worthy princess, but ugly, ungraceful, and hump-backed. He had been almost forced to marry her, and he had no child by her. On ascending the throne he begged Pope Alexander VI. to annul his marriage; the negotiation was anything but honourable either to the king or to the pope; and the pope granted his bull in consideration of the favours shown to his unworthy son, Cæsar Borgia, by the king. Joan alone behaved with a virtuous as well as modest pride, and ended her life in sanctity within a convent at Bourges, being wholly devoted to pious works, regarded by the people as a saint, spoken of by bold preachers as a martyr and "still the true and legitimate queen of France," and treated at a distance with profound respect by the king who had put her away. Louis married in 1499 his predecessor's widow, Anne, duchess of Brittany, twenty-three years of age, short, pretty, a little lame, witty, able, and firm. It was, on both sides, a marriage of policy, though romantic tales have been mixed up with it; it was a suitable and honourable royal arrangement, without any lively affection on one side or the other, but with mutual esteem and regard. As queen, Anne was haughty, imperious, sharp-tempered, and too much inclined to mix in intrigues and negotiations at Rome and Madrid, sometimes without regard for the king's policy; but she kept up her court with spirit and dignity, being respected by her ladies, whom she treated well, and favourably regarded by the public, who were well disposed towards her for having given Brittany to France. Some courtiers showed their astonishment that the king should so patiently bear with a character so far from agreeable; but "one must surely put up with something from a woman," said Louis, "when she loves her honour and her husband." After a union of fifteen years, Anne of Brittany died on the 9th of January, 1514, at the castle of Blois, nearly thirty-seven years old. Louis was then fifty-two. He seemed very much to regret his wife; but, some few months after her death, another marriage of policy was put, on his behalf, in course of negotiation. It was in connexion with Princess Mary of England, sister of Henry VIII., with whom it was very important for Louis XII. and for France to be once more at peace and on good terms. Three treaties were concluded on the 7th of August, 1514, between the kings of France and England in order to regulate the conditions of their political and matrimonial alliance; on the 13th of August the duke de Longueville, in his sovereign's name, espoused the Princess Mary at Greenwich; and she, escorted to France by a brilliant embassy, arrived on the 8th of October at Abbeville where Louis XII. was

Matrimonial alliances Anne of Brittany.

The Princess Mary of England.

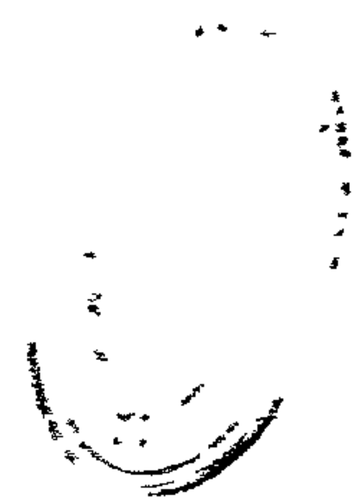
awaiting her. Three days afterwards the marriage was solemnized there in state, and Louis, who had suffered from gout during the ceremony, carried off his young queen to Paris after having had her crowned at St. Denis. Mary Tudor had given up the German prince, who was destined to become Charles V., but not the handsome English nobleman she loved. The duke of Suffolk went to France to see her after her marriage, and in her train she had as maid of honour a young girl, a beauty as well, who was one day to be queen of England—Anne Boleyn.

A.D. 1515. Death of Louis XII.

Less than three months after this marriage, on the 1st of January, 1515, "the death-bell-men were traversing the streets of Paris, ringing their bells and crying, 'The good King Louis, father of the people, is dead.'" Louis XII., in fact, had died that very day at midnight, from an attack of gout and a rapid decline.

His solicitude for his people.

To the last of his days he was animated by earnest sympathy and active solicitude for his people. It cost him a great deal to make with the king of England the treaties of August 7, 1514, to cede Tournai to the English, and to agree to the payment to them of a hundred thousand crowns a year for ten years. He did it to restore peace to France, attacked on her own soil, and feeling her prosperity threatened. For the same reason he negotiated with Pope Leo X., Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand the Catholic, and he had very nearly attained the same end by entering once more upon pacific relations with them, when death came and struck him down at the age of fifty-three. He died sorrowing over the concessions he had made from a patriotic sense of duty as much as from necessity, and full of disquietude about the future. He felt a sincere affection for Francis de Valois, count of Angoulême, his son-in-law and successor; the marriage between his daughter Claude and that prince had been the chief and most difficult affair connected with his domestic life; and it was only after the death of the queen Anne of Brittany, that he had it proclaimed and celebrated. The bravery, the brilliant parts, the amiable character, and the easy grace of Francis I. delighted him, but he dreaded his presumptuous inexperience, his reckless levity, and his ruinous extravagance; and in his anxiety as a king and father he said, "We are labouring in vain; this big boy will spoil everything for us."





FRANCIS I



CHAPTER VII.

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION—FRANCIS I. AND HENRY II. (1515—1559).

Two things, essential to political prosperity amongst communities of men, have hitherto been to seek in France; predominance of public spirit over the spirit of caste or of profession, and moderation and fixity in respect of national ambition both at home and abroad. France has been a victim to the personal passions of her chiefs and to her own reckless changeability.

We are entering upon the history of a period and a reign during which this intermixture of merits and demerits, of virtues and vices, of progress and backsliding, was powerfully and attractively exhibited amongst the French. Francis I, his government and his times, commence the era of modern France, and bring clearly to view the causes of her greatnesses and her weaknesses.

When, on the 1st of January, 1515, he ascended the throne before he had attained his one and twentieth year, it was a brilliant and brave but spoilt child that became king. He had been under the governance of Artus Gouffier, sire de Boisy, a nobleman of Poitou, who had exerted himself to make his royal pupil a loyal knight well trained in the moral code and all the graces of knighthood, but without drawing his attention to more serious studies or preparing him for the task of government. The young Francis d'Angoulême

A.D. 1515. Accession of Francis I.

Louise de Savoy.

lived and was moulded under the influence of two women, his mother, Louise of Savoy, and his eldest sister Marguerite, who both of them loved and adored him with passionate idolatry. The former princess was proud, ambitious, audacious or pliant at need, able and steadfast in mind, violent and dissolute in her habits, greedy of pleasure and of money as well as of power, so that she gave her son neither moral principles nor a moral example: for him the supreme kingship, for herself the rank, influence and wealth of a queen-mother, and, for both, greatness that might subserve the gratification of their passions—this was all her dream and all her aim as a mother. Of quite another sort were the character and

Marguerite de Valois.

sentiments of Marguerite de Valois. She was born on the 11th of April, 1492, and was, therefore, only two years older than her brother Francis; but her more delicate nature was sooner and more richly cultivated and developed. She was brought up "with strictness by a most excellent and most venerable dame, in whom all the virtues, at rivalry one with another, existed together" [Madame de Châtillon, whose deceased husband had been governour to King Charles VIII.]. As she was discovered to have rare intellectual gifts and a very keen relish for learning, she was provided with every kind of preceptors, who made her proficient in *profane letters*, as they were then called. Marguerite learnt Latin, Greek, philosophy, and especially theology. Intellectual pursuits, however, were far from absorbing the whole of this young soul. "She," says a contemporary, "had an agreeable voice of touching tone which roused the tender inclinations that there are in the heart." Tenderness, a passionate tenderness, very early assumed the chief place in Marguerite's soul, and the first object of it was her brother Francis. When mother, son, and sister were spoken of, they were called a Trinity, and to this Marguerite herself bore witness when she said with charming modesty:

> "Such boon is mine, to feel the amity
> That God hath putten in our trinity,
> Wherein to make a third, I, all unfitted
> To be that number's shadow, am admitted."

Marguerite it was for whom this close communion of three persons had the most dolorous consequences: we shall fall in with her more than once in the course of this history; but, whether or no, she was assuredly the best of this princely trio, and Francis I. was the most *spoilt* by it. There is nothing more demoralizing than to be an idol.

Early government of Francis I.

The first acts of his government were sensible and of good omen. He confirmed or renewed the treaties or truces which Louis XII.,

at the close of his reign, had concluded with the Venetians, the Swiss, the pope, the king of England, the archduke Charles and the emperor Maximilian, in order to restore peace to his kingdom. At home Francis I. maintained at his council the principal and most tried servants of his predecessor, amongst others the finance-minister, Florimond Robertet; and he raised to four the number of the marshals of France, in order to confer that dignity on Bayard's valiant friend, James of Chabannes, lord of la Palice, who even under Louis XII. had been entitled by the Spaniards "the great marshal of France." At the same time he exalted to the highest offices in the State two new men, Charles, duke of Bourbon, who was still a mere youth but already a warrior of renown, and Anthony Duprat, the able premier president of the parliament of Paris; the former he made constable, and the latter chancellor of France. His mother, Louise of Savoy, was not unconcerned, it is said, in both promotions; she was supposed to feel for the young constable something more than friendship, and she regarded the veteran magistrate, not without reason, as the man most calculated to unreservedly subserve the interests of the kingly power and her own. **His advisers.**

These measures, together with the language and the behaviour of Francis I. and the care he took to conciliate all who approached him, made a favourable impression on France and on Europe. In Italy, especially, princes as well as people, and Pope Leo X. before all, flattered themselves, or were pleased to appear as if they flattered themselves, that war would not come near them again, and that the young king had his heart set only on making Burgundy secure against sudden and outrageous attacks from the Swiss. The aged king of Spain, Ferdinand the Catholic, adopting the views of his able minister, Cardinal Ximenes, alone showed distrust and anxiety; he urged the pope, the emperor Maximilian, the Swiss, and Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan, to form a league for the defence of Italy; but Leo X. persisted in his desire of remaining or appearing neutral, as the common father of the faithful.

Neither the king of France nor the pope had for long to take the trouble of practising mutual deception. It was announced at Rome that Francis I., having arrived at Lyons in July, 1515, had just committed to his mother Louise the regency of the kingdom, and was pushing forward towards the Alps an army of sixty thousand men and a powerful artillery. He had won over to his service Octavian Fregoso, doge of Genoa; and Barthelemy d'Alviano, the veteran general of his allies the Venetians, was encamped with his troops within hail of Verona, ready to support the French in the **Francis I. in Italy.**

struggle he foresaw. Francis I. on his side, was informed that twenty thousand Swiss, commanded by the Roman, Prosper Colonna, were guarding the passes of the Alps in order to shut him out from Milaness. At the same time he received the news that the cardinal of Sion, his most zealous enemy in connexion with the Roman Church, was devotedly employing, with the secret support of the emperor Maximilian, his influence and his preaching for the purpose of raising in Switzerland a second army of from twenty to five-and-twenty thousand men to be launched against him, if necessary, in Italy. A Spanish and Roman army, under the orders of Don Raymond of Cardona, rested motionless at some distance from the Po, waiting for events and for orders prescribing the part they were to take. It was clear that Francis I., though he had been but six months king, was resolved and impatient to resume in Italy, and first of all in Milaness, the war of invasion and conquest which had been engaged in by Charles VIII. and Louis XII.: and the league of all the States of Italy, save Venice and Genoa, with the pope for their half-hearted patron and the Swiss for their fighting men, were collecting their forces to repel the invader.

A.D. 1515. Battle of Melegnano Sept. 13th. On the 13th of September, 1515, the French encountered and defeated the Swiss at Melegnano, a town about three leagues from Milan; this victory was the most brilliant day in the annals of this reign. Old Marshal Trivulzio, who had taken part in seventeen battles, said that this was a strife of giants, beside which all the rest were but child's play. On the very battle-field, before making and creating knights of those who had done him good service, Francis I. was pleased to have himself made knight by the hand of Bayard. The effect of the battle was great, in Italy primarily, but also throughout Europe. It was, at the commencement of a new reign and under the impulse communicated by a young king, an event which seemed to be decisive and likely to remain so for a long while. Of all the sovereigns engaged in the Italian league against Francis I. he who was most anxious to appear temperate and almost neutral, namely Leo X., was precisely he who was most surprised and most troubled by it. He made up his mind without much trouble, however, to accept accomplished facts. When he had been elected pope, he had said to his brother, Julian de' Medici, "Enjoy we the papacy, since God hath given it us" [*Godiamoci il papato, poichè Dio ci l' ha dato*]. He appeared to have no further thought than how to pluck from the event the advantages he could discover in it. His allies all set him an example of resignation. On the 14th of September, the day after the battle,

the Swiss took the road back to their mountains. Francis I. entered Milan in triumph. Maximilian Sforza took refuge in the castle, and twenty days afterwards, on the 4th of October, surrendered, consenting to retire to France with a pension of thirty thousand crowns, and the promise of being recommended for a cardinal's hat, and almost consoled for his downfall "by the pleasure of being delivered from the insolence of the Swiss, the exactions of the emperor Maximilian, and the rascalities of the Spaniards." Fifteen years afterwards, in June, 1530, he died in oblivion at Paris. Francis I. regained possession of all Milaness, adding thereto, with the pope's consent, the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which had been detached from it in 1512. Two treaties, one of November 7, 1515, and the other of November 29, 1516, re-established not only peace but perpetual alliance between the king of France and the thirteen Swiss cantons, with stipulated conditions in detail. Whilst these negotiations were in progress, Francis I. and Leo X., by a treaty published at Viterbo on the 13th of October, proclaimed their hearty reconciliation. The pope guaranteed to Francis I. the duchy of Milan, restored to him those of Parma and Piacenza, and recalled his troops which were still serving against the Venetians; being careful, however, to cover his concessions by means of forms and pretexts which gave them the character of a necessity submitted to rather than that of an independent and definite engagement. Francis I. on his side, guaranteed to the pope all the possessions of the Church, renounced the patronage of the petty princes of the ecclesiastical estate, and promised to uphold the family of Medici in the position it had held at Florence, since, with the king of Spain's aid, in 1512, it had recovered the dominion there at the expense of the party of republicans and friends of France.

Negotiations.

Francis I. and the Pope.

The king of France and the pope had to discuss together questions far more important on both sides than those which had just been thus settled by their accredited agents. In the course of an interview they had at Bologna, Leo X. obtained of Francis an agreement which abolished the *Praymatic Sanction*. Thus supported by the Holy See and by the Venetians, the king of France saw the road to Naples once more opened before his troops; for the young Charles of Luxemburg, who had just succeeded in Spain to his grandfather Ferdinand the Catholic, was too busy entering upon his inheritance to think of disturbing any plan of Italian conquest which Francis I. might entertain; but this prince preferred enjoying his victory rather than completing it. The treaty of Noyon gave, during a short time, repose to Europe, and allowed the two rivals leisure for the preparing of a far more terrible war. Francis I.

returned to Milan, leaving at Bologna, for the purpose of treating in detail the affair of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, his chancellor, Duprat, who had accompanied him during all this campaign as his adviser and negotiator. In him the king had, under the name and guise of premier magistrate of the realm, a servant whose bold and complaisant abilities he was not slow to recognize and to put in use. At the commencement of the war for the conquest of Milanese there was a want of money, and Francis I. hesitated to so soon impose new taxes. Duprat gave a scandalous extension to a practice which had been for a long while in use, but had always been reprobated and sometimes formally prohibited, namely, the sale of public appointments or offices: not only did he create a multitude of financial and administrative offices, the sale of which brought considerable sums into the treasury, but he introduced the abuse into the very heart of the judicial body; the tribunals were encumbered by newly-created magistrates. The Estates of Languedoc complained in vain. The Parliament of Paris was in its turn attacked, and Duprat having resolved to strike a great blow, an edict of January 31, 1522, created within the Parliament a fourth chamber composed of eighteen councillors and two presidents, all of fresh and, no doubt, venal appointment, though the edict dared not avow as much. The registration of this iniquitous measure was obtained by force, and thus began to be implanted in that which should be the most respected and the most independent amongst the functions of government, namely, the administration of justice, not only the practice but the fundamental maxim of absolute government. Chancellor Duprat, if we are not mistaken, was, in the sixteenth century, the first chief of the French magistracy to make use of language despotic not only in fact but also in principle; he was the delegate, the organ, the representative of the king; it was in the name of the king himself that he affirmed the absolute power of the kingship and the absolute duty of submission. Francis I. could not have committed the negotiation with Leo X. in respect of Charles VII.'s *Pragmatic Sanction* to a man with more inclination and better adapted for the work to be accomplished.

Chancellor Duprat.

Pragmatic Sanction.

The *Pragmatic Sanction* had three principal objects:—

1. To uphold the liberties and the influence of the faithful in the government of the Church, by sanctioning their right to elect ministers of the Christian faith, especially parish priests and bishops;

2. To guarantee the liberties and rights of the Church herself in her relations with her Head, the pope, by proclaiming the necessity

for the regular intervention of councils and their superiority in regard to the pope;

3 To prevent or reform abuses in the relations of the papacy with the State and Church of France in the matter of ecclesiastical tribute, especially as to the receipt by the pope, under the name of *annates*, of the first year's revenue of the different ecclesiastical offices and benefices. **Its purport and results.**

In the fifteenth century it was the general opinion in France, in State and in Church, that there was in these dispositions nothing more than the primitive and traditional liberties and rights of the Christian Church. There was no thought of imposing upon the papacy any new regimen, but only of defending the old and legitimate regimen, recognized and upheld by St. Louis in the thirteenth century as well as by Charles VII. in the fifteenth.

The popes, nevertheless, had all of them protested since the days of Charles VII. against the *Pragmatic Sanction* as an attack upon their rights, and had demanded its abolition. This important edict, then, was still vigorous in 1515, when Francis I., after his victory at Melegnano and his reconciliation with the pope, left chancellor Duprat at Bologna to pursue the negotiation reopened on that subject. The *compensation*, of which Leo X., on redemanding the abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, had given a peep to Francis I., could not fail to have charms for a prince so little scrupulous, and for his still less scrupulous chancellor. The pope proposed that the *Pragmatic*, once for all abolished, should be replaced by a *Concordat* between the two sovereigns, and that this *Concordat*, whilst putting a stop to the election of the clergy by the faithful, should transfer to the king the right of nomination to bishoprics and other great ecclesiastical offices and benefices, reserving to the pope the right of presentation of prelates nominated by the king. This, considering the condition of society and government in the sixteenth century, in the absence of political and religious liberty, was to take away from the Church her own existence and divide her between two masters, without giving her, as regarded either of them, any other guarantee of independence than the mere chance of their dissensions and quarrels. **The "Concordat."**

Francis I. and his chancellor saw in the proposed *Concordat* nothing but the great increment of influence it secured to them, by making all the dignitaries of the Church suppliants, at first, and then, clients of the kingship. After some difficulties as to points of detail, the *Concordat* was concluded and signed on the 18th of August, 1516. Seven months afterwards it was registered, notwithstanding the opposition of the parliament and the university of Paris.

Then it was that **Francis I.** and his chancellor, Duprat, loudly proclaimed and practised the maxims of absolute power; in the Church, the *Pragmatic Sanction* was abolished; and in the State, Francis I., during a reign of thirty-two years, did not once convoke the States-general, and laboured only to set up the sovereign right of his own sole will. The Church was despoiled of her electoral autonomy; and the magistracy, treated with haughty and silly impertinence, was vanquished and humiliated in the exercise of its right of remonstrance. The *Concordat* of 1516 was not the only, but it was the gravest, pact of alliance concluded between the papacy and the French kingship for the promotion mutually of absolute power.

The death of Maximilian and the election of a new emperor were the proximate causes of the renewal of hostilities between Francis I. and Charles V.; both these princes were candidates; and by bestowing the imperial crown upon the latter, there is no doubt that the electors adopted the safest course; but in doing so they gave the signal for a struggle of the most desperate and protracted character.

Charles V. elected Emperor.

Whatever pains were taken by Francis I. to keep up a good appearance after this heavy reverse, his mortification was profound and he thought of nothing but getting his revenge. He flattered himself he would find something of the sort in a solemn interview and an appearance of alliance with Henry VIII., king of England, who had, like himself, just undergone in the election to the empire a less flagrant but an analogous reverse. It had already, in the previous year and on the occasion of a treaty concluded between the two kings for the restitution of Tournai to France, been settled that they should meet before long in token of reconciliation. The interview took place on the 31st of May, 1520, between Ardres and Guines, in Picardy; it has remained celebrated in history far more for its royal pomp, and for the personal incidents which were connected with it, than for its political results.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold.

It was called *The Field of the Cloth of Gold;* and the courtiers who attended the two sovereigns felt bound to almost rival them in sumptuousness, "insomuch," says the contemporary Martin du Bellay, "that many bore thither their mills, their forests, and their meadows on their backs." The two kings signed a treaty whereby the dauphin of France was to marry Princess Mary, only daughter at that time of Henry VIII., to whom Francis I. undertook to pay annually a sum of 100,000 livres [2,800,000 francs or £112,000 in the money of our day] until the marriage was celebrated, which would not be for some time yet, as the English princess was only four years old.

Having left the *Field of Cloth of Gold* for Amboise, his favourite residence, Francis I. discovered that Henry VIII., instead of returning direct to England, had gone, on the 10th of July, to Gravelines in Flanders, to pay a visit to Charles V., who had afterwards accompanied him to Calais. The two sovereigns had spent three days there, and Charles V., on separating from the king of England, had commissioned him to regulate, as arbiter, all difficulties that might arise between himself and the king of France. Assuredly nothing was less calculated to inspire Francis I. with confidence in the results of his meeting with Henry VIII. and of their mutual courtesies. Though he desired to avoid the appearance of taking the initiative in war, he sought every occasion and pretext for recommencing it; and it was not long before he found them in the Low Countries, in Navarre, and in Italy. A trial was made of Henry VIII.'s mediation and of a conference at Calais; and a discussion was raised touching the legitimate nature of the protection afforded by the two rival sovereigns to their petty allies. But the real fact was that Francis I. had a reverse to make up for and a passion to gratify; and the struggle recommenced in April, 1521, in the Low Countries. The campaign opened in the north, to the advantage of France, by the capture of Mesdin; Admiral Bonnivet, who had the command on the frontier of Spain, reduced some small forts of Biscay and the fortress of Fontarabia; and Marshal de Lautrec, governor of Milaness, had orders to set out at once to go and defend it against the Spaniards and Imperialists who were concentrating for its invasion.

Henry VIII visits Charles V.

Lautrec was but little adapted for this important commission. He had been made governor of Milaness in August, 1516, to replace the constable de Bourbon, whose recall to France the queen-mother, Louise of Savoy, had desired and stimulated. Lautrec had succeeded ill in his government. He was active and brave, but he was harsh, haughty, jealous, imperious, and grasping; and he had embroiled himself with most of the Milanese lords, amongst others with the veteran J. J. Trivulzio, who, under Charles VIII. and Louis XII., had done France such great service in Italy. When he set out to go and take the command in Italy, he found himself at the head of an army numerous indeed, but badly equipped, badly paid, and at grips with Prosper Colonna, the most able amongst the chiefs of the coalition formed at this juncture between Charles V. and Pope Leo X. against the French. Lautrec did not succeed in preventing Milan from falling into the hands of the Imperialists, and, after an uncertain campaign of some months' duration, he lost at La Bicocca, near Monza, on the

Lautrec.

27th of April, 1522, a battle, which left in the power of Francis I., in Lombardy, only the citadels of Milan, Cremona, and Novara. The funds for the payment of the army had been sent, but Louis of Savoy had kept them back out of hatred for Lautrec's sister, the Duchess of Châteaubriand, who, at that time, was all powerful over the mind of Francis I. The king then allowed the *surintendant* Semblançay, who was accused of that crime, to perish on the gallows. The same princess drove by her injustice and partiality the Constable de Bourbon to enter upon a plot against the safety of the State. As M. Michelet remarks, the very existence of France as a kingdom was endangered by this conspiracy. Bourbon had promised Charles V. that he would attack Burgundy as soon as Francis I. had crossed the Alps, and so bring about the rebellion of five provinces which he believed were entirely at his discretion; the kingdom of Provence was to be re-established on his behalf, and France, divided between Spain and England, would have lost for ever its political importance.

Death of Semblancay.

Constable de Bourbon's treachery

According to what appears, Bourbon had harboured a design of commencing his enterprise with a very bold stroke. Being informed that Francis I was preparing to go in person and wage war upon Italy, he had resolved to carry him off on the road to Lyons, and, when once he had the king in his hands, he flattered himself he would do as he pleased with the kingdom. If his attempt were unsuccessful, he would bide his time until Francis I. was engaged in Milaness, Charles V. had entered Guienne and Henry VIII. was in Picardy; he would then assemble a thousand men-at-arms, six thousand foot and twelve thousand lanzknechts, and would make for the Alps, to cut the king off from any communication with France. This plan rested upon the assumption that the king would, as he had announced, leave the constable in France with an honourable title and an apparent share in the government of the kingdom, though really isolated and debarred from action. But Francis had full cognizance of the details of the conspiracy through two Norman gentlemen whom the constable had imprudently tried to get to join in it, and who, not content with refusing, had revealed the matter at confession to the bishop of Lisieux, who had lost no time in giving information to sire de Brézé, grand seneschal of Normandy. Brézé at once reported it to the king. Under such grave and urgent circumstances, Francis I. behaved on the one hand with more prudence and efficiency than he had yet displayed, and on the other with his usual levity and indulgence towards his favourites. Abandoning his expedition in person into Italy, he first concerned himself for that internal

Policy of Francis I.

security of his kingdom, which was threatened on the east and north by the Imperialists and the English, and on the south by the Spaniards, all united in considerable force and already in motion. Francis opposed to them in the east and north the young Count Claude of Guise, the first celebrity amongst his celebrated race, the veteran Louis de la Trémoille, the most tried of all his warriors, and the duke of Vendôme, head of the younger branch of the House of Bourbon. Into the south he sent Marshal de Lautrec, who was more brave than successful, but of proved fidelity. All these captains acquitted themselves honourably. Claude of Guise defeated a body of twelve thousand lanzknechts who had already penetrated into Champagne; he hurled them back into Lorraine and dispersed them beneath the walls of the little town of Neufchâteau, where the princesses and ladies of Lorraine, showing themselves at the windows, looked on and applauded their discomfiture. La Trémoille's only forces were very inferior to the thirty-five thousand Imperialists or English who had entered Picardy; but he managed to make of his small garrisons such prompt and skilful use that the invaders were unable to get hold of a single place, and advanced somewhat heedlessly to the very banks of the Oise, whence the alarm spread rapidly to Paris. The duke of Vendôme, whom the king at once despatched thither with a small body of men-at-arms, marched night and day to the assistance of the Parisians, harangued the parliament and Hôtel de Ville vehemently on the conspiracy of the constable de Bourbon, and succeeded so well in reassuring them, that companies of the city-militia eagerly joined his troops, and the foreigners, in dread of finding themselves hemmed in, judged it prudent to fall back, leaving Picardy in a state of equal irritation and devastation. In the south, Lautrec, after having made head for three days and three nights against the attacks of a Spanish army which had crossed the Pyrenees under the orders of the constable of Castille, forced it to raise the siege and beat a retreat. Everywhere, in the provinces as well as at the court, the feudal nobility, chieftains and simple gentlemen, remained faithful to the king; the magistrates and the people supported the military; it was the whole nation that rose against one great lord, who, for his own purposes, was making alliance with foreigners against the king and the country.

Northern France invaded. Guise and La Trémoille.

In respect of Italy, Francis I. was less wise and less successful. Not only did he persist in the stereotyped madness of the conquest of Milaness and the kingdom of Naples, but abandoning for the moment the prosecution of it in person, he entrusted it to his favourite, Admiral Bonnivet, a brave soldier, alternately rash and

Italian affairs.

backward, presumptuous and irresolute, who had already lost credit by the mistakes he had committed, and the reverses he had experienced in that arena. The campaign of 1524 in Italy, brilliant as was its beginning, what with the number and the fine appearance of the troops under Bonnivet's orders, was, as it went on, nothing but a series of hesitations, contradictory movements, blunders, and checks, which the army itself set down to its general's account.

Compaign of 1524—Blunders of theFrench.

The situation of the French army before Milan was now becoming more and more, not insecure only, but critical. Bonnivet considered it his duty to abandon it and fall back towards Piedmont, where he reckoned upon finding a corps of five thousand Swiss who were coming to support their compatriots engaged in the service of France. Near Romagnano, on the banks of the Sesia, the retreat was hotly pressed by the imperial army, the command of which had been ultimately given by Charles V. to the constable de Bourbon, with whom were associated the viceroy of Naples, Charles de Lannoy, and Ferdinand d'Avalos, marquis of Pescara, the most able amongst the Neapolitan officers. On the 30th of April, 1524, some disorder took place in the retreat of the French; and Bonnivet, being severely wounded, had to give up the command to the count of St. Pol and to Chevalier Bayard. Bayard, last as well as first in the fight, according to his custom, charged at the head of some men-at-arms upon the Imperialists who were pressing the French too closely, when he was himself struck by a shot from an arquebus, which shattered his reins. "Jesus, my God," he cried, "I am dead!" He then took his sword by the handle, and kissed the cross-hilt of it as the sign of the cross, saying aloud as he did so: "*Have pity on me, O God, according to Thy great mercy*" (*Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*). The constable de Bourbon, being informed of his wound, came to him, saying, "Bayard, my friend, I am sore distressed at your mishap: there is nothing for it but patience; give not way to melancholy; I will send in quest of the best surgeons in this country, and, by God's help, you will soon be healed." "My lord," answered Bayard, "there is no pity for me; I die, having done my duty; but I have pity for you, to see you serving against your king, your country, and your oath." Bourbon withdrew without a word.

Death of Bayard (April 30).

The French army continued its retreat under the orders of the count of St. Pol, and re-entered France by way of Suza and Briançon. It was Francis I.'s third time of losing Milaness. Charles V., enchanted at the news, wrote on the 24th of May to Henry VIII.: "I keep you advertised of the good opportunity it has pleased God to offer us of giving a full account of our common enemy. I pray

you to carry into effect on your side that which you and I have for a long while desired, wherein I for my part will exert myself with all my might. According to a plan settled by him with Henry VIII. and Charles V., Bourbon entered Provence on the 7th of July, 1524, at the head of an army of eighteen thousand men, which was to be joined before long by six or seven thousand more. He had no difficulty in occupying Antibes, Fréjus, Draguignan, Brignoles, and even Aix; and he already began to assume the title of count of Provence, whilst preparing for a rapid march along by the Rhone and a rush upon Lyons, the chief aim of the campaign; but the Spanish generals whom Charles V. had associated with him, and amongst others the most eminent of them, the marquis of Pescara, peremptorily insisted that, according to their master's order, he should besiege and take Marseilles. Charles V. cared more for the coasts of the Mediterranean than for those of the Channel; he flattered himself that he would make of Marseilles a southern Calais, which should connect Germany and Spain, and secure their communications, political and commercial Bourbon objected and resisted; it was the abandonment of his general plan for this war, and a painful proof how powerless he was against the wishes of the two sovereigns of whom he was only the tool, although they called him their ally. Being forced to yield, he began the siege of Marseilles on the 19th of August. The place, though but slightly fortified and ill supplied, made an energetic resistance; the name and the presence of Bourbon at the head of the besiegers excited patriotism; the burgesses turned soldiers; the cannon of the besiegers laid open their walls, but they threw up a second line, an earthen rampart, called *the ladies' rampart*, because all the women in the city had worked at it. The siege was protracted; the reinforcements expected by Bourbon did not arrive; a shot from Marseilles penetrated into Pescara's tent, and killed his almoner and two of his gentlemen. Bourbon rushed up. "Don't you see?" said Pescara to him ironically: "here are the keys sent to you by the timid consuls of Marseilles." Bourbon resolved to attempt an assault; the lanzknechts and the Italians refused; Bourbon asked Pescara for his Spaniards, but Pescara would only consent on condition that the breach was reconnoitred afresh. Seven soldiers were told off for this duty; four were killed and the other three returned wounded, reporting that between the open breach and the intrenchment extended a large ditch filled with fireworks and defended by several batteries. The assembled general officers looked at one another in silence. "Well, gentlemen," said Pescara, "you see that the folks of Marseilles keep a table well spread for our

A.D. 1524 **Bourbon invades Provence.**

Defeated before Marseilles

reception; if you like to go and sup in paradise, you are your own masters so far; as for me, who have no desire to go thither just yet, I am off. But believe me," he added seriously, "we had best return to Milaness; we have left that country without a soldier; we might possibly find our return cut off." Whereupon Pescara got up and went out; and the majority of the officers followed him. Bourbon remained almost alone, divided between anger and shame. Almost as he quitted this scene he heard that Francis I. was advancing towards Provence with an army. The king had suddenly decided to go to the succour of Marseilles, which was making so good a defence. Nothing could be a bitterer pill for Bourbon than to retire before Francis I., whom he had but lately promised to dethrone; but his position condemned him to suffer every thing, without allowing him the least hesitation; and on the 28th of September, 1524, he raised the siege of Marseilles and resumed the road to Italy, harassed even beyond Toulon, by the French advance-guard, eager in its pursuit of the traitor even more than of the enemy.

The siege of Marseilles is raised (Sept. 28).

After Bourbon's precipitate retreat, the position of Francis I. was a good one. He had triumphed over conspiracy and invasion; the conspiracy had not been catching, and the invasion had failed on all the frontiers. If the king, in security within his kingdom, had confined himself to it, whilst applying himself to the task of governing it well, he would have obtained all the strength he required to make himself feared and deferred to abroad. For a while he seemed to have entertained this design: on the 25th of September, 1523, he published an important ordinance for the repression of disorderliness and outrages on the part of the soldiery in France itself; and, on the 28th of December following, a regulation as to the administration of finances established a control over the various exchequer-officers, and announced the king's intention of putting some limits to his personal expenses, "not including, however," said he, "the ordinary run of our little necessities and pleasures." This singular reservation was the faithful exponent of his character; he was licentious at home and adventurous abroad, being swayed by his coarse passions and his warlike fancies. When Bourbon and the imperial army had evacuated Provence, the king loudly proclaimed his purpose of pursuing them into Italy, and of once more going forth to the conquest of Milaness, and perhaps also of the kingdom of Naples, that incurable craze of French kings in the sixteenth century. In vain did his most experienced warriors, La Trémoille and Chabannes, exert themselves to divert him from such a campaign, for which he was

Financial regulations of the King.

not prepared; in vain did his mother herself write to him, begging him to wait and see her, for that she had important matters to impart to him. He answered by sending her the ordinance which conferred upon her the regency during his absence; and, at the end of October, 1524, he had crossed the Alps, anxious to go and risk in Milaness the stake he had just won in Provence against Charles V.

Francis I. invades Italy once more (October).

Arriving speedily in front of Milan, he there found the imperial army which had retired before him; there was a fight in one of the outskirts; but Bourbon recognized the impossibility of maintaining a siege in a town of which the fortifications were in ruins, and with disheartened troops. On the line of march which they had pursued, from Lodi to Milan, there was nothing to be seen but cuirasses, arquebuses tossed hither and thither, dead horses, and men dying of fatigue and scarcely able to drag themselves along. Bourbon evacuated Milan and, taking a resolution as bold as it was singular, abruptly abandoned, so far as he was personally concerned, that defeated and disorganized army, to go and seek for and reorganize another at a distance. Francis I.'s veteran generals, Marshals la Trémoille and Chabannes, had advised him to pursue without pause the beaten and disorganized imperial army, but Admiral Bonnivet, "whose counsel the king made use of more than of any other," says Du Bellay, pressed Francis I. to make himself master, before every thing, of the principal strong places in Lombardy, especially of Pavia, the second city in the duchy of Milan. Francis followed this counsel, and on the 26th of August, 1524, twenty days after setting out from Aix in Provence, he appeared with his army in front of Pavia. On learning this resolution, Pescara joyously exclaimed, "We were vanquished; a little while and we shall be vanquishers." Pavia had for governor a Spanish veteran, Antony de Leyva, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Ravenna, in 1512, by his vigilance and indomitable tenacity: and he held out for nearly four months, first against assaults and then against investment by the French army. Francis I. decided to accept battle as soon as it should be offered him. The imperial leaders, at a council held on the 23rd of February, determined to offer it next day.

Battle of Pavia (Oct. 28).

The two armies were of pretty equal strength: they had each from twenty to five and twenty thousand infantry, French, Germans, Spaniards, lanzknechts, and Swiss. Francis I. had the advantage in artillery and in heavy cavalry, called at that time the gendarmerie, that is to say, the corps of men-at-arms in heavy armour with their servants; but his troops were inferior in

effectives to the Imperialists, and Charles V.'s two generals, Bourbon and Pescara, were, as men of war, far superior to Francis I. and his favourite Bonnivet. After a desperate struggle the French were defeated; the gendarmerie gave way, and the German lanzknechts cut to pieces the Swiss auxiliaries. One of Bourbon's most intimate confidants, the lord of Pompérant, who, in 1523, had accompanied the constable in his flight through France, came up at this critical moment, recognized the king, and, beating off the soldiers with his sword, ranged himself at the king's side, represented to him the necessity of yielding, and pressed him to surrender to the duke of Bourbon, who was not far off. "No," said the king, "rather die than pledge my faith to a traitor: where is the viceroy of Naples?" It took some time to find Lannoy; but at last he arrived and put one knee on the ground before Francis I., who handed his sword to him. Lannoy took it with marks of the most profound respect, and immediately gave him another. The battle was over, and Francis I. was Charles V.'s prisoner.

Francis I. prisoner of Charles V.

He had shown himself an imprudent and unskilful general, but at the same time a hero. His conquerors, both officers and privates, could not help, whilst they secured his person, showing their admiration for him. When he sat down to table, after having had his wounds, which were slight, attended to, Bourbon approached him respectfully and presented him with a dinner-napkin; and the king took it without embarrassment, and with frigid and curt politeness. He next day granted him an interview, at which an accommodation took place with due formalities on both sides, but nothing more. Francis asked to be excused from entering Pavia, that he might not be a gazing-stock in a town that he had so nearly taken. He was, accordingly, conducted to Pizzighittone, a little fortress between Milan and Cremona. He wrote thence two letters, one to his mother the regent, and the other to Charles V., which are here given word for word, because they so well depict his character and the state of his mind in his hour of calamity:—

His letters to his mother,

"1 *To the regent of France:* Madame, that you may know how stands the rest of my misfortune: *there is nothing in the world left to me but honour and my life, which is safe.* And in order that, in your adversity, this news might bring you some little comfort, I prayed for permission to write you this letter, which was readily granted me; entreating you, in the exercise of your accustomed prudence, to be pleased not to do any thing rash, for I have hope after all that God will not forsake me. Commending to you my children your grandchildren, and entreating you to give the bearer

a free passage, going and returning, to Spain, for he is going to the emperor to learn how it is his pleasure that I should be treated."

2. "*To the Emperor Charles V.:* If liberty had been sooner granted me by my cousin the viceroy, I should not have delayed so long to do my duty towards you, according as the time and circumstances in which I am placed require; having no other comfort under my misfortune than a reliance on your goodness, which, if it so please, shall employ the results of victory with honourableness towards me; having steadfast hope that your virtue would not willingly constrain me to anything that was not honourable; entreating you to consult your own heart as to what you shall be pleased to do with me; feeling sure that the will of a prince such as you are cannot be coupled with aught but honour and magnanimity. Wherefore, if it please you to have so much honourable pity as to answer for the safety which a captive king of France deserves to find, whom there is a desire to render friendly and not desperate, you may be sure of obtaining an acquisition instead of a useless prisoner, and of making a king of France your slave for ever." **and to the emperor.**

The former of these two letters has had its native hue somewhat altered in the majority of histories, in which it has been compressed into those eloquent words, "All is lost save honour." The second needs no comment to make apparent what it lacks of kingly pride and personal dignity. Beneath the warrior's heroism there was in the qualities of Francis I. more of what is outwardly brilliant and winning than of real strength and solidity.

Taken prisoner to Spain, the unfortunate monarch was restored to liberty only on conditions of his signing the treaty of Madrid, by which he abandoned Italy, Burgundy, Artois, Flanders, besides restoring to the constable of Bourbon his confiscated estates. He likewise promised to marry the sister of Charles V., and gave both his sons as hostages. **Treaty of Madrid.**

On becoming king again he fell under the dominion of three personal sentiments, which exercised a decisive influence upon his conduct and, consequently, upon the destiny of France: joy at his liberation, a thirsting for revenge, we will not say for vengeance to be wreaked on Charles V., and the burden of the engagement he had contracted at Madrid in order to recover his liberty, alternately swayed him. The envoys of Charles V., with Lannoy, the viceroy of Naples at their head, went to Cognac to demand execution of the treaty of Madrid. Francis waited, ere he gave them an answer, for the arrival of the delegates from the estates of Burgundy, whom he had summoned to have their opinion as to the **Meeting at Cognac.**

The delegates from Burgundy repudiate the cession of the duchy.

cession of the duchy. These delegates, meeting at Cognac in June, 1527, formally repudiated the cession, being opposed, they said, to the laws of the kingdom, to the rights of the king, who could not by his sole authority alienate any portion of his dominions, and to his coronation-oath, which superseded his oaths made at Madrid. Francis invited the envoys of Charles V. to a solemn meeting of his court and council present at Cognac, at which the delegates from Burgundy repeated their protest. Whilst availing himself of this declaration as an insurmountable obstacle to the complete execution of the treaty of Madrid, Francis offered to give two million crowns for the redemption of Burgundy, and to observe the other arrangements of the treaty, including the relinquishment of Italy and his marriage with the sister of Charles V. Charles formally rejected this proposal, and required of him to keep his oath.

However determined he was, at bottom, to elude the strict execution of the treaty of Madrid, Francis was anxious to rebut the charge of perjury by shifting the responsibility on to the shoulders of the people themselves and their representatives. He did not like to summon the states-general of the kingdom and recognize their right as well as their power; but, after the meeting at Cognac, he went to Paris, and, on the 12th of December, 1527, the parliament met in state with the adjunct of the princes of the blood, a great number of cardinals, bishops, noblemen, deputies from the parliaments of Toulouse, Bordeaux, Rouen, Dijon, Grenoble and Aix, and the municipal body of Paris. In presence of this assembly the king went over the history of his reign, his expeditions in Italy, his alternate successes and reverses and his captivity. "If my subjects have suffered," he said, "I have suffered with them." He then caused to be read the letters patent whereby he had abdicated and transferred the crown to his son the dauphin, devoting himself to captivity for ever. He explained the present condition of the finances, and what he could furnish for the ransom of his sons detained as hostages; and he ended by offering to return as a prisoner to Spain if no other way could be found out of a difficult position, for he acknowledged having given his word, adding, however, that he had thought it pledged him to nothing since it had not been given freely.

A.D. 1527. Meeting of the Parliament in Paris.

This last argument was of no value morally or diplomatically; but in his bearing and his language Francis I. displayed grandeur and emotion. The assembly also showed emotion; they were four days deliberating; with some slight diversity of form the various bodies present came to the same conclusion; and, on the 16th of December, 1527, the parliament decided that the king was not bound either

to return to Spain or to execute, as to that matter, the treaty of Madrid, and that he might *with full sanction and justice* levy on his subjects two millions of crowns for the ransom of his sons and the other requirements of the State.

Before inviting such manifestations Francis I. had taken measures to prevent them from being in vain. As early as the 22nd of May, 1526, whilst he was still deliberating with his court and parliament as to how he should behave towards Charles V. touching the treaty of Madrid, Francis I. entered into the Holy League with the pope, the Venetians and the duke of Milan for the independence of Italy; and on the 8th of August following Francis I. and Henry VIII. undertook, by a special treaty, to give no assistance one against the other to Charles V., and Henry VIII. promised to exert all his efforts to get Francis I.'s two sons, left as hostages in Spain, set at liberty. Thus the war between Francis I. and Charles V., after fifteen months' suspension, resumed its course.

A.D. 1526 The Holy League.

It lasted three years in Italy, from 1526 to 1529, without interruption, but also without result; it was one of those wars which are prolonged from a difficulty of living in peace rather than from any serious intention, on either side, of pursuing a clear and definite object. The chief events connected with this period are the systematic pillage of Italy by a lawless soldiery led on by Leyva, Bourbon and the Lutheran George Frondsberg, who wore habitually round his neck a gold chain, destined, he said, to strangle the pope. Bourbon was killed whilst leading on that rabble to the storming of Rome; the captivity of the pope and the horrors of which the eternal city was the scene, excited universal indignation, and Francis I. thought the moment favourable to march into Italy troops which, a few months before, would have saved both Rome and Milan. Hampered for want of money, Lautrec could do nothing, and the plague moreover decimated his army. Nothing, however, would have been lost if the communications between Italy and France had remained open. But Francis committed the signal blunder of offending the Genoese Doria, who was admiral of the French fleet and who was considered as the first sailor of the age. The engagement of that foreigner had just terminated, and, of course, instead of renewing it, Doria employed against France his influence and his personal courage. Charles having accused the king of France of treachery, the latter, in his turn, called his rival a liar, challenged him to single combat, and allowed him the choice of weapons. But the era of great nations and great contests was beginning, and one is inclined to believe that Francis I. and Charles V. were themselves aware that their mutual challenges would not

1526-1529 The war resumed.

come to any personal encounter. The war which continued between them in Italy was not much more serious or decisive; both sides were weary of it, and neither one nor the other of the two sovereigns espied any great chances of success. The French army was wasting itself, in the kingdom of Naples, upon petty inconclusive engagements; its commander, Lautrec, died of the plague on the 15th of August, 1528; a desire for peace became day by day stronger; it

A.D. 1529. Peace of Cambrai. was made, first of all, at Barcelona, on the 20th of June, 1529, between Charles V. and Pope Clement VII.; and then a conference was opened at Cambrai for the purpose of bringing it about between Charles V. and Francis I. likewise. Two women, Francis I.'s mother and Charles V.'s aunt, Louise of Savoy and Margaret of Austria, had the real negotiation of it, and it was called accordingly *the ladies' peace*. Though morally different and of very unequal worth, they both had minds of a rare order and trained to recognize political necessities and not to attempt any but possible successes. They did not long survive their work: Margaret of Austria died on the 1st of December, 1530, and Louise of Savoy on the 22nd of September, 1531. All the great political actors seemed hurrying away from the stage, as if the drama were approaching its end.

A.D. 1534. Death of Pope Clement VII. Pope Clement VII. died on the 26th of September, 1534. He was a man of sense and moderation; he tried to restore to Italy her independence, but he forgot that a moderate policy is, above all, that which requires most energy and perseverance. These two qualities he lacked totally; he oscillated from one camp to the other without ever having any real influence anywhere. A little before his death he made France a fatal present; for, on the 28th of October, 1533, he married his niece Catherine de' Medici to Francis I.'s second son, Prince Henry of Valois, who by the death of his elder brother, the dauphin Francis, soon afterwards became heir to the throne. The chancellor, Anthony Duprat, too, the most considerable up to that time amongst the advisers of Francis I., died on the 9th of July, 1535. In the civil as well as in the military class, for his government as well as for his armies, Francis I. had, at this time, to look out for new servants.

A.D. 1532. Interview between Francis I. and Henry VIII. The *ladies' peace*, concluded at Cambrai in 1529, lasted up to 1536; incessantly troubled, however, by far from pacific symptoms, proceedings, and preparations. In October, 1532, Francis I. had, at Calais, an interview with Henry VIII., at which they contracted a private alliance and undertook "to raise between them an army of 80,000 men to resist the Turk, as true zealots for the good of Christendom." The Turks, in fact, under their great sultan Soliman II., were constantly threatening and invading eastern

Europe. Charles V., as emperor of Germany, was far more exposed to their attacks and far more seriously disquieted by them than Francis I. and Henry VIII. were; but the peril that hung over him in the East urged him on at the same time to a further development of ambition and strength; in order to defend eastern Europe against the Turks, he required to be dominant in western Europe; and in that very part of Europe a large portion of the population were disposed to wish for his success, for they required it for their own security.

A.D. 1536. Invasion of Provence by Charles V.

In 1536 all the combustibles of war exploded; in the month of February, a French army entered Piedmont and occupied Turin, and, in the month of July, Charles V. in person entered Provence at the head of 50,000 men. Anne de Montmorency, having received orders to defend southern France, began by laying it waste in order that the enemy might not be able to live in it; officers had orders to go everywhere and "break up the bake-houses and mills, burn the wheat and forage, pierce the wine-casks and ruin the wells by throwing the wheat into them to spoil the water." In certain places the inhabitants resisted the soldiers charged with this duty; elsewhere, from patriotism, they themselves set fire to their corn-ricks and pierced their casks. Montmorency made up his mind to defend, on the whole coast of Provence, only Marseilles and Arles; he pulled down the ramparts of the other towns, which were left exposed to the enemy. For two months Charles V. prosecuted this campaign without a fight, marching through the whole of Provence an army which fatigue, shortness of provisions, sickness and ambuscades were decimating ingloriously. At last he decided upon retreating.

On returning from his sorry expedition, Charles V. learned that those of his lieutenants whom he had charged with the conduct of a similar invasion in the north of France, in Picardy, had met with no greater success than he himself in Provence. Queen Mary of Hungary, his sister and deputy in the government of the Low Countries, advised a local truce; his other sister, Eleanor, the queen of France, was of the same opinion; Francis I. adopted it; and the truce in the north was signed for a period of three months. Montmorency signed a similar one for Piedmont. It was agreed that negotiations for a peace should be opened at Locate, in Roussillon, and that, to pursue them, Francis should go and take up his quarters at Montpellier and Charles V. at Barcelona. Pope Paul III. (Alexander Farnese), who, on the 13th of October, 1534, had succeeded Clement VII., came forward as mediator. One month afterwards, Charles and Francis met at Aigues-Mortes, and

Interview of Aigues-Mortes.

these two princes who had treated one another in so insulting a manner, exchanged protestations of the warmest friendship. The peace lasted six years.

Francis I. was not willing to positively renounce his Italian conquests, and Charles V. was not willing to really give them up to him. Milaness was still, in Italy, the principal object of their mutual ambition Navarre, in the south-east of France, and the Low Countries in the north, gave occasion for incessantly renewed disputes between them. The two sovereigns sought for combinations which would allow them to make, one to the other, the desired concessions, whilst still preserving pretexts for, and chances of, recovering them. Divers projects of marriage between their children or near relatives were advanced with that object, but nothing came of them; and, after two years and a half of abortive negotiations, another great war, the fourth, broke out between Francis I. and Charles V., for the same causes and with the same by-ends as ever. It lasted two years, from 1542 to 1544, with alternations of success and reverse on either side, and several diplomatic attempts to embroil in it the different European powers. Francis I. concluded an alliance in 1543 with Sultan Soliman II., and, in concert with French vessels, the vessels of the pirate Barbarossa cruised about and made attacks upon the shores of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, on the 11th of February, 1543, Charles V. and Henry VIII., king of England, concluded an alliance against Francis I. and the Turks. The unsuccess which had attended the grand expedition conducted by Charles V. personally in 1541, with the view of attacking Barbarossa and the Mussulmans in Algiers itself, had opened his eyes to all the difficulty of such enterprises, and he wished to secure the co-operation of a great maritime power before engaging therein afresh. He at the same time convoked a German diet at Spires in order to make a strong demonstration against the alliance between Francis I. and the Turks, and to claim the support of Germany in the name of Christendom. Ambassadors from the duke of Savoy and the king of Denmark appeared in support of the propositions and demands of Charles V. The diet did not separate until it had voted 24,000 foot and 4000 horse to be employed against France, and had forbidden Germans, under severe penalties, to take service with Francis I. In 1544 the war thus became almost European, and in the early days of April two armies were concentrated in Piedmont, near the little town of Ceresole, the Spanish 20,000 strong and the French 19,000; the former under the orders of the marquis del Guasto, the latter under those of the count d'Enghien;

A.D. 1543. Alliance between Francis I. and Sultan Soliman II.

A.D. 1544. Battle of Ceresole.

both ready to deliver a battle which was, according to one side, to preserve Europe from the despotic sway of a single master, and, according to the other, to protect Europe against a fresh invasion of Mussulmans.

The battle was bravely disputed and for some time indecisive, even in the opinion of the anxious Count D'Enghien, who was for a while in an awkward predicament; but the ardour of the Gascons and the firmness of the Swiss prevailed, and the French army was victorious. This success, however, had not the results that might have been expected. The war continued; Charles V. transferred his principal efforts therein to the north, on the frontiers of the Low Countries and France, having concluded an alliance with Henry VIII. for acting in concert and on the offensive. Champagne and Picardy were simultaneously invaded by the Germans and the English; Henry VIII. took Boulogne; Charles V. advanced as far as Château-Thierry and threatened Paris. Great was the consternation there; Francis I. hurried up from Fontainebleau and rode about the streets, accompanied by the duke of Guise and everywhere saying, "If I cannot keep you from fear, I will keep you from harm." "My God," he had exclaimed as he started from Fontainebleau, "how dear Thou sellest me my kingdom!" The people recovered courage and confidence; they rose in a body; 40,000 armed militiamen defiled, it is said, before the king. The army arrived by forced marches, and took post between Paris and Château-Thierry. Charles V. was not rash; he fell back to Crespy in Laonness, some few leagues from his Low Countries. Negotiations were opened; and Francis I., fearing lest Henry VIII., being master of Boulogne, should come and join Charles V., ordered his negotiator, Admiral d'Annebaut, to accept the emperor's offers, "for fear lest he should rise higher in his demands when he knew that Boulogne was in the hands of the king of England." The demands were hard, but a little less so than those made in 1540; Charles V. yielded on some special points, being possessed beyond everything with the desire of securing Francis I.'s co-operation in the two great contests he was maintaining, against the Turks in eastern Europe and against the Protestants in Germany. Francis I. conceded everything in respect of the European policy in order to retain his rights over Milaness and to recover the French towns on the Somme. Peace was signed at Crespy on the 18th of September, 1544; and it was considered so bad a one that the dauphin thought himself bound to protest, first of all secretly before notaries and afterwards at Fontainebleau, on the 12th of December, in the presence of three princes of the royal house.

The Germans and the English invade France.

A.D. 1544. Peace of Crespy (Sept. 18).

This feeling was so general that several great bodies, amongst others the parliament of Toulouse (on the 22nd of January, 1545), followed the dauphin's example.

Francis I., in his life as a king and a soldier, had two rare pieces of good fortune: two great victories, Melegnano and Ceresole, stand out at the beginning and the end of his reign; and in his direst defeat, at Pavia, he was personally a hero. In all else, as regards his government, his policy was neither an able nor a successful one; for two and thirty years he was engaged in plans, attempts, wars, and negotiations; he failed in all his designs; he undertook innumerable campaigns or expeditions that came to nothing; he concluded forty treaties of war, peace, or truce, incessantly changing aim and cause and allies; and, for all this incoherent activity, he could not manage to conquer either the empire or Italy; he brought neither aggrandizement nor peace to France.

Outside of the political arena, in quite a different field of ideas and facts, that is, in the intellectual field, Francis I. did better and succeeded better. In this region he exhibited an instinct and a taste for the grand and the beautiful; he had a sincere love for literature, science, and art; he honoured and protected, and effectually too, their works and their representatives. His reign occupies the first half of the century (the sixteenth) which has been called the age of Renaissance. Taken absolutely, and as implying a renaissance, following upon a decay of science, literature, and art, the expression is exaggerated; it is not true that the five centuries which rolled by between the establishment of the Capetians and the accession of Francis I. (from 987 to 1615), were a period of intellectual barrenness and decay. It is in the thirteenth century, for instance, that we meet for the first time in Europe and in France with the conception and the execution of a vast repertory of different scientific and literary works produced by the brain of man, in fact with a veritable *Encyclopædia*. Vincent of Beauvais, born at Beauvais between 1184 and 1194, who died at his native place in 1264, collected and edited what he called *Bibliotheca Mundi*, *Speculum majus* (*Library of the World, an enlarged Mirror*), an immense compilation, the first edition of which, published at Strasbourg in 1473, comprises ten volumes folio, and would comprise fifty or sixty volumes octavo. The work contains three, and, according to some manuscripts, four parts, entitled *Speculum naturale* (*Mirror of Natural Science*), *Speculum historiale* (*Mirror of Historical Science*), *Speculum doctrinale* (*Mirror of Metaphysical Science*), and *Speculum morale* (*Mirror of Moral Science*). Each of these *Specula* contains a summary, extracted from the various writings

The Renaissance, its antecedents.

Vincent of Beauvais.

which have reference to the subject of it, and the authors of which Vincent of Beauvais takes care to name.

The Schoolmen.

After the encyclopædist of the middle ages come, naturally, their philosophers. They were numerous; and some of them have remained illustrious, such as Gerbert of Aurillac, who became Pope Sylvester II., St. Anselm, Abélard, St. Bernard, Robert of Sorbon, founder of the Sorbonne, and St. Thomas Aquinas. To these names, known to every enlightened man, might be added many others less familiar to the public, but belonging to men who held a high place in the philosophical contests of their times, such as John Scot Erigena, Bérenger, Roscelin, William of Champeaux, Gilbert de la Porée, &c. The questions which always have taken and always will take a passionate hold of men's minds, in respect of God, the universe and man, in respect of our origin, our nature and our destiny, were raised and discussed, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, if not with so much brilliancy, at any rate with as much boldness and earnest thought as at any other period.

Character of their teaching

God, creator, lawgiver and preserver of the universe and of man, everywhere and always present and potent, in permanent connexion, nay, communication, with man, at one time by natural and at another by supernatural means, at one time by the channel of authority and at another by that of free-agency, this is the point of departure, this the fixed idea of the philosopho-theologians of the middle ages. There are great gaps, great diversities, and great inconsistencies in their doctrines; they frequently made unfair use of the subtle dialectics called *scholastics* (*la scolastique*), and they frequently assigned too much to *the master's authority* (*l'autorité du maître*); but Christian faith, more or less properly understood and explained, and adhesion to the facts, to the religious and moral precepts, and to the primitive and essential testimonies of Christianity, are always to be found at the bottom of their systems and their disputes. Whether they be pantheists even or sceptics, it is in an atmosphere of Christianity that they live and that their thoughts are developed. On the other hand, speaking from the religious point of view, the Renaissance was but a resurrection of paganism dying out before the presence of the Christian world, which was troubled and perplexed but full of life and futurity.

The religious question thus set on one side, the Renaissance was a great and happy thing, which restored to light and honour the works and glories of the Greek and Roman communities. The memorials and monuments of classical civilization, which were suddenly removed, at the fall of the Greek empire, to Italy first and then from Italy to France and throughout the whole of Western Europe,

impressed with just admiration people as well as princes, and inspired them with the desire of marching forward in their turn in this attractive and glorious career.

It was not only in religious questions and by their philosopho-theologians that the middle ages, before the Renaissance, displayed their activity and fecundity. In literature and in art, in history and in poesy, in architecture and in sculpture, they had produced great and beautiful works which were quite worthy of surviving and have, in fact, survived the period of their creation. Here too the Renaissance of Greek and Roman antiquity came in and altered the originality of the earliest productions of the middle ages and gave to literature and to art in France a new direction.

The French language.

The first amongst the literary creations of the middle ages is that of the French language itself. When we pass from the ninth to the thirteenth century, from the oath of Charles the Bald and Louis the Germanic at Strasbourg in 842, to the account of the conquest of Constantinople in 1203, given by Geoffrey de Villehardouin, seneschal of Champagne, what a space has been traversed, what progress accomplished in the language of France! When the thirteenth century begins, the French language, though still rude and somewhat fluctuating, appears already rich, varied and capable of depicting with fidelity and energy events, ideas, characters, and the passions of men. There we have French prose and French poesy in their simple and lusty youth; the *Conquest of Constantinople* by Goeffrey de Villehardouin, and the *Song of Roland* by the unknown poet who collected and put together in the form of an epopee the most heroic amongst the legends of the reign of Charlemagne, are the first great and beautiful monuments of French literature in the middle ages.

The words are *French literature;* and of that alone is there any intention of speaking here. It is with the reign of Francis I. that, to bid a truce to further interruption, we commence the era of the real grand literature of France, that which has constituted and still constitutes the pride and the noble pleasure of the French public; several of the most illustrious of French writers, in poesy and prose, Ronsard, Montaigne, Bodin, and Stephen Pasquier, were born during that king's lifetime and during the first half of the sixteenth century; but it is to the second half of that century and to the first of the seventeenth that they belong by the glory of their works and of their influence.

Prose writers.

The middle ages bequeathed to French literature four prose-writers whom we cannot hesitate to call great historians: Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, and Commynes *Geoffrey de Villehar-*

donin, after having taken part, as negotiator and soldier, in the crusade which terminated in the capture of Constantinople, and having settled in Thessaly, at Messinopolis, as holder of considerable fiefs, with the title of marshal of Romania (Roumelia), employed his leisure in writing a history of this great exploit. He wrote with a dignified simplicity, epic and at the same time practical, speaking but little of himself, narrating facts with the precision of one who took part in them and yet without useless detail or personal vanity. *Joinville* wrote his *History of St. Louis* at the request of Joan of Navarre, wife of Philip the Handsome, and five years after that queen's death; he was then eighty-five, and he dedicated his book to Louis le Hutin (*the quarreller*), great grandson of St. Louis. More lively and more familiar in style than Villehardouin, he combines the vivid and natural impressions of youth with an old man's fond clinging to the memories of his long life; his narrative is at one and the same time very full of himself, without any pretension and very spirited without any show of passion, and fraught with a graceful and easy carelessness which charms the reader and all the while inspires confidence in the author's veracity. *Froissart* is an insatiable pry who revels in all the sights of his day, events and personages, wars and galas, adventures of heroism or gallantry, and who is incessantly gadding about through all the dominions and all the courts of Europe, everywhere seeking his own special amusement in the satisfaction of his curiosity. *Philip de Commynes* is quite another affair and far more than Froissart, nay than Joinville and Villehardouin. He is a politician proficient in the understanding and handling of the great concerns and great personages of his time. With the recital of events as well as the portrayal of character, he mingles here and there the reflections, expressed in precise, firm and temperate language, of a profound moralist, who sets before himself no other aim but that of giving his thoughts full utterance.

Joinville.

Froissart.

Commynes

Setting aside the language and poems of the troubadours of southern France, we shall find, in French poesy previous to the Renaissance, only three works which, through their popularity in their own time, still live in the memory of the erudite, and one only which, by its grand character and its superior beauties, attests the poetical genius of the middle ages and can claim national rights in the history of France. *The Romance of the Rose* in the erotic and allegorical style, the *Romances of Renart* in the satirical, and the *Farce of Patelin*, a happy attempt in the line of comedy, though but little known now-a-days to the public, are still and will remain subjects of literary study. *The Song of Roland* alone is an admirable sample of epic poesy in France, and the only monument

Poetry.

of poetical genius in the middle ages which can have a claim to national appreciation in the nineteenth century.

Such, in its chief works, philosophical, historical, and poetical, was the literature which the middle ages bequeathed to the reign of Francis I. In history only, and in spite of the new character assumed afterwards by the French language, this literature has had the honour of preserving its nationality and its glory. Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, and Commynes have remained great writers. In philosophy and in poesy a profound revolution was approaching; the religious reform and the fine literary genius, as well as the grand French language of the seventeenth century, were preparing to rise above the intellectual horizon. But between the moment when such advances dawn, and that when they burst forth there is nearly always a period of uncertain and unfruitful transition: and such was the first half of the sixteenth century, that is to say, the actual reign of Francis I.; it is often called the reign of the Renaissance, which certainly originated in his reign, but it did not grow and make any display until after him; the religious, philosophical, and poetical revolution, Calvin, Montaigne, and Ronsard, born in the earlier half of the seventeenth century, did not do anything that exercised any power until the later. One single poet, a third-rate one, Clement Marot, attained lustre under Francis I. Rabelais is the only great prose writer who belongs strictly to that period. The scholars, the learned critics of what had been left by antiquity in general and by Greek and Roman antiquity in particular, Budé (Budæus), J. C. Scaliger, Muretus, Danès (Danesius), Amyot, Ramus (Peter la Ramée), Robert Estienne (Stephanus), Vatable (Watebled), Cujas, and Turnebius make up the tale of literature specially belonging to and originating in the reign of Francis I., just as the foundation of the *Collège Royal*, which became the *Collège de France*, is his chief personal claim to renown in the service of science and letters.

Marot.

Coming between Villon and Ronsard, Clement Marot rendered to the French language, then in labour of progression and, one might say, of formation, eminent service: he gave it a naturalness, a clearness, an easy swing, and, for the most part, a correctness which it had hitherto lacked. It was reserved for other writers, in verse and prose, to give it boldness, the richness that comes of precision, elevation and grandeur.

Marguerite de Navarre.

During the reign of Francis I. and after the date of Clement Marot, there is no poet of any celebrity to speak of, unless we except Francis I. himself and his sister; and it is only in compliment to royalty's name that they need be spoken of. We have three collections of Marguerite's writings: 1. the *Heptaméron, ou*

les Sept Journées de la Reine de Navarre, a collection of sixty-eight tales more or less gallant, published for the first time in 1558, without any author's name; 2. her *Œuvres poétiques*, which appeared at Lyons in 1547 and 1548, in consequence of her being alive, under the title of *Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses* (*the Pearls of the Pearl of Princesses*), and of which one of her grooms-of-the-chamber was editor; in addition to which there is a volume of *Poésies inédites*, collected by order of Marguerite herself, but written by the hand of her secretary, John Frotté, and preserved at Paris amongst the manuscripts of the *Bibliothèque nationale* 3. the *Collection of her Letters*, published in 1841, by M. F. Génin. This last collection is, morally as well as historically, the most interesting of the three. As for Francis I. himself, there is little, if anything, known of his *poésies* beyond those which have been inserted in the *Documents relatifs à sa Captivité à Madrid*, published in 1847 by M. Champollion-Figeac; some have an historical value, either as regards public events or Francis I.'s relations towards his mother, his sister, and his mistresses; the most important is a long account of his campaign, in 1525, in Italy, and of the battle of Pavia; but the king's verses have even less poetical merit than his sister's.

Her works, and those of her brother.

Francis I.'s goodwill did more for learned and classical literature than for poesy. He contributed to this progress, first by the intelligent sympathy he testified towards learned men of letters, and afterwards by the foundation of the *Collége Royal*, an establishment of a special, an elevated and an independent sort, where professors found a liberty protected against the routine, jealousy, and sometimes intolerance of the University of Paris and the Sorbonne.

We will not quit the first half of the sixteenth century and the literary and philosophical Renaissance which characterizes that period, without assigning a place therein at its proper date and in his proper rank to the name, the life, and the works of the man who was not only its most original and most eminent writer, but its truest and most vivid representative, Rabelais (born at Chinon in 1495, died at Paris in 1553), François Rabelais, the jolly vicar of Meudon, Alcofribas Nasier, *abstracteur de quintessence*, as he styled himself. There is scarcely a question of importance that is not touched upon in his book ("La vie très-horrifique du grand Gargantua, père de Pantagruel"). The corruption of the clergy is denounced in the strongest terms; the rights of conscience, the futility of those logomachies to which scholasticism had finally degraded itself, the defects of absolute government, the necessity of educational reforms—all these points are discussed by Rabelais with

Rabelais.

an amount of common sense which is only equalled by the originality of his style and the genial character of his wit. La Bruyère was quite right when he gave of the *Gargantua* his famous appreciation :—" où il est mauvais, il passe bien loin au-delà du pire, c'est le charme de la canaille; où il est bon, il va jusqu'à l'exquis et à l'excellent, il peut être le mets des plus délicats."

The Reformation.

Nearly half a century before the Reformation made any noise in France, it had burst out with great force and had established its footing in Germany, Switzerland, and England. John Huss and Jerome of Prague, both born in Bohemia, one in 1373 and the other in 1378, had been condemned as heretics and burnt at Constance, one in 1415 and the other in 1416, by decree and in the presence of the council which had been there assembled. But, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, Luther in Germany and Zwingle in Switzerland had taken in hand the work of the Reformation, and before half that century had rolled by they had made the foundations of their new Church so strong that their powerful adversaries, with Charles V. at their head, felt obliged to treat with them, and recognize their position in the European world, though all the while disputing their right. In England Henry VIII, under the influence of an unbridled passion, as all his passions were, for Anna Boleyn, had, in 1531, broken with the Church of Rome, whose pope, Clement VII., refused very properly to pronounce him divorced from his wife Catherine of Aragon, and the king had proclaimed himself the spiritual head of the English Church, without meeting either amongst his clergy or in his kingdom with any effectual opposition. Thus in these three States of Western Europe the reformers had succeeded, and the religious revolution was in process of accomplishment. The nascent

Its peculiar features in France.

Reformation did not meet in France with either of the two important circumstances, politically considered, which in Germany and in England rendered its first steps more easy and more secure. It was in the cause of religious creeds alone, and by means of moral force alone, that she had to maintain the struggles in which she engaged. The questions raised by the councils of Bâle and Florence and by the semi-political, semi-ecclesiastical assembly at Tours, which had been convoked by Louis XII., the instruction at the Parisian University, and the attacks of the Sorbonne on the study of Greek and Hebrew, branded as heresy, were producing a lively agitation in the public mind. Professors and pupils, scholars grown old in meditation, such as Lefèvre of Étaples, and young folks eager for truth, liberty, action, and renown, such as William Farel, welcomed passionately those boundless and undefined hopes, those yearnings towards a brilliant and at the same time a vague

future, at which they looked forward. Men, too, holding a social position very different from that of the philosophers, men with minds formed on an acquaintance with facts and in the practice of affairs took part in this intellectual and religious ferment, and protected and encouraged its fervent adherents. William Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, a prelate who had been Louis XII.'s ambassador to Pope Julius II., and one amongst the negotiators of Francis I.'s Concordat with Leo X., opened his diocese to the preachers and writers recommended to him by his friend Lefèvre of Étaples, and supported them in their labours for the translation and propagation, amongst the people, of the *Holy Scriptures*. They had at court, and near the king's own person, the avowed support of his sister, Princess Marguerite, who was beautiful, sprightly, affable, kind, disposed towards all lofty and humane sentiments as well as all intellectual pleasures, and an object of the sometimes rash attentions of the most eminent and most different men of her time, Charles V., the constable De Bourbon, Admiral Bonnivet, and Clement Marot. Marguerite, who was married to the Duke d'Alençon, widowed in 1525, and married a second time, in 1527, to Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, was all her life, at Pau and at Nérac, as well as at Paris, a centre, a focus of social, literary, religious, and political movement. Luther and Zwingle had distinctly declared war on the papacy; Henry VIII. had with a flourish separated England from the Romish Church; Marguerite de Valois and Bishop Briçonnet neither wished nor demanded so much; they aspired no further than to reform the abuses of the Romish Church by the authority of that Church itself, in concert with its heads, and according to its traditional regimen; they had no idea of more than dealing kindly and even sympathetically with the liberties and the progress of science and human intelligence. Confined within these limits, the idea was legitimate and honest enough, but it showed want of foresight and was utterly vain.

Is helped by Marguerite de Valois.

What the reformers wanted.

During the first years of Francis I.'s reign (from 1515 to 1520) young and ardent reformers, such as William Farel and his friends, were but isolated individuals, eager after new ideas and studies, very favourable towards all that came to them from Germany, but without any consistency yet as a party, and without having committed any striking act of aggression against the Roman Church. Nevertheless they were even then, so far as the heads and the devoted adherents of that Church were concerned, objects of serious disquietude and jealous supervision. The Sorbonne, in particular pronounced vehemently against them. The syndic of that

The Sorbonne.

learned society, Noël Bédier or Béda, of whom Erasmus used to say, "in a single Beda there are 3000 monks," had at court two powerful patrons, the king's mother, Louise of Savoy, and the chancellor, Duprat, both decided enemies of the reformers: Louise of Savoy, in consequence of her licentious morals and her thirst for riches; Duprat, by reason of the same thirst, and of his ambition to become an equally great lord in the Church as in the State; and he succeeded, for in 1525 he was appointed archbishop of Sens. They were, moreover, both of them, opposed to any liberal reform, and devoted, in any case, to absolute power. Beaucaire de Peguilhem, a contemporary and most Catholic historian, for he accompanied the cardinal of Lorraine to the Council of Trent, calls Duprat "the most vicious of bipeds."

Attitude of Francis I.

Against such passions the reformers found Francis I. a very indecisive and very inefficient protector. "I wish," said he, "to give men of letters special marks of my favour." When deputies from the Sorbonne came and requested him to put down the publication of learned works taxed with heresy, "I do not wish," he replied, "to have those folks meddled with; to persecute those who instruct us would be to keep men of ability from coming to our country." But, in spite of his language, orders were given to the bishops to furnish the necessary funds for the prosecution of heretics, and, when the charge of heresy became frequent, Francis I. no longer repudiated it: "Those people," he said, "do nothing but bring trouble into the State."

Persecutions.

The defeat at Pavia and the captivity of the king at Madrid placed the governing power for thirteen months in the hands of the most powerful foes of the Reformation, the Regent Louise of Savoy and the chancellor Duprat. They used it unsparingly, with the harsh indifference of politicians who will have, at any price, peace within their dominions and submission to authority. It was under their regimen that there took place the first martyrdom decreed and executed in France upon a partisan of the Reformation for an act of aggression and offence against the Catholic Church, that, we mean, of John Leclerc, a wool-carder at Meaux, followed, after a brief interval, by the burning of Louis de Berquin, a gentleman of Artois. These two confessors of the Protestant faith were notable and vivid representatives of the two classes amongst which, in the sixteenth century, the Reformation took root in France. This movement had a double origin, morally and socially, one amongst the people, and the other amongst the aristocratic and the learned; it was not national, nor was it embraced by the government of the country.

Persecution was its first and its only destiny in the reign of Francis I., and it went through the ordeal with admirable courage and patience; it resisted only in the form of martyrdom.

Marguerite alone continued to protect, timidly and dejectedly, those of her friends amongst the reformers whom she could help or to whom she could offer an asylum in Béarn without embroiling herself with the king her brother and with the parliaments.

Francis I. allies himself to the Protestants ofGermany

During the long truce which succeeded the peace of Cambrai, from 1532 to 1536, it might have been thought for a while that the persecution in France was going to be somewhat abated. Policy obliged Francis I. to seek the support of the protestants of Germany against Charles V.; he was incessantly fluctuating between that policy and a strictly catholic and papal policy; by marrying his son Henry, on the 28th of October, 1533, to Catherine de' Medici, niece of Pope Clement VII., he seemed to have decided upon the latter course; but he had afterwards made a movement in the contrary direction; Clement VII. had died on the 26th of September, 1524; Paul III. had succeeded him; and Francis I. again turned towards the protestants of Germany; he entered into relations with the most moderate amongst their theologians, with Melancthon, Bucer, and Sturm; there was some talk of conciliation, of a re-establishment of peace and harmony in the Church; nor did the king confine himself to speaking by the mouth of diplomatists; he himself wrote to Melancthon. But whilst making all these advances to the protestants of Germany, he was continuing to proceed against their brother-Christians in France more bitterly and more flagrantly than ever. The last and most atrocious act of persecution which occurred in his reign was directed not against isolated individuals but against a harmless population, the Vaudois, who had for three centuries maintained religious doctrines of a strictly Evangelical character. In 1540, they had been condemned as heretics, but their peaceful habits, the purity of their manners, and the regularity with which they paid the taxes, had induced the king to countermand the execution of the sentence. In April 1545, however, precise and rigorous orders were transmitted from the court to the parliament of Aix. Baron de la Garde, assisted by President d'Oppède and by the advocate-general Guérin, invaded suddenly at the head of an army the districts of Cabrières and Mérindol, chiefly inhabited by the Vaudois. 3000 of these unhappy men were massacred or burnt in their dwellings; 660 were sent to the hulks, and the rest, dispersed throughout the woods and mountains, perished of want and of fatigue. Within a radius of fifteen leagues not one tree, not one house was left

The Vaudois. Massacre atCabrières and Merindol.

standing. It is said that Francis I., when near his end, repented of this odious extermination of a small population, which, with his usual fickleness and carelessness, he had at one time protected, and at another abandoned to its enemies. Amongst his last words to his son Henry II. was an exhortation to cause an inquiry to be made into the iniquities committed by the parliament of Aix in this instance. It will be seen, at the opening of Henry II.'s reign, what was the result of this exhortation of his father's.

Calvin, his doctrines and his work.

It was quite clear that the reformation of the Church could be brought about only by a return to Gospel Christianity, and with this great movement the name of Calvin must ever be associated in France, as that of Luther is in Germany, and that of Zwingli in Switzerland. John Calvin, or Chauvin, was born at Noyon in 1509. He received at Orleans lessons in Greek from the Lutheran Melchior Wolmar, who impressed him with his own views of the errors of the Romish Church. The publication of a treatise *On Clemency* shortly after his conversion (1532), and in the midst of the persecutions ordered by Francis I. against the first Huguenots, drew upon him some amount of notice. Shortly after he was publicly censured by the Sorbonne on account of a speech which he had composed for Nicolas Cop, rector of the University of Paris. Obliged to leave the metropolis, he found a refuge at Nérac. From thence he went first to Basle, where he published his great work "*Institution Chrétienne*" (1535); then to Geneva, where Farel detained him; afterwards to Strasburg; in that city he remained till the year 1541, when the inhabitants of Geneva recalled him in consequence of the defeat of his adversaries, who, under the name of *Libertines*, wanted to oppose the establishment of a severe form of ecclesiastical and political government. Calvin remained at Geneva till his death (1564), exercising unlimited authority, and displaying all the qualities not only of a divine and a pastoral adviser, but also of a stern civil ruler. As a reformer and a legislator, Calvin owed his power to the energy of his mind, and to the manner in which he interpreted the two conflicting principles—liberty and authority. Liberty is the *form* proposed by Calvin and the Reformers; religion, that is to say, legitimate obedience, is the *substance*. The Reformation might have dwindled into a negative protest; it became a positive movement: instead of being a mere outburst of liberalism, it claimed a hearing as the pure exponent of Christianity, or, rather, this was its first character, and it steadfastly resisted every effort made to draw it away from this safe course. There were, during the sixteenth century, two classes of Reformers. Some, whilst professing the utmost regard

Source of his power.

for all the externals of religion (viz., Roman Catholicism), were busily but stealthily engaged in destroying Christianity; the others determined upon following the opposite direction. With them, forms were nothing; nay, they had become worse than nothing; for they had accumulated like a mass of corrupt rubbish over the fair superstructure raised by Christ in the Gospel; at any cost these excrescences must be cleared away. The war raged quite as fiercely between both classes of reformers, as between the reformers properly so called and the supporters of the hierarchy; it was a struggle for life and death, and when we consider the issue, we may boldly affirm that Protestantism, in a certain sense, saved Christianity. We go even farther than that—the seventeenth century is indebted to the Reformation for Pascal, Fénelon, Bossuet; and Port-Royal is connected with Geneva.

Catholics and Protestants.

In 1547, when the death of Francis I. was at hand, that ecclesiastical organization of protestantism which Calvin had instituted at Geneva was not even begun in France. The French protestants were as yet but isolated and scattered individuals, without any bond of generally accepted and practised faith or discipline, and without any eminent and recognised heads. The Reformation pursued its course; but a reformed Church did not exist. And this confused mass of reformers and reformed had to face an old, a powerful, and a strongly-constituted Church, which looked upon the innovators as rebels over whom it had every right as much as against them it had every arm. In each of the two camps prevailed errors of enormous magnitude and fruitful of fatal consequences; catholics and protestants both believed themselves to be in exclusive possession of the truth, of all religious truth, and to have the right of imposing it by force upon their adversaries the moment they had the power. Both were strangers to any respect for human conscience, human thought, and human liberty. Those who had clamoured for this on their own account when they were weak had no regard for it in respect of others, when they felt themselves to be strong. On the side of the protestants the ferment was at full heat, but as yet vague and unsettled; on the part of the catholics the persecution was unscrupulous and unlimited. Such was the position and such the state of feeling in which Francis I., at his death on the 31st of March, 1547, left the two parties that had already been at grips during his reign. He had not succeeded either in reconciling them or in securing the triumph of that which had his favour, and the defeat of that which he would have liked to vanquish. That was in nearly all that he undertook, his fate; he lacked the spirit of sequence and steady persistence, and his merits as well as his defects

Liberty of conscience ignored.

almost equally urged him on to rashly attempt that which he only incompletely executed He was neither prudent nor persevering, and he may be almost said to have laid himself out to please everybody rather than to succeed in one and the same great purpose.

It is said that at the close of his reign Francis I., in spite of all the resources of his mind and all his easy-going qualities, was much depressed, and that he died in sadness and disquietude as to the future. One may be inclined to think that, in his egotism, he was more sad on his own account than disquieted on that of his successors and of France. However that may be, he was assuredly far from foreseeing the terrible civil war which began after him and the crimes as well as disasters which it caused. None of his more intimate circle was any longer in a position to excite his solicitude: his mother, Louise of Savoy, had died sixteen years before him [September 22, 1531]; his most able and most wicked adviser, Chancellor Duprat, twelve years [July 29, 1535]. His sister Marguerite survived him two years [she died December 21, 1549], "disgusted with everything," say the historians, and "weary of life," said she herself.

Death of Louise of Savoy—Duprat—Marguerite.

And yet Marguerite was loth to leave this world. She had always been troubled at the idea of death; when she was spoken to about eternal life she would shake her head sometimes, saying: "All that is true; but we remain a mighty long while dead underground before arriving there." When she was told that her end was near, she considered "that a very bitter word, saying that she was not so old but that she might still live some years." She had been the most generous, the most affectionate and the most lovable person in a family and a court which were both corrupt and of which she only too often acquiesced in the weaknesses and even vices, though she always fought against their injustice and their cruelty. She had the honour of being the grandmother of Henry IV.

A D. 1547. Accession of Henry II

Henry II. had all the defects and, with the exception of personal bravery, not one amongst the brilliant and amiable qualities of the king his father. Like Francis I., he was rash and reckless in his resolves and enterprises, but without having the promptness, the fertility and the suppleness of mind which Francis I. displayed in getting out of the awkward positions in which he had placed himself and in stalling off or mitigating the consequences of them. Henry was as cold and ungenial as Francis had been gracious and able to please: and whilst Francis I., even if he were a bad master to himself, was at any rate his own master, Henry II. submitted, without resistance and probably without knowing it, to the influence of the favourite who reigned in his house as well as in his court,

and of the advisers who were predominant in his government. Two facts will suffice to set in a clear light, at the commencement of the new reign, this regrettable analogy in the defects and this profound diversity in the mind, character and conduct of the two kings.

Towards the close of 1542, a grievous aggravation of the tax upon salt, called *gabel*, caused a violent insurrection in the town of Rochelle, which was exempted, it was said, by its traditional privileges from that impost. Not only was payment refused, but the commissioners were maltreated and driven away. Francis I. considered the matter grave enough to require his presence for its repression. He repaired to Rochelle with a numerous body of lanzknechts. The terrified population appeared to have determined upon submission, and they were let off for a fine of 200,000 francs, which the king gave to his keeper of the seals, Francis de Montholon, whom he wished to compensate for his good service. The keeper of the seals in his turn made a present of them to the town of Rochelle to found a hospital. But the ordinances as to the salt-tax were maintained in principle, and their extension led, some years afterwards, to a rising of a more serious character and very differently repressed.

A.D. 1548. Rebellion in the South of France.

In 1548, hardly a year after the accession of Henry II. and in the midst of the rejoicings he had gone to be present at in the north of Italy, he received news at Turin to the effect that in Guienne, Angoumois and Saintonge a violent and pretty general insurrection had broken out against the salt-tax, which Francis I., shortly before his death, had made heavier in these provinces. The local authorities in vain attempted to repress the rising, and it was put down in the most terrible manner by constable de Montmorency. This insurrection was certainly more serious than that of Rochelle in 1542; but it is also quite certain that Francis I would not have set about repressing it as Henry II. did; he would have appeared there himself and risked his own person instead of leaving the matter to the harshest of his lieutenants, and he would have more skilfully intermingled generosity with force and kind words with acts of severity. And that is one of the secrets of governing. In 1549, scarcely a year after the revolt at Bordeaux, Henry II., then at Amiens, granted to deputies from Poitou, Rochelle, the district of Aunis, Limousin, Périgord, and Saintonge, almost complete abolition of the *gabel* in Guienne, which paid the king, by way of compensation, two hundred thousand crowns of gold for the expenses of war or the redemption of certain alienated domains. We may admit that on the day after the revolt the arbitrary and bloody proceedings of the constable de Montmorency must have produced upon the insurgents

of Bordeaux the effect of a salutary fright; but we may doubt whether so cruel a repression was absolutely indispensable in 1548, when in 1549 the concession demanded in the former year was to be recognized as necessary.

Constable de Montmorency. His character.

History must do justice even to the men whose brutal violence she stigmatizes and reproves. In the case of Anne de Montmorency it often took the form of threats intended to save him from the necessity of acts When he came upon a scene of any great confusion and disorder: "Go hang me such an one," he would say; "tie yon fellow to that tree; despatch this fellow with pikes and arquebuses, this very minute, right before my eyes; cut me in pieces all those rascals who chose to hold such a clockcase as this against the king; burn me yonder village; light me up a blaze everywhere, for a quarter of a mile all round." The same man paid the greatest attention to the discipline and good condition of his troops, in order to save the populations from their requisitions and excesses. A nephew of the constable de Montmorency, a young man of twenty-three, who at a later period became Admiral de Coligny, was ordered to see to the execution of these protective measures, and he drew up, between 1550 and 1552, at first for his own regiment of foot and afterwards as colonel-general of this army, rules of military discipline which remained for a long while in force.

War with Germany.

There was war in the atmosphere. The king and his advisers, the court and the people, had their minds almost equally full of it, some in sheer dread, and others with an eye to preparation. The reign of Francis I. had ended mournfully; the peace of Crespy had hurt the feelings both of royalty and of the nation; Henry, now king, had, as dauphin, felt called upon to disavow it. It had left England in possession of Calais and Boulogne and confirmed the dominion or ascendancy of Charles V. in Germany, Italy and Spain, on all the French frontiers. How was the struggle to be recommenced? Two systems of policy and warfare, moreover, divided the king's council into two: Montmorency, now old and worn out in body and mind [he was born in 1492 and so was sixty in 1552], was for a purely defensive attitude, no adventures or battles to be sought, but victuals and all sorts of supplies to be destroyed in the provinces which might be invaded by the enemy, so that instead of winning victories there he might not even be able to live there. In 1536 this system had been found successful by the constable in causing the failure of Charles V.'s invasion of Provence; but in 1550 a new generation had come into the world, the court, and the army; it comprised young men full of ardour and already dis-

tinguished for their capacity and valour; Francis de Lorraine, duke of Guise [born at the castle of Bar, February 17, 1519], was thirty-one; his brother, Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine, was only six-and-twenty [he was born at Joinville, February 17, 1524]; Francis de Scépeaux [born at Durétal, Anjou, in 1510], who afterwards became Marshal de Vieilleville, was at this time nearly forty; but he had contributed in 1541 to the victory of Ceresole, and Francis I. had made so much of it that he had said on presenting him to his son Henry: "He is no older than you, and see what he has done already; if the wars do not swallow him up, you will some day make him constable or marshal of France." Gaspard de Coligny [born at Châtillon-sur-Loing, February 16, 1517], was thirty-three; and his brother, Francis d'Andelot [born at Châtillon in 1521], twenty-nine. These men, warriors and politicians at one and the same time, in a high social position and in the flower of their age, could not reconcile themselves to the constable de Montmorency's system, defensive solely and prudential to the verge of inertness; they thought that, in order to repair the reverses of France and for the sake of their own fame, there was something else to be done, and they impatiently awaited the opportunity.

The new generation of French warriors.

It was not long coming. At the close of 1551, a deputation of the protestant princes of Germany came to Fontainebleau to ask for the king's support against the aggressive and persecuting despotism of Charles V. Their request having been granted, the place of meeting for the army was appointed at Châlons-sur-Marne, March 10, 1552; more than a thousand gentlemen flocked thither as volunteers; peasants and mechanics from Champagne and Picardy joined them; the war was popular; "the majority of the soldiers," says Rabutin, a contemporary chronicler, "were young men whose brains were on fire." Francis de Guise and Gaspard de Coligny were their chief leaders. The king entered Lorraine from Champagne by Joinville, the ordinary residence of the dukes of Guise. He carried Pont-à-Mousson; Toul opened its gates to him on the 13th of April; he occupied Nancy on the 14th, and on the 18th he entered Metz, not without some hesitation amongst a portion of the inhabitants and the necessity of a certain show of military force on the part of the leaders of the royal army. At that time the emperor was lying ill at Inspruck, where he had gone for the purpose of watching more closely the deliberations of the council of Trent. On the point of being surprised in that city by Maurice of Saxony at the head of the Protestants, he signed with those the treaty of Passau, afterwards ratified at Augsburg (1552-55). Then he came to besiege Metz, which the Duke of Guise successfully defended, displaying as much true courage as greatness of soul.

Success of the French

During the next year (1553), Charles V., anxious to avenge the check which his forces had met with, invaded Artois, and burnt down the city of Thérouanne, which has never since been rebuilt. A short time after, his army was defeated at Renty by Guise and Tuvannes. In the meanwhile, marshal Brissac was holding his ground in Piedmont; Strozzi, a Florentine in the service of France, and Montluc, defended in turns the town of Sienna which, at last, was obliged to capitulate to the fierce Medichino; the French fleet, commanded by Baron de la Garde, and combined with that of the Turks under the orders of Dragut, threatened the coasts of Calabria and of Sicily, ravaged the island of Elba, and captured some towns in Corsica, then belonging to the Genoese.

Abdication of Charles V.

These events decided Charles V. to abdicate. On the 25th of October, 1555, and the 1st of January, 1556, he gave over to his son Philip the kingdom of Spain, with the sovereignty of Burgundy and the Low Countries, and to his younger brother Ferdinand the empire, together with the original heritage of the House of Austria; he then retired personally to the monastery of Yuste, in Estramadura, there to pass the last years of his life, distracted with gout, at one time resting from the world and its turmoil, at another vexing himself about what was doing there now that he was no longer in it. Before abandoning it for good, he desired to do his son Philip the service of leaving him, if not in a state of definite peace, at any rate in a condition of truce with France. Henry II. also desired rest; and the constable de Montmorency wished above everything for the release of his son Francis, who had been a prisoner since the fall of Thérouanne. A truce for five years was signed at Vaucelles on the 5th of February, 1556; and Coligny, quite young still, but already admiral and in high esteem, had the conduct of the negotiation.

Philip II., his successor in Spain, marries Mary Tudor.

Philip II. continued his father's policy, and took measures for promptly entering upon a fresh campaign. By his marriage with Mary Tudor, queen of England, he had secured for himself a powerful ally in the North; the English parliament were but little disposed to compromise themselves in a war with France; but in March, 1557, Philip went to London; the queen's influence and the distrust excited in England by Henry II. prevailed over the pacific desires of the nation; and Mary sent a simple herald to carry to the king of France at Rheims her declaration of war.

A.D. 1558. Mary Stuart marries the Dauphin.

Henry accepted it politely but resolutely. A negotiation was commenced for accomplishing the marriage, long since agreed upon, between the young queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart, and Henry II.'s son, Francis, dauphin of France. Mary, who was born on the 8th of December, 1542, at Falkland Castle in Scotland, had, since

1548, lived and received her education at the court of France, whither her mother, Mary of Lorraine, eldest sister of Francis of Guise and queen-dowager of Scotland, had lost no time in sending her as soon as the future union between the two children had been agreed upon between the two courts. The dauphin of France was a year younger than the Scottish princess; on the 19th of April, 1558, the espousals took place in the great hall of the Louvre, and the marriage was celebrated in the church of Notre-Dame. From that time Mary Stuart was styled in France queen-dauphiness, and her husband, with the authorization of the Scottish commissioners, took the title of king-dauphin.

A.D. 1557. Battle of Saint-Quentin.

In the meanwhile Henry II. made an alliance with Pope Paul IV. and sent two armies, one into the Netherlands, under the command of Montmorency, the other into Italy, under that of the duke of Guise. Montmorency was thoroughly defeated at Saint-Quentin by the duke of Savoy, Philibert Emmanuel (1557), and the French general himself remained in the power of the enemy. Fortunately, admiral Coligny held in check for seventeen days the victor before that town; a circumstance which enabled the king to organise reinforcements, and the duke of Guise to return from the kingdom of Naples, where the duke of Alva had resisted him with success. Guise saved France, not by attacking the Spaniards but by surprising Calais, which was, after eight days' siege, taken from the English, who had occupied it for the space of two hundred and eleven years. The news of this event was a death blow for Mary.

Several other acts of hostility of not much moment took place in the Northern provinces; the Duke de Guise made himself master of a few small towns, but on the other hand, the French general Thermes was defeated at Gravelines by the count of Egmont. At last, a treaty was signed at Câteau-Cambrésis (1559) between Henry II. and Elizabeth, who had become queen of England at the death of her sister Mary [November 17th, 1558]; and next day, April 3rd, between Henry II., Philip II. and the allied princes of Spain, amongst others the prince of Orange, William *the Silent*, who, whilst serving in the Spanish army, was fitting himself to become the leader of the reformers and the liberator of the Low Countries. By the treaty with England, France was to keep Calais for eight years in the first instance, and on a promise to pay 500,000 gold crowns to queen Elizabeth or her successors. The money was never paid and Calais was never restored, and this without the English government's having considered that it could make the matter a motive for renewing the war. By the treaty with Spain, France was to keep Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and have

A.D. 1559. Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis.

back Saint-Quentin, le Catelet and Ham; but she was to restore to Spain or her allies a hundred and eighty-nine places in Flanders, Piedmont, Tuscany, and Corsica. The malcontents, for the absence of political liberty does not suppress them entirely, raised their voices energetically against this last treaty signed by the king, with the sole desire, it was supposed, of obtaining the liberation of his two favourites, the constable De Montmorency and marshal de Saint-André, who had been prisoners in Spain since the defeat at Saint Quentin. "Their ransom," it was said, "has cost the kingdom more than that of Francis I." Guise himself said to the king, "A stroke of your Majesty's pen costs more to France than thirty years of war cost." Ever since that time the majority of historians, even the most enlightened, have joined in the censure that was general in the sixteenth century; but their opinion will not be endorsed here: the places which France had won during the war, and which she retained by the peace, Metz, Toul, and Verdun on her frontier in the north-east, facing the imperial or Spanish possessions, and Boulogne and Calais on her coasts in the north-west, facing England, were, as regarded the integrity of the State and the security of the inhabitants, of infinitely more importance than those which she gave up in Flanders and Italy. The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, too, marked the termination of those wars of ambition and conquest which the kings of France had waged beyond the Alps: an injudicious policy which, for four reigns, had crippled and wasted the resources of France in adventurous expeditions, beyond the limits of her geographical position and her natural and permanent interests.

Opposition which it creates.

The Protestants.—Development of the Reformation.

France was once more at peace with her neighbours, and seemed to have nothing more to do than to gather in the fruits thereof. But she had in her own midst questions far more difficult of solution than those of her external policy, and these perils from within were threatening her more seriously than any from without. Since the death of Francis I., the religious ferment had pursued its course, becoming more general and more fierce; the creed of the reformers had spread very much; their number had very much increased; permanent churches, professing and submitting to a fixed faith and discipline, had been founded; that of Paris was the first, in 1555; and the example had been followed at Orleans, at Chartres, at Lyons, at Toulouse, at Rochelle, in Normandy, in Touraine, in Guienne, in Poitou, in Dauphiny, in Provence, and in all the provinces, more or less In 1561, it was calculated that there were 2150 reformed, or, as the expression then was, *rectified* (*dressées*), churches. It is clear that the movement of the Reformation in the

sixteenth century was one of those spontaneous and powerful movements which have their source and derive their strength from the *condition of men's souls and of whole communities, and not merely* from the personal ambitions and interests which soon come and mingle with them, whether it be to promote or to retard them. One thing has been already here stated and confirmed by facts : it was specially in France that the Reformation had this truly religious and sincere character ; very far from supporting or tolerating it, the sovereign and public authorities opposed it from its very birth ; under Francis I. it had met with no real defenders but its martyrs ; and it was still the same under Henry II. During the reign of Francis I., within a space of twenty-three years, there had been eighty-one capital executions for heresy ; during that of Henry II., twelve years, there were ninety-seven for the same cause, and at one of these executions Henry II. was present in person on the space in front of Notre-Dame : a spectacle which Francis I. had always refused to see. In 1551, 1557 and 1559 Henry II , by three royal edicts, kept up and added to all the prohibitions and penalties in force against the reformers. All the resources of French civil jurisdiction appeared to be insufficient against them. They held at Paris, in May, 1559, their first general synod ; and eleven fully established churches sent deputies to it. This synod drew up a form of faith called the *Gallican Confession*, and likewise a form of discipline. The king of Navarre, Anthony de Bourbon, Prince Louis de Condé, his brother, and many other lords had joined the new faith ; the queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, in her early youth "was as fond of a ball as of a sermon," says Brantôme, "and she had advised her spouse, Anthony de Bourbon, who inclined towards Calvinism, not to perplex himself with all these opinions." In 1559 she was passionately devoted to the faith and the cause of the Reformation. With more levity but still in sincerity her brother-in-law, Louis de Condé, put his ambition and his courage at the service of the same cause. Admiral de Coligny's younger brother, Francis d'Andelot, declared himself a reformer to Henry II. himself, who, in his wrath, threw a plate at his head and sent him to prison in the castle of Melun. Coligny himself, who had never disguised the favourable sentiments he felt towards the reformers, openly sided with them on the ground of his own personal faith as well as of the justice due to them. At last the Reformation had really great leaders, men who had power and were experienced in the affairs of the world ; it was becoming a political party as well as a religious conviction ; and the French reformers were henceforth in a condition to make war as well as die at the

Special character of the French Reformation.

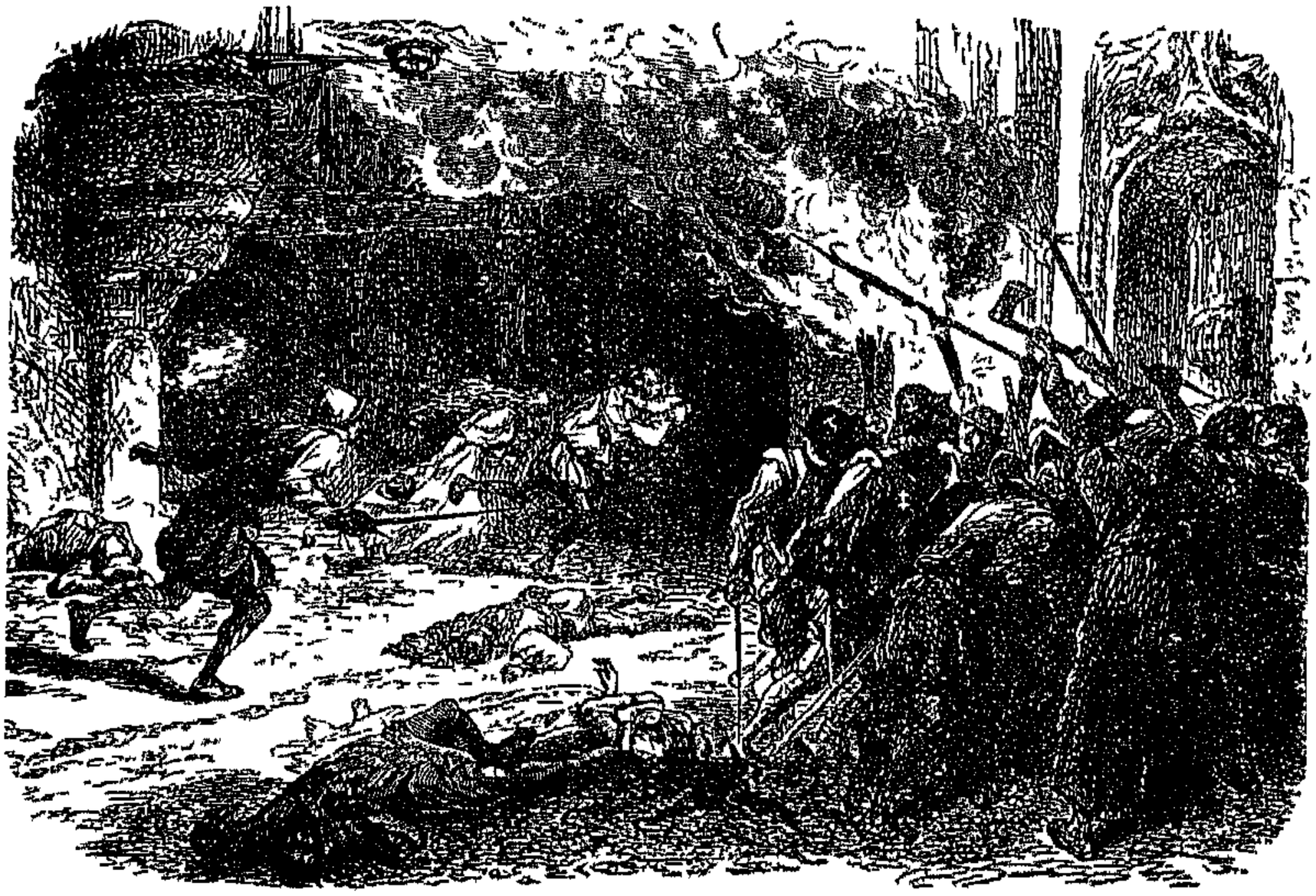
Protestant chieftains.

stake for their faith. Hitherto they had been only believers and martyrs; they became the victors and the vanquished, alternately, in a civil war. A new position for them and as formidable as it was grand.

A D 1559 Henry II. killed in a tournament.

On the 29th of June, 1559, a brilliant tournament was celebrated in lists erected at the end of the street of Saint-Antoine, almost at the foot of the Bastille. Henry II., the queen, and the whole court had been present at it for three days. The entertainment was drawing to a close. The king, who had run several tilts "like a sturdy and skilful cavalier," wished to break yet another lance, and bade the count de Montgomery, captain of the guards, to run against him. Montgomery excused himself; but the king insisted. The tilt took place. The two jousters, on meeting, broke their lances skilfully; but Montgomery forgot to drop at once, according to usage, the fragment remaining in his hand; he unintentionally struck the king's helmet and raised the visor, and a splinter of wood entered Henry's eye, who fell forward upon his horse's neck. He languished for eleven days and expired on the 10th of July, 1559, aged forty years and some months.





CHAPTER VIII.

THE WARS OF RELIGION.

FRANCIS II. 1559—HENRY III. 1589.

Persecutions against the Protestants.

DURING the course, and especially at the close of Henry II.'s reign, two rival matters, on the one hand the numbers, the quality, and the zeal of the reformers, and on the other, the anxiety, prejudice, and power of the catholics, had been simultaneously advancing in development and growth. Between the 16th of May, 1558, and the 10th of July, 1559, fifteen capital sentences had been executed in Dauphiny, in Normandy, in Poitou, and at Paris. Two royal edicts, one dated July 24, 1558, and the other June 14, 1559, had renewed and aggravated the severity of penal legislation against heretics. To secure the registration of the latter, Henry II., together with the princes and the officers of the crown, had repaired in person to parliament; some disagreement had already appeared in the midst of that great body, which was then composed of a hundred and thirty magistrates; the seniors who sat in the great chamber had in general shown themselves to be more inclined to severity, and the juniors, who formed the chamber called La Tournelle, more inclined to indulgence towards accusations of heresy. The disagreement reached its climax in the very presence of the king. Two councillors, Dubourg and Dufaure, spoke so

warmly of reforms which were, according to them, necessary and legitimate, that their adversaries did not hesitate to tax them with being reformers themselves. The king had them arrested and three of their colleagues with them. Special commissioners were charged with the preparation of the case against them. It has already been mentioned that one of the most considerable amongst the officers of the army, Francis d'Andelot, brother of Admiral Coligny, had, for the same cause, been subjected to a burst of anger on the part of the king. He was in prison at Meaux when Henry II. died. Such were the personal feelings and the relative positions of the two parties when Francis II. a boy of sixteen, a poor creature both in mind and body, ascended the throne. The constable de Montmorency and Henry II.'s favourite, Diana de Poitiers, were dismissed, the latter in a harsh manner, and the power remained in the hands of the Queen mother, Catherine de' Medici, advised by the Guises.

The Guises their character.

In order to give a good notion of Duke Francis of Guise and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, the two heads of the house, we will borrow the very words of one of the men of their age who had the best means of seeing them close and judging them correctly, the Venetian ambassador John Micheli. "The cardinal," he says, "who is the leading man of the house, would be, by common consent, if it were not for the defects of which I shall speak, the greatest political power in this kingdom. He has not yet completed his thirty-seventh year; he is endowed with a marvellous intellect, which apprehends from half a word the meaning of those who converse with him; he has an astonishing memory, a fine and noble face, and a rare eloquence which shows itself freely on any subject, but especially in matters of politics. He is very well versed in letters: he knows Greek, Latin, and Italian. He is very strong in the sciences, chiefly in theology. The externals of his life are very proper and very suitable to his dignity, which could not be said of the other cardinals and prelates, whose habits are too scandalously irregular. But his great defect is shameful cupidity, which would employ, to attain its ends, even criminal means, and likewise great duplicity, whence comes his habit of scarcely ever saying that which is. There is worse behind. He is considered to be very ready to take offence, vindictive, envious, and far too slow in benefaction. He excited universal hatred by hurting all the world, as long as it was in his power to do so. As for Mgr. de Guise, who is the eldest of the six brothers, he cannot be spoken of save as a man of war, a good officer. None in this realm has delivered more battles and confronted more dangers. Everbody lauds his courage,

his vigilance, his steadiness in war, and his coolness, a quality wonderfully rare in a Frenchman. His peculiar defects are first of all stinginess towards soldiers; then he makes large promises, and even when he means to keep his promise he is infinitely slow about it."

Nature of their government.

The Guises were, in the sixteenth century, the representatives and the champions of the different cliques and interests, religious or political, sincere in their belief or shameless in their avidity, and all united under the flag of the catholic Church. And so when they came into power, "there was nothing," says a protestant chronicler, "but fear and trembling at their name." Their acts of government soon confirmed the fears as well as the hopes they had inspired. During the last six months of 1559 the edict issued by Henry II. from Écouen was not only strictly enforced but aggravated by fresh edicts: a special chamber was appointed and chosen amongst the parliament of Paris, which was to have sole cognizance of crimes and offences against the catholic religion. A proclamation of the new king Francis II. ordained that houses in which assemblies of reformers took place should be razed and demolished. It was "death to the promoters of unlawful assemblies for purposes of religion or for any other cause." Another royal act provided that all persons, even relatives, who received amongst them any one condemned for heresy, should seize him and bring him to justice, in default whereof they would suffer the same penalty as he. Individual condemnations and executions abounded after these general measures; between the 2nd of August and the 31st of December, 1559, eighteen persons were burned alive for open heresy, or for having refused to communicate according to the rites of the Catholic Church or go to mass, or for having hawked about forbidden books. Finally, in December, the five councillors of the parliament of Paris whom, six months previously, Henry II. had ordered to be arrested and shut up in the Bastille, were dragged from prison and brought to trial. The chief of them, Anne Dubourg, was condemned on the 22nd of December, and put to death the next day in the Place de Grève.

The Huguenots severely persecuted.

As soon as the rule of the catholics, in the persons and by the actions of the Guises, became sovereign and aggressive, the threatened reformers assumed attitude of defence. They too had got for themselves great leaders, some valiant and ardent, others prudent or even timid, but forced to declare themselves when the common cause was greatly imperilled. They ranged themselves round the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and Admiral de Coligny, and became under their direction, though in a minority,

a powerful opposition, able and ready, on the one hand, to narrowly watch and criticize the actions of those who were in power, and on the other to claim for their own people, not by any means freedom as a general principle in the constitution of the State, but free manifestation of their faith and free exercise of their own form of worship.

Catherine de' Medici.

Apart from, we do not mean to say above, these two great parties which were arrayed in the might and appeared as the representatives of the national ideas and feelings, the queen mother, Catherine de' Medici was quietly labouring to form another, more independent of the public, and more docile to herself, and, above all, faithful to the crown and to the interests of the kingly house and its servants; a party strictly catholic, but regarding as a necessity the task of humouring the reformers and granting them such concessions as as might prevent explosions fraught with peril to the State. The constable De Montmorency sometimes issued forth from Chantilly to go and aid the queen-mother, in whom he had no confidence, but whom he preferred to the Guises. A former councillor of the parliament, for a long while chancellor under Francis I. and Henry II. and again summoned, under Francis II., by Catherine de' Medici to the same post, Francis Olivier, was an honourable executant of the party's indecisive but moderate policy. He died on the 15th of March, 1560; and Catherine, in concert with the cardinal of Lorraine, had the chancellorship thus vacated conferred upon Michael de l'Hospital, a magistrate already celebrated and destined to become still more so.

A.D. 1560. La Renaudie.—His attempt.

A few months, and hardly so much, after the accession of Francis II. a serious matter brought into violent collision the three parties whose characteristics and dispositions have just been described. The supremacy of the Guises was insupportable to the reformers and irksome to many lukewarm, or wavering members of the catholic nobility. An edict of the king's had revoked all the graces and alienations of domains granted by his father. The crown refused to pay its most lawful debts; and duns were flocking to the court. To get rid of them, the cardinal of Lorraine had a proclamation issued by the king, warning all persons, of whatever condition, who had come to dun for payment of debts, for compensations or for graces, to take themselves off within twenty-four hours on pain of being hanged; and, that it might appear how seriously meant the threat was, a very conspicuous gibbet was erected at Fontainebleau close to the palace. This affront led the Huguenots, assisted by the other malcontents, to form a scheme whereby the king should be seized, placed under a kind of *surveillance*, and the power of the

Lorraine princes destroyed for ever. Condé was evidently at the head of the plot, but the management of the whole affair was entrusted to a Périgord *gentilhomme*, Godefroid de Barry, sieur de la Renaudie. So extensive a conspiracy, and necessarily involving the participation of a large number of accomplices, could not long remain secret. The court was then at Blois, and on rumours being spread abroad of the discovery of a plot, François de Guise suddenly removed the king to Amboise, which could more easily be defended against a *coup de main*. The prince of Condé himself, though informed about the discovery of the plot, repaired to Amboise without showing any signs of being disconcerted at the cold reception offered him by the Lorraine princes. The duke of Guise, always bold, even in his precautions, "found an honourable means of making sure of him," says Castelnau, "by giving him the guard at a gate of the town of Amboise," where he had him under watch and ward himself. The lords and gentlemen attached to the court made sallies all around Amboise to prevent any unexpected attack. On the 18th of March, La Renaudie, who was scouring the country, seeking to rally his men, encountered a body of royal horse who were equally hotly in quest of the conspirators; the two detachments attacked one another furiously; La Renaudie was killed, and his body, which was carried to Amboise, was strung up to a gallows on the bridge over the Loire with this scroll: "This is La Renaudie called La Forest, captain of the rebels, leader and author of the sedition." The important result of the *riot of Amboise* (*tumulte d'Amboise*), as it was called, was an ordinance of Francis II., who, on the 17th of March, 1560, appointed Duke Francis of Guise "his lieutenant-general, representing him in person absent and present in this good town of Amboise and other places of the realm, with full power, authority, commission and especial mandate to assemble all the princes, lords, and gentlemen, and generally to command, order, provide, and dispose of all things requisite and necessary."

"Tumulte d'Amboise."

The Guises made a cruel use of their easy victory: "for a whole month," according to contemporary chronicles, "there was nothing but hanging or drowning folks. The Loire was covered with corpses strung, six, eight, ten and fifteen, to long poles. . . ." It was too much vengeance to take and too much punishment to inflict for a danger so short-lived and so strictly personal. There was, throughout a considerable portion of the country; a profound feeling of indignation against the Lorraine princes. One of their victims, Villemongey, just as it came to his turn to die, plunged his hands into his comrades' blood, saying, "Heavenly Father, this is the blood of Thy children: Thou wilt avenge it!" John d'Aubigné, a noble-

Cruelty of the Guises

man of Saintonge, as he passed through Amboise one market-day with his son, a little boy eight years old, stopped before the heads fixed upon the posts and said to the child, "My boy, spare not thy head, after mine, to avenge these brave chiefs; if thou spare thyself, thou shalt have my curse upon thee." The Chancellor Olivier himself, for a long while devoted to the Guises, but now seriously ill and disquieted about the future of his soul, said to himself, quite low, as he saw the cardinal of Lorraine, from whom he had just received a visit, going out, "Ah! cardinal, you are getting us all damned!"

Feeling in favour of the states-general.

On all sides there was a demand for the convocation of the states-general. The Guises and the queen-mother, who dreaded this great and independent national power, attempted to satisfy public opinion by calling an assembly of notables, not at all numerous, and chosen by themselves. It was summoned to meet on August 21, 1560, at Fontainebleau, in the apartments of the queen-mother. Some great lords, certain bishops, the constable De Montmorency, two marshals of France, the privy councillors, the knights of the order, the secretaries of state and finance, Chancellor de l'Hospital and Coligny took part in it; the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé did not respond to the summons they received; the constable rode up with a following of six hundred horse. The cardinal of Lorraine having given his consent to the holding of the states-general, his opinion was adopted by the king, the queen-mother, and the assemblage. An edict dated August 26, convoked a meeting of the states-general at Meaux on the 10th of December following. Meanwhile, it was announced that the punishment of sectaries would, for the present, be suspended, but that the king reserved to himself and his judges the right of severely chastising those who had armed the populace and kindled sedition.

They are convened.

A.D. 1560. Death of Francis II.

The elections to the states-general were very stormy; all parties displayed the same ardour; the Guises by identifying themselves more and more with the Catholic cause, and employing, to further its triumph, all the resources of the government; the reformers by appealing to the rights of liberty and to the passions bred of sect and of local independence. Despite the entreaties of their staunchest friends, the king of Navarre and Condé came to Orleans. The Guises who had sufficient proofs against the latter, caused him to be arrested as soon as he had entered the town, and wished to murder Navarre whom they could not get rid of by legal means. At the appointed moment, however, François refused to give the signal, and so this part of the scheme failed. In the meanwhile a special commission had been named to try Condé: his fate had been sealed

beforehand; he was condemned to death, and would have certainly perished, had not the courageous L'Hospital refused to sign the sentence. Thus some time was gained, and as the king was on his death-bed a short delay proved the salvation of Condé's life. Francis II. died on the 5th of December; he had reigned seventeen months.

Protestantism in Europe.

At the close of the fifteenth and at the commencement of the sixteenth centuries, religious questions had profoundly agitated Christian Europe; but towards the middle of the latter century they had obtained in the majority of European States solutions which, however incomplete, might be regarded as definitive. Germany was divided into Catholic States and Protestant States, which had established between themselves relations of an almost pacific character. Switzerland was entering upon the same course. In England, Scotland, the Low Countries, the Scandinavian States, and the free towns their neighbours, the Reformation had prevailed or was clearly tending to prevail. In Italy, Spain, and Portugal, on the contrary, the Reformation had been stifled, and Catholicism remained victorious. It was in France that, notwithstanding the inequality of forces, the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism was most obstinately maintained, and appeared for the longest time uncertain.

Men were wonderfully far from understanding the principle of religious liberty in 1560, at the accession of Charles IX., a child ten years old; around that royal child, and seeking to have the mastery over France by being masters over him, were struggling the three great parties at that time occupying the stage in the name of religion: the Catholics rejected altogether the idea of religious liberty for the Protestants; the Protestants had absolute need of it, for it was their condition of existence; but they did not wish for it in the case of the Catholics their adversaries. The third party (*tiers parti*), as we call it now-a-days, wished to hold the balance continually wavering between the Catholics and the Protestants, conceding to the former and the latter, alternately, that measure of liberty which was indispensable for most imperfect maintenance of the public peace and reconcilable with the sovereign power of the kingship. On such conditions was the government of Charles IX. to establish its existence.

Charles IX. king of France.

The new king, on announcing to the parliament the death of his brother, wrote to them that "confiding in the virtues and prudence of the queen-mother, he had begged her to take in hand the administration of the kingdom, with the wise counsel and advice of the king of Navarre, and the notables and great personages of

the late king's council." A few months afterwards the states-general, assembling first at Orleans and afterwards at Pontoise, ratified this declaration by recognizing the placing of "the young king Charles IX.'s guardianship in the hands of Catherine de' Medici, his mother, together with the principal direction of affairs, but without the title of regent." The king of Navarre was to assist her in the capacity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Twenty-five members specially designated were to form the king's privy council.

The Queen mother. Her character.

The queen-mother of France was, to use the words of the Venetian ambassador, John Michieli, who had lived at her court, "a woman of forty-three, of affable manners, great moderation, superior intelligence, and ability in conducting all sorts of affairs, especially affairs of State. As mother, she has the personal management of the king; she allows no one else to sleep in his room; she is never away from him. As regent and head of the government, she holds everything in her hands, public offices, benefices, graces, and the seal which bears the king's signature, and which is called the *cachet* (privy-seal or signet). In the council, she allows the others to speak; she replies to any one who needs it; she decides according to the advice of the council, or according to what she may have made up her own mind to. She opens the letters addressed to the king by his ambassadors and by all the ministers. . . . She has great designs, and does not allow them to be easily penetrated." The power really belonged to Catherine de' Medici, if she had only known how to keep it. She, however, merely took it away from the heads of the Guises, chiefs of the Catholic party, but did not make any use of it herself. That Italian woman, adopting the old political principles of the Borgias, was incapable of holding the balance even between the energetic men who despised her; she was out of her place in that epoch of strong persuasion, and L'Hospital himself could not carry out his ideas of strict impartiality—L'Hospital, that noble embodiment of wisdom which the storms of passion cannot shake. Guise soon recovered the influence he had lost at first, and the court rendered this easy for him by publishing the edicts of Saint Germain favourable to the Huguenots, and by admitting the divines of the Protestant persuasion to a solemn discussion at the colloque of Poissy. Whilst the Calvinists were revolting at Nismes, the followers of the Duke de Guise massacred a company of Protestants at Vassy in Champagne (1562). The civil war was then begun.

A.D. 1562 Massacre of Vassy.

From 1561 to 1572 there were in France eighteen or twenty massacres of Protestants, four or five of Catholics, and thirty or

forty single murders sufficiently important to have been kept in remembrance by history; and during that space of time formal civil war, religious and partisan, broke out, stopped and recommenced in four campaigns signalized, each of them, by great battles and four times terminated by impotent or deceptive treaties of peace, which, on the 24th of August, 1572, ended, for their sole result, in the greatest massacre of French history, the St. Bartholomew.

The triumvirate.

The first religious war, under Charles IX., appeared on the point of breaking out in April, 1561, some days after that the duke of Guise, returning from the massacre of Vassy, had entered Paris, on the 16th of March, in triumph. The queen-mother, in dismay, carried off the king to Melun at first, and then to Fontainebleau, whilst the prince of Condé, having retired to Meaux, summoned to his side his relatives, his friends, and all the leaders of the reformers, and wrote to Coligny "that Cæsar had not only crossed the Rubicon, but was already at Rome, and that his banners were beginning to wave all over the neighbouring country." For some days Catherine and L'Hospital tried to remain out of Paris with the young king, whom Guise, the constable De Montmorency and the king of Navarre, the former being members and the latter an ally of the triumvirate, went to demand back from them. They were obliged to submit to the pressure brought to bear upon them. The constable was the first to enter Paris, and went, on the 2nd of April, and burnt down the two places of worship which, by virtue of the decree of January 17, 1561, had been granted to the Protestants. Next day the king of Navarre and the duke of Guise, in their turn, entered the city in company with Charles IX. and Catherine. A council was assembled at the Louvre to deliberate as to the declaration of war, which was deferred. Whilst the king was on his way back to Paris, Condé hurried off to take up his quarters at Orleans, whither Coligny went promptly to join him. They signed with the gentlemen who came to them from all parts a compact of association "for the honour of God, for the liberty of the king, his brothers and the queen-mother, and for the maintenance of decrees;" and Condé, in writing to the protestant princes of Germany to explain to them his conduct, took the title of *protector of the house and crown of France*. Negotiations still went on for nearly three months. The chiefs of the two parties attempted to offer one another generous and pacific solutions; they even had two interviews; but Catherine was induced by the Catholic triumvirate to expressly declare that she could not allow in France more than one single form of

Counter-association of the Protestant chiefs.

worship. Condé and his friends said that they could not lay down their arms until the triumvirate was overthrown, and the execution of decrees granting them liberty of worship, in certain places and to a certain extent, had been secured to them. Neither party liked to acknowledge itself beaten in this way, without having struck a blow.

On both sides was displayed equal enthusiasm; the first armies that were raised distinguished themselves by the utmost strictness; no debauchery, no gambling, no swearing; religious worship morning and evening. But under these externals of piety the hearts retained all their cruelty. Montluc, governor of Guienne, went about accompanied by a band of executioners. He says himself in his memoirs: "on pouvoit cognoistre par où il étoit passé, car par les arbres sur les chemins on en trouvoit les enseignes." In the province of Dauphiné, a Protestant chieftain, baron des Adrets, retaliated in the most cruel manner. He obliged his prisoners to throw themselves down from the top of a high tower on the pikes and spears of his soldiers.

A D. 1562. Battle of Dreux (Dec. 19).

Guise was, first, conqueror at Dreux; he made a prisoner of Condé, general of the Protestant army, and gave on that occasion proofs of a generosity which could scarcely have been expected under such circumstances. He shared his bed with his captive, "and so," says La Noue, "these two great princes, who were like mortal foes, found themselves in one bed, one triumphant and the other captive, taking their repast together."

The results of the battle of Dreux were serious, and still more serious from the fate of the chiefs than from the number of the dead. The commanders of the two armies, the constable De Montmorency and the prince of Condé, were wounded and prisoners. One of the triumvirs, Marshal de Saint-André, had been killed in action. The Catholics' wavering ally, Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, had died before the battle of a wound which he had received at the siege of Rouen; and on his death-bed had resumed his protestant bearing, saying that, if God granted him grace to get well, he would have nothing but the Gospel preached throughout the realm. The two staffs (états-majors), as we should now say, were disorganized: in one, the duke of Guise alone remained unhurt and at liberty; in the other, Coligny, in Condé's absence, was elected general-in-chief of the Protestants. Orleans was at that time the principal stronghold of the Protestant party; it would certainly have been taken but for the assassination of Guise whom the protestant gentleman Poltrot de Méré shot in the most treacherous manner (1563). Whatever

A.D 1563. The Duc de Guise shot

may have been the ambition of that celebrated man, it is impossible not to feel some respect for him, who addressed to his murderer the following noble words: "Or ça, je veux vous montrer combien la religion que je tiens est plus douce que celle de quoi vous faites profession: la vôtre vous a conseillé de me tuer sans m'ouïr, n'ayant reçu de moi aucune offense; et la mienne me commande que je vous pardonne, tout convaincu que vous êtes de m'avoir voulu tuer sans raison." Arrested, removed to Paris, put to the torture and questioned by the commissioners of parliament, Poltrot at one time confirmed and at another disavowed his original assertions Coligny, he said, had not suggested the project to him, but had cognizance of it, and had not attempted to deter him. The decree sentenced Poltrot to the punishment of regicides. He underwent it on the 18th of March, 1563, in the Place de Grève, preserving to the very end that fierce energy of hatred and vengeance which had prompted his deed. He was heard saying to himself in the midst of his torments and as if to comfort himself, "For all that, he is dead and gone—the persecutor of the faithful, and he will not come back again." The angry populace insulted him with yells; Poltrot added, "If the persecution does not cease, vengeance will fall upon this city, and the avengers are already at hand." **Arrest and condemnation of Poltrot de Méré.**

Catherine de' Medici, well pleased, perhaps, that there was now a question personally embarrassing for the admiral and as yet in abeyance, had her mind entirely occupied apparently with the additional weakness and difficulty resulting to the position of the crown and the Catholic party from the death of the duke of Guise; she considered peace necessary; and, for reasons of a different nature, Chancellor de l'Hospital was of the same opinion: he drew attention to "scruples of conscience, the perils of foreign influence, and the impossibility of curing by an application of brute force a malady concealed in the very bowels and brains of the people." Negotiations were entered into with the two captive generals, the prince of Condé and the constable De Montmorency; they assented to that policy; and, on the 19th of March, peace was concluded at Amboise in the form of an edict which granted to the Protestants the concessions recognized as indispensable by the crown itself, and regulated the relations of the two creeds, pending "the remedy of time, the decisions of a holy council, and the king's majority." Liberty of conscience and the practice of the religion "called reformed" were recognized "for all barons and lords high-justiciary, in their houses, with their families and dependants; for nobles having fiefs without vassals and living on the king's lands, but for **A.D. 1563 Peace of Amboise.**

them and their families personally." The burgesses were treated less favourably; the reformed worship was maintained in the towns in which it had been practised up to the 7th of March in the current year; but beyond that and noblemen's mansions, this worship might not be celebrated, save in the faubourgs of one single town in every bailiwick or seneschalty. Paris and its district were to remain exempt from any exercise "of the said reformed religion."

Division of opinion amongst the Protestants.

During the negotiations, and as to the very basis of the edict of March 19, 1563, the Protestants were greatly divided: the soldiers and the politicians, with Condé at their head, desired peace, and thought that the concessions made by the Catholics ought to be accepted. The majority of the reformed pastors and theologians cried out against the insufficiency of the concessions, and were astonished that there should be so much hurry to make peace when the Catholics had just lost their most formidable captain. It was not long before facts put the malcontents in the right. Between 1563 and 1567 murders of distinguished Protestants increased strangely, and excited amongst their families anxiety accompanied by a thirst for vengeance. The Guises and their party, on their side, persisted in their outcries for proceedings against the instigators, known or presumed, of the murder of Duke Francis. It was plainly against Admiral de Coligny that these cries were directed; the king and the queen-mother could find no other way of stopping an explosion than to call the matter on before the privy council and cause to be there drawn up, on the 29th of January, 1566, a solemn decree "declaring the admiral's innocence on his own affirmation, given in the presence of the king and the council as before God himself, that he had not had anything to do with or approved of the said homicide." Silence for all time to come was consequently imposed upon the attorney-general and everybody else; inhibition and prohibition were issued against the continuance of any investigation or prosecution.

Royal decrees.

At the same time that the war was proceeding amongst the provinces with this passionate doggedness, royal decrees were alternately confirming and suppressing or weakening the securities for liberty and safety which the decree of Amboise, on the 19th of March, 1563, had given to the Protestants by way of re-establishing peace. It was a series of contradictory measures which were sufficient to show the party-strife still raging in the heart of the government. Even Condé could not delude himself any longer: the preparations were for war against the reformers. He quitted the court to take his stand again with his own party. Coligny,

D'Andelot, La Rochefoucauld, La Noue, and all the accredited leaders amongst the Protestants, whom his behaviour, too full of confidence or of complaisance towards the court, had shocked or disquieted, went and joined him. In September, 1567, the second religious war broke out.

A D. 1567. Second religious war.

It was short and not decisive for either party. At the outset of the campaign, success was with the Protestants; forty towns, Orleans, Montereau, Lagny, Montauban, Castres, Montpellier, Uzès, &c., opened their gates to them or fell into their hands. They were within an ace of surprising the king at Monceaux, and he never forgot, says Montluc, that "the Protestants had made him do the stretch from Meaux to Paris at something more than a walk." Defeated at St. Denis (November 10, 1567), but still powerful, Coligny and Condé imposed upon the court the peace of Longjumeau (1568; *paix boiteuse ou mal assise*) confirming the terms of that of Amboise.

Scarcely six months having elapsed, in August, 1568, the third religious war broke out. The written guarantees given in the treaty of Longjumeau for security and liberty on behalf of the Protestants were misinterpreted or violated. Massacres and murders of Protestants became more numerous, and were committed with more impunity than ever: in 1568 and 1569, at Amiens, at Auxerre, at Orleans, at Rouen, at Bourges, at Troyes, and at Blois, Protestants, at one time to the number of 140 or 120, or 53, or 40, and at another singly, with just their wives and children, were massacred, burnt, and hunted by the excited populace, without any intervention on the part of the magistrates to protect them or to punish their murderers. The contemporary protestant chroniclers set down at ten thousand the number of victims who perished in the course of these six months which were called a time of peace: we may, with De Thou, believe this estimate to be exaggerated, but, without doubt, the peace of Longjumeau was a lie, even before the war began again.

A.D. 1568. Third religious war.

The queen-mother attempted to take possession of the two Protestant leaders; Condé, however, managed to enter La Rochelle. The protestant nobles of Saintonge and Poitou flocked in A royal ally was announced; the queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, was bringing her son Henry, fifteen years of age, whom she was training up to be Henry IV. Condé went to meet them, and, on the 28th of September, 1568, all this flower of French Protestantism was assembled at La Rochelle, ready and resolved to strike another blow for the cause of religious liberty.

Jeanne d'Albret joins the Protestants.

It was the longest and most serious of the four wars of this kind

which so profoundly agitated France in the reign of Charles IX. This one lasted from the 24th of August, 1568, to the 8th of August, 1570, between the departure of Condé and Coligny for La Rochelle and the treaty of peace of St. Germain-en-Laye: a hollow peace, like the rest, and only two years before the St. Bartholomew. On starting from Noyers with Coligny, Condé had addressed to the king, on the 23rd of August, a letter and a request wherein "after having set forth the grievances of the reformers, he attributed all the mischief to the cardinal of Lorraine, and declared that the protestant nobles felt themselves constrained, for the safety of the realm, to take up arms against that infamous priest, *that tiger of France*, and against his accomplices." He bitterly reproached the Guises "with treating as mere *policists*, that is, men who sacrifice religion to temporal interests, the Catholics inclined to make concessions to the reformers, especially the chancellor De l'Hospital and the sons of the late constable De Montmorency. The Guises, indeed, and their friends, did not conceal their distrust of De l'Hospital, any more than he concealed his opposition to their deeds and their designs. Convinced that he would not succeed in preserving France from a fresh civil war, the chancellor made up his mind to withdraw, and with him all moderation departed from the councils of the king.

'Hospital withdraws from public life.

During the two years that it lasted, from August, 1568, to August, 1570, the third religious war under Charles IX. entailed two important battles and many deadly faction-fights which spread and inflamed to the highest pitch the passions of the two parties. Notwithstanding their defeat at Jarnac and Moncontour (1569), notwithstanding the death of Condé and the wound of Coligny, the Protestants were still able to obtain from their enemies a favourable peace. The negotiations were short. The war had been going on for two years. The two parties, victorious and vanquished by turns, were both equally sick of it. In vain did Philip II., king of Spain, offer Charles IX. an aid of nine thousand men to continue it. In vain did Pope Pius V. write to Catherine de' Medici, "as there can be no communion between Satan and the children of the light, it ought to be taken for certain that there can be no compact between Catholics and heretics, save one full of fraud and feint." "We had beaten our enemies," says Montluc, "over and over again; but notwithstanding that, they had so much influence in the king's council, that the decrees were always to their advantage. We won by arms, but they won by those devils of documents." Peace was concluded at St. Germain-en-Laye on the 8th of August, 1570, and it was more equitable and better

A.D. 1570. Peace of St. Germain.

for the reformers than the preceding treaties; for, besides a pretty large extension as regarded free exercise of their worship and their civil rights in the State, it granted "for two years, to the princes of Navarre and Condé and twenty noblemen of the religion, who were appointed by the king, the wardenship of the towns of La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité, whither those of the religion who dared not return so soon to their own homes might retire." All the members of the parliament, all the royal and municipal officers and the principal inhabitants of the towns where the two religions existed were further bound over on oath "to maintenance of the edict."

Peace was made; but it was the third in seven years, and very shortly after each new treaty civil war had recommenced. No more was expected from the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye than had been effected by those of Amboise and Longjumeau, and on both sides men sighed for something more stable and definitive. By what means to be obtained, and with what pledges of durability?

Henry of Navarre marries Marguerite de Valois.

There had already, thirteen or fourteen years previously, been some talk about a marriage between Henry of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois, each born in 1553. This union between the two branches of the royal house, one catholic and the other protestant, ought to have been the most striking sign and the surest pledge of peace between Catholicism and Protestantism. The political expediency of such a step appeared the more evident and the more urgent, in proportion as the religious war had become more direful, and the desire for peace more general. Charles IX. embraced the idea passionately, being the only means, he said, of putting a stop at last to this incessantly renewed civil war, which was the plague of his life as well as of his kingdom. A fact of a personal character tended to mislead Coligny. By his renown, by the loftiness of his views, by the earnest gravity of his character and his language, he had produced a great effect upon Charles IX., a young king of warm imagination and impressible and sympathetic temperament, but, at the same time, of weak judgment. He readily gave way, in Coligny's company, to outpourings which had all the appearance of perfect and involuntary frankness; and even seemed to entertain seriously the idea of sending an army to the relief of the persecuted Protestants in the Netherlands. This tone of freedom and confidence had inspired Coligny with reciprocal confidence; he believed himself to have a decisive influence over the king's ideas and conduct; and when the Protestants testified their distrust upon this subject, he reproached them vehemently for

Charles IX. and Coligny.

it; he affirmed the king's good intentions and sincerity; and he considered himself in fact, said Catherine de' Medici with temper, "a second king of France."

Was the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day premeditated or not?

How much sincerity was there about these outpourings of Charles IX. in his intercourse with Coligny and how much reality in the admiral's influence over the king? We are touching upon that great historical question which has been so much disputed: was the St. Bartholomew a design, long ago determined upon and prepared for, of Charles IX. and his government, or an almost sudden resolution, brought about by events and the situation of the moment, to which Charles IX. was egged on, not without difficulty, by his mother Catherine and his advisers?

Without giving either to Catherine de' Medici or to her sons the honour of either so long a course of dissimulation or of so cunningly arranged a stratagem, it is not unnatural to believe that whilst conceding the advantageous terms of the peace of Saint-Germain, they looked forward ultimately to something like the horrible tragedy of Saint Bartholomew's day; and yet we may reasonably question even if the massacre would have taken place, had not the Catholics dreaded the influence which Coligny seemed about to assume over the weak mind of the king. Catherine and the Duke d'Anjou in their turn, and as a last resource, worked upon the feelings of that wretched monarch, and finally led him to sanction the massacre of the Protestants just as easily as he would have done that of the principal Catholic leaders.

A D. 1572. Coligny wounded (Aug. 22).

On Friday the 22nd of August, 1572, Coligny was returning on foot from the Louvre to the Rue des Fossés-St.-Germain-l'Auxerrois, where he lived; he was occupied in reading a letter, which he had just received; a shot, fired from the window of a house in the cloister of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, smashed two fingers of his right hand and lodged a ball in his left arm; he raised his eyes, pointed out with his injured hand the house whence the shot had come, and reached his quarters on foot. Two gentlemen who were in attendance upon him rushed to seize the murderer; it was too late; Maurevert had been lodging there, and on the watch for three days at the house of a canon, an old tutor to the duke of Guise; a horse from the duke's stable was waiting for him at the back of the house; and, having done his job, he departed at a gallop. He was pursued for several leagues without being overtaken.

Coligny sent to apprise the king of what had just happened to him: "There," said he, "was a fine proof of fidelity to the agreement between him and the duke of Guise." "I shall never have rest, then!" cried Charles, breaking the stick with which he

was playing tennis with the duke of Guise and Téligny, the admiral's son-in-law; and he immediately returned to his room. The duke of Guise took himself off without a word. Téligny speedily joined his father-in-law. Ambrose Paré had already attended to him, cutting off the two broken fingers; somebody expressed a fear that the balls might have been poisoned; "It will be as God pleases as to that," said Coligny; and, turning towards the minister, Merlin, who had hurried to him, he added, "pray that He may grant me the gift of perseverance." Towards mid-day, Marshals de Damville, De Cossé, and De Villars went to see him "out of pure friendship," they told him, "and not to exhort him to endure his mishap with patience: we know that you will not lack patience." "I do protest to you," said Coligny, "that death affrights me not; it is of God that I hold my life; when He requires it back from me, I am quite ready to give it up. But I should very much like to see the king before I die; I have to speak to him of things which concern his person and the welfare of his State, and which I feel sure none of you would dare to tell him of." "I will go and inform his Majesty, . . ." rejoined Damville; and he went out with Villars and Téligny, leaving Marshal de Cossé in the room. "Do you remember," said Coligny to him, "the warnings I gave you a few hours ago? You will do well to take your precautions."

His interview with Damville, Cossé and de Villars.

About two p.m. the king, the queen-mother, and the dukes of Anjou and Alençon, her two other sons, with many of their high officers, repaired to the admiral's. "My dear father," said the king as he went in, "the hurt is yours; the grief and the outrage mine; but I will take such vengeance that it shall never be forgotten," to which he added his usual imprecations.

He is killed by Besme.

Saturday passed quietly. On Sunday, August 24, between two and three o'clock in the morning, Cosseins, the commander of the king's guards, Besme, a servant of the duke de Guise, and several others, broke open the door of Coligny's house, and forced their way into his bedroom, where Besme plunged a sword into his bosom, the rest despatched him with their daggers; and Besme called out of the window to the duke de Guise, who, with other Catholics, was waiting in the court below, "It is done." At the command of the duke, the body was then thrown out of the window to him, when having wiped away the blood to see his features, he said, "It is he himself," and then gave a kick to "that venerable face, which when alive was dreadful to all the murderers of France." Now the great bell of the palace, and the bell of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois were answered by the bells of all the churches, the Swiss guards were

General massacre (Aug. 24).

under arms, and the city militia poured through the streets. Once let loose, the Parisian populace was eager indeed, but not alone in its eagerness, for the work of massacre; the gentlemen of the court took part in it passionately, from a spirit of vengeance, from religious hatred, from the effect of smelling blood, from covetousness at the prospect of confiscations at hand. Téligny, the admiral's son-in-law, had taken refuge on a roof; the duke of Anjou's guards made him a mark for their arquebuses. La Rochefoucauld, with whom the king had been laughing and joking up to eleven o'clock the evening before, heard a knocking at his door, in the king's name; it is opened; enter six men in masks and poniard him. The new queen of Navarre, Marguerite de Valois, had gone to bed by express order of her mother Catherine: "Just as I was asleep," says she, "behold a man knocking with feet and hands at the door and shouting, 'Navarre! Navarre!' My nurse, thinking it was the king my husband, runs quickly to the door and opens it. It

Escape of M. de Léran.

was a gentleman named M. de Léran, who had a sword-cut on the elbow, a gash from a halberd on the arm, and was still pursued by four archers, who all came after him into my bedroom. He, wishing to save himself, threw himself on to my bed; as for me, feeling this man who had hold of me, I threw myself out of bed towards the wall, and he after me, still holding me round the body. I did not know this man, and I could not tell whether he had come thither to offer me violence, or whether the archers were after him in particular or after me. We both screamed, and each of us was as much frightened as the other. At last it pleased God that M. de Nançay, captain of the guards, came in, who, finding me in this plight, though he felt compassion, could not help laughing; and, flying into a great rage with the archers for this indiscretion, he made them begone and gave me the life of that poor man, who had hold of me, whom I had put to bed and attended to in my closet, until he was well."

We might multiply indefinitely these anecdotical scenes of the massacre, most of them brutally ferocious, others painfully pathetic, some generous and calculated to preserve the credit of humanity amidst one of its most direful aberrations. We will not pause either to discuss the secondary questions which meet us at the period of which we are telling the story; for example, the question whether Charles IX. fired with his own hand on his protestant subjects, whom he had delivered over to the evil passions of the aristocracy and of the populace, or whether the balcony from which he is said to have indulged in this ferocious pastime existed at that time, in the sixteenth century, at the palace of the Louvre and

overlooking the Seine. The great historic fact of the St. Bartholomew is what we confine ourselves to. When he had plunged into the orgies of the massacre, when, after having said "Kill them all!" he had seen the slaughter of his companions in his royal amusements, Téligny and La Rochefoucauld, Charles IX. abandoned himself to a fit of mad passion. He was asked whether the two young huguenot princes, Henry of Navarre and Henry de Condé, were to be killed also; Marshal de Retx had been in favour of it; Marshal de Tavannes had been opposed to it; and it was decided to spare them.

Results of St. Bartholomew's Day.

The historians, catholic or protestant, contemporary or researchful, differ widely as to the number of the victims in this cruel massacre: according to De Thou, there were about 2000 persons killed in Paris the first day; D'Aubigné says 3000; Brantôme speaks of 4000 bodies that Charles IX. might have seen floating down the Seine; la Popelinière reduces them to 1000. The uncertainty is still greater when one comes to speak of the number of victims throughout the whole of France; De Thou estimates it at 30,000, Sully at 70,000, Péréfixe, archbishop of Paris in the seventeenth century, raises it to 100,000; Papirius Masson and Davila reduce it to 10,000, without clearly distinguishing between the massacre of Paris and those of the provinces; other historians fix upon 40,000. Great uncertainty also prevails as to the execution of the orders issued from Paris to the governors of the provinces; the names of the viscount D'Orte, governor at Bayonne, and of John le Hennuyer, bishop of Lisieux, have become famous from their having refused to take part in the massacre; but the authenticity of the letter from the viscount D'Orte to Charles IX. is disputed, though the fact of his resistance appears certain. One thing which is quite true and which it is good to call to mind in the midst of so great a general criminality is that, at many spots in France, it met with a refusal to be associated in it; President Jeannin at Dijon, the count de Tende in Provence, Philibert de la Guiche at Mâcon, Tanneguy le Veneur de Carrouge at Rouen, the count de Gordes in Dauphiny, and many other chiefs, military or civil, openly repudiated the example set by the murderers of Paris; and the municipal body of Nantes, a very catholic town, took upon this subject a resolution which does honour to its patriotic firmness as well as to its Christian loyalty.

A.D. 1573. L'Hospital resigns office (Feb.), and dies (Mar. 18).

A great, good man, a great functionary and a great scholar, in disgrace for six years past, the chancellor Michael de l'Hospital gave in his resignation on the 1st of February, 1573, and died six weeks afterwards, on the 18th of March: "I am just at the end of my

long journey, and shall have no more business but with God," he wrote to the king and the queen-mother. "I implore Him to give you His grace and to lead you with His hand in all your affairs, and in the government of this great and beautiful kingdom which He hath committed to your keeping, with all gentleness and clemency towards your good subjects, in imitation of Himself, who is good and patient in bearing our burthens, and prompt to forgive you and pardon you everything."

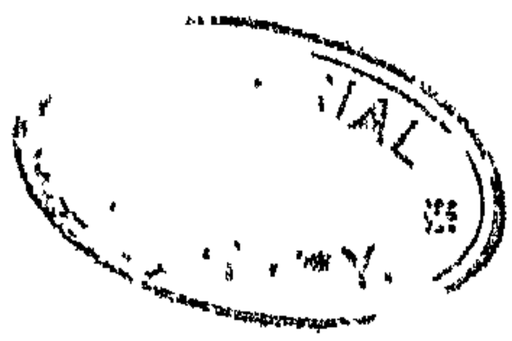
Attitude of the Protestants.

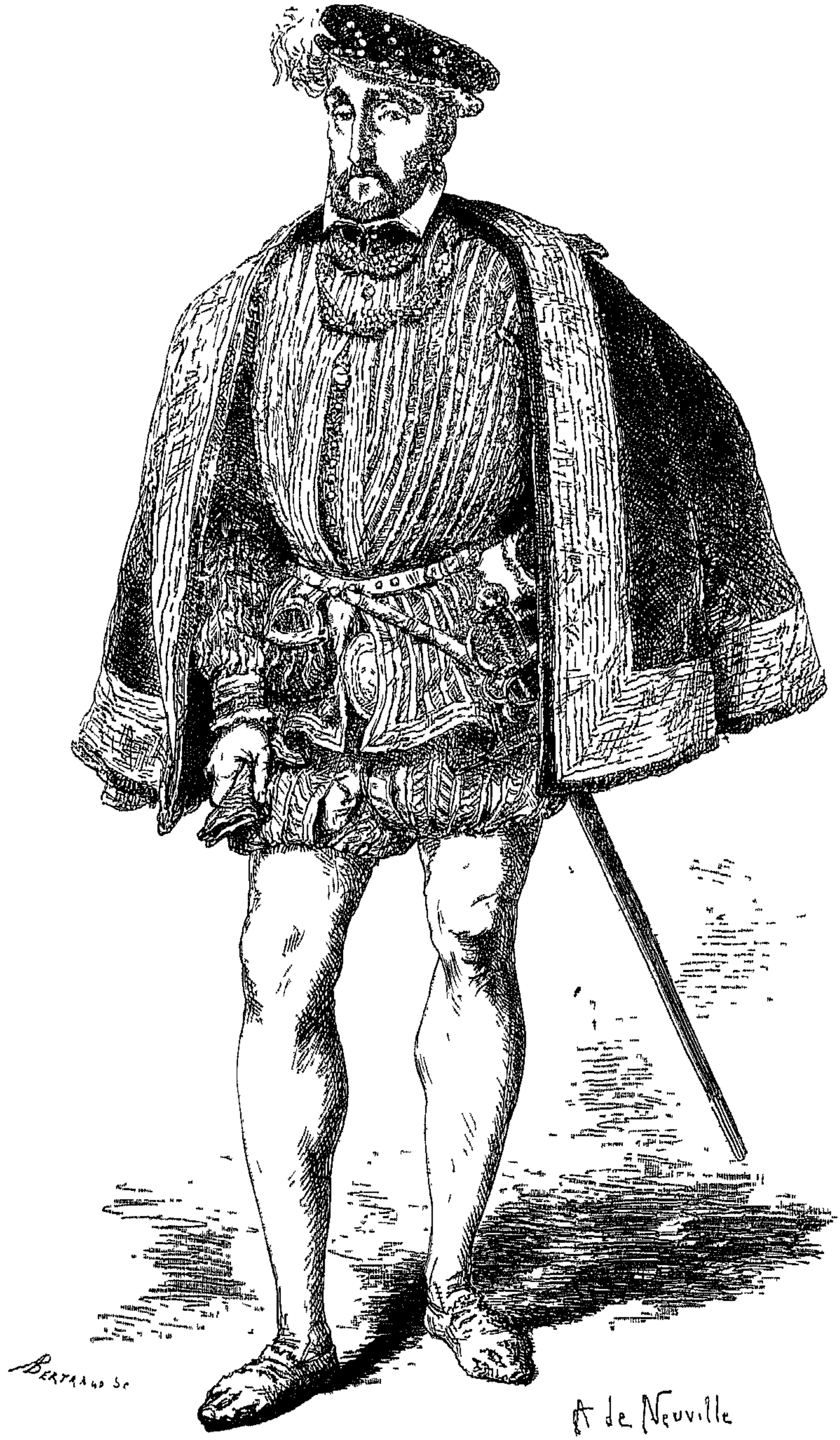
The tardy and lying accusations officially brought against Coligny and his friends; the promises of liberty and security for the Protestants, renewed in the terms of the edicts of pacification and, in point of fact, annulled at the very moment at which they were being renewed; the massacre continuing here and there in France, at one time with the secret connivance and at another notwithstanding the publicly-given word of the king and the queen-mother; all this policy, at one and the same time violent and timorous, incoherent and stubborn, produced amongst the Protestants two contrary effects: some grew frightened, others angry. At court, under the direct influence of the king and his surroundings, "submission to the powers that be" prevailed; many fled; others, without abjuring their religion, abjured their party. The two reformer-princes, Henry of Navarre and Henry de Condé, attended mass on the 29th of September, and, on the 3rd of October, wrote to the Pope deploring their errors and giving hopes of their conversion. Far away from Paris, in the mountains of the Pyrenees and of Languedoc, in the towns where the reformers were numerous and confident, at Sancerre, at Montauban, at Nîmes, at La Rochelle, the spirit of resistance carried the day. An assembly, meeting at Millhau, drew up a provisional ordinance for the government of the reformed Church, "until it please God, who has the hearts of kings in His keeping, to change that of King Charles IX. and restore the State of France to good order, or to raise up such neighbouring prince as is manifestly marked out, by his virtue and by distinguishing signs for to be the liberator of this poor afflicted people." In November, 1572, the fourth religious war broke out.

A.D. 1572 Fourth religious war.

Siege of La Rochelle.

The siege of La Rochelle was its only important event. Charles IX. and his councillors exerted themselves in vain to avoid it. There was everything to disquiet them in this enterprise: so sudden a revival of the religious war after the grand blow they had just struck, the passionate energy manifested by the Protestants in asylum at La Rochelle, and the help they had been led to hope for from Queen Elizabeth, whom England would never have forgiven for indifference in this cause.





HENRY II

Page 305.

Biron first, and then the duke of Anjou in person took the command of the siege. They brought up, it is said, 40,000 men and 60 pieces of artillery. The Rochellese, for defensive strength, had but 22 companies of refugees or inhabitants, making in all 3100 men. The siege lasted from the 26th of February to the 13th of June, 1573; six assaults were made on the place, in the last, the ladders had been set at night against the wall of what was called *Gospel* bastion; the duke of Guise, at the head of the assailants, had escaladed the breach, but there he discovered a new ditch and a new rampart erected inside; and, confronted by these unforeseen obstacles, the men recoiled and fell back. La Rochelle was saved. Charles IX. was more and more desirous of peace; his brother, the duke of Anjou, had just been elected king of Poland; Charles IX. was anxious for him to leave France, and go to take possession of his new kingdom. Thanks to these complications, the Peace of La Rochelle was signed on the 6th of July, 1573. Liberty of creed and worship was recognized in the three towns of La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nîmes. They were not obliged to receive any royal garrison, on condition of giving hostages to be kept by the king for two years. Liberty of worship throughout the extent of their jurisdiction continued to be recognized in the case of lords high-justiciary. Everywhere else the reformers had promises of not being persecuted for their creed, under the obligation of never holding an assembly of more than ten persons at a time. These were the most favourable conditions they had yet obtained.

Certainly this was not what the king had calculated upon when he consented to the massacre of the Protestants: "Provided," he had said, "that not a single one is left to reproach me." Charles IX. had not mind or character sufficiently sound or sufficiently strong to support, without great perturbation, the effect of so many violent, repeated and often contradictory impressions. In the spring of 1574, at the age of twenty-three years and eleven months, and after a reign of eleven years and six months, Charles IX. was attacked by an inflammatory malady, which brought on violent hemorrhage; he was revisited, in his troubled sleep, by the same bloody visions about which, a few days after the St. Bartholomew, he had spoken to his physician, Ambrose Paré. He no longer retained in his room anybody but two of his servants and his nurse, "of whom he was very fond, although she was a huguenot," says the contemporary chronicler Peter de l'Estoile. "When she had lain down upon a chest and was just beginning to doze, hearing the king moaning, weeping and sighing, she went full gently up to the bed: 'Ah! nurse, nurse,' said the king, 'what bloodshed and what murders! Ah! what

A.D. 1574. Death of Charles IX.

Agony of his last moments.

evil counsel have I followed! Oh! my God, forgive me them and have mercy upon me, if it may please Thee! I know not what hath come to me, so bewildered and agitated do they make me. What will be the end of it all? What shall I do? I am lost; I see it well.' Then said the nurse to him: 'Sir, the murders be on the heads of those who made you do them! Of yourself, sir, you never could; and since you are not consenting thereto and are sorry therefor, believe that God will not put them down to your account, and will hide them with the cloak of justice of His Son, to whom alone you must have recourse. But, for God's sake, let your Majesty cease weeping!' And thereupon, having been to fetch him a pocket-handkerchief because his own was soaked with tears, after that the king had taken it from her hand, he signed to her to go away and leave him to his rest."

On Sunday, May 30, 1574, Whitsunday, about three in the afternoon, Charles IX. expired, after having signed an ordinance conferring the regency upon his mother Catherine, "who accepted it," was the expression in the letters patent, "at the request of the duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, and other princes and peers of France." According to D'Aubigné, Charles often used to say of his brother Henry that, "when he had a kingdom on his hands, the administration would find him out and that he would disappoint those who had hopes of him." The last words he said were "that he was glad not to have left any young child to succeed him, very well knowing that France needs a man, and that, with a child, the king and the reign are unhappy."

A.D. 1573. Henry, duke of Anjou, king of Poland.

Though elected king of Poland on the 9th of May, 1573, Henry, duke of Anjou, had not yet left Paris at the end of the summer. Impatient at his slowness to depart, Charles IX. said, with his usual oath, "By God's death! my brother or I must at once leave the kingdom; my mother shall not succeed in preventing it." "Go," said Catherine to Henry: "you will not be away long." She foresaw, with no great sorrow one would say, the death of Charles IX., and her favourite son's accession to the throne of France. Having arrived in Poland on the 25th of January, 1574, and being crowned at Cracow on the 24th of February, Henry had been scarcely four months king of Poland when he was apprised, about the middle of June, that his brother Charles had lately died, on the 30th of May, and that he was king of France. "Do not waste your time in deliberating," said his French advisers: "you must go and take possession of the throne of France without abdicating that of Poland; go at once and without fuss." Henry followed this counsel. Having started from Cracow on the 18th of

June, 1574, he did not arrive until the 5th of September at Lyons, whither the queen-mother had sent his brother the duke of Alençon and his brother-in-law the king of Navarre to receive him, going herself as far as Bourgoin in Dauphiny in order to be the first to see her darling son again. **Returns to France—ascends the throne.**

The king's entry into France caused, says De Thou, a strange revulsion in all minds. "During the lifetime of Charles IX. none had seemed more worthy of the throne than Henry, and everybody desired to have him for master. But scarcely had he arrived when disgust set in to the extent of auguring very ill of his reign. The time was ill-chosen by him for becoming an indolent and voluptuous king, set upon taking his pleasure in his court, and isolating himself from his people. The condition and ideas of France were also changing, but to issue in the assumption of quite a different character, and to receive development in quite a different direction. Catholics or Protestants, agents of the king's government or malcontents, all were getting a taste for, and adopting the practice of independence, and a vigorous and spontaneous activity. The bonds of the feudal system were losing their hold, and were not yet replaced by those of a hierarchically organized administration. Religious creeds and political ideas were becoming, for thoughtful and straightforward spirits, rules of conduct, powerful motives of action, and they furnished the ambitious with effective weapons. **State of the country.**

It was in a condition of disorganization and red-hot anarchy that Henry III., on his return from Poland, and after the St. Bartholomew, found France; it was in the face of all these forces, full of life, but scattered and excited one against another, that, with the aid of his mother Catherine, he had to re-establish unity in the State, the efficiency of the government, and the public peace. It was not a task for which the tact of an utterly corrupted woman and an irresolute prince sufficed. What could the artful manœuvrings of Catherine and the waverings of Henry III. do towards taming both Catholics and Protestants at the same time, and obliging them to live at peace with one another under one equitable and effective power?

Henry and Catherine aspired to no more than resuming their policy of manœuvring and wavering between the two parties engaged in the struggle; but it was not for so poor a result that the ardent Catholics had committed the crime of the St. Bartholomew: they promised themselves from it the decisive victory of their Church and of their supremacy. Henry de Guise came forward as their leader in this grand design. When, in 1575, first the duke of Anjou and after him the king of Navarre were seen flying

from the court of Henry III. and commencing an insurrection with the aid of a considerable body of German auxiliaries and French refugees already on French soil and on their way across Champagne, the peril of the Catholic Church appeared so grave and so urgent that, in the threatened provinces, the Catholics devoted themselves with ardour to the formation of a grand association for the defence of their cause. Then and thus was really born *the League*, secret at first, but, before long, publicly and openly proclaimed, which held so important a place in the history of the sixteenth century. Henry de Guise did not hesitate to avow the League and labour to propagate it; he did what was far more effectual for its success: he entered the field and gained a victory. The German allies and French refugees, who had come to support Prince Henry de Condé and the duke of Anjou in their insurrection, advanced into Champagne. Guise had nothing ready, neither army nor money; he mustered in haste three thousand horse who were to be followed by a body of foot and a moiety of the king's guards. He set out in pursuit of the Germans, came up with them on the 10th of October, 1575, at Port-à-Binson, on the Marne, and ordered them to be attacked by his brother the duke of Mayenne, whom he supported vigorously. They were broken and routed.

"The League"

Henry of Guise (le Balafré) assumes its leadership.

He had himself been wounded: he went in obstinate pursuit of a mounted foe whom he had twice touched with his sword, and who, in return, had fired two pistol-shots, of which one took effect in the leg, and the other carried away part of his cheek and his left ear. Thence came his name of Henry *the Scarred* (*le Balafré*) which has clung to him in history.

Scarcely four years had rolled away since the St. Bartholomew. In vain had been the massacre of 10,000 Protestants, according to the lowest, and of 100,000, according to the highest estimates, besides nearly all the renowned chiefs of the party. Admiral Coligny was succeeded by the king of Navarre, who was destined to become Henry IV.; and Duke Francis of Guise by his son Henry, if not as able, at any rate as brave a soldier, and a more determined Catholic than he. Amongst the Protestants, Sully and Du Plessis-Mornay were assuming shape and importance by the side of the king of Navarre. Catherine de' Medici placed at her son's service her Italian adroitness, her maternal devotion and an energy rare for a woman between sixty and seventy years of age, for forty-three years a queen, and worn out by intrigue and business combined with pleasure.

A.D. 1576—1588. Various attempts to peace.

This state of things continued for twelve years, from 1576 to 1588, with constant alternations of war, truce, and precarious

peace, and in the midst of constant hesitation on the part of Henry III., between alliance with the League, commanded by the duke of Guise, and adjustment with the Protestants, of whom the king of Navarre was every day becoming the more and more avowed leader. Between 1576 and 1580, four treaties of peace were concluded: in 1576, the peace called *Monsieur's*, signed at Chastenay in Orleannese; in 1577, the peace of Bergerac or of Poitiers; in 1579, the peace of Nérac; in 1580, the peace of Fleix in Périgord. In November, 1576, the states-general were convoked and assembled at Blois, where they sat and deliberated up to March, 1577, without any important result. Neither these diplomatic conventions nor these national assemblies had force enough to establish a real and lasting peace between the two parties, for the parties themselves would not have it; in vain did Henry III. make concessions and promises of liberty to the Protestants; he was not in a condition to guarantee their execution and make it respected by their adversaries. At heart neither Protestants nor Catholics were for accepting mutual liberty; not only did they both consider themselves in possession of all religious truth, but they also considered themselves entitled to impose it by force upon their adversaries.

They all fail.

From 1576 to 1588, Henry III. had seen the difficulties of his government continuing and increasing. His attempt to maintain his own independence and the mastery of the situation between Catholics and Protestants, by making concessions and promises at one time to the former and at another to the latter, had not succeeded; and, in 1584, it became still more difficult to practise. On the 10th of June in that year Henry III.'s brother, the duke of Anjou, died at Château-Thierry. By this death the leader of the Protestants, Henry, king of Navarre, became lawful heir to the throne of France. The Leaguers could not stomach that prospect. The Guises turned it to formidable account. They did not hesitate to make the future of France a subject of negotiation with Philip II. of Spain, at that time her most dangerous enemy in Europe. By a secret convention concluded at Joinville on the 31st of December, 1584, between Philip and the Guises, it was stipulated that at the death of Henry III. the crown should pass to Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, sixty-four years of age, the king of Navarre's uncle, who, in order to make himself king, undertook to set aside his nephew's hereditary right and forbid, absolutely, heretical worship in France. On the 7th of July, 1585, a treaty was concluded at Nemours between Henry III. and the league, to the effect "that by an irrevocable edict the practice of the new religion should be for-

A.D. 1584.

The cardinal of Bourbon proposed as eventual king of France.

bidden, and that there should henceforth be no other practice of religion, throughout the realm of France, save that of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman; that all the ministers should depart from the kingdom within a month; that all the subjects of his Majesty should be bound to live according to the catholic religion and make profession thereof within six months, on pain of confiscation both of person and goods; that heretics, of whatsoever quality they might be, should be declared incapable of holding benefices, public offices, positions, and dignities; that the places which had been given in guardianship to them for their security should be taken back again forthwith; and, lastly, that the princes designated in the treaty, amongst whom were all the Guises at the top, should receive as guarantee certain places to be held by them for five years."

A.D. 1585. Treaty signed between Henry III. and the league.

This treaty was signed by all the negotiators, and specially by the queen-mother, the cardinals of Bourbon and Guise, and the dukes of Guise and Mayenne. It was the decisive act which made the war a war of religion.

The king of Navarre left no stone unturned to convince everybody, friends and enemies, great lords and commonalty, Frenchmen and foreigners, that this recurrence of war was not his doing, and that the Leaguers forced it upon him against his wish, and despite of the justice of his cause. Before taking part in the war which was day by day becoming more and more clearly and explicitly a war of religion, the protestant princes of Germany and the four great free cities of Strasbourg, Ulm, Nuremberg and Frankfort resolved to make, as the king of Navarre had made, a striking move on behalf of peace and religious liberty. They sent to Henry III. ambassadors who, on the 11th of October, 1586, treated him to some frank and bold speaking, but obtained no satisfactory answer.

The war breaks out again.

Except some local and short-lived truces, war was already blazing throughout nearly the whole of France, in Provence, in Dauphiny, in Nivernais, in Guienne, in Anjou, in Normandy, in Picardy, in Champagne. The successes of Henry de Guise (Vimory, October 28; Auneau, November 24), and of Henry de Bourbon (Coutras, October 20), were almost equally disagreeable to Henry de Valois. It is probable that, if he could have chosen, he would have preferred those of Henry de Bourbon; if they caused him like jealousy, they did not raise in him the same distrust; he knew the king of Navarre's loyalty and did not suspect him of aiming to become, whilst he himself was living, king of France. Besides, he considered the Protestants less powerful and less formidable than the Leaguers. Henry de Guise, on the contrary, was evidently, in his eyes, an ambitious conspirator,

determined to push his own fortunes on to the very crown of France, if the chances were favourable to him, and not only armed with all the power of Catholicism, but urged forward by the passions of the League perhaps further and certainly more quickly than his own intentions travelled. Since 1584, the Leaguers had, at Paris, acquired strong organization amongst the populace; the city had been partitioned out into five districts under five heads, who, shortly afterwards, added to themselves eleven others, in order that, in the secret council of the association, each amongst the sixteen quarters of Paris might have its representative and director. Thence the famous Committee of *Sixteen*, which played so great and so formidable a part in the history of that period. It was religious fanaticism and democratic fanaticism closely united, and in a position to impose their wills upon their most eminent leaders, upon the duke of Guise himself.

A.D. 1588. Revolution in Paris.

In vain did Henry III. attempt to resume some sort of authority in Paris; his government, his public and private life, and his person were daily attacked, insulted, and menaced from the elevation of the pulpit and in the public thoroughfares by qualified preachers or mob-orators. The duke de Guise, whose courage rendered him the favourite of the people, became more and more insolent. In defiance of a royal order he marched into Paris, and at the head of four hundred *gentilshommes* set the king at defiance in the apartments of the Louvre. The party of Lorraine thought that they had gained their object: they loudly declared their purpose of confining Henry III. to a monastery, and the duchess de Montpensier, sister of the duke de Guise, showed to everybody a pair of gold scissors with which she intended to perform upon the head of the dethroned monarch the ceremony of ecclesiastical tonsure. Barricades were raised throughout Paris, and the Swiss guards whom the king had summoned, disarmed by the populace, would have been slaughtered, but for the interposition of Guise himself. At that supreme moment, the duke hesitated and recoiled before the final step of attacking the Louvre. This wavering saved the king; for Catherine de' Medicis had time to amuse her rival by feigned propositions of reconciliation, and in the meanwhile Henry III. could retire to Chartres. There the imbecile monarch, forsaken by every one, was compelled to approve all that had been done against himself; he gave to the duke de Guise several powerful towns, and named him generalissimo of the French forces; finally he convoked the States-general at Blois. Guise was not satisfied yet, and he insulted his king so repeatedly that he drove the most timid of men to the boldest of all resolutions, that of murdering him.

States of Blois.

The duke of Guise cautioned.

On the evening of Thursday, December the 22nd, the duke of Guise, on sitting down at table, found under his napkin a note to this effect: "The king means to kill you." Guise asked for a pen, wrote at the bottom of the note, "He dare not," and threw it under the table. In spite of this warning, he persisted in going, on the next day, to the council-chamber. On entering the room, he felt cold, asked to have some fire lighted, and gave orders to his secretary, Péricard, the only attendant admitted with him, to go and fetch the silver-gilt shell he was in the habit of carrying about him with damsons or other preserves to eat of a morning. Péricard was some time gone; Guise was in a hurry, and, "be kind enough," he said to M. de Morfontaines, "to send word to M. de Saint-Prix [first groom of the chamber to Henry III.] that I beg him to let me have a few damsons or a little preserve of roses, or some trifle of the king's." Four Brignolles plums were brought him; and he ate one. His uneasiness continued; the eye close to his scar became moist; according to M. de Thou, he bled at the nose. He felt in his pocket for a handkerchief to use, but could not find one. "My people," said he, "have not given me my necessaries this morning; there is great excuse for them, they were too much hurried." At his request, Saint-Prix had a handkerchief brought to him. Péricard passed his bonbon-box to him, as the guards would not let him enter again. The duke took a few plums from it, threw the rest on the table, saying, "Gentlemen, who will have any?" and rose up hurriedly upon seeing the secretary of state Révol, who came in and said to him, "Sir, the king wants you; he is in his old cabinet."

He is murdered by the "Forty-five" guardsmen

The duke of Guise pulled up his cloak as if to wrap himself well in it, took his hat, gloves, and his sweetmeat-box and went out of the room, saying, "Adieu, gentlemen," with a gravity free from any appearance of mistrust. He crossed the king's chamber contiguous to the council-hall, courteously saluted, as he passed, Loignac and his comrades whom he found drawn up, and who, returning him a frigid obeisance, followed him as if to show him respect. On arriving at the door of the old cabinet, and just as he leaned down to raise the tapestry that covered it, Guise was struck by five poniard blows in the chest, neck, and reins: "God ha' mercy!" he cried, and, though his sword was entangled in his cloak and he was himself pinned by the arms and legs and choked by the blood that spurted from his throat, he dragged his murderers, by a supreme effort of energy, to the other end of the room, where he fell down backwards and lifeless before the bed of Henry III. who, coming to the door of his room and asking "if it was done," contemplated

with mingled satisfaction and terror the inanimate body of his mighty rival, "who seemed to be merely sleeping, so little was he changed." "My God! how tall he is!" cried the king; "he looks even taller than when he was alive."

"They are killing my brother!" cried the cardinal of Guise when he heard the noise that was being made in the next room; and he rose up to run thither. The archbishop of Lyons, Peter d'Espinac, did the same. The duke of Aumont held them both back, saying, "Gentlemen, we must wait for the king's orders." Orders came to arrest them both and confine them in a small room over the council chamber. They had "eggs, bread, wine from the king's cellar, their breviaries, their night-gowns, a palliasse, and a mattress," brought to them there; and they were kept under ocular supervision for four and twenty hours. The cardinal of Guise was released the next morning, but only to be put to death like his brother. The king spared the archbishop of Lyons.

A.D. 1589 Death of Catherine de' Medici.

Thirteen days after the murder of the duke of Guise, on the 5th of January, 1589, Catherine de' Medici herself died. Nor was her death, so far as affairs and the public were concerned, an event: her ability was of the sort which is worn out by the frequent use made of it, and which, when old age comes on, leaves no long or grateful reminiscence. Time has restored Catherine de' Medici to her proper place in history; she was quickly forgotten by her contemporaries.

Position of Henry III.

It was not long before Henry III. perceived that, to be king, it was not sufficient to have murdered his rival. He survived the duke of Guise only seven months, and, during that short period, he was not really king, all by himself, for a single day; never had his kingship been so embarrassed and impotent; the violent death of the duke of Guise had exasperated much more than enfeebled the League; the feeling against his murderer was passionate and contagious; the catholic cause had lost its great leader; it found and accepted another in his brother the duke of Mayenne, far inferior to his elder brother in political talent and prompt energy of character, but a brave and determined soldier, a much better man of party and action than the sceptical, undecided, and indolent Henry III. The majority of the great towns of France, Paris, Rouen, Orleans, Toulouse, Lyons, Amiens, and whole provinces declared eagerly against the royal murderer. He demanded support from the states-general, who refused it; and he was obliged to dismiss them. The parliament of Paris, dismembered on the 16th of January, 1589, by the counsel of Sixteen, became the instrument of the Leaguers. The majority of the other parliaments

followed the example set by that of Paris. The Sorbonne, consulted by a petition presented in the name of all Catholics, decided that Frenchmen were released from their oath of allegiance to Henry III., and might with a good conscience turn their arms against him. Henry made some obscure attempts to come to an arrangement with certain chiefs of the Leaguers; but they were rejected with violence.

He treats with the king of Navarre.

There was clearly for him but one possible ally who had a chance of doing effectual service, and that was Henry of Navarre and the Protestants. It cost Henry III. a great deal to have recourse to that party; his conscience and pusillanimity both revolted at it equally; in spite of his moral corruption, he was a sincere Catholic, and the prospect of excommunication troubled him deeply. However, on the 3rd of April, 1589, a truce for a year was concluded between the two kings. It set forth that the king of Navarre should serve the king of France with all his might and main; that he should have, for the movements of his troops on both banks of the Loire, the place of Saumur; that the places of which he made himself master should be handed over to Henry III., and that he might not anywhere do anything to the prejudice of the catholic religion; that the Protestants should be no more disquieted throughout the whole of France, and that, before the expiration of the truce, King Henry III. should give them assurance of peace. This negotiation was not concluded without difficulty, especially as regarded the town of Saumur; there was a general desire to cede to the king of Navarre only some place of less importance on the Loire; and when, on the 15th of April, Du Plessis Mornay, who had been appointed governor of it, presented himself for admittance at the head of his garrison, the royalist commandant who had to deliver the keys to him limited himself to letting them drop at his feet. Mornay showed alacrity in picking them up.

Siege of Paris.

On arriving before Paris towards the end of July, 1589, the two kings besieged it with an army of 42,000 men, the strongest and the best they had ever had under their orders. "The affairs of Henry III.," says De Thou, "had changed face; fortune was pronouncing for him." Quartered in the house of Count de Retz, at St. Cloud, he could thence see quite at his ease his city of Paris. "Yonder," said he, "is the heart of the League; it is there that the blow must be struck. It were great pity to lay in ruins so beautiful and goodly a city. Still, I must settle accounts with the rebels who are in it and who ignominiously drove me away." "On Tuesday, August 1st, at eight a.m., he was told," says L'Estoile, "that a monk desired to speak with him, but that his guards made a difficulty about letting him in. 'Let him in,' said the king: 'if

he is refused, it will be said that I drive monks away and will not see them.' Incontinently entered the monk, having in his sleeve a knife unsheathed. He made a profound reverence to the king, who had just got up and had nothing on but a dressing-gown about his shoulders, and presented to him despatches from Count de Brienne, saying that he had further orders to tell the king privately something of importance. Then the king ordered those who were present to retire, and began reading the letter which the monk had brought asking for a private audience afterwards; the monk, seeing the king's attention taken up with reading, drew his knife from his sleeve and drove it right into the king's small gut, below the navel, so home that he left the knife in the hole; the which the king having drawn out with great exertion struck the monk a blow with the point of it on his left eyebrow, crying, 'Ah! wicked monk! he has killed me; kill him!' At which cry running quickly up, the guards and others, such as happened to be nearest, massacred this assassin of a Jacobin who, as D'Aubigné says, stretched out his two arms against the wall, counterfeiting the crucifix, whilst the blows were dealt him. Having been dragged out dead from the king's chamber, he was stripped naked to the waist, covered with his gown and exposed to the public." Henry III. expired on the 2nd of August, 1589, between two and three in the morning. The first persons Henry of Navarre met as he entered the Hotel de Retz were the officers of the Scottish guard, who threw themselves at his feet, saying: "Ah! sir, you are now our king and our master."

Henry III. murdered (Aug. 1).





CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF HENRY IV. (1589—1593.)—LOUIS XIII., RICHELIEU AND THE COURT.

Henry IV. The two moving principles of his policy.

HENRY IV. perfectly understood and steadily took the measure of the situation in which he was placed. He was in a great minority throughout the country as well as the army, and he would have to deal with public passions, worked by his foes for their own ends, and with the personal pretensions of his partisans. He made no mistake about these two facts, and he allowed them great weight; but he did not take for the ruling principle of his policy and for his first rule of conduct the plan of alternate concessions to the different parties and of continually humouring personal interests; he set his thoughts higher, upon the general and natural interests of France as he found her and saw her. They resolved themselves, in his eyes, into the following great points: maintenance of the hereditary rights of monarchy, preponderance of Catholics in the government, peace between Catholics and Protestants, and religious liberty for Protestants. With him these points became the law of his policy and his kingly duty as well as the nation's right. He proclaimed them in the first words that he addressed to the lords and principal personages of State assembled around him. On the 4th of August, 1589, in the camp at St. Cloud, the majority of the princes, dukes, lords, and gentlemen present in the camp expressed their full adhesion to the accession and the manifesto of the king, promising him "service and obedience against rebels and enemies who would usurp the kingdom." Two notable leaders, the duke of

State of parties in France.

Épernon amongst the Catholics and the duke of La Trémoille amongst the Protestants, refused to join in this adhesion; the former saying that his conscience would not permit him to serve a heretic king, the latter alleging that his conscience forbade him to serve a prince who engaged to protect catholic idolatry. They withdrew, D'Épernon into Angoumois and Saintonge, taking with him six thousand foot and twelve thousand horse; and La Trémoille into Poitou, with nine battalions of reformers. They had an idea of attempting, both of them, to set up for themselves independent principalities. Three contemporaries, Sully, La Force, and the bastard of Angoulême, bear witness that Henry IV. was deserted by as many huguenots as Catholics. The French royal army was reduced, it is said, to one half. As a make-weight, Sancy prevailed upon the Swiss, to the number of twelve thousand, and two thousand German auxiliaries, not only to continue in the service of the new king but to wait six months for their pay, as he was at the moment unable to pay them. From the 14th to the 20th of August, in Ile-de-France, in Picardy, in Normandy, in Auvergne, in Champagne, in Burgundy, in Anjou, in Poitou, in Languedoc, in Orleanness and in Touraine, a great number of towns and districts joined in the determination of the royal army.

The cardinal de Bourbon.

There was, in 1589, an unlawful pretender to the throne of France; and that was Cardinal Charles de Bourbon, younger brother of Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, and consequently uncle of Henry IV., sole representative of the elder branch. Under Henry III., the cardinal had thrown in his lot with the League; and, after the murder of Guise, Henry III. had, by way of precaution, ordered him to be arrested and detained him in confinement at Chinon, where he still was when Henry III. was in his turn murdered. The Leaguers proclaimed him king under the name of Charles X.; and, eight months afterwards, on the 5th of March, 1590, the parliament of Paris issued a decree "recognizing Charles X. as true and lawful king of France." Du Plessis-Mornay, then governor of Saumur, had the cardinal removed to Fontenay-le-Comte in Poitou, "under the custody of Sieur de la Boulaye, governor of that place, whose valour and fidelity were known to him." On the 9th of May, 1590, not three months after the decree of the parliament of Paris which had proclaimed him true and lawful king of France, Cardinal de Bourbon, still a prisoner, died at Fontenay, aged sixty-seven. A few weeks before his death he had written to his nephew Henry IV. a letter in which he recognized him as his sovereign.

The League was more than ever dominant in Paris; Henry IV.

A.D. 1589. Battle of Arques (Sept. 13—28).

could not think of entering there. He was closely pressed by Mayenne, who boasted that he would very shortly bring him into Paris bound hand and foot. Already windows were engaged on the line of streets through which the procession was to pass. But Mayenne's adversary was a prince of the utmost vigilance as well as courage, and who, as the duke of Parma himself said, "was accustomed to wear out more boots than shoes." He awaited the attack of Mayenne at Arques in Normandy, where with three thousand men alone he defeated an army of thirty thousand. Strengthened by the accession of a number of *gentilshommes*, Henry then once more attacked Paris, and pillaged the faubourg Saint Germain.

Progress of Henry IV.

He would perhaps have carried the terror-stricken capital itself, if the imperfect breaking-up of the St. Maixent bridge on the Somme had not allowed Mayenne, notwithstanding his tardiness, to arrive at Paris in time to enter with his army, form a junction with the Leaguers amongst the population, and prevail upon the king to carry his arms elsewhither. Henry left some of his lieutenants to carry on the war in the environs of Paris, and himself repaired on the 21st of November to Tours, where the royalist parliament, the exchequer-chamber, the court of taxation, and all the magisterial bodies which had not felt inclined to submit to the despotism of the League, lost no time in rendering him homage, as the head and the representative of the national and the lawful cause. He reigned and ruled, to real purpose, in the eight principal provinces of the North and Centre, Ile-de-France, Picardy, Champagne, Normandy, Orleanness, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou; and his authority, although disputed, was making way in nearly all the other parts of the kingdom. He made war, not like a conqueror, but like a king who wanted to meet with acceptance in the places which he occupied and which he would soon have to govern. It was not long before Henry reaped the financial fruits of his protective equity; at the close of 1589 he could count upon a regular revenue of more than two millions of crowns, very insufficient, no doubt, for the wants of his government, but much beyond the official resources of his enemies. He had very soon taken his proper rank in Europe: the Protestant Powers which had been eager to recognize him, England, Scotland, the Low Countries, the Scandinavian States, and reformed Germany, had been joined by the republic of Venice, the most judiciously governed State at that time in Europe, but solely on the ground of political interests and views, independently of any religious question.

As the government of Henry IV. went on growing in strength and extent, the moderate Catholics were beginning, not as yet to

make approaches towards him, but to see a glimmering possibility of treating with him, and obtaining from him such concessions as they considered necessary, at the same time that they in their turn made to him such as he might consider sufficient for his party and himself.

A.D. 1590. Gregory XIV. pope. His relations with France.

Unhappily the new pope, Gregory XIV., elected on the 5th of December, 1590, was humbly devoted to the Spanish policy, meekly subservient to Philip II.; that is, to the cause of religious persecution and of absolute power, without regard for anything else. The relations of France with the Holy See at once felt the effects of this; Cardinal Gaetani received from Rome all the instructions that the most ardent Leaguers could desire; and he gave his approval to a resolution of the Sorbonne to the effect that Henry de Bourbon, heretic and relapsed, was for ever excluded from the crown, whether he became a Catholic or not. Henry IV. had convoked the states-general at Tours for the month of March, and had summoned to that city the archbishops and bishops to form a national council, and to deliberate as to the means of restoring the king to the bosom of the Catholic Church. The legate prohibited this council, declaring, beforehand, the excommunication and deposition of any bishops who should be present at it. The Leaguer parliament of Paris forebade, on pain of death and confiscation, any connexion, any correspondence with Henry de Bourbon and his partisans. A solemn procession of the League took place at Paris on the 14th of March, and, a few days afterwards, the union was sworn afresh by all the municipal chiefs of the population. In view of such passionate hostility, Henry IV., a stranger to any sort of illusion, at the same time that he was always full of hope, saw that his successes at Arques were insufficient for him, and that, if he were to occupy the throne in peace, he must win more victories. He recommenced the campaign by the siege of Dreux, one of the towns which it was most important for him to possess, in order to put pressure on Paris and cause her to feel, even at a distance, the perils and evils of war.

A.D. 1590. Battle of Ivry (Mar. 14).

On Wednesday, the 14th of March, 1590, the two armies met on the plains of Ivry, a village six leagues from Evreux, on the left bank of the Eure. A battle ensued in which, although the resources of modern warfare were brought into operation, the decisive force consisted, as of old, in the cavalry. It appeared as if Henry IV. must succumb to the superior force of the enemy: further and further backward was his white banner seen to retire, and the great mass appeared as if they designed to follow it. At length Henry cried out that those who did not wish to fight against the enemy might at least turn and see him die, and immediately plunged into

the thickest of the battle. It appeared as if the royalist gentry had felt the old martial fire of their ancestry enkindled by these words, and by the glance that accompanied them. Raising one mighty shout to God, they threw themselves upon the enemy, following their king, whose plume was now their banner. In this there might have been some dim principle of religious zeal, but that devotion to personal authority, which is so powerful an element in war and in policy, was wanting. The royalist and religious energy of Henry's troops conquered the Leaguers. The cavalry was broken, scattered, and swept from the field, and the confused manner of their retreat so puzzled the infantry that they were not able to maintain their ground; the German and French were cut down; the Swiss surrendered. It was a complete victory for Henry IV.

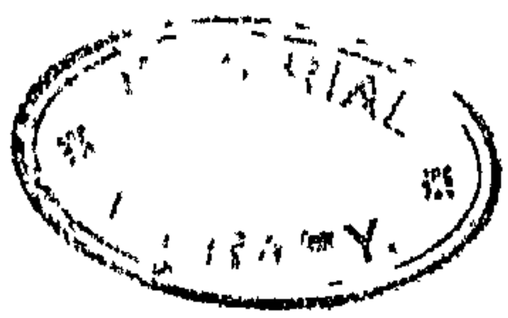
It was not only as able captain and valiant soldier that Henry IV. distinguished himself at Ivry; there the man was as conspicuous for the strength of his better feelings, as generous and as affectionate as the king was far-sighted and bold. When the word was given to march from Dieux, Count Schomberg, colonel of the German auxiliaries called reiters, had asked for the pay of his troops, letting it be understood that they would not fight, if their claims were not satisfied. Henry had replied harshly, "People don't ask for money on the eve of a battle." At Ivry, just as the battle was on the point of beginning, he went up to Schomberg: "Colonel," said he, "I hurt your feelings. This may be the last day of my life. I can't bear to take away the honour of a brave and honest gentleman like you. Pray forgive me and embrace me." "Sir," answered Schomberg, "the other day your majesty wounded me, to-day you kill me." He gave up the command of the reiters in order to fight in the king's own squadron, and was killed in action.

Generosity of Henry IV.

The victory of Ivry had a great effect in France and in Europe, though not immediately and as regarded the actual campaign of 1590. The victorious king moved on Paris and made himself master of the little towns in the neighbourhood with a view of besieging the capital. The investment became more strict; it was kept up for more than three months, from the end of May to the beginning of September, 1590; and the city was reduced to a severe state of famine, which would have been still more severe if Henry IV. had not several times over permitted the entry of some convoys of provisions and the exit of the old men, the women, the children, in fact, the poorest and weakest part of the population. "Paris must not be a cemetery," he said: "I do not wish to reign over the dead." In the meantime, Duke Alexander of Parma, in accordance with express orders from Philip II., went from the Low Countries, with

Famine in Paris.

The duke of Parma joins Mayenne.





HENRY IV.

his army, to join Mayenne at Meaux, and threaten Henry IV. with their united forces if he did not retire from the walls of the capital. Henry IV. offered the two dukes battle, if they really wished to put a stop to the investment; but "I am not come so far," answered the duke of Parma, "to take counsel of my enemy; if my manner of warfare does not please the king of Navarre, let him force me to change it instead of giving me advice that nobody asks him for." Henry in vain attempted to make the duke of Parma accept battle. The able Italian established himself in a strongly entrenched camp, surprised Lagny and opened to Paris the navigation of the Marne, by which provisions were speedily brought up. Henry decided upon retreating; he dispersed the different divisions of his army into Touraine, Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, Burgundy, and himself took up his quarters at Senlis, at Compiègne, in the towns on the banks of the Oise. The duke of Mayenne arrived on the 18th of September at Paris; the duke of Parma entered it himself with a few officers and left it on the 13th of November, with his army on his way back to the Low Countries, being a little harassed in his retreat by the royal cavalry, but easy, for the moment, as to the fate of Paris and the issue of the war, which continued during the first six months of the year 1591, but languidly and disconnectedly, with successes and reverses see-sawing between the two parties and without any important results.

Henry retreats before them.

Then began to appear the consequences of the victory of Ivry and the progress made by Henry IV., in spite of the check he received before Paris and at some other points in the kingdom. Not only did many moderate Catholics make advances to him, struck with his sympathetic ability and his valour, and hoping that he would end by becoming a Catholic, but patriotic wrath was kindling in France against Philip II. and the Spaniards, those fomenters of civil war in the mere interest of foreign ambition.

Results of Ivry.

The League was split up into two parties, the *Spanish League* and the *French League*. The committee of *Sixteen* laboured incessantly for the formation and triumph of the *Spanish League;* and its principal leaders wrote, on the 2nd of September, 1591, a letter to Philip II., offering him the crown of France and pledging their allegiance to him as his subjects: "We can positively assure your Majesty," they said, "that the wishes of all Catholics are to see your Catholic Majesty holding the sceptre of this kingdom and reigning over us, even as we do throw ourselves right willingly into your arms as into those of our father, or at any rate establishing one of your posterity upon the throne." These ringleaders of the Spanish League had for their army the blindly fanatical and demagogic

The two Leagues

populace of Paris, and were, further, supported by 4000 Spanish troops whom Philip II. had succeeded in getting almost surreptitiously into Paris. They created a *council of ten*, the sixteenth century's committee of public safety; they proscribed the *policists;* they, on the 15th of November, had the president, Brisson, and two councillors of the Leaguer parliament arrested, hanged them to a beam and dragged the corpses to the Place de Grève, where they strung them up to a gibbet with inscriptions setting forth that they were heretics, traitors to the city and enemies of the catholic princes.

Mayenne restores the French League.

Whilst the *Spanish League* was thus reigning at Paris, the duke of Mayenne was at Laon, preparing to lead his army, consisting partly of Spaniards, to the relief of Rouen, the siege of which Henry IV. was commencing. Being summoned to Paris by messengers who succeeded one another every hour, he arrived there on the 28th of November, 1591, with 2000 French troops; he armed the guard of burgesses, seized and hanged, in a ground-floor room of the Louvre, four of the chief leaders of the Sixteen, suppressed their committee, re-established the parliament in full authority and, finally, restored the security and preponderance of the *French League*, whilst taking the reins once more into his own hands.

Whilst these two Leagues, the one Spanish and the other French, were conspiring thus persistently, sometimes together and sometimes one against the other, to promote personal ambition and interests, at the same time national instinct, respect for traditional rights, weariness of civil war, and the good sense which is born of long experience, were bringing France more and more over to the cause and name of Henry IV. In all the provinces, throughout all ranks of society, the population non-enrolled amongst the factions were turning their eyes towards him as the only means of putting an end to war at home and abroad, the only pledge of national unity, public prosperity, and even freedom of trade, a hazy idea as yet, but even now prevalent in the great ports of France and in Paris. Would Henry turn Catholic? That was the question asked everywhere, amongst Protestants with anxiety, but with keen desire and not without hope amongst the mass of the population. The rumour ran that, on this point, negotiations were half opened even in the midst of the League itself, even at the court of Spain, even at Rome where Pope Clement VIII., a more moderate man than his predecessor, Gregory XIV., "had no desire," says Sully, "to foment the troubles of France, and still less that the king of Spain should possibly become its undisputed king, rightly judging that this would be laying open to him the road to the monarchy of Christendom, and, consequently, reducing the Roman pontiffs to

France weary of civil war.

the position, if it were his good pleasure, of his mere chaplains" [*Œconomies royales*, t. ii. p. 106]. Such being the existing state of facts and minds, it was impossible that Henry IV. should not ask himself roundly the same question and feel that he had no time to lose in answering it.

Henry IV. and Roman Catholicism.

In spite of the breadth and independence of his mind, Henry IV. was sincerely puzzled. He was of those who, far from clinging to a single fact and confining themselves to a single duty, take account of the complication of the facts amidst which they live, and of the variety of the duties which the general situation or their own imposes upon them. Born in the reformed faith, and on the steps of the throne, he was struggling to defend his political rights whilst keeping his religious creed; but his religious creed was not the fruit of very mature or very deep conviction; it was a question of first claims and of honour rather than a matter of conscience; and, on the other hand, the peace of France, her prosperity, perhaps her territorial integrity, were dependent upon the triumph of the political rights of the Béarnese. Even for his brethren in creed his triumph was a benefit secured, for it was an end of persecution and a first step towards liberty. There is no measuring accurately how far ambition, personal interest, a king's egotism had to do with Henry IV.'s abjuration of his religion; none would deny that those human infirmities were present; but all this does not prevent the conviction that patriotism was uppermost in Henry's soul, and that the idea of his duty as king towards France, a prey to all the evils of civil and foreign war, was the determining motive of his resolution. It cost him a great deal. On the 26th of April, 1593, he wrote to the grand duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand de' Medici, that he had decided to turn Catholic "two months after that the duke of Mayenne should have come to an agreement with him on just and suitable terms;" and, foreseeing the expense that would be occasioned to him by "this great change in his affairs," he felicitated himself upon knowing that the grand duke was disposed to second his efforts towards a levy of 4000 Swiss and advance a year's pay for them. On the 28th of April, he begged the bishop of Chartres, Nicholas de Thou, to be one of the catholic prelates whose instructions he would be happy to receive on the 15th of July, and he sent the same invitation to several other prelates. On the 16th of May, he declared to his council his resolve to become a convert. This news, everywhere spread abroad, produced a lively burst of national and Bourbonic feeling even where it was scarcely to be expected; at the states-general of the League, especially in the chamber of the noblesse, many members protested "that they would not treat with foreigners, or promote the election of a woman, or

A.D. 1593. Resolves to abjure Protestantism.

give their suffrages to any one unknown to them, and at the choice of his Catholic Majesty of Spain." At Paris, a part of the clergy, the incumbents of St. Eustache, St. Merri, and St. Sulpice, and even some of the popular preachers, violent Leaguers but lately, and notably Guincestre, boldly preached peace and submission to the king if he turned Catholic. The principal of the French League, in matters of policy and negotiation, and Mayenne's adviser since 1589, Villeroi, declared "that he would not bide in a place where the laws, the honour of the nation and the independence of the kingdom were held so cheap;" and he left Paris on the 28th of June.

During these disputes amongst the civil functionaries and continuing all the while to make proposals for a general truce, Henry IV. vigorously resumed warlike operations so as to bring pressure upon his adversaries and make them perceive the necessity of accepting the solution he offered them. He besieged and took the town of Dreux, of which the castle alone persisted in holding out.

Further success of Henry IV.

He cut off the provisions which were being brought by the Marne to Paris. He kept Poitiers strictly invested. Lesdiguières defeated the Savoyards and the Spaniards in the valleys of Dauphiny and Piedmont. Count Mansfield had advanced with a division towards Picardy; but at the news that the king was marching to encounter him, he retired with precipitation. From the military as well as the political point of view, there is no condition worse than that of stubbornness mingled with discouragement. And that was the state of Mayenne and the League. Henry IV. perceived it, and confidently hurried forward his political and military measures. The castle of Dreux was obliged to capitulate. Thanks to the 4000 Swiss paid for him by the grand duke of Florence, to the numerous volunteers brought to him by the noblesse of his party, "and to the sterling quality of the old huguenot phalanx, folks who, from father to son, are familiarized with death," says D'Aubigné, Henry IV. had recovered in June 1593, so good an army that "by means of it," he wrote to Ferdinand de' Medici, "I shall be able to reduce the city of Paris in so short a time as will cause you great contentment." But he was too judicious and too good a patriot not to see that it was not by an indefinitely prolonged war that he would be enabled to enter upon definitive possession of his crown, and that it was peace, religious peace, that he must restore to France in order to really become her king. He entered resolutely, on the 15th of July, 1593, upon the employment of the moral means which alone could enable him to attain this end; he assembled at Mantes the conference of prelates and doctors, Catholic and Protestant, which he had announced as the preface to his conversion.

He assembles a conference of divines at Mantes.

Ten days after, on Sunday the 25th of July, 1593, he repaired in great state to the church of St. Denis. On arriving with all his train in front of the grand entrance, he was received by Reginald de Beaune, archbishop of Bourges, the nine bishops, the doctors and the incumbents who had taken part in the conferences and all the brethren of the abbey. "Who are you?" asked the archbishop who officiated. "The king." "What want you?" "To be received into the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church." "Do you desire it?" "Yes, I will and desire it." At these words the king knelt and made the stipulated profession of faith. The archbishop gave him absolution together with benediction; and, conducted by all the clergy to the choir of the church, he there, upon the gospels, repeated his oath, made his confession, heard mass, and was fully reconciled with the Church. The inhabitants of Paris, dispensing with the passports which were refused them by Mayenne, had flocked in masses to St. Denis and been present at the ceremony. The vaulted roof of the church resounded with their shouts of *Hurrah for the king!* There was the same welcome on the part of the dwellers in the country when Henry repaired to the valley of Montmorency and to Montmartre to perform his devotions there. Here, then, was religious peace, a prelude to political reconciliation between the monarch and the great majority of his subjects.

A.D. 1593. His abjuration (July 25).

On one side a great majority of Catholics and Protestants favourable for different practical reasons to Henry IV. turned-Catholic king; on the other, two minorities, one of stubborn Catholics of the League, the other of Protestants anxious for their creed and their liberty; both discontented and distrustful. Such, after Henry IV.'s abjuration, was the striking feature in the condition of France and in the situation of her king. This triple fact was constantly present to the mind of Henry IV. and ruled his conduct during all his reign; all the acts of his government are proof of that. It was province by province, inch by inch that he had to recover his kingdom. At Lyons, the success of the king was easy and disinterested; not so in Normandy. Andrew de Brancas, lord of Villars, an able man and valiant soldier, was its governor; he had served the League with zeal and determination; nevertheless "from the month of August, 1593, immediately after the king's conversion, he had shown a disposition to become his servant and to incline thereto all those whom he had in his power." Thinking, however, that every man has his price, he determined to get out of Henry IV. as much as he could, and the following memorandum shows how far he was successful:—"To M. Villars, for himself, his brother Chevalier d'Oise, the towns of Rouen and Havre and other

Reconciliation of Villars-Brancas,

places, as well as for compensation which had to be made to MM. de Montpensier, Marshal de Biron, Chancellor de Chiverny and other persons included in his treaty .... 3,447,800 livres."

To these two instances of royalist reconciliation, Lyons and the spontaneous example set by her population and Rouen and the dearly purchased capitulation of her governor Villars, must be added a third, of a different sort. Nicholas de Neufville, lord of Villeroi, after having served Charles IX. and Henry III., had become through attachment to the catholic cause a member of the League and one of the duke of Mayenne's confidants. When Henry IV. was king of France and Catholic king, Villeroi tried to serve his cause with Mayenne, and induce Mayenne to be reconciled with him. Meeting with no success, he made up his mind to separate from the League, and go over to the king's service. He could do so without treachery or shame; even as a Leaguer and a servant of Mayenne's, he had always been opposed to Spain, and devoted to a French, but at the same time a faithfully catholic policy. He imported into the service of Henry IV. the same sentiments and the same bearing; he was still a zealous catholic and a partisan, for king and country's sake, of alliance with catholic powers. He was a man of wits, experience, and resource, who knew Europe well and had some influence at the court of Rome. Henry IV. saw at once the advantage to be gained from him, and in spite of the Protestants' complaints and his sister Princess Catherine's prayers, made him, on the 25th of September, 1594, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. This acquisition did not cost him so dear as that of Villars: still we read in the statement of sums paid by Henry IV. for this sort of conquest:—"Furthermore, to M. de Villeroi, for himself, his son, the town of Pontoise, and other individuals, according to their treaty, 476,594 livres."

and Villeroi.

Henry IV. had been absolved and crowned at St. Denis by the bishops of France; he had not been anointed at Rheims according to the religious traditions of the French monarchy. At Rheims he could not be, for it was still in the power of the League. The ceremony took place at Chartres on the 27th of February, 1594; the bishop of Chartres, Nicholas De Thou, officiated, and drew up a detailed account of all the ceremonies and all the rejoicings; thirteen medals, each weighing fifteen gold crowns, were struck according to custom; they bore the king's image, and for legend, *Invia virtuti nulla est via* (To manly worth no road is inaccessible). Henry IV., on his knees before the grand altar, took the usual oath, the form of which was presented to him by Chancellor de Chiverny. With the exception of local accessories, which were

Henry IV. anointed at Chartres.

acknowledged to be impossible and unnecessary, there was nothing lacking to this religious hallowing of his kingship.

But one other thing, more important than the anointment at Chartres, was wanting. He did not possess the capital of his kingdom: the League were still masters of Paris; uneasy masters of their situation; but not so uneasy, however, as they ought to have been. The great leaders of the party, the duke of Mayenne, his mother the duchess of Nemours, his sister the duchess of Montpensier, the duke of Féria, Spanish Ambassador, were within its walls, a prey to alarm and discouragement. Henry IV. started on the 21st of March, nearly one month after the ceremony we have just related, from Senlis, where he had mustered his troops, arrived about midnight at St. Denis, and immediately began his march to Paris, where a strong party headed by Brissac and D'Épinay St. Luc stood in readiness to receive him. The night was dark and stormy; thunder rumbled; rain fell heavily; the king was a little behind time. On the 22nd of March three of the city gates were thrown open, and the king's troops entered Paris. They occupied the different districts and met with no show of resistance but at the quay of L'École, where an outpost of lanzknechts tried to stop them; but they were cut in pieces or hurled into the river. Between five and six o'clock Henry IV., at the head of the last division, crossed the draw-bridge of the New Gate. Brissac, Provost L'Huillier, the sheriffs and several companies of burgesses advanced to meet him. At ten o'clock he was master of the whole city; the districts of St. Martin, of the Temple, and St. Anthony alone remained still in the power of three thousand Spanish soldiers under the orders of their leaders, the duke of Féria and Don Diego d'Ibarra. Nothing would have been easier for Henry than to have had them driven out by his own troops and the people of Paris, who wanted to finish the day's work by exterminating the foreigners; but he was too judicious and too far-sighted to embitter the general animosity by pushing his victory beyond what was necessary. He sent word to the Spaniards that they must not move from their quarters, and must leave Paris during the day, at the same time promising not to bear arms any more against him, in France. They eagerly accepted these conditions. At three o'clock in the afternoon, ambassador, officers, and soldiers all evacuated Paris and set out for the Low Countries. The king, posted at a window over the gate of St. Denis, witnessed their departure. They, as they passed, saluted him respectfully; and he returned their salute, saying, "Go, gentlemen, and commend me to your master; but return no more."

A.D. 1594. Henry IV. enters Paris (Mar. 22).

The Spanich troops evacuate the capital.

The other large towns submit.

After his conversion to Catholicism, the capture of Paris was the most decisive of the issues which made Henry IV. really king of France. The submission of Rouen followed almost immediately upon that of Paris; and the year 1594 brought Henry a series of successes, military and civil, which changed very much to his advantage the position of the kingship as well as the general condition of the kingdom. In Normandy, in Picardy, in Champagne, in Anjou, in Poitou, in Brittany, in Orleanness, in Auvergne, a multitude of important towns, Havre, Honfleur, Abbeville, Amiens, Péronne, Montdidier, Poitiers, Orleans, Rheims, Château-Thierry, Beauvais, Sens, Riom, Morlaix, Laval, Laon, returned to the king's authority, some after sieges, and others by pacific and personal arrangement, more or less burthensome for the public treasury but very effective in promoting the unity of the nation and of the monarchy.

A.D. 1594. Attempt of Chastel to murder the king (Sept. 27).

The close of this happy and glorious year was at hand. On the 27th of September, between six and seven p.m., a deplorable incident occurred, for the second time, to call Henry IV.'s attention to the weak side of his position. An attempt upon his life had already been made by a fanatic named Barrière; now it was a young man of nineteen, son of a cloth-merchant in the city, who, acting under the influence of the Jesuits, tried to murder the king. He was arrested, and put to death, a decree of the parliament of Paris being at the same time (December 29, 1594) issued against the Jesuits.

A.D. 1595. War declared against Spain.

In the meanwhile Philip II. persisted in his active hostility and continued to give the king of France no title but that of *prince of Béarn*. On the 17th of January, 1595, Henry, in performance of what he had proclaimed, formally declared war against the king of Spain, forbade his subjects to have any commerce with him or his allies, and ordered them to make war on him for the future, just as he persisted in making it on France. The conflict thus solemnly begun lasted three years and three months, from the 17th of January, 1595, to the 1st of May, 1598, from Henry IV.'s declaration of war to the peace of Vervins, which preceded by only four months and thirteen days the death of Philip II. and the end of the preponderance of Spain in Europe. It is not worth while to follow step by step the course of this monotonous conflict, pregnant with facts which had their importance for contemporaries but are not worthy of an historical resurrection. The battle of Fontaine-Française (5th June) was a brilliant evidence that Navarre whilst becoming a monarch had not forgotten to be a soldier. The absolution at last granted by Pope Clement VIII. proved of the utmost benefit to the king; Mayenne, d'Épernon and Joyeuse submitted, and the town of Amiens having been taken by the royal

A.D. 1595. Battle of Fontaine-Française (June 5).

troops the duke de Mercœur followed their example (February, 1598). Three months after, the king of Spain at last consented to accept terms of agreement (Peace of Vervins, May 2); and as the promulgation of the edict of Nantes (April 13) had put an end to the wars of religion, so by the treaty with Philip II. a long period of foreign wars was terminated.

A month before the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Vervins with Philip II., Henry IV. had signed and published at Paris on the 13th of April, 1598, the edict of Nantes, his treaty of peace with the protestant malcontents. This treaty, drawn up in ninety-two open and fifty-six secret articles, was a code of old and new laws regulating the civil and religious position of Protestants in France, the conditions and guarantees of their worship, their liberties and their special obligations in their relations whether with the crown or with their catholic fellow-countrymen. By this code Henry IV. added a great deal to the rights of the Protestants and to the duties of the State towards them. Their worship was authorized not only in the castles of the lords high-justiciary, who numbered 3500, but also in the castles of simple noblemen who enjoyed no high-justiciary rights, provided that the number of those present did not exceed thirty. Two towns or two boroughs, instead of one, had the same religious rights in each bailiwick or seneschalty of the kingdom. The State was charged with the duty of providing for the salaries of the protestant ministers and rectors in their colleges or schools, and an annual sum of 165,000 livres of those times (495,000 francs of the present day) was allowed for that purpose. Donations and legacies to be so applied were authorized. The children of Protestants were admitted into the universities, colleges, schools and hospitals, without distinction between them and Catholics. There was great difficulty in securing for them, in all the parliaments of the kingdom, impartial justice; and a special chamber, called the *edict-chamber*, was instituted for the trial of all causes in which they were interested. Catholic judges could not sit in this chamber unless with their consent and on their presentation. In the parliaments of Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Grenoble, the *edict-chamber* was composed of two presidents, one a Catholic and the other a Reformer, and of twelve councillors, of whom six were Reformers. The parliaments had hitherto refused to admit Reformers into their midst; in the end the parliament of Paris admitted six, one into the *edict-chamber* and five into the appeal-chamber (*enquêtes*). The edict of Nantes retained; at first for eight years and then for four more, in the hands of the Protestants the towns which war or treaties had put in their possession and which numbered, it is said, two hundred. The

A.D. 1598. Peace of Vervins. Edict of Nantes.

Its principa clauses.

king was bound to bear the burthen of keeping up their fortifications and paying their garrisons; and Henry IV. devoted to that object 540,000 livres of those times, or about two million francs of our day.

Parliaments and Protestants, all saw that they had to do not only with a strong-willed king, but with a judicious and clear-sighted man, a true French patriot, who was sincerely concerned for the public interest and who had won his spurs in the art of governing parties by making for each its own place in the State. It was scarcely five years ago that the king who was now publishing the edict of Nantes had become a Catholic; the parliaments enregistered the decree. The protestant malcontents resigned themselves to the necessity of being content with it. Whatever their imperfections and the objections that might be raised to them, the peace of Vervins and the edict of Nantes were, amidst the obstacles and perils encountered at every step by the government of Henry IV., the two most timely and most beneficial acts in the world for France.

A.D. 1598. Death of Philip II. (Sept. 13).

Four months after the conclusion of the treaty of Vervins, on the 13th of September, 1598, Philip II. died at the Escurial, and on the 3rd of April, 1603, a second great royal personage, Queen Elizabeth, disappeared from the scene. She had been, as regards the Protestantism of Europe, what Philip II. had been, as regards Catholicism, a powerful and able patron; but what Philip II. did from fanatical conviction, Elizabeth did from patriotic feeling; she had small faith in Calvinistic doctrines and no liking for Puritanic sects; the Catholic Church, the power of the pope excepted, was more to her mind than the Anglican Church, and her private preferences differed greatly from her public practices. Thus at the beginning of the seventeenth century Henry IV. was the only one remaining of the three great sovereigns who, during the sixteenth, had disputed, as regarded religion and politics, the preponderance in Europe. He had succeeded in all his kingly enterprises; he had become a Catholic in France without ceasing to be the prop of the Protestants in Europe; he had made peace with Spain without embroiling himself with England, Holland and Lutheran Germany. He had shot up, as regarded ability and influence, in the eyes of all Europe. It was just then that he gave the strongest proof of his great judgment and political sagacity; he was not intoxicated with success; he did not abuse his power; he did not aspire to distant conquests or brilliant achievements; he concerned himself chiefly with the establishment of public order in his kingdom and with his people's prosperity. His well-known saying, "I want all my peasantry to have a fowl in the pot every Sunday," was a desire

A.D. 1603. Death of Queen Elizabeth (April 3).

Policy of Henry IV. at home,

worthy of Louis XII. Henry IV. had a sympathetic nature; his grandeur did not lead him to forget the nameless multitudes whose fate depended upon his government. He had, besides, the rich, productive, varied, inquiring mind of one who took an interest not only in the welfare of the French peasantry, but in the progress of the whole French community, progress agricultural, industrial, commercial, scientific, and literary.

and abroad. The "grand design."

Abroad the policy of Henry IV. was as judicious and farsighted as it was just and sympathetic at home. There has been much writing and dissertation about what has been called his *grand design*. This name has been given to a plan for the religious and political organization of Christendom, consisting in the division of Europe amongst three religions, the Catholic, the Calvinistic and the Lutheran, and into fifteen states, great or small, monarchical or republican, with equal rights, alone recognized as members of the Christian confederation, regulating in concert their common affairs and pacifically making up their differences, whilst all the while preserving their national existence. The *grand design*, so far as Henry IV. was concerned, was never a definite project. His true external policy was much more real and practical. He had seen and experienced the evils of religious hatred and persecution. He had been a great sufferer from the supremacy of the House of Austria in Europe, and he had for a long while opposed it. When he became the most puissant and most regarded of European kings, he set his heart very strongly on two things, toleration for the three religions which had succeeded in establishing themselves in Europe and showing themselves capable of contending one against another, and the abasement of the House of Austria which, even after the death of Charles V. and of Philip II., remained the real and the formidable rival of France. The external policy of Henry IV., from the treaty of Vervins to his death, was religious peace in Europe and the alliance of Catholic France with Protestant England and Germany against Spain and Austria. He showed constant respect and deference towards the papacy, a power highly regarded in both the rival camps, though much fallen from the substantial importance it had possessed in Europe during the middle ages. French policy striving against Spanish policy, such was the true and the only serious characteristic of the *grand design*.

Advisers of Henry IV. Sully.

Four men, very unequal in influence as well as merit, Sully, Villeroi, Du Plessis-Mornay, and D'Aubigné, did Henry IV. effective service, by very different processes and in very different degrees, towards establishing and rendering successful this internal and external policy. Three were Protestants; Villeroi alone was

a Catholic. Sully is beyond comparison with the other three. He is the only one whom Henry IV. called *my friend;* the only one who had participated in all the life and all the government of Henry IV., his evil as well as his exalted fortunes, his most painful embarrassments at home as well as his greatest political acts; the only one whose name has remained inseparably connected with that of a master whom he served without servility as well as without any attempt to domineer.

Villeroi. Nicholas de Neufville, lord of Villeroi, who was born in 1543, and whose grandfather had been secretary of state under Francis I., was, whilst Henry III. was still reigning, member of a small secret council at which all questions relating to Protestants were treated of. Though a strict Catholic, and convinced that the king of France ought to be openly in the ranks of the Catholics, and to govern with their support, he sometimes gave Henry III. some free-spoken and wise counsels. Villeroi was a Leaguer of the patriotically French type. And so Henry IV., as soon as he was firm upon his throne, summoned him to his councils and confided to him the direction of foreign affairs. The late Leaguer sat beside Sully, and exerted himself to give the prevalence, in Henry IV.'s external policy, to catholic maxims and alliances, whilst Sully, remaining firmly protestant in the service of his king, turned catholic, continued to be in foreign matters the champion of protestant policy and alliances.

Henry IV. made so great a case of Villeroi's co-operation and influence that, without loving him as he loved Sully, he upheld him and kept him as secretary of state for foreign affairs to the end of his reign.

Du Plessis-Mornay. Philip du Plessis-Mornay occupied a smaller place than Sully and Villeroi in the government of Henry IV.; but he held and deserves to keep a great one in the history of his times. He was the most eminent and also the most moderate of the men of profound piety and conviction of whom the Reformation had made a complete conquest, soul and body, and who placed their public fidelity to their religious creed above every other interest and every other affair in this world. Mornay had made up his mind to serve for ever a king who had saved his country. He remained steadfast and active in his faith, but without falling beneath the yoke of any narrow-minded idea, preserving his patriotic good sense in the midst of his fervent piety, and bearing with sorrowful constancy his friends' bursts of anger and his king's exhibitions of ingratitude.

Agrippa d'Aubigné. A third Protestant, Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, grandfather

of Madame de Maintenon, has been reckoned here amongst, not the councillors, certainly, but the familiar and still celebrated servants of Henry IV. He held no great post and had no great influence with the king; he was, on every occasion, a valiant soldier, a zealous Protestant, an indefatigable lover and seeker of adventure, sometimes an independent thinker, frequently an eloquent and bold speaker, always a very sprightly companion. If D'Aubigné had not been a writer, he would be completely forgotten by this time, like so many other intriguing and turbulent adventurers, who make a great deal of fuss themselves and try to bring everything about them into a fuss as long as they live, and who die without leaving any trace of their career. But D'Aubigné wrote a great deal both in prose and in verse; he wrote the *Histoire universelle* of his times, personal *Mémoires*, tales, tragedies, and theological and satirical essays; and he wrote with sagacious, penetrating, unpremeditated wit, rare vigour, and original and almost profound talent for discerning and depicting situations and characters. It is the writer which has caused the man to live and has assigned him a place in French literature even more than in French history.

A.D. 1600. Henry IV. separates from his wife.

These politicians, these Christians, these warriors had, in 1600, a grave question to solve for Henry IV. and grave counsel to give him. He was anxious to separate from his wife, Marguerite de Valois, who had, in fact, been separated from him for the last fifteen years, was leading a very irregular life, and had not brought him any children. But, in order to obtain from the pope annulment of the marriage, it was first necessary that Marguerite should agree to it, and at no price would she yield, so long as the king's favourite continued to be Gabrielle d'Estrées, whom she detested and by whom Henry already had several children. The question arose in 1598 in connexion with a son lately born to Gabrielle, who was constantly spreading reports that she would be the king's wife. In consequence, however, of the favourite's sudden death (April 10th, 1599), the consent of Marguerite de Valois to the annulment of her marriage was obtained; and negotiations were opened at Rome by Arnauld d'Ossat, who was made a cardinal, and by Brulart de Sillery, ambassador *ad hoc*.

Clement VIII. pronounced on the 17th of December, 1599, and transmitted to Paris by Cardinal de Joyeuse the decree of annulment. On the 6th of January, 1600, Henry IV. gave his ambassador, Brulart de Sillery, powers to conclude at Florence his marriage with Mary de' Medici, daughter of Francis I. de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, and Joan, archduchess of Austria and

His marriage with Mary de' Medici.

niece of the grand duke Ferdinand I. de' Medici, who had often rendered Henry IV. pecuniary services dearly paid for. As early as the year 1592 there had been something said about this project of alliance; it was resumed and carried out on the 5th of October, 1600, at Florence, with lavish magnificence. Mary embarked at Leghorn on the 17th with a fleet of seventeen galleys; that of which she was aboard, the *General*, was all covered over with jewels inside and out; she arrived at Marseilles on the 3rd of November and at Lyons on the 2nd of December, where she waited till the 9th for the king, who was detained by the war with Savoy. He entered her chamber in the middle of the night, booted and armed, and next day, in the cathedral church of St. John, re-celebrated his marriage, more rich in wealth than it was destined to be in happiness.

Henry IV. seemed to have attained in his public and in his domestic life the pinnacle of earthly fortune and ambition. He was, at one and the same time, catholic king and the head of the Protestant polity in Europe, accepted by the Catholics as the best, the only possible, king for them in France. He was at peace with all Europe, except one petty prince, the duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel I., from whom he demanded back the marquisate of Saluzzo or a territorial compensation in France itself on the French side of the Alps. After a short campaign, and thanks to Rosny's ordnance, he obtained what he desired, and by a treaty of January 17, 1601, he added to French territory La Bresse, Le Bugey, the district of Gex and the citadel of Bourg, which still held out after the capture of the town. He was more and more dear to France, to which he had restored peace at home as well as abroad, and industrial, commercial, financial, monumental and scientific prosperity, until lately unknown. Sully covered the country with roads, bridges, canals, buildings and works of public utility. The conspiracy of his old companion in arms, Gontaut de Biron, proved to him, however, that he was not at the end of his political dangers, and the letters he caused to be issued (September, 1603) for the return of the Jesuits did not save him from the attacks of religious fanaticism.

Biron's conspiracy.

The queen's coronation had been proclaimed on the 12th of May, 1610; she was to be crowned next day the 13th at St. Denis, and Sunday the 16th had been appointed for her to make her entry into Paris. On Friday the 14th the king had an idea of going to the Arsenal to see Sully, who was ill; we have the account of this visit and of the assassination given by Malherbe, at that time attached to the service of Henry IV., in a letter

written on the 19th of May from the reports of eye-witnesses, and it is here reproduced word for word:—

A.D. 1610. Henry IV. murdered by Ravaillac (May 14).

"The king set out soon after dinner to go to the Arsenal. He deliberated a long while whether he should go out, and several times said to the queen, 'My dear, shall I go or not?' He even went out two or three times and then all on a sudden returned, and said to the queen, 'My dear, shall I really go?' and again he had doubts about going or remaining. At last he made up his mind to go, and having kissed the queen several times, bade her adieu. Amongst other things that were remarked he said to her, 'I shall only go there and back; I shall be here again almost directly.' When he got to the bottom of the steps where his carriage was waiting for him, M. de Praslin, his captain of the guard, would have attended him, but he said to him, 'Get you gone; I want nobody; go about your business.'

"Thus, having about him only a few gentlemen and some footmen, he got into his carriage, took his place on the back seat at the left-hand side, and made M. d'Épernon sit at the right. Next to him, by the door, were M. de Montbazon and M. de la Force; and by the door on M. d'Épernon's side were Marshal de Lavardin and M. de Créqui; on the front seat the marquis of Mirabeau and the first equerry. When he came to the Croix-du-Tiroir he was asked whither it was his pleasure to go; he gave orders to go towards St. Innocent. On arriving at Rue de la Ferronnerie, which is at the end of that of St. Honoré on the way to that of St. Denis, opposite the Salamandre he met a cart which obliged the king's carriage to go nearer to the ironmongers' shops which are on the St. Innocent side, and even to proceed somewhat more slowly, without stopping however, though somebody, who was in a hurry to get the gossip printed, has written to that effect. Here it was that an abominable assassin, who had posted himself against the nearest shop, which is that with the *Cœur couronné percé d'une flèche*, darted upon the king and dealt him, one after the other, two blows with a knife in the left side; one, catching him between the arm-pit and the nipple, went upwards without doing more than graze; the other catches him between the fifth and sixth ribs and, taking a downward direction, cuts a large artery of those called *venous*. The king, by mishap and as if to further tempt this monster, had his left hand on the shoulder of M. de Montbazon, and with the other was leaning on M. d'Épernon, to whom he was speaking. He uttered a low cry and made a few movements. M. de Montbazon having asked, 'What is the matter, Sir?' he answered, 'It is nothing,' twice; but the second time so low that

Details given by Malherbe.

there was no making sure. These are the only words he spoke after he was wounded.

"In a moment the carriage turned towards the Louvre. When he was at the steps where he had got into the carriage, which are those of the queen's rooms, some wine was given him. Of course some one had already run forward to bear the news. Sieur de Cérisy, lieutenant of M. de Praslin's company, having raised his head, he made a few movements with his eyes, then closed them immediately, without opening them again any more. He was carried upstairs by M. de Montbazon and Count de Curzon en Quercy and laid on the bed in his closet, and at two o'clock carried to the bed in his chamber, where he was all the next day and Sunday. Somebody went and gave him holy water. I tell you nothing about the queen's tears; all that must be imagined. As for the people of Paris, I think they never wept so much as on this occasion."

Mary de' Medici regent.

On the king's death—and at the imperious instance of the duke of Épernon, who at once introduced the queen, and said in open session, as he exhibited his sword, "It is as yet in the scabbard, but it will have to leap therefrom unless this moment there be granted to the queen a title which is her due according to the order of nature and of justice,"—the Parliament forthwith declared Mary regent of the kingdom. Thanks to Sully's firm administration, there were, after the ordinary annual expenses were paid, at that time in the vaults of the Bastille or in securities easily realizable, forty-one million three hundred and forty-five thousand livres, and there was nothing to suggest that extraordinary and urgent expenses would come to curtail this substantial reserve. The army was disbanded and reduced to from twelve to fifteen thousand men, French or Swiss. For a long time past no power in France had, at its accession, possessed so much material strength and so much moral authority. Since the death of Henry IV., however, the king and court of France were much changed: the great questions and the great personages had disappeared. The last of the real chiefs of the League, the brother of Duke Henry of Guise, the old duke of

State of parties.

Mayenne, he on whom Henry, in the hour of victory, would wreak no heavier vengeance than to walk him to a standstill, was dead. Henry IV.'s first wife, the sprightly and too facile Marguerite de Valois, was dead also, after consenting to descend from the throne in order to make way for the mediocre Mary de' Medici. The catholic champion whom Henry IV. felicitated himself upon being able to oppose to Du Plessis-Mornay in the polemical conferences between the two communions, Cardinal de Perron, was at the point of death. The decay was general and the same amongst the Pro-



SULLY

testants as amongst the Catholics; Sully and Mornay held themselves aloof or were barely listened to. In place of these eminent personages had come intriguing or ambitious subordinates, who were either innocent of, or indifferent to, anything like a great policy, and who had no idea beyond themselves and their fortunes. The chief amongst them were Leonora Galigai, daughter of the queen's nurse, and her husband, Concino Concini, son of a Florentine notary, both of them full of coarse ambition, covetous, vain and determined to make the best of their new position, so as to enrich themselves and exalt themselves beyond measure and at any price. The husband of Leonora Galigai, Concini, had amassed a great deal of money and purchased the marquisate of Ancre; nay more, he had been created marshal of France. In his dread lest influence opposed to his own should be exercised over the young king, he took upon himself to regulate his amusements and his walks, and prohibited him from leaving Paris. Louis XIII. had amongst his personal attendants a young nobleman, Albert de Luynes, clever in training little sporting birds, called *butcher-birds* (*pies grièches* or *shrikes*), then all the rage; and the king made his falconer and lived on familiar terms with him. Playing at billiards one day, Marshal d'Ancre, putting on his hat, said to the king, "I hope your Majesty will allow me to be covered." The king allowed it; but remained surprised and shocked. His young page, Albert de Luynes, observed his displeasure, and being anxious, himself also, to become a favourite, he took pains to fan it. A domestic plot was set hatching against Marshal d'Ancre, who was shot down on the bridge of the Louvre (April 24, 1617) by M. de Vitry, captain of the guard. Shortly after, Leonora Galigai, accused of witchcraft, was beheaded on the place de Grève, and her body committed to the flames.

The Concinis.

A.D. 1617 Concini murdered (April 24)

Concini and his wife, both of them, probably, in the secret service of the court of Madrid, had promoted the marriage of Louis XIII. with the Infanta Anne of Austria, eldest daughter of Philip III. king of Spain, and that of Philip, Infanta of Spain, who was afterwards Philip IV., with Princess Elizabeth of France, sister of Louis XIII. Henry IV, in his plan for the pacification of Europe, had himself conceived this idea and testified a desire for this double marriage, but without taking any trouble to bring it about. It was after his death that, on the 30th of April, 1612, Villeroi, minister of foreign affairs in France, and Don Inigo de Cardeñas, ambassador of the king of Spain, concluded this double union by a formal deed. The two Spanish marriages were regarded in France as an abandonment of the national policy; France was, in a great majority, catholic, but its Catholicism differed essentially from the Spanish

The Spanish marriages

Catholicism: a remedy was desired; it was hoped that one would be found in the convocation of the states-general of the kingdom, to which the populace always looked expectantly; they were convoked first for the 16th of September, 1614, at Sens; and, afterwards, for the 20th of October following, when the young king, Louis XIII., after the announcement of his majority, himself opened them in state. The chief political fact connected with the convocation of the States-general of 1614 was the entry into their ranks of the youthful bishop of Luçon, Armand John du Plessis de Richelieu, marked out by the finger of God to sustain, after the powerful reign of Henry IV. and the incapable regency of Mary de' Medici, the weight of the government of France. As he was born on the 5th of September, 1585, he was but 28 years old in 1614.

A.D. 1614. The States-general. Richelieu.

He had even then acquired amongst the clergy and at the court of Louis XIII. sufficient importance to be charged with the duty of speaking in presence of the king on the acceptance of the acts of the council of Trent and on the restitution of certain property belonging to the Catholic Church in Béarn. He made skilful use of the occasion for the purpose of still further exalting and improving the question and his own position. He complained that for a long time past ecclesiastics had been too rarely summoned to the sovereign's councils; he took care at the same time to make himself pleasant to the mighty ones of the hour; he praised the young king for having, on announcing his majority, asked his mother to continue to watch over France, and "to add to the august title of *mother of the king* that of *mother of the kingdom*." The post of almoner to the queen-regnant, Anne of Austria, was his reward. He carried still further his ambitious foresight; in Feb. 1615, at the time when the session of the states-general closed, Marshal d'Ancre and Leonora Galigaï were still favourites with the queen-mother; Richelieu laid himself out to be pleasant to them, and received from the marshal in 1616 the post of Secretary of State for war and foreign affairs. Marshal d'Ancre was at that time looking out for supports against his imminent downfall. When, in 1617, he fell and was massacred, people were astonished to find Richelieu on good terms with the marshal's court-rival, Albert de Luynes, who pressed him to remain in the council at which he had sat for only five months. To accept the responsibility of the new favourite's accession was a compromising act; Richelieu judged it more prudent to remain bishop of Luçon and to wear the appearance of defeat by following Mary de' Medici to Blois, whither, since the fall of her favourites, she had asked leave to retire. He would there, he said, be more useful to the government of the young king;

A D. 1616. Richelieu minister.

Follows the Queen to Blois.

for, remaining at the side of Mary de' Medici, he would be able to advise and restrain her.

The astute minister contrived to interest both parties on his behalf. To the court he adduced his withdrawal from public business as a proof of the most absolute submission; to Mary de' Medici he described it as the result of his unremitting zeal for her service, and as a new persecution on the part of her enemies. He thus contrived to weather the storm; and when the excitement produced by the catastrophe of Concini had subsided, he looked round to see what could be done. We cannot enter here into the particulars connected with the disgrace of the queen-mother. Suffice it to say, that Richelieu served her to the utmost of his power, and rendered her party so formidable, that it proved a serious obstacle to the ambitious views of the new favourite. The Bishop of Luçon, through his determination, his intrigues, his unscrupulous conduct, had become a dangerous personage; he was first ordered to return to his priory at Coussay, then to his episcopal palace, and finally he was banished to Avignon. There he seemed determined upon leading a life of seclusion, and a casual observer, anxious to know how he spent his time, would have found him busily employed in writing theological works. This, of course, was merely a feint, designed to throw his enemies off their guard. Attention to his books did not prevent Richelieu from watching the progress of events; and when Mary de' Medici contrived to escape from Blois, he joined her without any further delay. By his influence, the whole of the Anjou nobility—the dukes de Longueville, de Bouillon, d'Épernon—rallied round the standard of the queen. A battle was fought at Pont-de-Cé, near Angers, where the rebel troops met with a signal defeat. A treaty, nevertheless, concluded shortly after, secured to Richelieu almost as many advantages as if he, and not de Luynes, had triumphed. The queen received permission to return to court, with the full enjoyment of all the privileges and honours due to her rank; and the king pledged himself to solicit a cardinal's hat for Richelieu, whose niece, Mademoiselle de Pont-Courlay, married the marquis de Combalet, nephew of de Luynes (1619-20).

Manages to keep on good terms with both parties.

Albert de Luynes came out of this crisis well content. He felicitated himself on the king's victory over the queen-mother, for he might consider the triumph as his own; he had advised and supported the king's steady resistance to his mother's enterprises. Besides, he had gained by it the rank and power of constable; it was at this period that he obtained them, thanks to the retirement of Lesdiguières, who gave them up to assume the title of marshal-

Albert de Luynes.

general of the king's camps and armies. The royal favour did not stop there for Luynes; the keeper of the seals, Du Vair, died in 1621; and the king handed over the seals to the new constable, who thus united the military authority with that of justice, without being either a great warrior or a great lawyer.

Rising of the Protestants.

The favourite now turned his attention to the Protestants, and he pretended to compel those of Béarn and Navarre to restore what he designed as secularized Church property. A general rising was the consequence; in order to quell it, de Luynes took the command of an army of 15,000 men and laid siege before Montauban. Sully and Duplessis-Mornay had vainly endeavoured to dissuade their fellow-religionists from publishing a declaration of independence; and the marshal de Lesdiguières and the duke de Bouillon having refused the dangerous part of leader of the movement, it was accepted by the duke de Rohan. The siege of Montauban proved, however, more difficult than had been anticipated; the royal troops were compelled to withdraw; and De Luynes, having caught fever whilst attacking the smaller town of Monheurt, on the banks of the Garonne, died on the 14th of December.

A.D. 1621. Death of de Luynes (Dec. 14).

Richelieu, when he had become cardinal, premier minister of Louis XIII. and of the government of France, passed a just but severe judgment upon Albert de Luynes. "He was a mediocre and timid creature," he said, "faithless, ungenerous, too weak to remain steady against the assault of so great a fortune as that which ruined him incontinently; allowing himself to be borne away by it as by a torrent, without any foot-hold, unable to set bounds to his ambition, incapable of arresting it and not knowing what he was about, like a man on the top of a tower, whose head goes round and who has no longer any power of discernment. He would fain have been prince of Orange, count of Avignon, duke of Albret, king of Austrasia, and would not have refused more if he had seen his way to it." [*Mémoires de Richelieu*, p. 169, in the Petitot Collection, series v., t. xxii.]

This brilliant and truthful portrait lacks one feature which was the merit of the constable de Luynes: he saw coming, and he anticipated, a long way off, and to little purpose, but heartily enough, the government of France by a supreme kingship, whilst paying respect, as long as he lived, to religious liberty and showing himself favourable to intellectual and literary liberty though he was opposed to political and national liberty. That was the government which, after him, was practised with a high hand and rendered triumphant by Cardinal Richelieu to the honour, if not the happiness, of France.

Richelieu, created a cardinal in 1622, set his face steadily against all the influences of the great lords; he broke them down one after another; he persistently elevated the royal authority; it was the hand of Richelieu which made the court and paved the way for the reign of Louis XIV. The Fronde was but a paltry interlude and a sanguinary game between parties. At Richelieu's death, pure monarchy was founded.

Cardinal Richelieu's home policy.

In the month of December, 1622, the work was as yet full of difficulty. There were numerous rivals for the heritage of royal favour that had slipped from the dying hands of Luynes. The first victim of Richelieu's stern home policy proved to be Colonel Ornano, lately created a marshal at the duke of Anjou's request; he was arrested and carried off a prisoner "to the very room where, twenty-four years ago, Marshal Biron had been confined." For some time past "it had been current at court and throughout the kingdom that a great cabal was going on," says Richelieu in his *Mémoires*, "and the cabalists said quite openly that under his ministry, men might cabal with impunity, for he was not a dangerous enemy." If the cabalists had been living in that confidence, they were most wofully deceived. Richelieu was neither meddlesome nor cruel, but he was pitiless towards the sufferings as well as the supplication of those who sought to thwart his policy. Thus again, Henry de Talleyrand, count of Chalais, master of the wardrobe, hare-brained and frivolous, had hitherto made himself talked about only for his duels and his successes with women. He had already been drawn into a plot against the cardinal's life; but, under the influence of remorse, he had confessed his criminal intentions to the minister himself. Richelieu appeared touched by the repentance, but he did not forget the offence, and his watch over this "unfortunate gentleman," as he himself calls him, made him aware before long that Chalais was compromised in an intrigue which aimed at nothing less, it was said, than to secure the person of the cardinal by means of an ambush, so as to get rid of him at need. Chalais was arrested in his bed on the 8th of July, and condemned to death on the 18th of August 1626.

A D. 1626. Arrest of d'Ornano (Sept. 16).

A.D. 1626. And of Chalais (Aug. 18).

At the outset of his ministry, in 1624, Richelieu had obtained from the king a severe ordinance against duels, a fatal custom which was at that time decimating the noblesse. Already several noblemen, amongst others M. du Plessis-Praslin, had been deprived of their offices, or sent into exile in consequence of their duels, when M. de Bouteville, of the house of Montmorency, who had been previously engaged in twenty-one affairs of honour, came to Paris to fight the marquis of Beuvron on the *Place Royale*. The marquis's

Duels. Bouteville put to death.

second, M. de Bussy d'Amboise, was killed by the count of Chapelles, Bouteville's second. Bouvron fled to England. M. de Bouteville and his comrade had taken post for Lorraine; they were recognized and arrested at Vitry-le-Brûlé, and brought back to Paris; and the king immediately ordered Parliament to bring them to trial. The crime was flagrant, and the defiance of the king's orders undeniable; but the culprit was connected with the greatest houses in the kingdom; he had given striking proofs of bravery in the king's service; and all the court interceded for him. Parliament, with regret, pronounced condemnation, absolving the memory of Bussy d'Amboise, who was a son of President de Mesmes's wife, and reducing to one-third of their goods the confiscation to which the condemned were sentenced.

The cardinal had got Chalais condemned as a conspirator; he had let Bouteville be executed as a duellist; the greatest lords bent beneath his authority, but the power that depends on a king's favour is always menaced and tottering. The enemies of Richelieu had not renounced the idea of overthrowing him, their hopes even went on growing, since, for some time past, the queen-mother had been waxing jealous of the all-powerful minister, and no longer made common cause with him. These reiterated attempts are surprising enough; but what astonishes us most is that the conspirators should have allowed themselves to be led astray by Gaston, duke d'Orléans,—a man who, in the hour of danger, would not hesitate to betray his bosom-friend, if his own safety could be purchased at such a price. And yet they fell into the snare. The king was dangerously ill at Lyons; they thought the opportunity too good to be lost; and indeed managed so well that when the court returned to Paris, the cardinal's disgrace seemed inevitable. But he determined upon making a final effort, and securing an interview of a quarter of an hour with Louis XIII. at Versailles, he frightened the monarch, and left the palace as powerful as ever. "This *coup d'etat*," says M. Michelet, "was a perfect comedy: the cardinalists packed off in the morning, and it was the turn of the royalists to make their exit in the evening" (1630). Marshal Marillac had to pay for the rest; seized in the middle of his army, he was tried before a court composed of his private enemies, and in the cardinal's own palace, at Ruel. Of course, under such circumstances, it was useless to expect mercy; the unfortunate warrior was beheaded. In the meanwhile, what had become of Gaston? Banished with his mother to Brussels, he felt at last some shame at not taking any personal part in the struggle against his enemy. Besides, the duke de Montmorency, governor of Languedoc, had

A.D. 1630. "Journée des Dupes"

informed him that his presence in the disaffected provinces would undoubtedly excite a general rebellion. Assisted by the duke de Lorraine, whose daughter he had married, Gaston raised an army of brigands, as they have justly been termed. Unfortunately, in order to reach Languedoc, it was necessary that this *select band* should cross France from north to south. Badly paid, badly fed, they took to pillage by way of compensation, and thus materially impaired the cause they were engaged to serve. A battle was fought at Castelnaudary (1632); the king's troops were victorious, and Montmorency shared the fate of Marillac, whilst Gaston d'Orléans "swore by the faith of a gentleman that he would ever be my lord the cardinal's best friend."

A.D. 1632. Battle of Castelnaudary.

Women filled but a short space in the life of Louis XIII. Twice, however, in that interval of ten years which separated the plot of Montmorency from that of Cinq-Mars, did the minister believe himself to be threatened by feminine influence; and twice he used artifice to win the monarch's heart and confidence from two young girls of his court, Louise de Lafayette and Marie d'Hautefort. Both were maids of honour to the queen.

Louis XIII.'s fancies were never of long duration, and his growing affection for young Cinq-Mars, son of Marshal d'Effiat, led him to sacrifice Mdlle. d'Hautefort. The cardinal merely asked him to send her away for a fortnight. She insisted upon hearing the order from the king's own mouth. "The fortnight will last all the rest of my life," she said: "and so I take leave of Your Majesty for ever." She went accompanied by the regrets and tears of Anne of Austria and leaving the field open to the new favourite, the king's "rattle," as the cardinal called him.

M. de Cinq-Mars was only nineteen when he was made master of the wardrobe and grand equerry of France. Brilliant and witty, he amused the king and occupied the leisure which peace gave him. By degrees he listened to the insinuations of those who were availing themselves of his popularity for the purpose of egging him on against the cardinal.

A.D. 1642. Conspiracy of Cinq-Mars.

Then began a series of negotiations and intrigues; the duke of Orleans had come back to Paris, the king was ill and the cardinal more so than he; thence arose conjectures and insensate hopes; the duke of Bouillon, being sent for by the king, who confided to him the command of the army of Italy, was at the same time drawn into the plot, which was beginning to be woven against the minister; the duke of Orleans and the queen were in it; and the town of Sedan, of which Bouillon was prince-sovereign, was wanted to serve the authors of the conspiracy as an asylum in case of

reverse. Sedan alone was not sufficient; there was need of an army. Whence was it to come? Thoughts naturally turned towards Spain. A negotiation was therefore concluded at Madrid, by Fontrailles, in the name of the duke of Orleans, and a copy of it soon found its way to Richelieu's study.

Treaty with Spain.

The king could not believe his eyes; and his wrath equalled his astonishment. Together with that of the grand equerry, he ordered the immediate arrest of M. de Thou, his intimate friend; and the order went out to secure the duke of Bouillon, then at the head of the army of Italy. He, caught like Marshal Marillac in the midst of his troops, had vainly attempted to conceal himself; but he was taken and conducted to the castle of Pignerol.

The most guilty, if not the most dangerous, of all the accomplices, Monsieur, frightened to death, saw that treachery was safer than flight, and contrived to have an interview with his brother. He assured Louis XIII. of his fidelity; he intreated Chavigny, the minister's confidant, to give him "means of seeing his Eminence before he saw the king, in which case all would go well." He appealed to the cardinal's generosity, begging him to keep his letter as an eternal reproach, if he were not thenceforth the most faithful and devoted of his friends.

Death of Cinq-Mars and of de Thou (Sept. 4).

The two accused denied nothing: M. de Thou merely maintained that he had not been in any way mixed up with the conspiracy, proving that he had blamed the treaty with Spain, and that his only crime was not having revealed it. The last tragic scene was not destined to be long deferred; the very day on which the sentence was delivered saw the execution of it. "The grand equerry showed a never changing and very resolute firmness to the death, together with admirable calmness and the constancy and devoutness of a Christian," wrote M. de Marca, councillor of state, to the secretary of state Brienne; and Tallemant des Réaux adds: "he died with astoundingly great courage and did not waste time in speechifying; he would not have his eyes bandaged, and kept them open when the blow was struck." M. de Thou said not a word save to God, repeating the *Credo* even to the very scaffold, with a fervour of devotion that touched all present. "We have seen," says a report of the time, "the favourite of the greatest and most just of kings lose his head upon the scaffold at the age of twenty-two, but with a firmness which has scarcely its parallel in our histories. We have seen a councillor of state die like a saint after a crime which men cannot justly pardon. There is nobody in the world who, knowing of their conspiracy against the State, does not think them worthy of death, and there will be few who, having knowledge of

their rank and their fine natural qualities, will not mourn their sad fate."

"Now that I make not a single step which does not lead me to death, I am more capable than anybody else of estimating the value of the things of the world," wrote Cinq-Mars to his mother, the wife of Marshal d'Effiat. "Enough of this world; away to Paradise!" said M. de Thou, as he marched to the scaffold. Châlais and Montmorency had used the same language. At the last hour, and at the bottom of their hearts, the frivolous courtier and the hare-brained conspirator as well as the great soldier and the grave magistrate had recovered their faith in God.





CHAPTER X.

RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN.

The French parliaments, and in particular the parliament of Paris, had often assumed the right, without the royal order, of summoning the princes, dukes, peers and officers of the crown to deliberate upon what was to be done for the service of the king, the good of the State, and the relief of the people.

Richelieu and the parliaments.

This pretention on the part of the parliaments was what Cardinal Richelieu was continually fighting against. He would not allow the intervention of the magistrates in the government of the State. When he took the power into his hands, nine parliaments sat in France—Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Rennes, and Pau: he created but one, that of Metz, in 1633, to sever in a definitive manner the bonds which still attached the three bishoprics to the Germanic Empire. Trials at that time were carried in the last resort to Spires.

Trials of Marillac and La Valette.

Throughout the history of France we find the parliament of Paris bolder and more enterprising than all the rest; and it did not belie its character in the very teeth of Richelieu. Symptoms of resistance manifested themselves after *Dupes' Day*, at the time of the trial of Marshal Marillac, and during that of the duke of La Valette, third son of the duke of Épernon, accused, not without grounds, of having caused the failure of the siege of Fontarabia from jealousy towards the prince of Condé. The cup had overflowed, and the cardinal resolved to put an end to an opposition

which was the more irritating inasmuch as it was sometimes legitimate. A notification of the king's, published in 1641, prohibited the parliament from any interference in affairs of state and administration. The cardinal had gained the victory; parliament bowed the head; its attempts at independence during the Fronde were but a flash, and the yoke of Louis XIV. became the more heavy for it. The pretensions of the magistrates were often foundationless, the restless and meddlesome character of their assemblies did harm to their remonstrances; but for a long while they maintained, in the teeth of more and more absolute kingly power, the country's rights in the government, and they had perceived the dangers of that sovereign monarchy which certainly sometimes raises States to the highest pinnacle of their glory, but only to let them sink before long to a condition of the most grievous abasement.

Though ever first in the breach, the parliament of Paris was not alone in its opposition to the cardinal. The parliament of Rouen had always passed for one of the most recalcitrant. The province of Normandy was rich and, consequently, overwhelmed with imposts; and several times the parliament refused to enregister financial edicts which still further aggravated the distress of the people. In 1637, the king threatened to go in person to Rouen and bring the parliament to submission, whereat it took fright and enregistered decrees for twenty-two millions. It was, no doubt, this augmentation of imposts that brought about the revolt of the *Nu-pieds* (*Barefoots*) in 1639. Before now, in 1624 and in 1637, in Périgord and Rouergue, two popular risings of the same sort, under the name of *Croquants* (*Paupers*), had disquieted the authorities, and the governor of the province had found some trouble in putting them down. The *Nu-pieds* were more numerous and more violent still; from Rouen to Avranches all the country was a-blaze. At Coutances and at Vire, several *monopoliers* and *gabeleurs*, as the fiscal officers were called, were massacred; a great number of houses were burnt, and most of the receiving-offices were pulled down or pillaged. Everywhere the *army of suffering* (*armée de souffrance*), the name given by the revolters to themselves, made appeal to violent passions; popular rhymes were circulated from hand to hand, in the name of General *Nu-pieds* (*Barefoot*), an imaginary personage whom nobody ever saw.

Rebellion in Normandy.

The "Nu-pieds."

Colonel Gassion, a good soldier and an inflexible character, was sent to put down the rebellion. First at Caen, then at Avranches, where there was fighting to be done, at Coutances and at Elbeuf, Gassion's soldiery everywhere left the country behind them in subjection, in ruin and in despair. They entered Rouen on the 31st

of December, 1639, and on the 2nd of January, 1640, the chancellor himself arrived to do justice on the rebels heaped up in the prisons, whom the parliament dared not bring up for judgment. 'I come to Rouen," he said on entering the town, "not to deliberate, but to declare and execute the matters on which my mind is made up." Rouen had to pay imposts to the amount of more than three millions. The province and its parliament were henceforth reduced to submission.

The States provincial.

It was not only the parliaments that resisted the efforts of Cardinal Richelieu to concentrate all the power of the government in the hands of the king. From the time that the sovereigns had given up convoking the states-general, the states-provincial had alone preserved the right of bringing to the foot of the throne the plaints and petitions of subjects. Unhappily few provinces enjoyed this privilege; Languedoc, Brittany, Burgundy, Provence, Dauphiny, and the countship of Pau alone were *states-districts*, that is to say, allowed to tax themselves independently and govern themselves to a certain extent. Normandy, though an *elections-district*, and, as such, subject to the royal agents in respect of finance, had states which continued to meet even in 1666. The states-provincial were always convoked by the king, who fixed the place and duration of assembly.

The composition of the states-provincial varied a great deal, according to the district. In Brittany all noblemen settled in the province had the right of sitting, whilst the third estate were represented by only forty deputies. In Languedoc, on the contrary, the nobility had but twenty-three representatives, and the class of the third estate numbered sixty-eight deputies. Hence, no doubt, the divergences of conduct to be remarked in those two provinces between the parliament and the states-provincial. In Languedoc, even during Montmorency's insurrection, the parliament remained faithful to the king and submissive to the cardinal, whilst the states declared in favour of the revolt: in Brittany, the parliament thwarted Richelieu's efforts in favour of trade, which had been enthusiastically welcomed by the states.

Reforms in the administration.

As a sequel to the systematic humiliation of the great lords, even when provincial governors, and to the gradual enfeeblement of provincial institutions, Richelieu had to create in all parts of France, still so diverse in organization as well as in manners, representatives of the kingly power, of too modest and feeble a type to do without him, but capable of applying his measures and making his wishes respected. Before now the kings of France had several times over perceived the necessity of keeping up a supervision

over the conduct of their officers in the provinces. The *inquisitors* (*enquesteurs*) of St. Louis, the *ridings of the revising-masters* (*chevauchées des maîtres des requêtes*), the *departmental commissioners* (*commissaires départis*) of Charles IX., were so many temporary and travelling inspectors, whose duty it was to inform the king of the state of affairs throughout the kingdom. Richelieu substituted for these shifting commissions a fixed and regular institution, and in 1637 he established in all the provinces overseers of *justice, police, and finance*, who were chosen for the most part from amongst the burgesses, and who before long concentrated in their hands the whole administration and maintained the struggle of the kingly power against the governors, the sovereign courts and the states-provincial.

Overseers established.

At the time when the overseers of provinces were instituted, the battle of pure monarchy was gained; Richelieu had no further need of allies, he wanted mere subjects; but at the beginning of his ministry he had felt the need of throwing himself sometimes for support on the nation, and this great foe of the states-general had twice convoked the *assembly of notables*. The first took place at Fontainebleau, in 1625-6, and the second, during the following year, after the conspiracy of Chalais. The assembly was favourable to his measures; but amongst those that it rejected was the proposal to substitute loss of offices and confiscation for the penalty of death in matters of rebellion and conspiracy. "Better a moderate but certain penalty," said the cardinal, "than a punishment too severe to be always inflicted." It was the notables who preserved in the hands of the inflexible minister the terrible weapon of which he availed himself so often. The assembly separated on the 24th of February, 1627, the last that was convoked before the revolution of 1789. It was in answer to its demands, as well as to those of the states of 1614, that the keeper of the seals, Michael Marillac, drew up, in 1629, the important administrative ordinance which has preserved from its author's name the title of *Code Michau*.

"Code Michau."

The cardinal had propounded to the notables a question which he had greatly at heart, the foundation of a navy. Harbours repaired and fortified, arsenals established at various points on the coast, organization of marine regiments, foundation of pilot-schools, in fact, the creation of a powerful marine which, in 1642, numbered 63 vessels and 22 galleys, that left the roads of Barcelona after the rejoicings for the capture of Perpignan and arrived the same evening at Toulon—such were the fruits of Richelieu's administration of naval affairs. So much progress on every point, so many efforts in all directions, 85 vessels afloat, a hundred regiments

The navy.

of infantry, and 300 troops of cavalry, almost constantly on a war-footing, naturally entailed enormous expenses and terrible burthens on the people. It was Richelieu's great fault to be more concerned about his object than scrupulous as to the means he employed for arriving at it. His principles were as harsh as his conduct.

Let us turn, now, to ecclesiastical affairs. Richelieu laboured for Catholicism whilst securing for himself Protestant alliances, and if the independence of his mind caused him to feel the necessity for a reformation, it was still in the Church and by the Church that he would have had it accomplished.

The Church.

The oratorical and political brilliancy of the Catholic Church in the reign of Louis XIV. has caused men to forget the great religious movement in the reign of Louis XIII. Learned and mystic in the hands of Cardinal Bérulle, humane and charitable with St. Vincent de Paul, bold and saintly with M. de Saint-Cyran, the Church underwent from all quarters quickening influences which roused her from her dangerous lethargy. The effort was attempted at all points at once. Mid all the diplomatic negotiations which he undertook in Richelieu's name and the intrigues he, with the queen-mother, often hatched against him, Cardinal Bérulle

Cardinal de Bérulle.

founded the congregation of the Oratory, designed to train up well-informed and pious young priests with a capacity for devoting themselves to the education of children as well as the edification of the people. It was, again, under his inspiration the order of Carmelites, hitherto confined to Spain, was founded in France. The convent in Rue St. Jacques soon numbered amongst its penitents women of the highest rank.

St. Vincent de Paul.

The labours of M'gr. de Bérulle tended especially to the salvation of individual souls; those of St. Vincent de Paul embraced a vaster field, and one offering more scope to Christian humanity. Some time before, in 1610, St. Francis de Sales had founded, under the direction of Madame de Chantal, the order of *Visitation*, whose duty was the care of the sick and poor; he had left the direction of his new institution to *M. Vincent*, as was at that time the appellation of the poor priest without birth and without fortune who was one day to be celebrated throughout the world under the name of St. Vincent de Paul. This direction was not enough to satisfy his zeal for charity; children and sick, the ignorant and the convict, all those who suffered in body or spirit, seemed to summon M. Vincent to their aid; he founded in 1617, in a small parish of Bresse, the charitable society of Servants of the Poor, which became in 1633, at Paris, under the direction of Madame Legras, niece of the keeper of the seals Marillac, the sisterhood of

Servants of the Sick Poor and the cradle of the Sisters of Charity. St. Vincent de Paul had confidence in human nature, and everywhere on his path sprang up good works in response to his appeals; the foundation of Mission-priests or Lazarists, designed originally to spread about in the rural districts the knowledge of God, still testifies in the East, whither they carry at one and the same time the Gospel and the name of France, to that great awakening of Christian charity which signalized the reign of Louis XIII. The same inspiration created the seminary of St. Sulpice, by means of M. Olier's solicitude, the brethren of Christian Doctrine and the Ursulines, devoted to the education of childhood, and so many other charitable or pious establishments, noble fruits of devoutness and Christian sacrifice.

His works of charity.

Nowhere was this fluctuating idea of the sacrifice, the immolation of man for God and of the present in prospect of eternity, more rigorously understood and practised than amongst the disciples of John du Vergier de Hauranne, abbot of St. Cyran. Victories gained over souls are from their very nature of a silent sort: but M. de St. Cyran was not content with them. He wrote also, and his book, "*Petrus Aurelius*," published under the veil of the anonymous, excited a great stir by its defence of the rights of the bishops against the monks and even against the pope. The Gallican bishops welcomed at that time with lively satisfaction its eloquent pleadings in favour of their cause. But, at a later period, the French clergy discovered in St. Cyran's book free-thinking concealed under dogmatic forms. "In case of heresy any Christian may become judge," says Petrus Aurelius. Who, then, should be commissioned to define heresy? So M. de St. Cyran was condemned.

St. Cyran and the Port-royalists.

He had been already signalled out as dangerous by an enemy more formidable than the assemblies of the clergy of France. Cardinal Richelieu, naturally attracted towards greatness as he was at a later period towards the infant prodigy of the Pascals, had been desirous of attaching St. Cyran to himself. "Gentlemen," said he one day as he led back the simple priest into the midst of a throng of his courtiers, "here you see the most learned man in Europe." But the abbot of St. Cyran would accept no yoke but God's: he remained independent and perhaps hostile, pursuing, without troubling himself about the cardinal, the great task he had undertaken. Having had, for two years past, the spiritual direction of the convent of Port-Royal, he had found in Mother Angelica Arnauld, the superior and reformer of the monastery, in her sister, Mother Agnes, and in the nuns of their order, souls worthy of him and capable of tolerating his austere instructions.

St. Cyran and Richelieu.

Before long he had seen forming, beside Port Royal and in the solitude of the fields, a nucleus of penitents, emulous of the hermits of the desert. M. le Maître, Mother Angelica's nephew, a celebrated advocate in the parliament of Paris, had quitted all "to have no speech but with God." A *howling* (*rugissant*) penitent, he had drawn after him his brothers, MM. de Sacy and de Séricourt, and, ere long, young Lancelot, the learned author of *Greek roots:* all steeped in the rigours of penitential life, all blindly submissive to M. de St. Cyran and his saintly requirements. The director's power over so many eminent minds became too great. The king, being advertised, commanded him to be kept a prisoner in the Bois de Vincennes, where he remained up to the death of Cardinal Richelieu; the seclusionists of Port Royal were driven from their retreat and obliged to disperse.

The Arnaulds.

Cardinal Richelieu dreaded the doctrines of M. de St. Cyran, and still more those of the reformation, which went directly to the emancipation of souls; but he had the wit to resist ecclesiastical encroachments, and, for all his being a cardinal, never did minister maintain more openly the independence of the civil power. "The king, in things temporal, recognizes no sovereign save God." That had always been the theory of the Gallican Church. "The Church of France is in the kingdom, and not the kingdom in the Church," said the jurisconsult Loyseau, thus subjecting ecclesiastics to the common law of all citizens.

Gallicanism. Church and State.

The French clergy did not understand it so; they had recourse to the liberties of the Gallican Church in order to keep up a certain measure of independence as regarded Rome, but they would not give up their ancient privileges, and especially the right of taking an independent share in the public necessities without being taxed as a matter of law and obligation. Here it was that Cardinal Richelieu withstood them: he maintained that, the ecclesiastics and the brotherhoods not having the right to hold property in France by mortmain, the king tolerated their possession, of his grace, but he exacted the payment of seignorial dues. The clergy at that time possessed more than a quarter of the property in France; the tax to be paid amounted, it is said, to eighty millions. The subsidies further demanded reached a total of eight millions six hundred livres.

The clergy in dismay wished to convoke an assembly to determine their conduct; and after a great deal of difficulty it was authorized by the cardinal; they consented to pay five millions and a half, the sum to which the minister lowered his pretensions. "The wants of the State," says Richelieu, "are real; those of the Church are fanciful and arbitrary; if the king's armies had

not repulsed the enemy, the clergy would have suffered far more."

The Protestants.

Whilst the cardinal imposed upon the French clergy the obligations common to all subjects, he defended the kingly power and majesty against the ultramontanes, and especially against the jesuits; finally he turned his attention to the submission of the Protestants. It was State within State that the reformers were seeking to found, and that the cardinal wished to upset. After the death of Du Plessis-Mornay, the direction of the party fell entirely into the hands of the duke of Rohan, a fiery temper and soured by misfortunes as well as by continual efforts made on the part of his brother the duke of Soubise, more restless and less earnest than he. Hostilities broke out afresh at the beginning of the year 1625. The peace of Montpellier had left the Protestants only two surety-places, Montauban and La Rochelle; and they clung to them with desperation On the 6th of January, 1625, Soubise suddenly entered the harbour of Le Blavet with twelve vessels, and seizing without a blow the royal ships, towed them off in triumph to La Rochelle, a fatal success which was to cost that town dear.

A.D. 1625.

Siege of La Rochelle.

The royal navy had hardly an existence; after the capture made by Soubise, help had to be requested from England and Holland; the marriage of Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry IV., with the prince of Wales, who was soon to become Charles I., was concluded; the English promised eight ships; the treaties with the United Provinces obliged the Hollanders to supply twenty, which they would gladly have refused to send against their brethren, if they could; the cardinal even required that the ships should be commanded by French captains. The siege of La Rochelle has become famous in history; it lasted thirteen months, and the unfortunate Huguenots had to surrender, in spite of the heroism of Guiton, the mayor of the town, assisted by the unflinching energy of the old Duchess of Rohan.

With La Rochelle fell the last bulwark of religious liberties. Single-handed, duke Henry of Rohan now resisted at the head of a handful of resolute men. But he was about to be crushed in his turn. The capture of La Rochelle had raised the cardinal's power to its height; it had, simultaneously, been the death-blow to the huguenot party and to the factions of the grandees. Town after town, "fortified huguenot-wise," surrendered, opening to the royal armies the passage to the Cévennes. The duke of Rohan, who had at first taken position at Nîmes, repaired to Anduze for the defence of the mountains, the real fortress of the reformation in Languedoc.

Rohan begs for mercy.

Alais itself had just opened its gates. Rohan saw that he could no longer impose the duty of resistance upon a people weary of suffering, "easily believing ill of good folks and readily agreeing with those whiners who blame everything and do nothing." He sent "to the king, begging to be received to mercy, thinking it better to resolve on peace, whilst he could still make some show of being able to help it, than to be forced, after a longer resistance, to surrender to the king with a rope round his neck." The cardinal advised the king to show the duke grace, "well knowing that, together with him individually, the other cities, whether they wished it or not, would be obliged to do the like, there being but little resolution and constancy in people deprived of leaders, especially when they are threatened with immediate harm and see no door of escape open."

A.D. 1629 Edict of grace.

The general assembly of the reformers, which was then in meeting at Nîmes, removed to Anduze to deliberate with the duke of Rohan; a wish was expressed to have the opinion of the province of the Cévennes, and all the deputies repaired to the king's presence. No more surety-towns; fortifications everywhere razed, at the expense and by the hands of the reformers; the catholic worship re-established in all the churches of the reformed towns; and, at this price, an amnesty granted for all acts of rebellion, and religious liberties confirmed anew—such were the conditions of the peace signed at Alais on the 28th of June, 1629, and made public the following month at Nîmes under the name of *Edict of grace*. Montauban alone refused to submit to them.

Rohan leaves France.

The duke of Rohan left France and retired to Venice, where his wife and daughter were awaiting him. He had been appointed by the Venetian senate generalissimo of the forces of the republic, when the cardinal, who had no doubt preserved some regard for his military talents, sent him an offer of the command of the king's troops in the Valteline. There he for several years maintained the honour of France, being at one time abandoned and at another supported by the cardinal, who ultimately left him to bear the odium of the last reverse. Meeting with no response from the court, cut off from every resource, he brought back into the district of Gex the French troops driven out by the Grisons themselves, and then retired to Geneva. Being threatened with the king's wrath, he set out for the camp of his friend Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar; and it was whilst fighting at his side against the imperialists that he received the wound of which he died in Switzerland on the 16th of April, 1638. His body was removed to Geneva amidst public mourning. A man of distinguished mind

A.D. 1638. His death.

and noble character, often wild in his views and hopes, and so deeply absorbed in the interests of his party and of his Church, that he had sometimes the misfortune to forget those of his country.

Meanwhile the king had set out for Paris, and the cardinal was marching on Montauban. Being obliged to halt at Pézenas because he had a fever, he there received a deputation from Montauban, asking to have its fortifications preserved. On the minister's formal refusal, supported by a movement in advance on the part of Marshal Bassompierre with the army, the town submitted unreservedly; the fortifications of Castres were already beginning to fall; and the huguenot party in France was dead. Deprived of the political guarantees which had been granted them by Henry IV., the reformers had nothing for it but to retire into private life. This was the commencement of their material prosperity; they henceforth transferred to commerce and industry all the intelligence, courage and spirit of enterprise that they had but lately displayed in the service of their cause, on the battle-field or in the cabinets of kings.

Montauban and Castres surrender.

"From that time," says Cardinal Richelieu, "difference in religion never prevented me from rendering the huguenots all sorts of good offices, and I made no distinction between Frenchmen but in respect of fidelity." A grand assertion, true at bottom, in spite of the frequent grievances which the reformers had often to make the best of; the cardinal was more tolerant than his age and his servants; what he had wanted to destroy was the political party; he did not want to drive the reformers to extremity, nor force them to fly the country.

Everywhere in Europe were marks of Richelieu's handiwork. "There must be no end to negotiations near and far," was his saying: he had found negotiations succeed in France; he extended his views; numerous treaties had already marked the early years of the cardinal's power; and, after 1630, his activity abroad was redoubled. Between 1623 and 1642 seventy-four treaties were concluded by Richelieu: four with England; twelve with the United Provinces; fifteen with the princes of Germany; six with Sweden; twelve with Savoy; six with the Republic of Venice; three with the pope; three with the emperor; two with Spain; four with Lorraine; one with the Grey Leagues of Switzerland; one with Portugal; two with the revolters of Catalonia and Roussillon; one with Russia; two with the emperor of Morocco; such was the immense network of diplomatic negotiations whereof the cardinal held the threads during nineteen years.

Richelieu and foreign affairs.

The foreign policy of Richelieu was a continuation of that of

Henry IV.; it was to protestant alliances that he looked for support in order to maintain the struggle against the House of Austria, whether the German or the Spanish branch. In order to give his views full swing, he waited till he had conquered the huguenots at home; nearly all his treaties with protestant powers are posterior to 1630. So soon as he was secure that no political discussions in France itself would come to thwart his foreign designs, he marched with a firm step towards that *enfeeblement* of Spain and that *upsetting* of the empire of which Nani speaks; Henry IV. and Queen Elizabeth, pursuing the same end, had sought and found the same allies; Richelieu had the good fortune, beyond theirs, to meet for the execution of his designs, with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden.

Marriage of the Princess Henrietta Maria.

The marriage of Henry IV.'s daughter with the prince of Wales was, in Richelieu's eyes, one of the essential acts of a policy necessary to the greatness of the kingship and of France. He obtained the best conditions possible for the various interests involved, but without any stickling and without favour for such and such an one of these interests, skilfully adapting words and appearance but determined upon attaining his end. Negotiated and concluded by Cardinal Richelieu, with the assistance of Cardinal de Bérulle, this event was the open declaration of the fact that the style of Protestant or Catholic was not the supreme law of policy in Christian Europe, and that the interests of nations should not remain subservient to the religious faith of the reigning or governing personages.

Spain.—Question of the Valteline.

Spain had always been the great enemy of France, and her humiliation was always the ultimate aim of the cardinal's foreign policy; the struggle, power to power, between France and Spain explains, during that period, nearly all the political and military complications in Europe. There was no lack of pretexts for bringing it on. The first was the question of the Valteline, a lovely and fertile valley, which, extending from the Lake of Como to the Tyrol, thus serves as a natural communication between Italy and Germany. Possessed but lately, as it was, by the Grey Leagues of the protestant Swiss, the Valteline, a catholic district, had revolted at the instigation of Spain in 1620; the emperor, Savoy and Spain wanted to divide the spoil between them; when France, the old ally of the Grisons, interfered, and, in 1623, the forts of the Valteline had been entrusted on deposit to the pope, Urban VIII. He still retained them in 1624, when the Grison lords, seconded by a French reinforcement under the orders of the marquis of Cœuvres, attacked the feeble garrison of the Valteline; in a few

days they were masters of all the places in the canton, and the enemies were compelled to sign the peace of Monçon (1626). The Grisons remained in possession of the Valteline, Austria ceased to communicate with Spain, and Richelieu found himself, so to say, on the road to Vienna. The question of the succession to the duchy of Mantua enabled him to take another step forward.

A.D. 1626 Peace of Monçon.

Whilst the cardinal was holding La Rochelle besieged, the duke of Mantua had died in Italy, and his natural heir, Charles di Gonzaga, who was settled in France with the title of Duke of Nevers, had hastened to put himself in possession of his dominions. Meanwhile the duke of Savoy claimed the marquisate of Montferrat; the Spaniards supported him; they entered the dominions of the duke of Mantua and laid siege to Casale. When La Rochelle succumbed, Casale was still holding out; but the duke of Savoy had already made himself master of the greater part of Montferrat; the duke of Mantua claimed the assistance of the king of France, whose subject he was; here was a fresh battle-field against Spain; and, scarcely had he been victorious over the Rochellese, when the king was on the march for Italy. The duke of Savoy refused a passage to the royal army, which found the defile of Suza Pass fortified with three barricades. The French dashed forward, stormed the barricades, and entered Suza. The siege of Casale was raised, and, by virtue of the treaty of Suza the duchy of Mantua was secured to Richelieu's *protégé*, the Duke of Nevers. Scarcely, however, had Louis XIII. re-crossed the Alps when an imperialist army advanced into the Grisons and, supported by the celebrated Spanish general Spinola, laid siege to Mantua. Richelieu did not hesitate: he entered Piedmont in the month of March, 1630, to march before long on Pignerol, an important place commanding the passage of the Alps; it, as well as the citadel, was carried in a few days; the result of this fresh interposition was the treaty of Cherasco (1630) where the young Giulio Mazarini won his spurs as an able and successful diplomatist.

A.D. 1629. Treaty of Suza. (Mar. 11).

A.D. 1630. Treaty of Cherasco.

The House of Austria, in fact, was threatened mortally. For two years Cardinal Richelieu had been labouring to carry war into its very heart. The thirty years' war, now raging in all its fury, had increased a hundred-fold the emperor's power. Tilly, Wallenstein, Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, were upholding, sword in hand, on many battle-fields, the destinies of the House of Austria. Richelieu's genius and activity checked the progress of the great imperialist generals, and opposed to them a warrior who, in his short career, abundantly proved that a clever system of tactics does not always ensure success. Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of Zutphen,

The Thirty Years' War.

fought at the same time the battles of Richelieu and those of the protestant cause. After the death of the king of Sweden, the position of France became for awhile extremely difficult. The imperialists assumed the offensive; they entered France by Burgundy and by Picardy. If Bernard of Saxe-Weimar had not gained the two battles of Rheinfeld and Brissach, it is impossible to conjecture what would have been the issue. In the year 1640, however, Richelieu adopted a more expeditious plan: he occupied the Spaniards at home by sending support to the rebels of Catalonia and of Portugal; whilst, to retaliate, the government of Madrid espoused the cause of the Duke of Orleans, and prepared the catastrophe which was to impart such a tragic feature to the last moments of the great Cardinal. For several months past, Richelieu's health, always precarious, had taken a serious turn; it was from his sick-bed that he, a prey to cruel agonies, directed the movements of the army and, at the same time, the prosecution of Cinq-Mars. All at once his chest was attacked; and the cardinal felt that he was dying. On the 2nd of December, 1642, public prayers were ordered in all the churches; the king went from St. Germain to see his minister. The cardinal was quite prepared. "I have this satisfaction," he said, "that I have never deserted the king, and that I leave his kingdom exalted and all his enemies abased." He commended his relatives to his Majesty, "who on their behalf will remember my services;" then, naming the two secretaries of state, Chavigny and De Noyers, he added: "Your Majesty has Cardinal Mazarin; I believe him to be capable of serving the king." And he handed to Louis XIII. a proclamation which he had just prepared for the purpose of excluding the duke of Orleans from any right to the regency in case of the king's death. The preamble called to mind that the king had five times already pardoned his brother, recently engaged in a new plot against him.

A.D. 1642. Death of Richelieu (Dec. 3).

Richelieu's work survived him. On the very evening of the 3rd of December, Louis XIII. called to his council Cardinal Mazarin; and the next day he wrote to the parliaments and governors of provinces: "God having been pleased to take to Himself the Cardinal de Richelieu, I have resolved to preserve and keep up all establishments ordained during his ministry, to follow out all projects arranged with him for affairs abroad and at home, in such sort that there shall not be any change. I have continued in my councils the same persons as served me then, and I have called thereto Cardinal Mazarin, of whose capacity and devotion to my service I have had proof, and of whom I feel no less sure than if he had been born amongst my subjects." Scarcely had the most powerful

Declaration of the King.

kings yielded up their last breath, when their wishes had been at once forgotten: Cardinal Richelieu still governed in his grave.

The great statesman had been barely four months reposing in that chapel of the Sorbonne which he had himself repaired for the purpose, and already King Louis XIII. was sinking into the tomb. The minister had died at fifty-seven, the king was not yet forty-two; but his always languishing health seemed unable to bear the burden of affairs which had been but lately borne by Richelieu alone. He died on Thursday, May the 14th, 1643. France owed to Louis XIII. eighteen years of Cardinal Richelieu's government; and that is a service which she can never forget. "The minister made his sovereign play the second part in the monarchy and the first in Europe," said Montesquieu: "he abased the king, but he exalted the reign." It is to the honour of Louis XIII. that he understood and accepted the position designed for him by Providence in the government of his kingdom, and that he upheld with dogged fidelity a power which often galled him all the while that it was serving him.

A.D. 1643. Death of Louis XIII. (May 14).

We must turn back for a moment and cast a glance at the intellectual condition which prevailed at the issue of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

For sixty years a momentous crisis had been exercising language and literature as well as society in France. They yearned to get out of it. Robust intellectual culture had ceased to be the privilege of the erudite only; it began to gain a footing on the common domain; people no longer wrote in Latin, like Erasmus; the Reformation and the Renaissance spoke French. In order to suffice for this change, the language was taking form; everybody had lent a hand to the work; Calvin with his *Christian Institutes* (*Institution Chrétienne*) at the same time as Rabelais with his learned and buffoonish romance, Ramus with his *Dialectics*, and Bodin with his *Republic*, Henry Estienne with his essays in French philology, as well as Ronsard and his friends by their classical crusade. Simultaneously with the language there was being created a public, intelligent, inquiring and eager. Scarcely had the translation of Plutarch by Amyot appeared, when it at once became, as Montaigne says, "the breviary of women and of ignoramuses."

State of literature.

As for Montaigne himself, an inquiring spectator, without personal ambition, he had taken for his life's motto, "What do I know? (Que sais-je?)" Amidst the wars of religion he remained without political or religious passion. "I am disgusted by novelty, whatever aspect it may assume, and with good reason," he would say,

Montaigne.

"for I have seen some very disastrous effects of it." Outside as well as within himself, Montaigne studied mankind without regard to order and without premeditated plan. That fixity which he could not give to his irresolute and doubtful mind he stamped upon the tongue; it came out in his *Essays* supple, free and bold; he had made the first decisive step towards the formation of the language, pending the advent of Descartes and the great literature of France.

Work of the sixteenth century.

The sixteenth century began everything, attempted everything; it accomplished and finished nothing; its great men opened the road of the future to France; but they died without having brought their work well through, without foreseeing that it was going to be completed. The Reformation itself did not escape this misappreciation and discouragement of its age; and nowhere do they crop out in a more striking manner than in Montaigne. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Rabelais a satirist and a cynic, is, nevertheless, no sceptic; there is felt circulating through his book a glowing sap of confidence and hope; fifty years later, Montaigne, on the contrary, expresses, in spite of his happy nature, in vivid, picturesque, exuberant language, only the lassitude of an antiquated age. All the writers of mark in the reign of Henry IV. bear the same imprint; they all yearn to get free from the chaos of those ideas and sentiments which the sixteenth century left still bubbling up. In literature as well as in the State, one and the same need of discipline and unity, one universal thirst for order and peace was bringing together all the intellects and all the forces which were but lately clashing against and hampering one another; in literature, as well as in the State, the impulse, everywhere great and effective, proceeded from the king, without pressure or effort; "Make known to Monsieur de Genève," said Henry IV. to one of the friends of St. Francis de Sales, "that I desire of him a work to serve as a manual for all persons of the court and the great world, without excepting kings and princes, to fit them for living Christianly each according to their condition. I want this manual to be accurate, judicious, and such as any one can make use of."

St. Francis of Sales.

St. Francis de Sales published, in 1608, the *Introduction to a Devout Life*, a delightful and charming manual of devotion, more stern and firm in spirit than in form, a true Christian regimen softened by the tact of a delicate and acute intellect, knowing the world and its ways. "The book has surpassed my hope," said Henry IV. The style is as supple, the fancy as rich, as Montaigne's; but scepticism has given place to Christianism; St. Francis de Sales does not doubt, he believes; ingenious and moderate withal, he

escapes out of the controversies of the violent and the incertitudes of the sceptics. The step is firm, the march is onward towards the seventeenth century, towards the reign of order, rule and *method*. The vigorous language and the beautiful arrangement in the style of the magistrates had already prepared the way for its advent. Descartes was the first master of it and its great exponent.

Never was any mind more independent in voluntary submission to an inexorable logic. René Descartes, who was born at La Haye, near Tours, in 1596, and died at Stockholm in 1650, escaped the influence of Richelieu by the isolation to which he condemned himself as well as by the proud and somewhat uncouth independence of his character. His independence of thought did not tend to revolt; in publishing his *Discourse on Method* he halted at the threshold of Christianism without laying his hand upon the sanctuary. Making a clean sweep of all he had learnt, and tearing himself free by a supreme effort from the whole tradition of humanity, he resolved never to accept anything as true until he recognised it to be clearly so, and not to comprise amongst his opinions anything but what represented itself so clearly and distinctly to his mind that he could have no occasion to hold it in doubt." In this absolute isolation of his mind, without past and without future, Descartes, first of all assured of his own personal existence by that famous axiom, "*Cogito, ergo sum*" (*I think, therefore I am*), drew from it as a necessary consequence the fact of the separate existence of soul and of body; passing on by a sort of internal revelation which he called *innate ideas*, he came to the pinnacle of his edifice, concluding for the existence of a God from the notion of the infinite impressed on the human soul. A laborious reconstruction of a primitive and simple truth which the philosopher could not, for a single moment, have banished from his mind all the while that he was labouring painfully to demonstrate it.

Descartes.

His "Discourse on method."

By his philosophical method, powerful and logical, as well as by the clear, strong, and concise style he made use of to expound it, Descartes accomplished the transition from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth; he was the first of the great prose-writers of that incomparable epoch, which laid for ever the foundations of the language. At the same moment the great Corneille was rendering poetry the same service.

It had come out of the sixteenth century more disturbed and less formed than prose; Ronsard and his friends had received it, from the hands of Marot, quite young, unsophisticated and

Poetry. Ronsard and the Pleiad

undecided; they attempted, as a first effort, to raise it to the level of the great classic models of which their minds were full. The attempt was bold, and the Pleiad did not pretend to consult the taste of the vulgar. There was something pregnant and brilliant about Ronsard in spite of exaggerations of style and faults of taste; his disciples imitated and carried to an extreme his defects without possessing his talent; the unruliness was such as to call for reform. Peace revived with Henry IV., and the court, henceforth in accord with the nation, resumed that empire over taste, manners and ideas, which it was destined to exercise so long and so supremely under Louis XIV. Malherbe became the poet of the court, whose business it was to please it, to adopt for it that literature which had but lately been reserved for the feasts of the learned. A complete revolution in the opposite direction to that which Ronsard attempted appeared to have taken place, but the human mind never loses all the ground it has once won; in the verses of Malherbe, often bearing the imprint of beauties borrowed from the ancients, the language preserved, in consequence of the character given to it by Ronsard, a dignity, a richness of style, of which the times of Marot showed no conception, and it was falling, moreover, under the chastening influence of an elegant correctness. As passionate an admirer of Richelieu as of Henry IV., naturally devoted to the service of the order established in the State as well as in poetry, Malherbe, under the regency of Mary de' Medici, favoured the taste which was beginning to show itself for intellectual things, for refined pleasures and elegant occupations. It was not around the queen that this honourable and agreeable society gathered; it was at the Hôtel Rambouillet, around Catherine de Vivonne, in the Rue St. Thomas du Louvre. Literature was there represented by Malherbe and Racan, afterwards by Balzac and Voiture, Gombault and Chapelain, who constantly met there, in company with Princess de Condé and her daughter, subsequently duchess of Longueville, Mademoiselle du Vigean, Madame and Mdlle. d'Épernon, and the bishop of Luçon himself, quite young as yet, but already famous. "All the wits were received at the Hôtel Rambouillet, whatever their condition," says M. Cousin: "all that was asked of them was to have good manners; but the aristocratic tone was established there without any effort, the majority of the guests at the house being very great lords, and the mistress being at one and the same time Rambouillet and Vivonne. The wits were courted and honoured, but they did not hold the dominion."

Malherbe.

The Hôtel de Rambouillet.

The cardinal remained well-disposed towards Hôtel Rambouillet.

Completely occupied in laying solidly the foundations of his power, in checkmating and punishing conspiracies at court, and in breaking down the party of the huguenots, he had no leisure just yet to think of literature and the literary. He had, nevertheless, in 1626, begun removing the ruins of the Sorbonne, with a view of reconstructing the buildings on a new plan and at his own expense. At the same time he was helping Guy de la Brosse, the king's physician, to create the Botanic Gardens (*Le Jardin des plantes*), he was defending the independence of the College of France against the pretensions of the University of Paris, and he gave it for its Grand Almoner his brother the archbishop of Lyons. He was preparing the foundation of the King's Press (*Imprimerie royale*), definitively created in 1640; and he gave the *Academy* or *King's College* (*collège royal*) of his town of Richelieu a regulation-code of studies which bears the imprint of his lofty and strong mind. He prescribed a deep study of the French tongue.

Richelieu's literary and scientific creations.

Associations of the literary were not unknown in France; Ronsard and his friends, at first under the name of the *brigade*, and then under that of the *Pleiad*, often met to read together their joint productions, and to discuss literary questions; and the same thing was done, subsequently in Malherbe's rooms. "Now let us speak at our ease," Balzac would say, when the sitting was over, "and without fear of committing solecisms." When Malherbe was dead, and Balzac had retired to his country-house on the borders of the Charente, some friends, "men of letters and of merits very much above the average," says Pellisson in his *Histoire de l'Académie Française*, "finding that nothing was more inconvenient in this great city than to go often and often to call upon one another without finding anybody at home, resolved to meet one day in the week at the house of one of them." Such were the commencements of the French Academy, which, even after the intervention and regulationising of Cardinal Richelieu, still preserved something of that sweetness and that polished familiarity in their relations which caused the regrets of its earliest founders. [They were MM. Godeau, afterwards bishop of Grasse, Conrart and Gombault who were huguenots, Chapelain, Giry, Habert, Abbé de Cérisy, his brother, M. de Sérizay and M. de Maleville.] In making of this little private gathering a great national institution, Cardinal Richelieu yielded to his natural yearning for government and dominion; he protected literature as a minister and as an admirer; the admirer's inclination was supported by the minister's influence. At the same time, and perhaps without being aware of it, he was giving French literature a centre of discipline and union

The "Académie Française"

whilst securing for the independence and dignity of writers a supporting-point which they had hitherto lacked. Whilst recompensing them by favours nearly always conferred in the name of the State, he was preparing for them afar off the means of withdrawing themselves from that private dependence, the yoke of which they nearly always had to bear. Set free at his death from the weight of their obligations to him, they became the servants of the State; ere long the French Academy had no other protector but the king. Order and rule everywhere accompanied Cardinal Richelieu; the Academy drew up its statutes, chose a director, a chancellor and a perpetual secretary: Conrart was the first to be called to that honour; the number of Academicians was set down at forty. The letters patent for establishment of the French Academy had been sent to the parliament in 1635; they were not enregistered until 1637, at the express instance of the cardinal.

Its rules and organization.

Amongst the earliest members of the Academy the cardinal had placed his most habitual and most intimate literary servants, Bois-Robert, Desmarets, Colletet, all writers for the theatre, employed by Richelieu in his own dramatic attempts. Theatrical representations were the only pleasure the minister enjoyed, in accord with the public of his day. He had everywhere encouraged this taste, supporting with marked favour Hardy and the *Théâtre Parisien*. With his mind constantly exercised by the wants of the government, he soon sought in the theatre a means of acting upon the masses. He had already foreseen the power of the press; he had laid hands on Doctor Renaudot's *Gazette de France;* King Louis XIII. often wrote articles in it; the manuscript exists in the National Library, with some corrections which appear to be Richelieu's. As for the theatre, the cardinal aspired to try his own hand at the work: his literary labours were nearly all political pieces; his tragedy of *Mirame*, to which he attached so much value, and which he had represented at such great expense for the opening of his theatre in the Palais-Cardinal, is nothing but one continual allusion, often bold even to insolence, to Buckingham's feelings towards Anne of Austria.

The drama "Mirame."

Occupied as he was in governing the affairs of France and of Europe otherwise than in verse, the cardinal chose out *collaborateurs;* there were five of them, to whom he gave his ideas and the plan of his piece; he entrusted to each the duty of writing an act, and "by this means finished a comedy in the course of a month," says Pellisson. In conjunction with Colletet, Bois-Robert, De l'Étoile and Rotrou, Peter Corneille worked at his Eminence's tragedies and comedies. He handled according to his fancy the act entrusted to

Peter Corneille.

him, with so much freedom that the cardinal was shocked, and said that he lacked, in his opinion, the gift of connectedness (*l'esprit de suite*). Corneille did not appeal from this judgment; he quietly took the road to Rouen, leaving henceforth to his four work-fellows the glory of putting into form the ideas of the all-powerful minister; he worked alone, for his own hand, for the glory of France and of the human mind.

"Le Cid."

Many attempts have been made to fathom the causes of the cardinal's animosity to the *Cid*. It was a Spanish piece, and represented in a favourable light the traditional enemies of France and of Richelieu; it was all in honour of the duel, which the cardinal had prosecuted with such rigorous justice; it depicted a king simple, patriarchal, genial in the exercise of his power, contrary to all the views cherished by the minister touching royal majesty; all these reasons might have contributed to his wrath, but there was something more personal and petty in its bitterness. The triumph of the *Cid* seemed to the resentful spirit of a neglected and irritated patron a sort of insult. Therewith was mingled a certain shade of author's jealousy. Richelieu saw in the fame of Corneille the success of a rebel. Egged on by base and malicious influences, he attempted to crush him, as he had crushed the House of Austria and the huguenots.

Cabal against it.

The cabal of bad taste enlisted to a man in this new war. Scudéry was standard-bearer; astounded that "such fantastic beauties should have seduced knowledge as well as ignorance." The contest was becoming fierce and bitter; much was written for and against the *Cid;* the public remained faithful to it; the cardinal determined to submit it to the judgment of the Academy, thus exacting from that body an act of complaisance towards himself, as well as an act of independence and authority in the teeth of predominant opinion. At his instigation, Scudéry wrote to the Academy to make them the judges in the dispute. The *Sentiments de l'Académie* at last saw the light in the month of December, 1637, and, as Chapelain had foreseen, they did not completely satisfy either the cardinal or Scudéry, in spite of the thanks which the latter considered himself bound to express to that body, or Corneille, who testified bitter displeasure. Richelieu did not come out of it victorious; his anger however had ceased: the duchess of Aiguillon, his niece, accepted the dedication of the *Cid;* when *Horace* appeared, in 1639, the dedicatory epistle addressed to the cardinal proved that Corneille read his works to him beforehand; the cabal appeared for a while on the point of making head again: "Horace, condemned by the decemvirs, was acquitted by the

people," said Corneille. The same year *Cinna* came to give the finishing touch to the reputation of the great poet:

"To the persecuted *Cid* the *Cinna* owed its birth."

The great literary movement of the seventeenth century had begun; it had no longer any need of a protector; it was destined to grow up alone during twenty years, amidst troubles at home and wars abroad, to flourish all at once, with incomparable splendour, under the reign and around the throne of Louis XIV. Cardinal Richelieu, however, had the honour of protecting its birth; he had taken personal pleasure in it; he had comprehended its importance and beauty; he had desired to serve it whilst taking the direction of it. Let us end, as we began, with the judgment of La Bruyère: "Compare yourselves, if you dare, with the great Richelieu, you men devoted to fortune, you, who say that you know nothing, that you have read nothing, that you will read nothing. Learn that Cardinal Richelieu did know, did read; I say not that he had no estrangement from men of letters, but that he loved them, caressed them, favoured them, that he contrived privileges for them, that he appointed pensions for them, that he united them in a celebrated body, and that he made of them the French Academy."

La Bruyère's appreciation of Richelieu.

The Academy, the Sorbonne, the Botanic Gardens (Jardin des Plantes), the King's Press have endured; the theatre has grown and been enriched by many master-pieces, the press has become the most dreaded of powers; all the new forces that Richelieu created or foresaw have become developed without him, frequently in opposition to him and to the work of his whole life; his name has remained connected with the commencement of all these wonders, beneficial or disastrous, which he had grasped and presaged, in a future happily concealed from his ken.

A.D. 1643. Mazarin, prime minister. The Regency.

The declaration of Louis XIII. touching the Regency had been entirely directed towards counteracting by anticipation the power entrusted to his wife and his brother. The queen's regency and the duke of Orleans' lieutenant-generalship were in some sort subordinated to a council composed of the prince of Condé, Cardinal Mazarin, Chancellor Séguier, Superintendent Bouthillier, and Secretary of State Chavigny, "with a prohibition against introducing any change therein, for any cause or on any occasion whatsoever." The queen and the duke of Orleans had signed and sworn the declaration.

King Louis XIII. was not yet in his grave when his last wishes were violated; before his death the queen had made terms with the ministers; the course to be followed had been decided. On the

18th of May, 1643, the queen, having brought back the little king to Paris, conducted him in great state to the parliament of Paris to hold his bed of justice there, and on the evening of the same day the queen regent, having sole charge of the administration of affairs, and modifying the council at her pleasure, announced to the astounded court that she should retain by her Cardinal Mazarin. Continuing to humour all parties, and displaying foresight and prudence, the new minister was even now master. Louis XIII., without any personal liking, had been faithful to Richelieu to the death; with different feelings, Anne of Austria was to testify the same constancy towards Mazarin.

War in Flanders Battle of Rocroi (May 19).

A stroke of fortune came at the very first to strengthen the regent's position. Since the death of Cardinal Richelieu, the Spaniards, but recently overwhelmed at the close of 1642, had recovered courage and boldness; new counsels prevailed at the court of Philip IV. who had dismissed Olivarez; the House of Austria vigorously resumed the offensive; at the moment of Louis XIII.'s death, Don Francisco de Mello, governor of the Low Countries, had just invaded French territory by way of the Ardennes, and laid siege to Rocroi, on the 12th of May. The French army commanded by the young duke of Enghien, the prince of Condé's son, scarcely twenty-two years old, gained a signal victory over the Spanish infantry till then deemed invincible (1643).

Negotiations for peace are begun.

Negotiations for a general peace, the preliminaries whereof had been signed by King Louis XIII. in 1641, had been going on since 1644 at Münster and at Osnabrück, without having produced any result; the duke of Enghien, who became prince of Condé in 1646, was keeping up the war in Flanders and Germany, with the co-operation of Viscount Turenne, younger brother of the duke of Bouillon, and, since Rocroi, a marshal of France. The capture of Thionville and of Dunkerque, the victories of Friburg and Nördlingen, the skilful opening effected in Germany as far as Augsburg by the French and the Swedes, had raised so high the reputation of the two generals, that the prince of Condé, who was haughty and ambitious, began to cause great umbrage to Mazarin. Fear of having him unoccupied deterred the cardinal from peace, and made all the harder the conditions he presumed to impose upon the Spaniards. Meanwhile the United Provinces, weary of a war which fettered their commerce, and skilfully courted by their old masters, had just concluded a private treaty with Spain; the emperor was trying, but to no purpose, to detach the Swedes likewise from the French alliance, when the victory of Lens, gained on the 20th of August, 1648, over Archduke Leopold and General

Beck, came to throw into the balance the weight of a success as splendid as it was unexpected; one more campaign, and Turenne might be threatening Vienna whilst Condé entered Brussels; the emperor saw there was no help for it and bent his head. The House of Austria split in two; Spain still refused to treat with France, but the whole of Germany clamoured for peace; the conditions of it were at last drawn up at Münster by MM. Servien and de Lionne; M. d'Avaux, the most able diplomatist that France possessed, had been recalled to Paris at the beginning of the year. On the 24th of October, 1648, after four years of negotiation, France at last had secured to her Alsace and the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; Sweden gained Western Pomerania, including Stettin, the isle of Rugen, the three mouths of the Oder and the bishoprics of Bremen and Werden, thus becoming a German power: as for Germany, she had won liberty of conscience and political liberty; the rights of the Lutheran or reformed Protestants were equalized with those of Catholics; henceforth the consent of a free assembly of all the Estates of the empire was necessary to make laws, raise soldiers, impose taxes, and decide peace or war. The peace of Westphalia put an end at one and the same time to the Thirty Years' War and to the supremacy of the House of Austria in Germany.

A.D. 1648. Peace of Westphalia.

So much glory and so many military or diplomatic successes cost dear; France was crushed by imposts, and the finances were discovered to be in utter disorder; the superintendent, D'Emery, an able and experienced man, was so justly discredited that his measures were, as a foregone conclusion, unpopular; an edict laying *octroi* or tariff on the entry of provisions into the city of Paris irritated the burgesses, and parliament refused to enregister it. For some time past the parliament, which had been kept down by the iron hand of Richelieu, had perceived that it had to do with nothing more than an able man and not a master; it began to hold up its head again; a union was proposed between the four sovereign courts of Paris, to wit, the parliament, the grand council, the chamber of exchequer, and the court of aids or indirect taxes; the queen quashed the deed of union; the magistrates set her at naught; the queen yielded, authorizing the delegates to deliberate in the chamber of St. Louis at the Palace of Justice; the pretensions of the parliament were exorbitant, and aimed at nothing short of resuming, in the affairs of the State, the position from which Richelieu had deposed it; the concessions which Cardinal Mazarin with difficulty wrung from the Queen augmented the parliament's demands. Anne of Austria was beginning to lose patience, when

Disorder of the finances

"Edict of Union."

the news of the victory of Lens restored courage to the court. "Parliament will be very sorry," said the little king, on hearing of the prince of Condé's success. The grave assemblage, on the 26th of August, was issuing from Notre Dame, where a *Te Deum* had just been sung, when Councillor Broussel and President Blancmesnil were arrested in their houses and taken, the one to St. Germain and the other to Vincennes.

A.D. 1648. Arrest of Broussel and Blancmesnil (Aug. 26).

It was a mistake on the part of Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin not to have considered the different condition of the public mind. A suppressed excitement had for some months been hatching in Paris and in the provinces. "The parliament growled over the tariff-edict," says Cardinal de Retz; "and no sooner had it muttered than everybody awoke. People went groping as it were after the laws; they were no longer to be found. Under the influence of this agitation, the people entered the sanctuary and lifted the veil that ought always to conceal whatever can be said about the right of peoples and that of kings which never accord so well as in silence." The arrest of Broussel, an old man in high esteem, very keen in his opposition to the court, was like fire to flax.

"The Fronde."

Thousands of persons rushed to the Palais-Royal, where the court then resided, shouting out "*Liberté et Broussel!*" Barricades were erected in the principal streets; the authority of the chancellor Séguier was set at nought, and the president of the parliament himself, Mathieu Molé, saw himself obliged to comply with the wishes of the people. They forced him to go to the queen at the head of the assembly, and under penalty of death, to bring back either Broussel or the cardinal. He succeeded in obtaining the liberty of the captives, and the queen, frightened out of her obstinacy, hastened to confirm the resolutions of the *Chambre de Saint Louis* by a decree dated October 24th, 1648 (*Ordonnance de Saint Germain*).

The court, however, had yielded only with the firm resolution of retracting its concession as soon as a fit opportunity should occur. The king was removed from Paris, and, supported by Condé, the queen-dowager engaged against the parliament the war to which the name of *La Fronde* has been given by way of contempt; the rebellion of the parliamentarians being compared to that of unruly children who would persist in fighting with slings (*frondes*) notwithstanding the prohibition of the police. The principal leaders of the *frondeurs* were Conti, brother of Condé, his brother-in-law the duke de Longueville, the dukes de Bouillon and de La Rochefoucauld, Turenne, Paul de Gondi, coadjutor of the arch-

The court leaves Paris.

bishop of Paris and afterwards Cardinal de Retz, and lastly the duke de Beaufort-Vendôme, grandson of Henry IV.

Epigrams and lampoons.

The chief results of this war, at least in its commencement, were songs, epigrams, lampoons, and now and then a few insignificant skirmishes. The twenty councillors of Richelieu's creation, who supplied 15,000 livres towards the expenses of the war in order to ingratiate themselves with their colleagues, were nick named *les quinze-vingts;* each house having a carriage-entrance was obliged to fit out a mounted soldier, hence the sobriquet *cavalerie des portes-cochères* given to the body of troops thus raised; Gondi, who was archbishop of Corinth *in partibus*, had been called "the little Catiline," and the dagger which he carried habitually in his pocket was designated as "our archbishop's breviary"; he raised at his own expense "the regiment of Corinth," and this regiment having been beaten in an engagement with the royal troops, the result was called "*the first to the Corinthians.*" Conti was deformed, they said that he was a *dwarf;* Beaufort had obtained much popularity, they called him *le roi des halles.* As for serious battles, there were none. Condé had only to present himself with a handfull of soldiers; he defeated at Charenton the armies of the Parisians who had marched out against him covered with ribbons and feathers. An arrangement was made at Ruel (April 1649), but the court returned to Paris only four months afterwards.

The easy success obtained by Condé, his position as general of the royal army dazzled him. He made himself chief of a new party, who, under the name of *petits-maitres*, were more insupportable still than the others. He affected the most supreme contempt for Mazarin. One day, writing to him, he directed the letter, "*all' illustrissimo Signor Facchino!*" "*Adieu, Mars!*" said he to him on another occasion, when taking leave of him. It was high time that the minister should vindicate his own dignity. Condé, Conti and Longueville, arrested at the Louvre, were taken first to Vincennes, and then to the Hâvre.

Contest between Mazarin and Condé.

The State stroke had succeeded; Mazarin's skill and prudence once more checkmated all the intrigues concocted against him. When the news was told to Chavigny, in spite of all his reasons for bearing malice against the cardinal, who had driven him from the council and kept him for some time in prison, he exclaimed: "That is a great misfortune for the prince and his friends; but the truth must be told: the cardinal has done quite right; without it he would have been ruined." The contest was begun between Mazarin and the great Condé, and it was not with the prince that the victory was to remain.

Already hostilities were commencing; Mazarin had done everything for the Frondeurs who remained faithful to him, but the house of Condé was rallying all its partisans; the dukes of Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld had thrown themselves into Bordeaux, which was in revolt against the royal authority, represented by the duke of Épernon. The princess of Condé and her young son left Chantilly to join them; Madame de Longueville occupied Stenay, a strong place belonging to the prince of Condé: she had there found Turenne; on the other hand, the queen had just been through Normandy; all the towns had opened their gates to her; it was just the same in Burgundy; the princess of Condé's able agent, Lenet, could not obtain a declaration from the parliament of Dijon in her favour. Bordeaux was the focus of the insurrection; the people, passionately devoted to "the dukes," as the saying was, were forcing the hand of the parliament; riots were frequent in the town; the little king, with the queen and the cardinal, marched in person upon Bordeaux; one of the faubourgs was attacked, the dukes negotiated and obtained a general amnesty, but no mention was made of the princes' release. The parliament of Paris took the matter up, and on the 30th of January, Anne of Austria sent word to the premier president that she would consent to grant the release of the princes, "provided that the armaments of Stenay and of M. de Turenne might be discontinued."

The Fronde in the provinces.

The cardinal saw that he was beaten; he made up his mind, and, anticipating the queen's officers, he hurried to Le Havre to release the prisoners himself; he entered the castle alone, the governor having refused entrance to the guards who attended him. "The prince told me," says Mdlle. de Montpensier, "that, when they were dining together, Cardinal Mazarin was not so much in the humour to laugh as he himself was, and that he was very much embarrassed. Liberty to be gone had more charms for the prince than the cardinal's company. He said that he felt marvellous delight at finding himself outside Le Havre, with his sword at his side; and he might well be pleased to wear it, he is a pretty good hand at using it. As he went out he turned to the cardinal and said: 'Farewell, Cardinal Mazarin,' who kissed 'the tip of sleeve' to him."

A.D. 165 Mazarin leaves France.

The cardinal had slowly taken the road to exile, summoning to him his nieces, Mdlles. Mancini and Martinozzi, whom he had, a short time since, sent for to court; he went from Normandy into Picardy, made some stay at Doullens, and, impelled by his enemies' hatred, he finally crossed the frontier on the 12th of March. The parliament had just issued orders for his arrest in

any part of France. On the 6th of April, he fixed his quarters at Brühl, a little town belonging to the electorate of Cologne, in the same territory which had but lately sheltered the last days of Mary de' Medici.

Battle of the Porte St. Antoine.

The Frondeurs, old and new, had gained the day; but even now there was disorder in their camp. Condé had returned to the court "like a raging lion, seeking to devour everybody, and, in revenge for his imprisonment, to set fire to the four corners of the realm" [*Mémoires de Montglat*]. He retired southwards and prepared for war. He was opposed, in the first instance, by marshal d'Hocquincourt, who was defeated at Bléneau, on the banks of the Loire, and afterwards by Turenne, who, having come to terms with the court, gained at Gien a battle over the rebels. Both commanders then marched upon Paris, and a general engagement took place at the Porte Saint Antoine, where the *Frondeurs* remained victorious, thanks to the audacity of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston, duke d'Orleans. From the top of the Bastille this princess fired the first cannon upon the royal army, and, as Mazarin said, *that fatal shot killed her husband*, alluding to the ambition she entertained of marrying Louis XIV. Condé marched into the metropolis, and after attempting vainly to maintain himself by violence, he took the command of the Spanish army, thus disgracing his character by joining the enemies of his country. The court then returned to Paris, punished the rebels, and in October, 1652, the Fronde may be said to have finished.

A.D. 1660. Death of the duke of Orleans.

It was now Mazarin's turn to triumph; his progress back to Paris was almost regal. The duke of Orleans retired before long to his castle at Blois, where he died in 1660, deserted, towards the end of his life, by all the friends he had successively abandoned and betrayed. "He had, with the exception of courage, all that was necessary to make an honourable man," says Cardinal de Retz, "but weakness was predominant in his heart through fear, and in his mind through irresolution; it disfigured the whole course of his life. He engaged in everything because he had not strength to resist those who drew him on, and he always came out disgracefully, because he had not the courage to support them." He was a prey to fear, fear of his friends as well as of his enemies. The Fronde, as we last said, was all over, that of the gentry of the long robe as well as that of the gentry of the sword. The parliament of Paris was once more falling in the State to the rank which had been assigned to it by Richelieu, and from which it had wanted to emerge by a supreme effort.

From 1653 to 1657, Turenne, seconded by Marshal La Ferté

and sometimes by Cardinal Mazarin in person, constantly kept the Spaniards and the prince of Condé in check, recovering the places but lately taken from France, and relieving the besieged towns; without ever engaging in pitched battles, he almost always had the advantage. At last the victory he gained at the Downs was productive of the greatest results; Dunkerque surrendered immediately, and was ceded to England conformably to an agreement made between Mazarin and Cromwell. For a long time past the object of the cardinal's labours had been to terminate the war by an alliance with Spain. The Infanta, Maria Theresa, was no longer heiress to the crown, for King Philip at last had a son; Spain was exhausted by long-continued efforts, and dismayed by the checks received in the campaign of 1658; the alliance of the Rhine, recently concluded at Frankfurt between the two leagues, catholic and protestant, confirmed immutably the advantages which the treaty of Westphalia had secured to France. The electors had just raised to the head of the empire young Leopold I., on the death of his father Ferdinand III., and they proposed their mediation between France and Spain. Whilst King Philip IV. was still hesitating, Mazarin took a step in another direction; the king set out for Lyons, accompanied by his mother and his minister, to go and see Princess Margaret of Savoy, who had been proposed to him a long time ago as his wife. He was pleased with her, and negotiations were already pretty far advanced, to the great displeasure of the queen-mother, when the cardinal, on the 29th of November, 1659, in the evening, entered Anne of Austria's room. "He found her pensive and melancholy, but he was all smiles. 'Good news, madame,' said he. 'Ah!' cried the queen, 'is it to be peace?' 'More than that, madame; I bring your Majesty both peace and the Infanta.'" The Spaniards had become uneasy; and Don Antonio de Pimental had arrived at Lyons at the same time with the court of Savoy, bearing a letter from Philip IV. for the queen his sister. The duchess of Savoy had to depart and take her daughter with her, disappointed of her hopes; all the consolation she obtained was a written promise that the king would marry Princess Margaret, if the marriage with the Infanta were not accomplished within a year.

End of the war with Spain.

Louis XIV marries the Infanta.

The year had not yet rolled away, and the duchess of Savoy had already lost every atom of illusion. Since the 13th of August, Cardinal Mazarin had been officially negotiating with Don Louis de Haro representing Philip IV. The ministers had held a meeting in the middle of the Bidassoa, on the Island of Pheasants, where a pavilion had been erected on the boundary-line between the two

A D. 1657. Peace of the Pyrenees.

States. On the 7th of November, the peace of the Pyrenees was signed at last; it put an end to a war which had continued for twenty-three years, often internecine, always burdensome, and which had ruined the finances of the two countries. France was the gainer of Artois and Roussillon, and of several places in Flanders, Hainault and Luxembourg; and the peace of Westphalia was recognized by Spain, to whom France restored all that she held in Catalonia and Franche-Comté. Philip IV. had refused to include Portugal in the treaty. The Infanta received as dowry 500,000 gold crowns, and renounced all her rights to the throne of Spain; the prince of Condé was taken back to favour by the king, and declared that he would fain redeem with his blood all the hostilities he had committed in and out of France. The king restored him to all his honours and dignities, gave him the government of Burgundy, and bestowed on his son, the duke of Enghien, the office of Grand Master of France. The honour of the king of Spain was saved, he did not abandon his allies, and he made a great match for his daughter. But the eyes of Europe were not blinded; it was France that triumphed, the policy of Cardinal Richelieu and of Cardinal Mazarin was everywhere successful. The work of Henry IV. was completed, the House of Austria was humiliated and vanquished in both its branches; the man who had concluded the peace of Westphalia and the peace of the Pyrenees had a right to say, "I am more French in heart than in speech."

A.D. 1661. Death of Mazarin (March 9).

Like Cardinal Richelieu, Mazarin succumbed at the very pinnacle of his glory and power; he died of gout in the stomach, March 9, 1661.

Louis XIV. was about to reign with a splendour and puissance without precedent; his subjects were submissive and Europe at peace; he was reaping the fruits of the labours of his grandfather Henry IV., of Cardinal Richelieu and of Cardinal Mazarin. Whilst continuing the work of Henry IV., Richelieu had rendered possible the government of Mazarin; he had set the kingly authority on foundations so strong that the princes of the blood themselves could not shake it. Mazarin had destroyed party and secured to France a glorious peace. Great minister had succeeded great king and able man great minister; Italian prudence, dexterity and finesse had replaced the indomitable will, the incomparable judgment and the grandeur of view of the French priest and nobleman. Richelieu and Mazarin had accomplished their patriotic work: the King's turn had come.



CHAPTER XI.

LOUIS XIV.—HIS FOREIGN POLICY, SUCCESSES AND REVERSES.

MAZARIN knew thoroughly the king whose birth he had seen. "He has in him the making of four kings and one honest man," he used to say. Scarcely was the minister dead, when Louis XIV. sent to summon his council: Chancellor Séguier, Superintendent Fouquet and Secretaries of State Le Tellier, de Lionne, Brienne, Duplessis-Guénégaud, and La Vrillière. Then, addressing the chancellor: "Sir," said he, "I have had you assembled together with my ministers and my Secretaries of State to tell you that until now I have been well pleased to leave my affairs to be governed by the late cardinal: it is time that I should govern them myself; you will aid me with your counsels when I ask for them. Beyond the general business of the seal, in which I do not intend to make any alteration, I beg and command you, Mr. Chancellor, to put the seal of authority to nothing without my orders, and without having spoken to me thereof, unless a Secretary of State shall bring them to you on my behalf. . . . . And for you, gentlemen," addressing the Secretaries of State, "I warn you not to sign anything, even a safety-warrant or passport, without my command, to report every day to me personally, and to favour nobody in your monthly rolls. Mr. Superintendent, I have explained to you my intentions; I beg that you will employ the services of M. Colbert, whom the late cardinal recommended to me." The king's councillors were men of experience; and they all recognized the master's tone. It was

Louis XIV summons his council.

Declares his intentions.

Louis XIV.'s misfortune to be king for seventy-two years, and to reign fifty-six years as sovereign master.

At the age of twenty-two no more than during the rest of his life was Louis XIV. disposed to sacrifice business to pleasure, but he did not sacrifice pleasure to business. It was on a taste so natural to a young prince, for the first time free to do as he pleased, that Superintendent Fouquet counted to increase his influence and pro-

Fouquet.

bably his power with the king. Fouquet, who was born in 1615, and had been superintendent of finance in conjunction with Servien since 1655, had been in sole possession of that office since the death of his colleague in 1659. He had faithfully served Cardinal Mazarin through the troubles of the Fronde. The latter had kept him in power in spite of numerous accusations of malversation and extravagance.

His disgrace.

At the time we are now speaking of, the tide had not yet set in against the *surintendant*; but clouds were beginning to gather on the horizon, and it became evident that a tremendous catastrophe was at hand. The magnificent *fête* given to the king at Vaux by Fouquet was the immediate occasion of his disgrace. A few weeks after (September 1661) he was arrested, sent to the Bastille and tried on a double charge of dilapidations and of a plot formed against the safety of the State. The first ground of accusation was too true; the second has never been proved. After a trial which lasted three years, nine judges voted for capital punishment and thirteen for banishment. The king passed a sentence of prison for life. Fouquet was taken to Pignerol, and all his family removed from Paris. He died piously in his prison, in 1680, a year before his venerable mother Marie Maupeou, who was so deeply concerned about her son's soul at the very pinnacle of greatness that she threw herself upon her knees on hearing of his arrest and exclaimed, "I thank Thee, O God; I have always prayed for his salvation, and here is the way to it!"

Master as he was over the maintenance of peace in Europe after so many and such long periods of hostility, young Louis XIV. was only waiting for an opportunity of recommencing war. God had vouchsafed him incomparable instruments for the accomplishment of his designs. Whilst Colbert was replenishing the exchequer, all the while diminishing the imposts, a younger man than the king himself, the marquis of Louvois, son of Michael Le Tellier, admitted to the council at twenty years of age, was eagerly preparing the way for those wars which were nearly always successful so long as he lived, however insufficient were the reasons for them, however unjust was their aim.

Foreign affairs were in no worse hands than the administration of finance and of war. M. de Lionne was an able diplomatist, broken in for a long time past to important affairs, shrewd and sensible, more celebrated amongst his contemporaries than in history, always falling into the second rank, behind Mazarin or Louis XIV., "who have appropriated his fame," says M. Mignet. The negotiations conducted by M. de Lionne were of a delicate nature. Louis XIV. had never renounced the rights of the queen to the succession in Spain; King Philip IV. had not paid his daughter's dowry, he said; the French ambassador at Madrid, the archbishop of Embrun, was secretly negotiating to obtain a revocation of Maria Theresa's renunciation, or at the very least a recognition of the right of *devolution* over the catholic Low Countries. This strange custom of Hainault secured to the children of the first marriage succession to the paternal property to the exclusion of the offspring of the second marriage. Louis XIV. claimed the application of it to the advantage of the queen his wife, daughter of Elizabeth of France. **Colbert—Louvois—Lionne.**

In this view and with these prospects, he needed the alliance of the Hollanders, and had remained faithful to the policy of Henry IV. and Richelieu when Philip IV. died on the 17th of September, 1665. Almost at the same time the dissension between England and Holland, after a period of tacit hostility, broke out into action. The United Provinces claimed the aid of France. Louis XIV. took the field in the month of May, 1667. The Spaniards were unprepared: Armentières, Charleroi, Douai and Tournay had but insufficient garrisons, and they fell almost without striking a blow. Audenarde was taken in two days; and the king laid siege to Lille. Vauban, already celebrated as an engineer, traced out the lines of circumvallation; the burgesses forced the garrison to capitulate; and Louis XIV. entered the town on the 27th of August, after ten days' open trenches. This first campaign had been nothing but playing at war, almost entirely without danger or bloodshed; it had, nevertheless, been sufficient to alarm Europe. Scarcely had peace been concluded at Bréda, when, on the 23rd of January, 1668, the celebrated treaty of the Triple Alliance was signed at the Hague between England, Holland and Sweden. The three powers demanded of the king of France that he should grant the Low Countries a truce up to the month of May, in order to give time for treating with Spain and obtaining from her, as France demanded, the definitive cession of the conquered places or Franche-Comté in exchange. At bottom, the Triple Alliance was resolved to protect helpless Spain against France; a secret article bound the three allies to take up arms to **Campaign of 1667.**

A.D. 1668 Treaty of the Triple Alliance.

restrain Louis XIV., and to bring him back, if possible to the peace of the Pyrenees. At the same moment, Portugal was making peace with Spain, who recognized her independence.

The king refused the long armistice demanded of him: "I will grant it up to the 31st of March," he had said, "being unwilling to miss the first opportunity of taking the field." The marquis of Castel-Rodrigo made merry over this proposal: "I am content," said he, "with the suspension of arms that winter imposes upon the king of France." The governor of the Low Countries made a mistake: in the midst of winter, after having concentrated from all parts of France 90,000 men at Dijon, the king threw himself upon

Franche-Comté invaded.

the Spanish possessions in Franche-Comté, carried Besançon in two days, Dôle in four, and the whole province in three weeks. Some one said, alluding to the rapidity of this campaign: "Autant eut valu envoyer des laquais pour en prendre possession." Louis XIV. satisfied with the brilliant results of his expedition and not wishing to compromise it, signed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2nd).

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

According to the terms of that agreement, Spain abandoned to France all her conquests in the North, together with the towns of Bergues and Furnes on the sea-coast; France restored Franche-Comté, but after having destroyed the fortifications which protected it, and reduced it to a defenceless state. By so doing, Louis XIV. was further enabled to gain the time he required for the preparation of the campaign which he meditated against Holland.

He began by levying exorbitant duties on the tonnage of all ships coming from Holland and by subjecting to a treble duty French goods imparted into that country. In the meanwhile Sweden had joined the side of France; through the mediation of Henrietta of England, duchess of Orleans, and sister of Charles II., this monarch had taken the same resolution; and finally the league was strengthened by the accession of the emperor and of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine (1672).

At length, when everything was ready, Louis XIV., at the head of 100,000 men, crossed the Rhine without obstacle, marching straight into the very heart of Holland. Rheinberg, Wesel, Burick, and Orsoy, attacked at once, did not hold out four days.

The French cross the Rhine.

On the 12th of June the king and the prince of Condé appeared unexpectedly on the right bank of the intermediary branch of the Rhine, between the Wahal and the Yssel. The Hollanders were expecting the enemy at the ford of the Yssel, being more easy to pass; they were taken by surprise; the king's cuirassier regiment dashed into the river and crossed it partly by fording and partly by swimming; the resistance was brief; meanwhile the duke of

Longueville was killed and the prince of Condé was wounded for the first time in his life. "I was present at the passage, which was bold, vigorous, full of brilliancy and glorious for the nation," writes Louis XIV. Arnheim and Deventer had just surrendered to Turenne and Luxembourg; Duisbourg resisted the king for a few days; Monsieur was besieging Zutphen. John van Witt was for evacuating the Hague and removing to Amsterdam the centre of government and resistance; the prince of Orange had just abandoned the province of Utrecht, which was immediately occupied by the French; the defensive efforts were concentrated upon the province of Holland; already Naarden, three leagues from Amsterdam, was in the king's hands; "We learn the surrender of towns before we have heard of their investment," wrote Van Witt. A deputation from the States was sent on the 22nd of June to the king's head-quarters to demand peace. Louis XIV. had just entered Utrecht, which, finding itself abandoned, opened its gates to him. On the same day, John van Witt received in a street of the Hague four stabs with a dagger from the hand of an assassin, whilst the city of Amsterdam, but lately resolved to surrender and prepared to send its magistrates as delegates to Louis XIV., suddenly decided upon resistance to the bitter end.

Utrecht occupied by the French

The king of France was as yet ignorant what can be done amongst a proud people by patriotism driven to despair; the States-general offered him Maestricht, the places on the Rhine, Brabant and Dutch Flanders, with a war-indemnity of ten millions; it was an open door to the Spanish Low Countries, which became a patch enclosed by French possessions; but the king wanted to annihilate the Hollanders; he demanded southern Gueldres, the island of Bommel, twenty-four millions, the restoration of Catholic worship, and, every year, an embassy commissioned to thank the king for having a second time given peace to the United Provinces. This was rather too much; and, whilst the deputies were negotiating with heavy hearts, the people of Holland had risen in wrath. The States-general decided to "reject the hard and intolerable conditions proposed by their lordships the kings of France and Great Britain, and to defend this State and its inhabitants with all their might." The province of Holland in its entirety followed the example of Amsterdam; the dikes were everywhere broken down, at the same time that the troops of the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony were advancing to the aid of the United Provinces, and that the emperor was signing with those two princes a defensive alliance for the maintenance of the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees and Aix-la-Chapelle. The murder of the brothers Van

Murder of the brothers Van Witt.

Witt was an act wanton cruelty and of brutal ingratitude; the instinct of the people of Holland, however, saw clearly into the situation. John van Witt would have failed in the struggle against France; William of Orange, prince, politician and soldier, saved his country and Europe from the yoke of Louis XIV.

Thus was being undone, link by link, the chain of alliances which Louis XIV. had but lately twisted round Holland; France, in her turn, was finding herself alone, with all Europe against her, scared, and consequently active and resolute; not one of the belligerents desired peace; the Hollanders had just settled the heredity of the stadtholderate in the House of Orange. Louis XIV. saw the danger. "So many enemies," says he in his *Mémoires*, "obliged me to take care of myself, and think what I must do to maintain the reputation of my arms, the advantage of my dominions and my personal glory." It was in Franche-Comté that Louis XIV. went to seek these advantages. The whole province was reduced to submission in the month of June, 1674. Turenne had kept the Rhine against the Imperialists; the marshal alone escaped the tyranny of the king and Louvois, and presumed to conduct the campaign in his own way. Condé had gained on the 11th of August the bloody victory of Seneffe over the prince of Orange and the allied generals. Advantages remained balanced in Flanders; the result of the campaign depended on Turenne, who commanded on the Rhine. On the 16th of June, he engaged in battle at Sinzheim with the duke of Lorraine, who was coming up with the advance-guard. "I never saw a more obstinate fight," said Turenne: "those old regiments of the emperor's did mighty well." He subsequently entered the Palatinate, quartering his troops upon it, whilst the superintendents sent by Louvois were burning and plundering the country, crushed as it was under war-contributions. The king and Louvois were disquieted by the movement of the enemy's troops, and wanted to get Turenne back into Lorraine. On the 20th of September, the burgesses of the free city of Strasburg delivered up the bridge over the Rhine to the Imperialists who were in the heart of Alsace. The victory of Ensheim, the fights of Mülhausen and Turckheim, sufficed to drive them back; but it was only on the 22nd of January, 1675, that Turenne was at last enabled to leave Alsace reconquered.

Campaign of 1674. Battle of Seneffe.

The Palatinate ravaged.

A.D. 1675. Battle of Sassbach. Death of Turenne (July 27).

The coalition was proceeding slowly; the prince of Orange was ill; the king made himself master of the citadel of Liège and some small places. Limburg surrendered to the prince of Condé, without the allies having been able to relieve it. In June 1675, Turenne returned to his army; he invaded once more the Palatinate,

and was opposed by Montecuculli, a general who, ten years before, had defeated the Turks at the battle of Saint-Gothard, and who was considered a consummate tactician. For six weeks the two commanders observed and followed one another, and their reputation was much increased by the proof they thus give of strategic skill. At last, they were on the point of fighting, near the village of Sassbach, on a spot which Turenne had selected, and where he made sure of being victorious, when the marshal, whilst observing the position of a battery, was killed by a cannon-ball, which carried off likewise the arm of Saint-Hilaire, lieutenant general of the Artillery (July 27, 1675). His death was, for France, a public calamity. In order to honour the best captain of the age, Louis XIV. authorized his being buried at Saint-Denis, in the midst of the sepultures of the kings.

Alliance between England and Holland.

Europe demanded a general peace; England and Holland desired it passionately. "I am as anxious as you for an end to be put to the war," said the prince of Orange to the deputies from the Estates, "provided that I get out of it with honour." He refused obstinately to separate from his allies William had just married (November 15, 1677) the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York and Anne Hyde. An alliance offensive and defensive between England and Holland was the price of this union, which struck Louis XIV. an unexpected blow. He had lately made a proposal to the prince of Orange to marry one of his natural daughters. "The first notice I had of the marriage," wrote the king, "was through the bonfires lighted in London." "The loss of a decisive battle could not have scared the king of France more," said the English ambassador, Lord Montagu. For more than a year past negotiations had been going on at Nimeguen; Louis XIV. resolved to deal one more great blow.

The campaign of 1676 had been insignificant, save at sea. John Bart, a corsair of Dunkerque, scoured the seas and made foreign commerce tremble; he took ships by boarding, and killed with his own hands the Dutch captain of the *Neptune*, who offered resistance. Messina, in revolt against the Spaniards, had given herself up to France; the duke of Vivonne, brother of Madame de Montespan, who had been sent thither as governor, had extended his conquests; Duquesne, quite young still, had triumphantly maintained the glory of France against the great Ruyter, who had been mortally wounded off Catana on the 21st of April. But already the possession of Sicily was becoming precarious, and these distant successes had paled before the brilliant campaign of 1677; the capture of Valenciennes, Cambrai, and St. Omer, the defence

Campaign of 1677.

of Lorraine, the victory of Cassel gained over the prince of Orange, had confirmed the king in his intentions. "We have done all that we were able and bound to do," wrote William of Orange to the Estates on the 13th of April, 1677, "and we are very sorry to be obliged to tell your High Mightinesses that it has not pleased God to bless, on this occasion, the arms of the State under our guidance." Ghent was invested by the French on the 1st of March and capitulated on the 11th; Ypres in its turn succumbed on the 25th after a vigorous resistance. Louis XIV. sent his *ultimatum* to Nimeguen.

Its results. On the 10th of August, in the evening, the special peace between Holland and France was signed after twenty-four hours' conference. The prince of Orange had concentrated all his forces near Mons, confronting Marshal Luxembourg, who occupied the plateau of Casteau; he had no official news as yet from Nimeguen, and, on the 14th, he began the engagement outside the abbey of St. Denis. The affair was a very murderous one and remained indecisive: it did more honour to the military skill of the prince of Orange than to his loyalty. Holland had not lost an inch of her territory during this war, so long, so desperate, and notoriously undertaken in order to destroy her; she had spent much money, she had lost many men, she had shaken the confidence of her allies by treating alone and being the first to treat, but she had furnished a chief to the European coalition, and she had shown an example of indomitable resistance; the States-general and the prince of Orange alone, besides Louis XIV., came the greater out of the struggle. The king of England had lost all consideration both at home and abroad, and Spain paid all the expenses of the war.

A.D. 1677. Peace of Nimeguen. Peace was concluded on the 17th of September, thanks to the energetic intervention of the Hollanders. The king restored Courtray, Audenarde, Ath, and Charleroi, which had been given him by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Ghent, Limburg and St. Ghislain; but he kept by definitive right St. Omer, Cassel, Aire, Ypres, Cambray, Bouchain, Valenciennes, and all Franche-Comté; henceforth he possessed in the north of France a line of places extending from Dunkerque to the Meuse; the Spanish monarchy was disarmed.

It still required a successful campaign under Marshal Créqui to bring the emperor and the German princes over to peace; exchanges of territory and indemnities re-established the treaty of Westphalia on all essential points. The duke of Lorraine refused the conditions on which the king proposed to restore to him his duchy; so Louis XIV. kept Lorraine.

The king of France was at the pinnacle of his greatness and power. "Singly against all," as Louvois said, he had maintained the struggle against Europe, and he came out of it victorious; everywhere, with good reason, was displayed his proud device, *Nec pluribus impar*. The prince of Orange regarded the peace of Nimeguen as a truce, and a truce fraught with danger to Europe. For that reason did he soon seek to form alliances in order to secure the repose of the world against the insatiable ambition of King Louis XIV. Intoxicated by his successes and the adulation of his court, the king no longer brooked any objections to his will or any limits to his desires. Standing at the king's side and exciting his pride and ambition, Louvois had little by little absorbed all the functions of prime minister without bearing the title. Colbert alone resisted him, and he, weary of the struggle, was about to succumb before long (1683), driven to desperation by the burthens that the wars and the king's luxury caused to weigh heavily upon France. Whilst all the contending parties disbanded their troops, Louis XIV. alone took advantage of the situation for the purpose of increasing his power by means which were very little short of actual warfare. By virtue of the last arrangements he had obtained the surrender of a certain number of towns and districts *together with their dependencies*. In order to ascertain what these dependencies were, he established at Tournay, at Metz, at Brisach and at Besançon special courts, known as *chambres de réunion*, because their business was to *re-unite* to France certain territories alleged to have been dismembered from the cities of Flanders, Alsace, *Trois-évêchés*, and Franche-Comté. Some German princes, the Elector Palatine, and the king of Spain were obliged to appear by deputy and make their respective titles good; and sentences supported by force gave to Louis XIV. twenty important military positions, Sarubrück, Deux-Ponts, Luxemburg, Montbéliard, and especially Strasburg, which Vauban fortified, thus making the strongest barrier of the kingdom on the Rhenish frontier (1681). In Italy, Louis XIV. purchased Casal in the Montferrate from the duke of Mantua, in order to command the north of the peninsula and Piedmont, which he was already in a certain sense master of by the possession of Pignerol.

Louis XIV. intoxicated by success.

"Chambres de réunion."

He was, however, himself about to deal his own kingdom a blow more fatal than all those of foreign wars and of the European coalition. He had been carrying matters with a very high hand in other quarters. The stronghold of the Algerian pirates was twice bombarded by Duquesne (1683); the republic of Genoa which had supplied them with arms and ships, found itself compelled to make

amende honorable in the person of the Doge, who, contrary to the laws of the state, came to Versailles (1685). Pope Innocent XI. himself incurred the resentment of the king for attempting to abolish the right of asylum which the French ambassadors had till then enjoyed in Rome (1687). The glory of Louis XIV. seemed to extend to the remotest limits of the known world, and the king of Siam sent to Versailles an embassy which created, at the time, the greatest sensation. Intoxicated by so much success and so many victories, he fancied that consciences were to be bent like States, and he set about bringing all his subjects back to the Catholic faith. Himself returning to a regular life, under the influence of age and of Madame de Maintenon, he thought it a fine thing to establish in his kingdom that unity of religion which Henry IV. and Richelieu had not been able to bring about. He set at nought all the rights consecrated by edicts, and the long patience of those Protestants whom Mazarin called "the faithful flock;" in vain had persecution been tried for several years past; tyranny interferred, and the edict of Nantes was revoked on the 13th of October, 1685. Some years later, the reformers, by hundreds of thousands carried into foreign lands their industries, their wealth and their bitter resentments. Protestant Europe, indignant, opened her doors to these martyrs to conscience, living witnesses of the injustice and arbitrary power of Louis XIV. All the princes felt themselves at the same time insulted and threatened in respect of their faith as well as of their puissance. In the early months of 1686, the league of Augsburg united all the German princes, Holland and Sweden; Spain and the duke of Savoy were not slow to join it. In 1687, the diet of Ratisbonne refused to convert the twenty years' truce into a definitive peace. By his haughty pretensions the king gave to the coalition the support of Pope Innocent XI.; Louis XIV. was once more single-handed against all, when he invaded the electorate of Cologne in the month of August, 1686. Philipsburg, lost by France in 1676, was recovered on the 29th of October; at the end of the campaign, the king's armies were masters of the Palatinate. In the month of January, 1689, war was officially declared against Holland, the emperor and the empire. The command-in-chief of the French forces was entrusted to the Dauphin, then twenty-six years of age. "I give you an opportunity of making your merit known," said Louis XIV. to his son: "exhibit it to all Europe, so that when I come to die it shall not be perceived that the king is dead."

A.D. 1685. Revocation of the edict of Nantes.

The war re-commences.

The Dauphin was already tasting the pleasures of conquest, and the coalition had not stirred. They were awaiting their chief; William of Orange was fighting for them in the very act of taking





LOUIS XIV

possession of the kingdom of England. The revolution of 1688 was the answer made to the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Louis XIV. received James II, affected to treat him as a king, and commenced extensive preparations for his re-establishment. Hence a general explosion against France; war broke out in four different quarters simultaneously. James II. appeared in Ireland, besieged to no purpose the town of Londonderry, and lost against William III. himself the battle of the Boyne, where a regiment of French colonists, commanded by Schomberg, did much harm to the troops of Louis XIV. (1690). At the same time the French fleet under the orders of d'Estrées and Tourville obtained a decided victory at Beachy-Head. It required two years to fit out a new expedition, composed of thirty vessels and which was entrusted to d'Estrées, who had directions to occupy the Mediterranean, whilst Tourville, with forty-four sail, remained in the British Channel. An engagement took place at La Hogue (1692), which turned to the utter discomfiture of the French, and completely put an end to the hopes still entertained by James II. The whole fleet of Louis XIV. was defeated, and fourteen of the ships which composed it were burnt down. On the Rhine, the Dauphin, at the head of 100,000 men, with the assistance of marshal de Duras, took Philipsburg, Worms, Manheim, and by the order of Louvois the Palatinate was once more subjected to all the horrors of wholesale destruction by sword and fire. This piece of unwarrantable atrocity is said to have been the cause of Louvois's disgrace, who died shortly afterwards.

Naval engagements.

Second destruction of the Palatinate.

In Italy Catinat kept his ground against Victor-Amadeus, duke of Savoy, and against prince Eugene, who, in consequence of an act of injustice on the part of Louis XIV., had joined the enemy. The French general defeated the allies at Staffarde, and three years afterwards at Marsaglia; but compelled as he was to see his foot soldiers withdrawn from his command for the purpose of strengthening other divisions of the French army; he was himself obliged merely to keep the defensive.

The most brilliant episodes of the war took place in the Netherlands. Luxembourg, whose military talents and whose energy have often caused him to be compared with Condé, defeated the prince of Waldeck at Fleurus (1690), then took possession of Mons under the eyes of William III, who had come from Ireland on purpose to relieve the town, and finally made himself master of Namur during the following campaign (1692). The king was present on both these occasions, and his favourite poet Boileau celebrated the taking of Namur in an ode which is generally considered one of his weakest compositions. The battle of Steinkirk

Battles of Staffarde and Fleurus.

was an act of skill which reflected the greatest credit upon Marshal Luxembourg. Exhausted by the fatigues of war and the pleasures of the court, he died on the 4th of January, 1695, at sixty-seven years of age. An able general, a worthy pupil of the great Condé, a courtier of much wits and no shame, he was more corrupt than his age, and his private life was injurious to his fame; he died, however, as people did die in his time, turning to God at the last day. "I haven't lived like M. de Luxembourg," said Bourdaloue, "but I should like to die like him." History has forgotten Marshal Luxembourg's death and remembered his life.

Louis XIV. had lost Condé and Turenne, Luxembourg, Colbert, Louvois and Seignelay; with the exception of Vauban, he had exhausted the first rank; Catinat alone remained in the second; the king was about to be reduced to the third: sad fruits of a long reign, of an incessant and devouring activity, which had speedily used up men and was beginning to tire out fortune; grievous result of mistakes long hidden by glory, but glaring out at last before the eyes most blinded by prejudice! By detaching the duke of Savoy from the coalition, Louis XIV. struck a fatal blow at the great alliance: the campaign of 1696 in Germany and in Flanders had resolved itself into mere observations and insignificant engagements; Holland and England were exhausted, and their commerce was ruined; in vain did Parliament vote fresh and enormous supplies: "I should want ready money," wrote William III. to Heinsius, "and my poverty is really incredible."

Wretched condition of France.

There was no less cruel want in France. "I calculate that in these latter days more than a tenth part of the people," said Vauban, "are reduced to beggary and in fact beg." Sweden had for a long time been proffering mediation; conferences began on the 9th of May, 1697, at Nieuburg, a castle belonging to William III., near the village of Ryswick. Three great halls opened one into another; the French and the plenipotentiaries of the coalition of princes occupied the two wings, the mediators sat in the centre. Before arriving at Ryswick, the most important points of the treaty between France and William III. were already settled.

France offered restitution of Strasburg, Luxembourg, Mons, Charleroi and Dinant, restoration of the House of Lorraine, with the conditions proposed at Nimeguen, and recognition of the king of England. "We have no equivalent to claim," said the French plenipotentiaries haughtily; "your masters have never taken anything from ours."

A.D. 1697 Treaty of Ryswick.

On the 27th of July a preliminary deed was signed between Marshal Boufflers and Bentinck, earl of Portland, the intimate friend of

King William; the latter left the army and retired to his castle of Loo; there it was that he heard of the capture of Barcelona by the duke of Vendôme; Spain, which had hitherto refused to take part in the negotiations, lost all courage and loudly demanded peace, but France withdrew her concessions on the subject of Strasburg, and proposed to give as equivalent Friburg in Brisgau and Brisach. William III. did not hesitate. Heinsius signed the peace in the name of the States-general on the 20th of September at midnight; the English and Spanish plenipotentiaries did the same; the emperor and the empire were alone in still holding out: the Emperor Leopold made pretensions to regulate in advance the Spanish succession, and the Protestant princes refused to accept the maintenance of the Catholic worship in all the places in which Louis XIV. had restored it.

The frontiers of France moved back.

Here again the will of William III. prevailed over the irresolution of his allies. For the first time since Cardinal Richelieu France moved back her frontiers by the signature of a treaty. She had gained the important place of Strasburg, but she lost nearly all she had won by the treaty of Nimeguen in the Low Countries and in Germany; she kept Franche-Comté, but she gave up Lorraine. Louis XIV. had wanted to aggrandise himself at any price and at any risk; he was now obliged to precipitately break up the grand alliance, for King Charles II. was slowly dying at Madrid, and the Spanish succession was about to open. Ignorant of the supreme evils and sorrows which awaited him on this fatal path, the king of France began to forget, in this distant prospect of fresh aggrandisement and war, the checks that his glory and his policy had just met with.

The Spanish succession.

The competitors for the succession were numerous; the king of France and the emperor claimed their rights in the name of their mothers and wives, daughters of Philip III. and Philip IV.; the elector of Bavaria put up the claims of his son by right of his mother, Mary Antoinette of Austria, daughter of the emperor; for a short time Charles II. had adopted this young prince; the child died suddenly at Madrid in 1699.[1] The persons most interested in the succession had not thought proper either to obtain the king's consent or to wait for his demise before dividing his possessions between themselves; they had even made a partition twice, and had satisfied none of the claimants. Charles was informed of this unwarrantable arrangement, and under the impressions of disgust which it excited in him, he named as his successor Philip, duke d'Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV.

[1] See the genealogical tree at the end of this chapter.

After a pretence of deliberation the king accepted, and sending Philip to take possession of his throne he said to him: "For the future, the Pyrenees exist no longer." He thus betrayed his true political designs. Some other measures quite as significative roused once more the anger of Europe, and produced a fresh coalition.

A D 1702. Death of William III.

Death removed William III. (1702) shortly after he had succeeded in organizing a formidable league against France; but his system of policy prevailed, because it was the expression of the English national will. Three men, whom their hatred of France has rendered illustrious, Heinsius, the duke of Marlborough, and prince Eugene, stepped by their close union into the positions held by the leaders whom the allies had just lost. Heinsius was *grand-pensioner* of Holland, and directed the affairs of the commonwealth with the authority of a monarch. Marlborough had made his *début* as a soldier under Turenne; he governed queen Anne by his wife, the parliament by his friends, the cabinet by his son-in-law Sunderland, secretary of state for war, and by the treasurer Godolphin whom a matrimonial connection had likewise brought into his family. We have already said why prince Eugene had joined the coalition.

Inefficiency of French statesmen.

To triumph over such formidable opponents Louis XIV. would have required the illustrious generals of the preceding generation, but they were either dead or worn out, and the heavy atmosphere of Versailles produced none that could continue their work. Like a soil which has given too luxuriant a crop, France was becoming exhausted, and the king was on the point of seeing soldiers failing just as much as generals and cabinet ministers. The inefficient Chamillard, the creature of Madame de Maintenon, gave way under the double weight of the treasury and the war administration, which Colbert and Louvois had divided between themselves. Louis XIV. thought he would counteract Chamillard's weakness by directing him, and never indeed did he show more activity. But here, too, obstacles of another kind arrested him. He had no experience of either men or things; he hampered his generals with directions which they were to observe punctually and which often brought about the worst results. "Si le général," says Voltaire, "voulait faire quelque grande entreprise, il fallait qu'il en demandât la permission par un courrier, qui trouvait à son retour, ou l'occasion manquée, ou le général battu." And yet some of the commanders whom France had still, Villars, Catinat, Boufflers, Vendôme, deserved more confidence and greater liberty of action. It is true that men like Villeroi, Marsin, Tallard, La Feuillade, required advice and the assistance of trustworthy guides, but the

fact of keeping them in leading strings did not prevent them from inflicting irreparable disasters upon the French arms.

The campaigns of 1702 and 1703 had shown Marlborough to be a prudent and bold soldier, fertile in resources and novel conceptions; and those had earned him the thanks of Parliament and the title of duke. The campaign of 1704 established his glory upon the misfortunes of France. Marshals Tallard and Marsin were commanding in Germany together with the elector of Bavaria; the emperor, threatened with a fresh insurrection in Hungary, recalled Prince Eugene from Italy; Marlborough effected a junction with him by a rapid march, which Marshal Villeroi would fain have hindered but to no purpose; on the 13th of August, 1704, the hostile armies met between Blenheim and Hochstett, near the Danube; the forces were about equal, but on the French side the counsels were divided, the various corps acted independently. Tallard sustained single-handed the attack of the English and the Dutch commanded by Marlborough; he was made prisoner, his son was killed at his side; the cavalry, having lost their leader and being pressed by the enemy, took to flight in the direction of the Danube; many officers and soldiers perished in the river; the slaughter was awful. Marsin and the elector, who had repulsed five successive charges of Prince Eugene, succeeded in effecting their retreat; but the electorates of Bavaria and Cologne were lost, Landau was recovered by the allies after a siege of two months, the French army recrossed the Rhine, Alsace was uncovered and Germany evacuated.

Louis XIV. fights Europe single-handed.

A.D. 1704. Battle of Blenheim (Aug. 13).

The defeat of Hochstett in 1704 had been the first step down the ladder; the defeat of Ramilies on the 23rd of May, 1706, was the second. The king's personal attachment to Marshal Villeroi blinded him as to his military talents. Beaten in Italy by Prince Eugene, Villeroi, as presumptuous as he was incapable, hoped to retrieve himself against Marlborough. There had been eight hours fighting at Hochstett, inflicting much damage upon the enemy; a Ramilies, the Bavarians took to their heels at the end of an hour; the French, who felt that they were badly commanded, followed their example; the rout was terrible and the disorder inexpressible: Villeroi kept recoiling before the enemy, Marlborough kept advancing; two thirds of Belgium and sixteen strong places were lost, when Louis XIV. sent Chamillard into the Low Countries; it was no longer the time when Louvois made armies spring from the very soil, and when Vauban prepared the defence of Dunkerque. The king recalled Villeroi, showing him to the last unwavering kindness. "There is no more luck at our age, marshal," was all he said to Villeroi on his arrival at Versailles. The king summoned Ven-

A.D. 1706 Battle of Ramilies (May 23).

dôme, to place him at the head of the army of Flanders, "in hopes of restoring to it the spirit of vigour and audacity natural to the French nation," as he himself says. For two years past, amidst a great deal of ill-success, Vendôme had managed to keep in check Victor Amadeo and Prince Eugene, in spite of the embarrassment caused him by his brother the grand prior, the duke of La Feuillade, Chamillard's son-in-law, and the orders which reached him directly from the king; he had gained during his two campaigns the name of *taker of towns*, and had just beaten the Austrians in the battle of Cascinato. Prince Eugene had, however, crossed the Adige and the Po when Vendôme left Italy; he effected his junction with Victor Amadeo, encountered and defeated the French army between the rivers Doria and Stora. Marsin was killed, discouragement spread amongst the generals and the troops, and the siege of of Turin was raised; before the end of the year, nearly all the places were lost, and Dauphiny was threatened. Victor Amadeo refused to listen to a special peace; in the month of March, 1707, the prince of Vaudemont, governor of Milaness for the king of Spain, signed a capitulation at Mantua, and led back to France the troops which still remained to him. The imperialists were masters of Naples. Spain no longer had any possessions in Italy.

Battle of Turin (Sept. 7).

Philip V. had been threatened with the loss of Spain as well as of Italy. For two years past Archduke Charles, under the title of Charles III., had, with the support of England and Portugal, been disputing the crown with the young king. Philip V. had lost Catalonia and had just failed in his attempt to retake Barcelona; the road to Madrid was cut off, the army was obliged to make its way by Roussillon and Béarn to resume the campaign; the king threw himself in person into his capital, whither he was escorted by Marshal Berwick, a natural son of James II., a Frenchman by choice, full of courage and resolution, "but a great stick of an Englishman who hadn't a word to say," and who was distasteful to the young queen Marie-Louise. Philip V. could not remain at Madrid, which was threatened by the enemy: he removed to Burgos; the English entered the capital and there proclaimed Charles III.

State of things in Spain.

This was too much; Spain could not let herself submit to have an Austrian king imposed upon her by heretics and Portuguese; the campaign of 1707 was signalized in Spain by the victory of Almanza, gained on the 13th of April by Marshal Berwick over the Anglo-Portuguese army, and by the capture of Lérida, which capitulated on the 11th of November into the hands of the duke of Orleans. In Germany, Villars drove back the enemy from the

A.D. 1707. Battle of Almanza (April 13).

banks of the Rhine, advanced into Suabia and ravaged the Palatinate, crushing the country with requisitions, of which he openly reserved a portion for himself. "Marshal Villars is doing very well for himself," said somebody one day to the king. "Yes," answered his Majesty, "and for me too." "I wrote to the king that I really must *fat my calf*," said Villars.

The inexhaustible elasticity and marvellous resources of France were enough to restore some hope in 1707. The invasion of Provence by Victor Amadeo and Prince Eugene, their check before Toulon and their retreat precipitated by the rising of the peasants, had irritated the allies; the attempts at negotiation which the king had entered upon at the Hague remained without result; the duke of Burgundy took the command of the armies of Flanders with Vendôme for his second. On the 5th of July, Ghent was surprised; Vendôme had intelligence inside the place, the Belgians were weary of their new masters: "The States have dealt so badly with this country," said Marlborough, "that all the towns are ready to play us the same trick as Ghent the moment they have the opportunity." Bruges opened its gates to the French. Prince Eugene advanced to second Marlborough, but he was late in starting; the troops of the elector of Bavaria harassed his march. The English encountered the French army in front of Audenarde. The engagement began. Vendôme, who commanded the right wing, sent word to the duke of Burgundy. The latter hesitated and delayed; the generals about him did not approve of Vendôme's movement. He fought single-handed, and was beaten. The excess of confidence of one leader and the inertness of the other caused failure in all the operations of the campaign; Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough laid siege to Lille, which was defended by old Marshal Boufflers, the bravest and the most respected of all the king's servants. Lille was not relieved, and fell on the 25th of October; the citadel held out until the 9th of December; the king heaped rewards on Marshal Boufflers; at the march out from Lille, Prince Eugene had ordered all his army to pay him the same honours as to himself. Ghent and Bruges were abandoned to the imperialists.

A.D. 1708. Battle of Audenarde (July 11).

The campaign in Spain had not been successful; the duke of Orleans, weary of his powerlessness, and under suspicion at the court of Philip V., had given up the command of the troops; the English admiral, Leake, had taken possession of Sardinia, of the island of Minorca and of Port Mahon; the archduke was master of the isles and of the sea. The destitution in France was fearful, and the winter so severe that the poor were in want of everything; riots multiplied in the towns; the king sent his plate to the Mint,

Destitution in France.

and put his jewels in pawn; he likewise took a resolution, which cost him even more, he determined to ask for peace. He offered the Hollanders a very extended barrier in the Low Countries and all the facilities they had long been asking for their commerce. He accepted the abandonment of Spain to the archduke and merely claimed to reserve to his grandson, Naples, Sardinia and Sicily. This was what was secured to him by the second treaty of partition lately concluded between England, the United Provinces and France; he did not even demand Lorraine. President Rouillé, formerly French envoy to Lisbon, arrived disguised in Holland; conferences were opened secretly at Bodegraven.

Conditions of peace proposed and discussed.

Led on by his fidelity to the allies, distrustful and suspicious as regarded France, burning to avenge the wrongs put upon the republic, Heinsius, in concert with Marlborough and Prince Eugene, required conditions so hard that the French agent scarcely dared transmit them to Versailles. What was demanded was the abdication pure and simple of Philip V.; Holland merely promised her good offices to obtain in his favour Naples and Sicily; England claimed Dunkerque; Germany wanted Strasburg and the renewal of the peace of Westphalia; Victor Amadeo aspired to recover Nice and Savoy; to the Dutch barrier stipulated for at Ryswick were to be added Lille, Condé and Tournay. In vain was the matter discussed article by article; in their short-sighted resentment the allies had overstepped reason. The young king of Spain felt this when he wrote to his grandfather: "I am transfixed at the chimerical and insolent pretensions of the English and Dutch regarding the preliminaries of peace; never were seen the like. I am beside myself at the idea that anybody could have so much as supposed that I should be forced to leave Spain as long as I have a drop of blood in my veins. I will use all my efforts to maintain myself upon a throne on which God has placed me and on which you, after Him, have set me, and nothing but death shall wrench me from it or make me yield it." War recommenced on all sides. The king had just consented at last to give Chamillard his discharge. "Sir, I shall die over the job," had for a long time been the complaint of the minister worn out with fatigue. "Ah! well, we will die together," had been the king's rejoinder.

War recommences.

France was dying, and Chamillard was by no means a stranger to the cause. Louis XIV. put in his place Voysin, former superintendent of Hainault, entirely devoted to Madame de Maintenon. He loaded with benefits the minister from whom he was parting, the only one whom he had really loved. The troops were destitute of everything. On assuming the command of the army of the Low

Countries Villars wrote in despair, "Imagine the horror of seeing an army without bread!" In spite of such privations and sufferings, Villars found the troops in excellent spirits, and urged the king to permit him to give battle. "M. de Turenne used to say that he who means to altogther avoid battle gives up his country to him who appears to seek for it," the marshal assured him; the king was afraid of losing his last army; the dukes of Harcourt and Berwick were covering the Rhine and the Alps; Marlborough and Prince Eugene, who had just made themselves masters of Tournay, marched against Villars, whom they encountered on the 11th of September, 1709, near the hamlet of Malplaquet. Marshal Boufflers had just reached the army to serve as a volunteer. Villars had entrenched himself in front of the woods; his men were so anxious to get under fire that they threw away the rations of bread just served out; the allies looked sulkily at the works: "We are going to fight moles again," they said. The allies won the victory, but they had lost more than twenty thousand men, according to their official account. "It was too much for this victory, which did not entail the advantage of entirely defeating the enemy, and the whole fruits of which were to end with the taking of Mons."

A.D. 1709. Battle of Malplaquet (Sept. 11).

This glorious defeat was followed by a triumph of a more decided character. Louis XIV. sent into Spain the Duke de Vendôme who was in disgrace since the famous campaign of Audenarde. His name alone was worth an army. A number of volunteers crowded under his command, and Philip V. who as yet had not appeared on any field of battle, placed himself at the head of his troops. The Spaniards, roused up at the voice of the king, began against the imperial forces a guerilla warfare which proved fatal to their invaders; and, finally, the archduke's troops, headed by count Stahrenberg, were thoroughly routed at Villaviciosa (December 9th 1710). It is reported that after the battle, Philip V. being overcome with fatigue, Vendôme said to him: "Sire, I shall make up for you the finest bed that ever king had to lie upon;" and, accordingly, he heaped up together as a cover all the colours that had been taken from the enemy. The victory of Villaviciosa not only saved the crown of Philip V., but also prevented Louis XIV. from losing Canada. An English expedition was fitted out to occupy that colony, but the success of Vendôme obliged it to remain in observation on the coast of Spain.

A D. 1710. Battle of Villaviciosa (Dec. 9).

This unexpected act of vigour on the part of a monarch whose ruin seemed certain astonished the allies; they, besides, were becoming weary of the war, especially the English, whose finances were in a precarious condition. A court intrigue, which ended in the down-

fall of the Whig administration and the disgrace of the duchess of Marlborough, brought matters to a crisis. The Tories, called to the direction of the government, tried to establish their credit on peaceful measures. Secret negociations between France and England were begun; after the death of the Emperor (April 17th, 1711) they became public, a suspension of arms was immediately decided, and the preliminaries of peace were signed in London on the 8th of October following. This example decided the allies; a congress assembled at Utrecht on the 29th of January, 1712. The new Emperor refused to have anything to do with it; but the forces were now equal, and one campaign proved to the Emperor that he could not single-handed hope to reduce France.

Disasters in the Court of Versailles.

The bolts of Heaven were falling one after another upon the royal family of France. On the 14th of April, 1711, Louis XIV. had lost by small-pox his son, the grand dauphin, a mediocre and submissive creature, ever the most humble subject of the king, at just fifty years of age. His eldest son, the duke of Burgundy, devout, austere and capable, the hope of good men and the terror of intriguers, had taken the rank of dauphin, and was seriously commencing his apprenticeship in government, when he was carried off on the 18th of February, 1712, by spotted fever (*rougeole pourprée*), six days after his wife, the charming Mary Adelaide of Savoy, the idol of the whole court, supremely beloved by the king, and by Madame de Maintenon, who had brought her up; their son, the duke of Brittany, four years old, died on the 8th of March; a child in the cradle, weakly and ill, the little duke of Anjou remained the only shoot of the elder branch of the Bourbons. Dismay seized upon all France; poison was spoken of; the duke of Orleans was accused; it was necessary to have a post mortem examination; only the hand of God had left its traces. Europe in its turn was excited. If the little duke of Anjou were to die, the crown of France reverted to Philip V. The Hollanders and the ambassadors of the emperor Charles VI., recently crowned at Frankfurt, insisted on the necessity of a formal renunciation. In accord with the English ministers, Louis XIV. wrote to his grandson:—

Letter of Louis XIV. to the king of Spain.

"You will be told what England proposes, that you should renounce your birthright, retaining the monarchy of Spain and the Indies, or renounce the monarchy of Spain, retaining your rights to the succession in France, and receiving in exchange for the crown of Spain the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, the States of the duke of Savoy, Montferrat and the Mantuan, the said duke of Savoy succeeding you in Spain; I confess to you that, notwithstanding the disproportion in the dominions, I have been sensibly affected by

the thought that you would continue to reign, that I might still regard you as my successor, sure, if the dauphin lives, of a regent accustomed to command, capable of maintaining order in my kingdom, and of stifling its cabals. If this child were to die, as his weakly complexion gives too much reason to suppose, you would enjoy the succession to me following the order of your birth, and I should have the consolation of leaving to my people a virtuous king, capable of commanding them, and one who, on succeeding me, would unite to the crown States so considerable as Naples, Savoy, Piedmont and Montferrat. If gratitude and affection towards your subjects are to you pressing reasons for remaining with them, I may say that you owe me the same sentiments; you owe them to your own house, to your own country, before Spain. All that I can do for you is to leave you once more the choice, the necessity for concluding peace becoming every day more urgent."

The choice of Philip V. was made; he had already written to his grandfather to say that he would renounce all his rights of succession to the throne of France rather than give up the crown of Spain. This decision was solemnly enregistered by the Cortes The English required that the dukes of Berry and Orleans should likewise make renunciation of their rights to the crown of Spain. Negotiations began again, but war began again at the same time as the negotiations.

Villars takes the command of the army in Flanders.

The king had given Villars the command of the army of Flanders. The marshal went to Marly to receive his last orders. "You see my plight, marshal," said Louis XIV. "There are few examples of what is my fate—to lose in the same week a grandson, a grandson's wife and their son, all of very great promise and very tenderly beloved. God is punishing me; I have well deserved it. But suspend we my griefs at my own domestic woes, and look we to what may be done to prevent those of the kingdom. If anything were to happen to the army you command, what would be your idea of the course I should adopt as regards my person?" The marshal hesitated. The king resumed: "This is what I think; you shall tell me your opinion afterwards. I know the courtiers' line of argument; they nearly all wish me to retire to Blois, and not wait for the enemy's army to approach Paris, as it might do if mine were beaten. For my part, I am aware that armies so considerable are never defeated to such an extent as to prevent the greater part of mine from retiring upon the Somme. I know that river, it is very difficult to cross; there are forts, too, which could be made strong. I should count upon getting to Péronne or St. Quentin, and there massing all the troops I had, making a last effort with you, and

falling together or saving the kingdom; I will never consent to let the enemy approach my capital [*Mémoires de Villars*, t. ii. p. 362]."

God was to spare Louis XIV. that crowning disaster reserved for other times; in spite of all his faults and of the culpable errors of his life and reign, Providence had given this old man, overwhelmed by so many reverses and sorrows, a truly royal soul, and that regard for his own greatness which set him higher as a king than he would have been as a man. "He had too proud a soul to descend lower than his misfortunes had brought him," says Montesquieu, "and he well knew that courage may right a crown and that infamy never does." On the 25th of May, the king secretly informed his plenipotentiaries as well as his generals that the English were proposing to him a suspension of hostilities, and he added: "It is no longer a time for flattering the pride of the Hollanders, but, whilst we treat with them in good faith, it must be with the dignity that becomes me." That which the king's pride refused to the ill will of the Hollanders he granted to the good will of England. The day of the commencement of the armistice Dunkerque was put as guarantee into the hands of the English, who recalled their native regiments from the army of Prince Eugene; the king complained that they left him the auxiliary troops; the English ministers proposed to prolong the truce, promising to treat separately with France if the allies refused assent to the peace. The news received by Louis XIV. gave him assurance of better conditions than any one had dared to hope for.

Louis XIV. treats with England.

Villars had not been able to prevent Prince Eugene from becoming master of Quesnoy on the 3rd of July; the imperialists were already making preparations to invade France; in their army the causeway which connected Marchiennes with Landrecies was called the *Paris road*. The marshal resolved to relieve Landrecies, and, having had bridges thrown over the Scheldt, he crossed the river between Bouchain and Denain on the 23rd of July, 1712; the latter little place was defended by the duke of Albemarle, son of General Monk, with seventeen battalions of auxiliary troops in the pay of the allies. The Imperialist lines, stretching over a space of between twelve and fifteen leagues were too straggling, and the different corps too far separated to be within reach of relieving one another. Villars took advantage of this mistake; by a false attack towards Landrecies, he deceived the Prince Eugene, and then marching with all speed upon Denain, where was the earl of Albemarle, he destroyed that general's camp and cut to pieces seventeen battalions (July 24, 1712). Eugene comes up; he too is driven back. All the posts on the bank of the Scarpe are successively carried,

A.D. 1712. Battle of Denain (July 23).

Landrecies is relieved, Douai, Marchiennes, Bouchain and Le Quesnoy are taken, and the frontiers of France become safe once more.

The victory of Denain hastened the conclusion of the peace. Three treaties were signed : 1st, that of Utrecht (April 11th, 1713), between France, Spain, Holland, Savoy and Portugal ; 2nd, that of Rastadt (March 7th, 1714), between France and Charles VI., 3rd, that of Baden (June 7th 1714), between France and the Empire. The treaty of Rastadt was delayed for one year on account of the obstinacy of Charles VI., who persisted in continuing the war although his allies had come to terms with Louis XIV. Villars, sent towards the Rhenish frontier where he found himself opposed to Prince Eugene, disconcerted the Imperial troops by the rapidity of his movements. He retook Landau, scaled at the head of his grenadiers the mountain of Roskhof, which protected Friburg, and made himself master of this city. This brilliant success constrained at last the emperor to give to his subjects that peace with which for so long a time they had ceased to be acquainted. France kept Landau and Fort Louis, she restored Spires, Brisach and Friburg. The emperor refused to recognize Philip V., but he accepted the *status quo ;* the crown of Spain remained definitively with the house of Bourbon ; it had cost men and millions enough ; for an instant the very foundations of order in Europe had seemed to be upset ; the old French monarchy had been threatened ; it had recovered of itself and by its own resources, sustaining single-handed the struggle which was pulling down all Europe in coalition against it ; it had obtained conditions which restored its frontiers to the limits of the peace of Ryswick ; but it was exhausted, gasping, at wits' end for men and money ; absolute power had obtained from national pride the last possible efforts, but it had played itself out in the struggle ; the confidence of the country was shaken ; it had been seen what dangers the will of a single man had made the nation incur ; the tempest was already gathering within men's souls. The habit of respect, the memory of past glories, the personal majesty of Louis XIV. still kept up about the aged king the deceitful appearances of uncontested power and sovereign authority ; the long decadence of his great-grandson's reign was destined to complete its ruin.

Signature of the peace. Its conditions.

"I loved war too much," was Louis XIV.'s confession on his death-bed. He had loved it madly and exclusively, but this fatal passion which had ruined and corrupted France had not at any rate remained fruitless. Louis XIV. had the good fortune to profit by the efforts of his predecessors as well as of his own servants ; Richelieu and Mazarin, Condé and Turenne, Luxem-

General remarks.

bourg, Catinat, Vauban, Villars and Louvois all toiled at the same work; under his reign, France was intoxicated with excess of the pride of conquest, but she did not lose all its fruits; she witnessed the conclusion of five peaces, mostly glorious, the last sadly honourable; all tended to consolidate the unity and power of the kingdom; it is to the treaties of the Pyrenees, of Westphalia, of Nimeguen, of Ryswick, and of Utrecht, all signed in the name of Louis XIV., that France owed Roussillon, Artois, Alsace, Flanders and Franche-Comté. Her glory has more than once cost her dear, it has never been worth so much and such solid increment to her territory.

COMPETITORS FOR THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

France.

Louis XIV.=Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV. of Spain

Louis, Dauphin=Maria Anna of Bavaria

- Louis, Duke of Burgundy
  - Louis XV.
- Philip, Duke of Anjou, King of Spain as Philip V. Nov. 1700
- Charles, Duke of Berry

Bavaria.

Leopold I. Emperor=Maria Margarita, younger daughter of Philip IV. of Spain

Maria Antonia, Archduchess=Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria

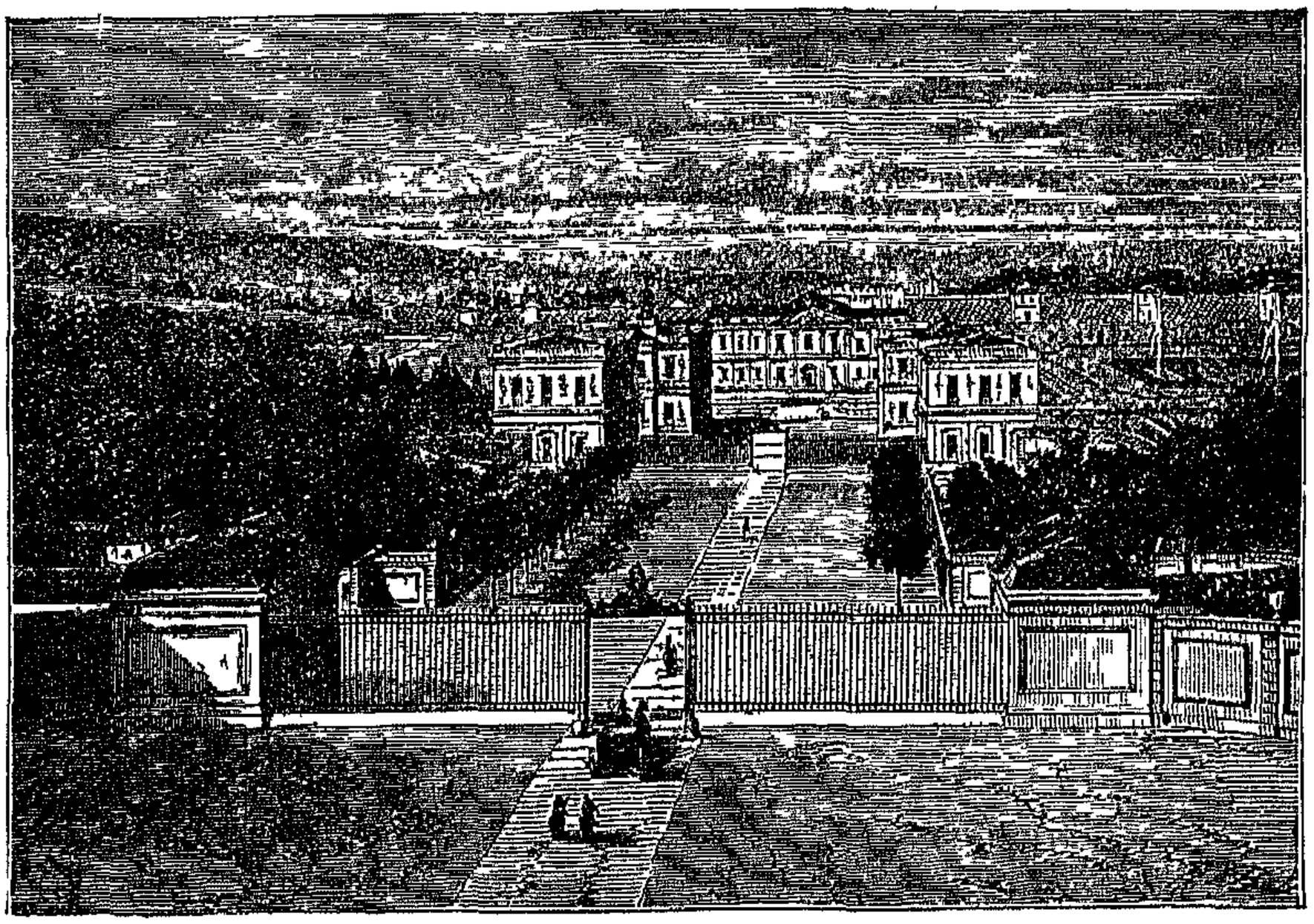
Joseph Ferdinand, Electoral Prince of Bavaria
declared heir to the Spanish throne, 1698, *d.* 6th February, 1699

Austria.

Maria Anna, younger daughter of Philip III. of Spain =Ferdinand III. Emperor

Leopold I. Emperor=Maria Margarita daughter of Philip IV.

- Joseph I. Emperor, 1705.
- Charles Francis Joseph
  declared King of Spain, 1700
  Emperor, 1711.



CHAPTER XII.

LOUIS XIV.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.—LITERATURE.—THE COURT AND SOCIETY.

It is King Louis XIV.'s distinction and heavy burthen in the eyes of history that it is impossible to tell of anything in his reign without constantly recurring to himself. He had two ministers of the higher order, Colbert and Louvois; several of good capacity, such as Seignelay and Torcy; others incompetent, like Chamillard; he remained as much master of the administrators of the first rank as if they had been insignificant clerks; the home government of France, from 1661 to 1715, is summed up in the king's relations with his ministers. **Absolutism of Louis XIV.**

It was their genius which made the fortunes and the power of Louis XIV.'s two great ministers, Colbert and Louvois. On the faith of Cardinal Mazarin, the king knew the worth of Colbert. **Colbert.** "I had all possible confidence in him," says he, "because I knew that he had a great deal of application, intelligence and probity." Rough, reserved, taciturn, indefatigable in work, passionately devoted to the cause of order, public welfare and the peaceable aggrandisement of France, Colbert, on becoming the comptroller of finance in 1661, brought to the service of the State superior views, consummate experience and indomitable perseverance. The position of affairs required no fewer virtues. "Disorder reigned everywhere," says the king; "on casting over the various portions of my king-

dom not eyes of indifference but the eyes of a master, I was sensibly affected not to see a single one which did not deserve and did not press to be taken in hand. The destitution of the lower orders was extreme, and the finances, which give movement and activity to all this great framework of the monarchy, were entirely exhausted, and in such plight that there was scarcely any resource to be seen; the affluent, to be seen only amongst official people, on the one hand cloaked all their malversations by divers kinds of artifices, and uncloaked them on the other, by their insolent and audacious extravagance, as if they were afraid to have me in ignorance of them."

Financial reforms.

The punishment of the tax-collectors (*traitants*), prosecuted at the same time as superintendent Fouquet, the arbitrary redemption of *rentes* (annuities) on the city of Paris or on certain branches of the taxes, did not suffice to alleviate the extreme suffering of the people. The talliages from which the nobility and the clergy were nearly everywhere exempt, pressed upon the people with the most cruel inequality. Colbert proposed to the king to remit the arrears of that tax, and devoted all his efforts to reducing them, whilst regulating its collection. His desire was to arrive at the establishment everywhere of *real* talliages, on landed property, &c., instead of *personal* talliages, variable imposts, depending upon the supposed means of social position of the inhabitants. He was only very partially successful, without, however, allowing himself to be repelled by the difficulties presented by differences of legislation and customs in the provinces. He died without having completed his work; but the talliages had been reduced by eight millions of livres, within the first two years of his administration.

Colbert remonstrates with the king.

Peace was of short duration in the reign of Louis XIV., and often so precarious that it did not permit disarmament. At the very period when the able minister was trying to make the people feel the importance of the diminution in the talliages, he wrote to the king: "I merely entreat your Majesty to permit me to say that in war as well as in peace you have never consulted your finances for the purpose of determining your expenditure, which is a thing so extraordinary that assuredly there is no example thereof. For the past twenty years during which I have had the honour of serving your Majesty, though the receipts have greatly increased, you would find that the expenses have much exceeded the receipts, which might perhaps induce you to moderate and retrench such as are excessive." Louis XIV. did not "moderate or retrench his expenses." Colbert laboured to increase the receipts; the new imposts excited insurrections in Angoumois, in Guyenne, in Brittany,

and, although they cost so much suffering and severity, brought in but 2,500,000 livres at Colbert's death. The indirect taxes, which were at that time called *fermes générales* (farmings-general), amounted to 37,000,000 during the first two years of Colbert's administration, and rose to 64,000,000 at the time of his death."[1] "I should be apprehensive of going too far and that the prodigious augmentations of the *fermes* (farmings) would be very burdensome to the people," wrote Louis XIV. in 1680. The expenses of recovering the taxes, which had but lately led to great abuses, were diminished by half. "The bailiffs generally, and especially those who are set over the recovery of talliages, are such terrible brutes that, by way of exterminating a good number of them, you could not do anything more worthy of you than suppress those," wrote Colbert to the criminal-magistrate of Orleans. The puissance of the provincial governors, already curtailed by Richelieu, suffered from fresh attacks under Louis XIV. Everywhere the power passed into the hands of the superintendents, themselves subjected in their turn to inspection by the masters of requests. "Acting on the information I had that in many provinces the people were plagued by certain folks, who abused their title of governors in order to make unjust requisitions," says the king in his *Mémoires*, "I posted men in all quarters for the express purpose of keeping myself more surely informed of such exactions, in order to punish them as they deserved." Order was restored in all parts of France.

Farming of the taxes.

"A useless banquet at a cost of a thousand crowns causes me incredible pain," said Colbert to Louis XIV., "and yet when it is a question of millions of gold for Poland, I would sell all my property, I would pawn my wife and children and I would go a-foot all my life to provide for it if necessary." Colbert knew how to "throw millions about" when it was for endowing France with new manufactures and industries. "One of the most important works of peace," he used to say, "is the re-establishment of every kind of trade in this kingdom and to put it in a position to do without having resource to foreigners for the things necessary for the use and comfort of the subjects." "We have no need of anybody and our neighbours have need of us;" such was the maxim laid down in a document of that date, which has often been attributed to Colbert, and which he certainly put incessantly into practice. The cloth manufactures were dying out, they received encouragement; a protestant Hollander, Van Robais, attracted over to Abbeville by

Manufactures.

[1] See at the end of this chapter, table 1, Colbert's Budget for the year 1662.

Colbert, there introduced the making of fine cloths; at Beauvais and in the Gobelins establishment at Paris, under the direction of the great painter, Lebrun, the French tapestries soon threw into the shade the reputation of the tapestries of Flanders; Venice had to yield up her secrets and her workmen for the glass manufactories of St. Gobain and Tourlaville. The bad state of the roads "was a dreadful hindrance to traffic;" Colbert ordered them to be everywhere improved. "The superintendents have done wonders, and we are never tired of singing their praises," writes Madame de Sévigné to her daughter during one of her trips; "it is quite extraordinary what beautiful roads there are; there is not a single moment's stoppage; there are malls and walks everywhere." The magnificent canal of Languedoc, due to the generous initiative of Riquet, united the Ocean to the Mediterranean; the canal of Orleans completed the canal of Briare, commenced by Henry IV. The inland custom-houses, which shackled the traffic between province and province, were suppressed at divers points; many provinces demurred to the admission of this innovation, declaring that, to set their affairs right, "there was need of nothing but order, order, order." Colbert also wanted order, but his views were higher and broader than those of Breton or Gascon merchants; in spite of his desire to "put the kingdom in a position to do without having recourse to foreigners for things necessary for the use and comfort of the French," he had too lofty and too judicious a mind to neglect the extension of trade; like Richelieu, he was for founding great trading companies; he had five, for the East and West Indies, the Levant, the North, and Africa; his efforts were not useless; at his death, the maritime trade of France had developed itself, and French merchants were effectually protected at sea by ships of war. In 1692, the royal navy numbered a hundred and eighty-six vessels; a hundred and sixty thousand sailors were down on the books; the works at the ports of Toulon, Brest, and Rochefort, were in full activity; Louis XIV. was in a position to refuse the salute of the flag, which the English had up to that time exacted in the Channel from all nations.

Roads and canals.

So many and such sustained efforts in all directions, so many vast projects and of so great promise suited the mind of Louis XIV. as well as that of his minister. Louis XIV. was the victim of three passions which hampered and in the long-run destroyed the accord between king and minister: that for war, whetted and indulged by Louvois; that for kingly and courtly extravagance; and that for building and costly fancies. Colbert likewise loved "buildments" (*les bâtiments*), as the phrase then was; he urged

Public buildings.

the king to complete the Louvre, plans for which were requested of Bernini, who went to Paris for the purpose; after two years' useless feelers and compliments, the Italian returned to Rome, and the work was entrusted to Perrault, whose plan for the beautiful colonnade still existing had always pleased Colbert. The completion of the castle of St. Germain, the works at Fontainebleau and at Chambord, the triumphal arches of St. Denis and St. Martin, the laying out of the Tuileries, the construction of the Observatory, and even that of the Palais des Invalides, which was Louvois's idea, found the comptroller of the finances well disposed if not eager. Versailles was a constant source of vexation to him. "For my part, I confess to your Majesty that, notwithstanding the repugnance you feel to increase the cash-orders [*comptants*], if I could have foreseen that this expenditure would be so large, I should have advised the employment of cash-orders, in order to hide the knowledge thereof for ever." [The cash-orders (*ordonnances au comptant*) did not indicate their object and were not revised. The king merely wrote: *Pay cash: I know the object of this expenditure* (*Bon au comptant: je sais l'objet de cette dépense*).] **Cash-orders.**

Colbert was mistaken in his fears for Louis XIV.'s glory; if the expenses of Versailles surpassed his most gloomy apprehensions, the palace which rose upon the site of Louis XIV.'s former hunting box was worthy of the king who had made it in his own image and who managed to retain all his court around him there; he died, however, before Versailles was completed; at sixty-four years of age Colbert succumbed to excess of labour and of cares. That man, so cold and reserved, whom Madame de Sévigné called *North*, and Guy-Patin the *Man of Marble* (*Vir Marmoreus*), felt that disgust for the things of life which appears so strikingly in the seventeenth century amongst those who were most ardently engaged in the affairs of the world. He was suffering from stone; the king sent to inquire after him and wrote to him. The dying man had his eyes closed; he did not open them: "I do not want to hear anything more about him," said he, when the king's letter was brought to him: "now, at any rate, let him leave me alone." His thoughts were occupied with his soul's salvation. Madame de Maintenon used to accuse him of always thinking about his finances and very little about religion. He repeated bitterly, as the dying Cardinal Wolsey had previously said in the case of Henry: "If I had done for God what I have done for that man, I had been saved twice over; and now I know not what will become of me." He expired on the 6th of September, 1683. **A.D. 1683. Death of Colbert (Sept. 6).**

Louvois remained henceforth alone, without rival and without **Louvois.**

check. The work he had undertaken for the reorganization of the army was pretty nearly completed; he had concentrated in his own hands the whole direction of the military service, the burthen and the honour of which were both borne by him. He had subjected to the same rules and the same discipline all corps and all grades; the general as well as the colonel obeyed him blindly. M. de Turenne alone had managed to escape from the administrative level. Order reigned in the army, and supplies were regular. Louvois received the nickname of great *Victualler* (*Vivrier*). The wounded were tended in hospitals devoted to their use. "When a soldier is once down, he never gets up again," had but lately been the saying. "Had I been at my mother's, in her own house, I could not have been better treated," wrote M. D'Alligny on the contrary, when he came out of one of the hospitals created by Louvois. He conceived the grand idea of the Hôtel des Invalides. Never had the officers of the army been under such strict and minute supervision; promotion went by seniority, by "the order on the list," as the phrase then was, without any favour for rank or birth; com-

Reforms in the army.

manders were obliged to attend to their corps. Education in the schools for *cadets*, regularity in service, obligation to keep the companies full instead of pocketing a portion of the pay in the name of imaginary soldiers who appeared only on the registers and who were called *dummies* (*passe-volants*), the necessity of wearing uniform, introduced into the army customs to which the French nobility, as undisciplined as they were brave, had hitherto been utter strangers.[1]

Artillery and engineering were developed under the influence of Vauban, "the first of his own time and one of the first of all times" in the great art of besieging, fortifying and defending places. Louvois had singled out Vauban at the sieges of Lille, Tournay and Douai, which he had directed in chief under the king's

Vauban.

own eye. The honesty and moral worth of Vauban equalled his genius; he was as high-minded as he was modest; evil reports had been spread about concerning the contractors for the fortifications of Lille; Vauban demanded an inquiry: "You are quite right in thinking, my lord," he wrote to Louvois to whom he was united by a sincere and faithful friendship, "that, if you do not examine into this affair, you cannot do me justice, and, if you do it me not, that would be compelling me to seek means of doing it myself and of giving up for ever fortification and all its concomitants. Examine, then, boldly and severely; away with all

[1] See at the end of the chapter, table No. 2, *Chronological History of the French Army.*

tender feeling, for I dare plainly tell you that in a question of strictest honesty and sincere fidelity I fear neither the king, nor you, nor all the human race together. Fortune had me born the poorest gentleman in France, but in requital she honoured me with an honest heart, so free from all sorts of swindles that it cannot bear even the thought of them without a shudder." It was not until eight years after the death of Louvois, in 1699, when Vauban had directed fifty-three sieges, constructed the fortifications of thirty-three places, and repaired those of three hundred towns, that he was made a marshal, an honour that no engineer had yet obtained; "The king fancied he was giving himself the bâton," it was said, "so often had he had Vauban under his orders in besieging places."

The leisure of peace was more propitious to Vauban's fame than to his favour. Generous and sincere as he was, a patriot more far-sighted than his contemporaries, he had the courage to present to the king a memorial advising the recall of the fugitive huguenots and the renewal, pure and simple, of the edict of Nantes. He had just directed the siege of Brisach and the defence of Dunkerque when he published a great economical work entitled *la Dîme royale*, the fruit of the reflections of his whole life, fully depicting the misery of the people and the system of imposts he thought adapted to relieve it. The king was offended; he gave the marshal a cold reception and had the work seized. Vauban received his death-blow from this disgrace: the royal edict was dated March 19, 1707: the great engineer died on the 30th; he was not quite seventy-four. The king testified no regret for the loss of so illustrious a servant, with whom he had lived on terms of close intimacy. Vauban had appeared to impugn his supreme authority; this was one of the crimes that Louis XIV. never forgave.

His "Dime royale."

On the 16th July, 1691, death suddenly removed the minister Louvois, fallen in royal favour, detested and dreaded in France, universally hated in Europe, leaving, however, the king, France and Europe with the feeling that a great power had fallen, a great deal of merit disappeared. "I doubt not," wrote Louis XIV. to Marshal Boufflers, "that, as you are very zealous for my service, you will be sorry for the death of a man who served me well." "Louvois," said the marquis of La Fare, "should never have been born or should have lived longer." The public feeling was expressed in an anonymous epitaph:—

A.D. 1691. Death of Louvois (July 16).

"Here lieth he who to his will
Bent everyone, knew everything:
Louvois, beloved by no one, still
Leaves everybody sorrowing."

The king felt his loss, but did not regret the minister whose tyranny and violence were beginning to be oppressive to him: he felt himself to be more than ever master in the presence of the young or inexperienced men to whom he henceforth entrusted his affairs. Louvois's son, Barbezieux, had the reversion of the war-department; Pontchartrain, who had been comptroller of finance ever since the retirement of Lepelletier, had been appointed to the navy in 1690 at the death of Seignelay. "M. de Pontchartrain had begged the king not to give him the navy," says Dangeau ingenuously, "because he knew nothing at all about it, but the king's will was absolute that he should take it. He now has all that M. de Colbert had, except the buildments." What mattered the inexperience of ministers? The king thought that he alone sufficed for all.

God had left it to time to undeceive the all-powerful monarch; he alone held out amidst the ruins: after the fathers the sons were falling around him, Seignelay had followed Colbert to the tomb; Louvois was dead after Michael Le Tellier; Barbezieux died in his turn in 1701. Then came the age of mediocrity in the cabinet as well as on the field; Chamillard was the first, the only one of his ministers whom the king had ever loved. "His capacity was nil," says St. Simon, who had very friendly feelings towards Chamillard, "and he believed that he knew everything and of every sort"; the court bore with him because he was easy and good-natured, but the affairs of the State were imperilled in his hands; Pontchartrain had already had recourse to the most objectionable proceedings in order to obtain money; the mental resources of Colbert himself had failed in presence of financial embarrassments and increasing estimates. Trade was languishing, the manufactures founded by Colbert were dropping away one after another; the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the emigration of Protestants had drained France of the most industrious and most skilful workmen; many of the reformers had carried away a great deal of capital; the roads, everywhere neglected, were becoming impracticable. The soldiers were without victuals, the officers were not paid, the abuses but lately put down by the strong hand of Colbert and Louvois were cropping up again in all directions; the king at last determined to listen to the general cry and dismiss Chamillard.

Chamillard minister.

Desmarets and Voysin.

Desmarets in the finance and Voysin in the war department, both superintendents of finance, the former a nephew of Colbert's and initiated into business by his uncle, both of them capable and assiduous, succumbed, like their predecessors, beneath the weight of the burthens which were overwhelming and ruining France. "I

know the state of my finances," Louis XIV. had said to Desmarets, "I do not ask you to do impossibilities; if you succeed, you will render me a great service: if you are not successful, I shall not hold you to blame for circumstances." Desmarets succeeded better than could have been expected without being able to rehabilitate the finances of the State. Pontchartrain had exhausted the resource of creating new offices. "Every time your Majesty creates a new post, a fool is found to buy it," he had said to the king. Desmarets had recourse to the bankers; and the king seconded him by the gracious favour with which he received at Versailles the greatest of the collectors (*traitants*), Samuel Bernard. "By this means everything was provided for up to the time of the general peace," says M. d'Argenson. France kept up the contest to the end. When the treaty of Utrecht was signed, the fleet was ruined and destroyed, the trade diminished by two thirds, the colonies lost or devastated by the war, the destitution in the country so frightful that orders had to be given to sow seed in the fields; the exportation of grain was forbidden on pain of death; meanwhile the peasantry were reduced to browse upon the grass in the roads and to tear the bark off the trees and eat it. Thirty years had rolled by since the death of Colbert, twenty-two since that of Louvois; everything was going to perdition simultaneously; reverses in war and distress at home were uniting to overwhelm the aged king, alone upstanding amidst so many dead and so much ruin. "Fifty years' sway and glory had inspired Louis XIV. with the presumptuous belief that he could not only choose his ministers well but also instruct them and teach them their craft," says M. d'Argenson. His mistake was to think that the title of king supplied all the endowments of nature or experience; he was no financier, no soldier, no administrator, yet he would everywhere and always remain supreme master; he had believed that it was he who governed with Colbert and Louvois; those two great ministers had scarcely been equal to the task imposed upon them by war and peace, by armies, buildments and royal extravagance; their successors gave way thereunder and illusions vanished; the king's hand was powerless to sustain the weight of affairs becoming more and more disastrous; the gloom that pervaded the later years of Louis XIV.'s reign veiled from his people's eyes the splendour of that reign which had so long been brilliant and prosperous, though always lying heavy on the nation, even when they forgot their sufferings in the intoxication of glory and success.

State of France at the peace of Utrecht.

Independently of simple submission to the Catholic Church, there were three great tendencies which divided serious minds amongst

Religious questions.

them during the reign of Louis XIV.; three noble passions held possession of pious souls; liberty, faith, and love were, respectively, the groundwork as well as the banner of Protestantism, Jansenism, and Quietism. It was in the name of the fundamental and innate liberty of the soul, its personal responsibility and its direct relations with God, that the Reformation had sprung up and reached growth in France, even more than in Germany and in England. M. de St. Cyran, the head and founder of Jansenism, abandoned the human soul unreservedly to the supreme will of God; his faith soared triumphant over flesh and blood, and his disciples, disdaining the joys and the ties of earth, lived only for eternity. Madame Guyon and Fénelon, less ardent and less austere, discovered in the tender mysticism of *pure love* that secret of God's which is sought by all pious souls; in the name of divine love, the Quietists renounced all will of their own, just as the Jansenists in the name of faith.

Three different views of religion.

Louis XIV. violates the rights of conscience.

Louis XIV. on one occasion had solemnly promised that he would respect the rights of conscience; but from the very beginning of his personal government he plainly showed that he did not mean to keep his word; and after an interval of twenty years, the series of arbitrary measures which he countenanced and even ordered were replaced by open and avowed persecution. To begin with the Huguenots; all the guarantees stipulated by the edict of Nantes were successively withdrawn, the mixed chambers established in the parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux were suppressed, and no protestant could enter any one of the liberal professions or practise as physician, lawyer, publisher, printer, etc. Thus debarred from the pursuit of these occupations, the persecuted Calvinists had nothing left open to them but trade and industry, and in a short time the whole commerce of the kingdom was in their hands. Roman Catholics were prohibited from embracing Calvinism under penalty of hard labour at the hulks for life; and children of protestant parents were, on the contrary, authorized to abjure their faith as early as the age of seven years, "age auquel," says the edict, "ils sont capables de raison et de choix dans une matière aussi importante qui celle de leur salut." By virtue of this declaration, a great number of children were torn from the bosom of their family; and Madame de Maintenon founded the convent of Saint-Cyr, near Versailles, for the reception of young ladies of noble origin, thus converted Missions were multiplied throughout the provinces, consciences were bought according to a certain tariff, and Pellisson, who, like the new favourite, had been originally a protestant, received the direction of a special fund organized to pay these shameful abjurations. "The average standard was not very

The Protestants.

high; a soul was paid for at the rate of six livres a piece, a little less than the price of a porker. 'Send in, send in,' Pellisson wrote to them, 'you demand money, here it is! five, ten, fifteen, twenty thousand livres!' and every quarter he displayed before the eyes of the monarch these scandalous bargains. It was pleasantly remarked at court, that the golden doctrine of M. Pellisson was much more convincing than that of Monsieur de Meaux. The protestants called his coffers the box of Pandora, whilst he himself compared them to the cruse of the widow of Sarepta." Louvois had recourse to means still more persuasive; he sent soldiers to take up their quarters in the houses of the protestants. "Troops of all arms were employed in this military mission. But the dragoons owed to the excess of their brutal zeal, or to the dazzling splendour of their uniforms, by which they were distinguished above all the other corps, the honour of giving it their name. On the eve of their arrival in a town, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities assembled the Protestants in the market place, to whom, in an address which was generally wound up with a threatening announcement that the military force was approaching, they signified the irrevocable will of the king. Sometimes the poor frightened people at once declared themselves converts by general acclamation. The people of education signed a profession of faith, whilst the common people only said, 'I re-unite myself,' or cried out 'Ave Maria,' or made the sign of the cross. In some towns, offices of conversion were established, where the proselytes, after having their names registered on a list, received a certificate *written on the back of a playing card*, which was to protect them from the persecution of the soldiery. The people of Nismes, using an apocalyptic phrase, called this card the mark of the beast; and, indeed, they only announced a profound truth; for what is a man worth who, to preserve what is animal and mortal in him, gives up his spiritual being—his soul, the heavenly and immortal part of his nature?"

The "Dragonnades."

At last the fatal blow was struck. The king assembled his council; the lists of converts were so long that there could scarcely remain in the kingdom more than a few thousand recalcitrants. "His Majesty proposed to take an ultimate resolution as regarded the Edict of Nantes," writes the duke of Burgundy in a memorandum found amongst his papers: "Monseigneur represented that, according to an anonymous letter he had received the day before, the huguenots had some expectation of what was coming upon them, that there was perhaps some reason to fear that they would take up arms, relying upon the protection of the princes of their religion, and that, supposing they dared not do so, a great number would leave the kingdom, which

A.D. 1685. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

would be injurious to commerce and agriculture and, for that same reason, would weaken the State. The king replied that he had foreseen all for some time past and had provided for all; that nothing in the world would be more painful to him than to shed a single drop of the blood of his subjects, but that he had armies and good generals whom he would employ in case of need against rebels who courted their own destruction. As for calculations of interest, he thought them worthy of but little consideration in comparison with the advantages of a measure which would restore to religion its splendour, to the State its tranquillity and to authority all its rights. A resolution was carried unanimously for the suppression of the Edict of Nantes." The declaration, drawn up by Chancellor Le Tellier and Châteauneuf, was signed by the king on the 15th of October, 1685; it was despatched on the 17th to all the superintendents. The edict of pacification, that great work of the liberal and prudent genius of Henry IV., respected and confirmed in its most important particulars by Cardinal Richelieu, recognized over and over again by Louis XIV. himself, disappeared at a single stroke, carrying with it all hope of liberty, repose and justice for fifteen hundred thousand subjects of the king. "Our pains," said the preamble of the Edict, "have had the end we had proposed, seeing that the better and the greater part of our subjects of the religion styled reformed have embraced the catholic; the execution of the Edict of Nantes consequently remaining useless, we have considered that we could not do better, for the purpose of effacing entirely the memory of the evils which this false religion has caused in our kingdom, than revoke entirely the aforesaid Edict of Nantes and all that has been done in favour of the said religion."

It is signed by Le Tellier and Châteauneuf.

Its extreme severity.

The Edict of October 15, 1685, supposed the religion styled reformed to be already destroyed and abolished. It ordered the demolition of all the chapels that remained standing and interdicted any assembly or worship: *recalcitrant* (*opiniâtres*) ministers were ordered to leave the kingdom within fifteen days; the schools were closed; all new-born babies were to be baptised by the parish-priests; religionists were forbidden to leave the kingdom on pain of the galleys for the men and confiscation of person and property for the women. "The will of the king," said Superintendent Marillac at Rouen, "is that there be no more than one religion in this kingdom; it is for the glory of God and the well-being of the State." Two hours were allowed the reformers of Rouen for making their abjuration.

One clause, at the end of the edict of October 15, seemed to

extenuate its effect; "Those of our subjects of the religion styled reformed who shall persist in their errors, pending the time when it may please God to enlighten them like the rest, shall be allowed to remain in the kingdom, country and lands which obey the king, there to continue their trade and enjoy their property without being liable to be vexed or hindered on pretext of prayer or worship of the said religion of whatsoever nature they may be." "Never was there illusion more cruel than that which this clause caused people," says Benoît in his *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes*: "it was believed that the king meant only to forbid special exercises, but that he intended to leave conscience free, since he granted this grace to all those who were still reformers, pending the time when it should please God to enlighten them. Many gave up the measures they had taken for leaving the country with their families, many voluntarily returned from the retreats where they had hitherto been fortunate enough to lie hid. The most mistrustful dared not suppose that so solemn a promise was only made to be broken on the morrow. They were all, nevertheless, mistaken; and those who were imprudent enough to return to their homes were only just in time to receive the dragoons there." A letter from Louvois to the duke of Noailles put a stop to all illusion. "I have no doubt," he wrote, "that some rather heavy billets upon the few amongst the nobility and third estate still remaining of the religionists will undeceive them as to the mistake they are under about the Edict M. de Châteauneuf drew up for us: his Majesty desires that you should explain yourself very sternly and that extreme severity should be employed against those who are not willing to become of his religion; those who have the silly vanity to glory in holding out to the last must be driven to extremity." The pride of Louis XIV. was engaged in the struggle; those of his subjects who refused to sacrifice their religion to him were disobedient, rebellious and besotted with *silly vanity*. "It will be quite ridiculous before long to be of that religion," wrote Madame de Maintenon.

Miscalculations as to the results of the measure.

Even in his court and amongst his most useful servants the king encountered unexpected opposition. Marshal Schomberg with great difficulty obtained authority to leave the kingdom; Duquesne was refused. All ports were closed, all frontiers watched. The great lords gave way, one after another; accustomed to enjoy royal favours, attaching to them excessive value, living at court, close to Paris which was spared a great deal during the persecution, they, without much effort, renounced a faith which closed to them hence forth the door to all offices and all honours. The gentlemen of the provinces were more resolute; many realized as much as they could

Opposition.

of their property and went abroad, braving all dangers, even that of the galleys in case of arrest. It were impossible to estimate precisely the number of emigrations; it was probably between three and four hundred thousand. Almost all trade was stopped in Normandy. The little amount of manufacture that was possible rotted away on the spot for want of transport to foreign countries, whence vessels were no longer found to come; Rouen, Darnetal, Elbeuf, Louviers, Caudebec, Le Havre, Pont-Audemer, Caen, St. Lô, Alençon and Bayeux were falling into decay, the different branches of trade and industry which had but lately been seen flourishing there having perished through the emigration of the masters whom their skilled workmen followed in shoals. The Norman emigration had been very numerous, thanks to the extent of its coasts and to the habitual communication between Normandy, England and Holland; Vauban, however, remained very far from the truth when he deplored, in 1688, "the desertion of 100,000 men, the withdrawal from the kingdom of sixty millions of livres, the enemy's fleets swelled by 9000 sailors, the best in the kingdom, and the enemy's armies by 600 officers and 12,000 soldiers, who had seen service." It is a natural but a striking fact that the reformers who left France and were received with open arms in Brandenburg, Holland, England and Switzerland carried in their hearts a profound hatred for the king who drove them away from their country and everywhere took service against him, whilst the Protestants who remained in France, bound to the soil by a thousand indissoluble ties, continued at the same time to be submissive and faithful.

Trade ruined.

The peace of Ryswick had not brought the Protestants the hoped for alleviation of their woes. Louis XIV. haughtily rejected the petition of the English and Dutch plenipotentiaries on behalf of "those in affliction who ought to have their share in the happiness of Europe." The persecution everywhere continued, with determination and legality in the North, with violence and passion in the South, abandoned to the tyranny of M. de Lamoignon de Bâville, a crafty and coldbloodedly cruel politician, without the excuse of any zealous religious conviction. The execution of several ministers who had remained in hiding in the Cévennes or had returned from exile to instruct and comfort their flocks raised to the highest pitch the enthusiasm of the reformers of Languedoc. Deprived of their highly prized assemblies and of their pastors' guidance, men and women, greybeards and children, all at once fancied themselves animated by the spirit of prophecy. Young girls had celestial visions; the little peasant-lasses poured out their

Insurrection in the Cévennes.

utterances in French, sometimes in the language and with the sublime eloquence of the Bible, sole source of their religious knowledge; the rumour of these marvels ran from village to village; meetings were held to hear the inspired maidens, in contempt of edicts, the galleys and the stake; a gentleman glass-worker, named Abraham de la Serre, was as it were the Samuel of this new school of prophets. In vain did M. de Bâville have three hundred children imprisoned at Uzès, and then send them to the galleys; the religious contagion was too strong for the punishments; "women found themselves in a single day husbandless, childless, houseless and penniless," says the historian Court: they remained immovable in their pious ecstasy; the assemblies multiplied; the troops which had so long occupied Languedoc had been summoned away by the war of succession in Spain, the militia could no longer restrain the reformers, growing every day more enthusiastic through the prophetic hopes which were born of their long sufferings.

The "Camisards."

The insurrection of the Cévénols or, as the Catholic peasants called them, the *Camisards*, led by Jean Cavalier, Roland and others, was put down by marshal Villars, after many vicissitudes of successes and reverses. Little by little the chiefs were killed off in petty engagements or died in obscurity of their wounds; provisions were becoming scarce; the country was wasted; submission became more frequent every day. The principals all demanded leave to quit France. "There are left none but a few brigands in the Upper Cévennes," says Villars. Some partial risings alone recalled, up to 1709, the fact that the old leaven still existed; the war of the Camisards was over. It was the sole attempt in history on the part of French Protestantism since Richelieu, a strange and dangerous effort made by an ignorant and savage people, roused to enthusiasm by persecution, believing itself called upon by the spirit of God to win, sword in hand, the freedom of its creed, under the leadership of two shepherd-soldiers and prophets.

The Huguenots and the Scotch Cameronians.

Only the Scottish Cameronians have presented the same mixture of warlike ardour and pious enthusiasm, more gloomy and fierce with the men of the North, more poetical and prophetical with the Cévénols, flowing in Scotland as in Languedoc from religious oppression and from constant reading of the Holy Scriptures. The silence of death succeeded everywhere in France to the plaints of the reformers and to the crash of arms; Louis XIV. might well suppose that Protestantism in his dominions was dead.

It was a little before the time when the last of the Camisards, Abraham Mazel and Claris, perished near Uzès (in 1710), that the king struck the last blow at Jansenism by destroying its earliest

nest and its last refuge, the house of the nuns of Port-Royal des Champs. With truces and intervals of apparent repose, the struggle had lasted more than sixty years between the Jesuits and Jansenism. M. de St. Cyran, who left the Bastille a few months after the death of Richelieu, had dedicated the last days of his life to writing against Protestantism, being so much the more scared by the heresy in that, perhaps, he felt himself attracted thereto by a secret affinity. He was already dying when there appeared the book *Fréquente Communion*, by M. Arnauld, youngest son and twentieth child of that illustrious family of Arnaulds in whom Jansenism seemed to be personified. The author was immediately accused at Rome and buried himself for twenty years in retirement. With his dying breath M. de St. Cyran had said to M. Guérin, physician to the college of Jesuits: "Sir, tell your Fathers, when I am dead, not to triumph, and that I leave behind me a dozen stronger than I." With all his penetration the director of consciences was mistaken. M. Arnauld was a great theologian, an indefatigable controversialist, the oracle and guide of his friends in their struggle against the Jesuits; M. de Sacy and M. Singlin were wise and able directors, as austere as M. de St. Cyran in their requirements, less domineering and less rough than he; but M. de St. Cyran alone was and could be the head of Jansenism; he alone could have inspired that idea of immolation of the whole being to the sovereign will of God, as to the truth which resides in Him alone. Once assured of this point, M. de St. Cyran became immovable. Mother Angelica pressed him to appear before the archbishop's council, which was to pronounce upon his book *Théologie familière*. "It is always good to humble oneself," she said. "As for you," he replied, "who are in that disposition and would not in any respect compromise the honour of the truth, you could do it; but as for me I should break down before the eyes of God if I consented thereto; the weak are more to be feared sometimes than the wicked."

Jansenism.

Angelica Arnauld.

Mother Angelica Arnauld, to whom these lines were addressed, was the most perfect image and the most accomplished disciple of M. de St. Cyran. More gentle and more human than he, she was quite as strong and quite as zealous. A reformer of many a convent since the day when she had closed the gates of Port-Royal against her father, M. Arnauld, in order to restore the strictness of the cloister, Mother Angelica carried rule along with her, for she carried within herself the government, rigid no doubt, for it was life in a convent, but characterized by generous largeness of heart, which caused the yoke to be easily borne. She carried the same zeal from convent to convent, from Port-Royal des Champs to Port-Royal

de Paris; from Maubuisson, whither her superiors sent her to establish a reformation, to St. Sacrement, to establish union between the two orders; ever devoted to religion, without having chosen her vocation; attracting around her all that were hers; her mother a wife at twelve years of age, and astonished to find herself obeying after having commanded her twenty children for fifty years; five of her sisters; nieces and cousins; and in "the Desert," beside Port-Royal des Champs, her brothers, her nephews, her friends, steeped like herself in penitence.

Mother Angelica was nearing the repose of eternity, the only repose admitted by her brother M. Arnauld, when the storm of persecution burst upon the monastery. The *Augustinus* of Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, a friend of M. de St. Cyran's, had just been condemned at Rome. Five propositions concerning grace were extracted from the book, and pronounced heretical. The opposers of what was called Jansenist doctrines employed every means in their power to have these propositions condemned by the court of Rome; and having obtained to this effect two bulls from the Popes Innocent X. and Alexander VII., their next object was to secure the promulgation of these documents in the dominions of the French king. An assembly of court-bishops drew up a declaration which was subsequently made more valid still by the king's own signature, and which became obligatory on all ecclesiastical persons throughout France. This declaration contained two points; the former, to the effect that the five famous propositions on the subject of divine grace were to be found in Jansenius; the latter maintained the heretical character of these propositions. Believing, as they did, that the five propositions were, in substance, maintained by Jansenius, the solitaries of Port-Royal would have been guilty of an untruth had they subscribed to the Pope's declaration; on the other hand, if they refused to sign, they were lost. In this dreadful situation, the thought of a compromise struck the firmest minds. A negotiation was opened with the archbishop of Paris, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain from him a pastoral letter conceived in moderate terms. Several meetings took place amongst the Jansenists, Pascal and Domat deciding against all compliance contrary to Christian truth and sincerity, whilst Nicole and Arnauld wrote in favour of conditional obedience. The latter prevailed; the authority of Arnauld especially, carried along with it the votes of the majority. Port-Royal had breathed its last! In the year 1709 the monastery was destroyed, and not even the sanctity of the grave was respected by the agents of Louis XIV. Dogs were seen disputing the mangled remains of bodies torn from what should have been their last resting place.

The "Augustinus."

Discussion on the "Five propositions."

Port-Royal destroyed.

Success seemed at first to crown these deeds of violence, and the king for a short time thought that Jansenism had disappeared with Port-Royal des Champs. Nevertheless the publication of the *Réflexions sur le Nouveau Testament*, by Quesnel, a priest of the congregation of the Oratory (1671) revived all the disputes, and proved the vitality of the doctrines with which the name of Jansenism had been connected. One hundred and one propositions extracted from the work were condemned at Rome by the bull *Unigenitus*, and Louis XIV., in 1712, bound the whole French clergy to adhere to that condemnation under penalty of disgrace, prison and exile. Quietism was proscribed quite as strictly as Jansenism. It is well known that a pious but mistaken lady, Madame Guyon, had endeavoured to spread a kind of mystical form of religion introduced previously by a Spanish priest, Michael de Molinos, and condemned by Pope Innocent XI. Through the Duke de Beauvilliers this lady became acquainted with Fénelon. Naturally inclined to the contemplative sort of piety which springs more from the heart than from the understanding, the prelate adopted Madame Guyon's views, and a kind of sect was soon organized at court, of which the dukes de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, Fénelon and Madame Guyon were the leaders. "We must," said the Quietists, "love God for his own sake; our love must be pure and disinterested, inspired neither by the hope of everlasting happiness, nor by the dread of everlasting condemnation." Madame de Maintenon, at first gained over likewise, had introduced Madame Guyon into the house of St. Cyr, and thus given a sort of sanction to the doctrines of Molinos. The bishop of Chartres, in whose diocese the establishment was, soon perceived what the consequences would be of allowing an exalted, quintessentiated form of mysticism to spread through a community of young girls. He warned Madame de Maintenon; and this lady accordingly desired that Madame Guyon's works and opinions should be examined by a committee composed of Bossuet, M. de Noailles, bishop of Châlons, and Tronson, superior of the ecclesiastical college of St. Sulpice, in Paris. Fénelon had openly taken Madame Guyon's part: he was therefore quite as much on his trial as the fair disciple of Molinos; but he expressly declared that he would abide by the decision of the examiners, especially that of Bossuet; and, as a reward for his submission, Madame de Maintenon secured his nomination to the archbishopric of Cambrai. This appointment was a heavy blow for Fénelon's party; the important diocese of Paris was just vacant, and they had confidently expected that their leader would be nominated to it. Such a position would have given him the greatest influence, and enabled him to propagate with absolute success Madame Guyon's doctrine.

Quesnel and the bull "Unigenitus."

Madame Guyon and Quietism.

The disappointment was general; and the countess de Guiche, amongst many others, is said to have been so mortified, that she could not conceal her tears. In order to secure by other means the authority which his nomination to the see of Cambrai could not give him, Fénelon courted the Jesuits, openly acknowledged his sympathy for them, and did his utmost to conciliate men whose power at Versailles was then without control.

Fénelon supports Madame Guyon, and is condemned.

The result of the conference held at Issy proved null; Madame Guyon persevered in promulgating the principles of Molinos, and Quietism seemed to spread more rapidly than ever. Exasperated at Fénelon's questionable behaviour, and at the determination with which he supported the condemned doctrines, after having promised to yield to the decision of the examiners, Bossuet prepared his celebrated *Instructions sur les États d'oraison.* Fénelon, however, was ready beforehand; he refused to approve the work of the Bishop of Meaux, and published in support of his opinions the well-known volume containing the maxims of the saints on the spiritual life. He managed so cleverly that his apology was the first to appear. The scandal became immense; it seemed necessary to institute an appeal to the Court of Rome. Madame Guyon was arrested, Fénelon exiled in his diocese, and the Pope requested to pronounce judgment in a case respecting which there could hardly be any difficulty. The archbishop of Cambrai was condemned, and whatever may have been his errors during the course of this affair, he redeemed them by the dignity with which he bore his disgrace.

Bossuet

So many fires smouldering in the hearts, so many different struggles going on in the souls that sought to manifest their personal and independent life have often caused forgetfulness of the great mass of the faithful who were neither Jansenists nor Quietists. Bossuet was the real head and the pride of the great catholic Church of France in the seventeenth century; what he approved of was approved of by the immense majority of the French clergy, what he condemned was condemned by them. Moderate and prudent in conduct as well as in his opinions, pious without being fervent, holding discreetly aloof from all excesses, he was a Gallican without fear and without estrangement as regarded the papal power to which he steadfastly paid homage. It was with pain and not without having sought to escape therefrom that he found himself obliged, at the assembly of the clergy in 1682, to draw up the solemn declarations of the Gallican Church. The meeting of the clergy had been called forth by the eternal discussions of the civil power with the court of Rome on the question of the rights of

régale, that is to say, the rights of the sovereign to receive the revenues of vacant bishoprics and to appoint to benefices belonging to them. The French bishops were of independent spirit; the archbishop of Paris, Francis de Harlay, was on bad terms with Pope Innocent XI.; Bossuet managed to moderate the discussions and kept within suitable bounds the declaration which he could not avoid. He had always taught and maintained what was proclaimed by the assembly of the clergy of France, that "St. Peter and his successors, vicars of Jesus Christ, and the whole Church itself received from God authority over only spiritual matters and such as appertain to salvation, and not over temporal and civil matters, in such sort that kings and sovereigns are not subject to any ecclesiastical power, by order of God, in temporal matters, and cannot be deposed directly or indirectly by authority of the keys of the Church; finally that, though the pope has the principal part in questions of faith, and though his decrees concern all the churches and each church severally, his judgment is, nevertheless, not irrefragable, unless the consent of the Church intervene." Old doctrines in the Church of France, but never before so solemnly declared and made incumbent upon the teaching of all the faculties of theology in the kingdom.

His theological views.

Constantly occupied in the dogmatic struggle against Protestantism, Bossuet had imported into it a moderation in form which, however, did not keep out injustice. Without any inclination towards persecution, he, with almost unanimity on the part of the bishops of France, approved of the king's piety in the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Bossuet had died on the 12th of April, 1704. The king was about to bring the Jansenist question before his bed of justice, when he fell ill: "I am sorry to leave the affairs of the Church in the state in which they are," he said to his councillors; "I am perfectly ignorant in the matter; you know and I call you to witness that I have done nothing therein but what you wanted, and that I have done all you wanted; it is you who will answer before God for all that has been done, whether too much or too little; I charge you with it before Him, and I have a clear conscience; I am but a know-nothing who have left myself to your guidance." An awful appeal from a dying king to the guides of his conscience; he had dispeopled his kingdom, reduced to exile, despair or falsehood fifteen hundred thousand of his subjects, but the memory of the persecutions inflicted upon the Protestants did not trouble him; they were, for him, rather a pledge of his salvation and of his acceptance before God; he was thinking of the catholic Church,

The king throws the responsibility of Church matters on his advisers.

the holy priests exiled or imprisoned, the nuns driven from their convent, the division among the bishops, the scandal amongst the faithful; the great burthen of absolute power was evident to his eyes; he sought to let it fall back upon the shoulders of those who had enticed him or urged him upon that fatal path. A vain attempt in the eyes of men, whatever may be the judgment of God's sovereign mercy; history has left weighing upon Louis XIV. the crushing weight of the religious persecutions ordered under his reign.

Literature.

It has been said in this history that Louis XIV. had the fortune to find himself at the culminating point of absolute monarchy and to profit by the labours of his predecessors, reaping a portion of their glory; he had likewise the honour of enriching himself with the labours of his contemporaries, and attracting to himself a share of their lustre; the honour, be it said, not the fortune, for he managed to remain the centre of intellectual movement as well as of the court, of literature and art as well as affairs of State. Only the abrupt and solitary genius of Pascal, or the prankish and ingenuous geniality of La Fontaine held aloof from king and court; Racine and Molière, Bossuet and Fénelon, La Bruyère and Boileau lived frequently in the circle of Louis XIV. and enjoyed in different degrees his favour; M. de la Rochefoucauld and Madame de Sévigné were of the court; Lebrun, Rigaud, Mignard painted for the king; Perrault and Mansard constructed the Louvre and Versailles; the learned of all countries considered it an honour to correspond with the new academies founded in France. Louis XIV. was even less a man of letters or an artist than an administrator or a soldier, but literature and art as well as the superintendents and the generals found in him the *King*. The puissant unity of the reign is everywhere the same. The king and the nation are in harmony.

Pascal.

Pascal, had he been born later, would have remained independent and proud, from the nature of his mind and of his character, as well as from the connexion he had full early with Port-Royal, where they did not rear courtiers; he died, however, at thirty-nine, in 1661, the very year in which Louis XIV. began to govern. Born at Clermont in Auvergne, educated at his father's and by his father, though it was not thought desirable to let him study mathematics, he had already discovered by himself the first thirty-two propositions of Euclid, when Cardinal Richelieu, holding on his knee little Jacqueline Pascal and looking at her brother, said to M. Pascal, the two children's father, who had come to thank him for a favour, "Take care of them; I mean to make something

great of them." This was the native and powerful instinct of genius divining genius; Richelieu, however, died three years later, without having done anything for the children who had impressed him, beyond giving their father a share in the superintendence of Rouen; he thus put them in the way of the great Corneille, who was affectionately kind to Jacqueline, but took no particular notice of Blaise Pascal. The latter was seventeen; he had already written his *Traité des Coniques* (*Treatise on Conics*) and begun to occupy himself with "his arithmetical machine," as his sister, Madame Périer, calls it. At twenty-three he had ceased to apply his mind to human sciences; "when he afterwards discovered the *roulette* (*cycloid*), it was without thinking," says Madame Périer, "and to distract his attention from a severe tooth-ache he had." He was not twenty-four when anxiety for his salvation and for the glory of God had taken complete possession of his soul. It was to the same end that he composed the *Lettres Provinciales*, the first of which was written in six days, and the style of which, clear, lively, precise, far removed from the somewhat solemn gravity of Port-Royal, formed French prose as Malherbe and Boileau formed the poetry.

His mathematical works.

The Provincial letters.

The Provincials could not satisfy for long the pious ardour of Pascal's soul; he took in hand his great work on the *Vérité de la religion*, but, unfortunately, was unable to finish it. "God, who had inspired my brother with this design and with all his thoughts," writes his sister, "did not permit him to bring it to its completion, for reasons to us unknown." A genius unique in the extent and variety of his faculties, which were applied with the same splendid results to mathematics and physics, to philosophy and polemics, disdaining all preconceived ideas, going unerringly and straightforwardly to the bottom of things with admirable force and profundity, independent and free even in his voluntary submission to the Christian faith, which he accepts with his eyes open after having weighed it, measured it and sounded it to its uttermost depths, too steadfast and too simple not to bow his head before mysteries, all the while acknowledging his ignorance. "If there were no darkness," says he, "man would not feel his corruption; if there were no light, man would have no hope of remedy. Thus, it is not only quite right but useful for us that God should be concealed in part, and revealed in part, since it is equally dangerous for man to know God without knowing his own misery, and to know his own misery without knowing God." The lights of this great intellect had led him to acquiesce in his own fogs: "One can be quite sure that there is a God, without knowing what He is," says he,



BOSSUET.

Bossuet.

In 1627, four years after Pascal and, like him, in a family of the long robe, was born, at Dijon, his only rival in that great art of writing prose which established the superiority of the French language. At sixteen, Bossuet preached his first sermon in the drawing-room of Madame de Rambouillet, and the great Condé was pleased to attend his theological examinations. He was already famous at court as a preacher and a polemist when the king gave him the title of bishop of Condom, almost immediately inviting him to become preceptor to the Dauphin.

Bossuet laboured conscientiously to instruct his little prince, studying for him and with him the classical authors, preparing grammatical expositions, and, lastly, writing for his edification the *Traité de la Connaissance de Dieu et de soiméme* (*Treatise on the Knowledge of God and of Self*), the *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (*Discourse on Universal History*), and the *Politique tirée de l'Écriture sainte* (*Polity derived from Holy Writ*). The labour was in vain; the very loftiness of his genius, the extent and profundity of his views rendered Bossuet unfit to get at the heart and mind of a boy who was timid, idle and kept in fear by the king as well as by his governor. The Dauphin was nineteen when his marriage restored Bossuet to the Church and to the world; the king appointed him almoner to the dauphiness and, before long, bishop of Meaux.

His chief writings.

The guidance of the bishop of Meaux, in fact, answered the requirements of spirits that were pious and earnest without enthusiasm; less ardent in faith and less absolute in religious practice than M. de St. Cyran and Port-Royal, less exacting in his demands than Father Bourdaloue, susceptible now and then of mystic ideas, as is proved by his letters to Sister Cornuau, he did not let himself be won by the vague ecstasies of absolute (pure) love; he had a mind large enough to say, like Mother Angelica Arnauld: "I am of all saints' order and all saints are of my order;" but his preferences always inclined towards those saints and learned doctors who had not carried any religious tendency to excess and who had known how to rest content with the spirit of a rule and a faith that were practical. A wonderful genius, discovering by flashes and as if by instinct the most profound truths of human nature, and giving them expression in an incomparable style, forcing, straining the language to make it render his idea, darting at one bound to the sublimest height by use of the simplest terms, which he, so to speak, bore away with him, wresting them from their natural and proper signification. "There, in spite of that great heart of hers, is that princess so admired and so beloved: there, such as Death has made her for us!" Bossuet alone could speak like that.

Character of his teaching.

He was writing incessantly, all the while that he was preaching at Meaux and at Paris, making funeral orations over the queen, Maria Theresa, over the Princess Palatine, Michael Le Tellier and the prince of Condé; the edict of Nantes had just been revoked; controversy with the protestant ministers, headed by Claude and Jurieu, occupied a great space in the life of the bishop of Meaux; he at that time wrote his *Histoire des variations*, often unjust and violent, always able in its attacks upon the Reformation.

Simultaneously with the controversial treatises, the *Élévations sur les mystères* and the *Méditations sur l'Évangile* were written at Meaux, drawing the bishop away to the serener regions of supreme faith. There might he have chanced to meet those reformers, as determined as he in the strife, as attached, at bottom, as he, for life and death, to the mysteries and to the lights of a common hope. "When God shall give us grace to enter Paradise," St. Bernard used to say, "we shall be above all astonished at not finding some of those whom we had thought to meet there and at finding others whom we did not expect." Bossuet had a moment's glimpse of this higher truth; in concert with Leibnitz, a great intellect of more range in knowledge and less steadfastness than he in religious faith, he tried to reconcile the catholic and protestant communions in one and the same creed. There were insurmountable difficulties on both sides; the attempt remained unsuccessful. Bossuet died at Paris on the 12th of April, 1704, just when the troubles of the Church were springing up again. Great was the consternation amongst the bishops of France, wont as they were to shape themselves by his counsels. "Men were astounded at this mortal's mortality." Bossuet was seventy-three.

Works of edification.

Bourdaloue.

A month later, on the 13th of May, Father Bourdaloue in his turn died: a model of close logic and moral austerity, with a stiff and manly eloquence, so impressed with the miserable insufficiency of human efforts, that he said as he was dying, "My God, I have wasted life, it is just that Thou recall it." There remained only Fénelon in the first rank, which Massillon did not as yet dispute with him. Malebranche was living retired in his cell at the Oratory, seldom speaking, writing his *Recherches sur la vérité* (*Researches into Truth*), and his *Entretiens sur la métaphysique* (*Discourses on Metaphysics*), bolder in thought than he was aware of or wished, sincere and natural in his meditations as well as in his style. In spite of Fléchier's eloquence in certain funeral orations, posterity has decided against the modesty of the archbishop of Cambrai, who said at the death of the bishop of Nîmes, in 1710, "We have lost our master." In his retirement or his exile, after Bossuet's death, it was around Fénelon that was con-

Malebranche.

Fléchier.

centrated all the lustre of the French episcopate, long since restored to the respect and admiration it deserved.

Fénelon was born in Périgord, at the castle of Fénelon, on the 6th of August, 1651. Like Cardinal de Retz he belonged to an ancient and noble house and was destined from his youth for the Church. Brought up at the seminary of St. Sulpice, lately founded by M. Olier, he for a short time conceived the idea of devoting himself to foreign missions; his weak health and his family's opposition turned him ere long from his purpose, but the preaching of the gospel amongst the heathen continued to have for him an attraction which is perfectly depicted in one of the rare sermons of his which have been preserved. He had held himself modestly aloof, occupied with confirming *new Catholics* in their conversion or with preaching to the Protestants of Poitou; he had written nothing but his *Traité de l'éducation des filles*, intended for the family of the duke of Beauvilliers, and a book on the *ministère du pasteur*. He was in bad odour with Harlay, archbishop of Paris, who had said to him curtly one day: "You want to escape notice, M. Abbé, and you will;" nevertheless, when Louis XIV. chose the duke of Beauvilliers as governor to his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, the duke at once called Fénelon, then thirty-eight years of age, to the important post of preceptor. **Fénelon.**

Fénelon's best known work is *Télémaque*. "It is a fabulous narrative," he himself says, "in the form of a heroic poem, like Homer's or Virgil's, wherein I have set forth the principal actions that are meet for a prince, whose birth points him out as destined to reign. I did it at a time when I was charmed with the marks of confidence and kindness showered upon me by the king; I must have been not only the most ungrateful but the most insensate of men to have intended to put into it satirical and insolent portraits; I shrink from the bare idea of such a design. It is true that I have inserted in these adventures all the verities necessary for government and all the defects that one can show in the exercise of sovereign power, but I have not stamped any of them with a peculiarity which would point to any portrait or caricature. The more the work is read, the more it will be seen that I wished to express everything without depicting anybody consecutively; it is in fact, a narrative done in haste, in detached pieces and at different intervals; all I thought of was to amuse the duke of Burgundy and, whilst amusing, to instruct him, without ever meaning to give the work to the public." **The "Télémaque."**

Télémaque was published, without any author's name and by an indiscretion of the copyist's, on the 6th of April, 1699. Fénelon

was in exile at his diocese; public rumour before long attributed the work to him; the *Maximes des saints* had just been condemned, *Télémaque* was seized, the printers were punished; some copies had escaped the police: the book was reprinted in Holland; all Europe read it, finding therein the allusion and undermeanings against which Fénelon defended himself. Louis XIV. was more than ever angry with the archbishop.

Fénelon dies in disgrace.

Fénelon died in disgrace, leaving amongst his friends, so diminished already by death, an immeasurable gap, and amongst his adversaries themselves the feeling of a great loss. "I am sorry for the death of M. de Cambrai," wrote Madame de Maintenon on the 10th of January, 1715: "he was a friend I lost through Quietism, but it is asserted that he might have done good service in the council, if things should be pushed so far." Fénelon had not been mistaken, when he wrote, once upon a time, to Madame de Maintenon, who consulted him about her defects: "You are good towards those for whom you have liking and esteem, but you are cold as soon as the liking leaves you; when you are frigid, your frigidity is carried rather far, and, when you begin to feel mistrust, your heart is withdrawn too brusquely from those to whom you had shown confidence."

Our thoughts may well linger over those three great minds: Pascal, Bossuet, and Fénelon, one layman and two bishops, all equally absorbed by the great problems of human life and immortality; with different degrees of greatness and fruitfulness, they all serve the same cause; whether as defenders or assailants of Jansenism and Quietism, the solitary philosopher or the prelates engaged in the court or in the guidance of men, all three of them serving God on behalf of the soul's highest interests, remained unique in their generation and without successors as they had been without predecessors.

Madame de Sévigné.

Leaving the desert and the Church, and once more entering the world we immediately encounter, amongst women, one, and one only in the first rank—Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marchioness of Sévigné, born at Paris on the 5th of February, 1627, five months before Bossuet. Like a considerable number of women in Italy in the sixteenth century and in France in the seventeenth, she had received a careful education: she knew Italian, Latin and Spanish; she had for masters Ménage and Chapelain; and she early imbibed a real taste for solid reading, which she owed to her leaning towards the Jansenists and Port-Royal. Madame de Sévigné is a friend whom we read over and over again, whose emotions we share, to whom we go for an hour's distraction and delightful chat; we

have no desire to chat with Madame de Grignan, we gladly leave her to her mother's exclusive affection, feeling infinitely obliged to her, however, for having existed, inasmuch as her mother wrote letters to her. Madame de Sévigné's letters to her daughter are superior to all her other letters, charming as they are; when she writes to M. de Pomponne, to M. de Coulanges, to M. de Bussy, the style is less familiar, the heart less open, the soul less stirred; she writes to her daughter as she would speak to her; it is not letters, it is an animated and charming conversation, touching upon everything, embellishing everything with an inimitable grace. She would have very much scandalized *those gentlemen* of Port-Royal, if she had let them see into the bottom of her heart as she showed it to her daughter. Pascal used to say: "There are but three sorts of persons: those who serve God, having found him; those who employ themselves in seeking Him, not having found Him; and those who live without seeking Him or having found Him. The first are reasonable and happy; the last are mad and miserable; the intermediate are miserable and reasonable." Without ever having sought and found God in the absolute sense intended by Pascal, Madame de Sévigné kept approaching Him by gentle degrees. "We are reading a treatise by M. Hamon of Port-Royal on *continuous prayer*; though he is a hundred feet above my head, he nevertheless pleases and charms us. One is very glad to see that there have been and still are in the world people to whom God communicates His Holy Spirit in such abundance; but, oh God! when shall we have some spark, some degree of it? How sad to find oneself so far from it and so near to something else! Oh fie! Let us not speak of such plight as that; it calls for sighs and groans and humiliations a hundred times a day."

Her style and character.

After having suffered so much from separation and so often traversed France to visit her daughter in Provence, Madame de Sévigné had the happiness to die in her house at Grignan. She was sixty-nine when an attack of small-pox carried her off on the 19th of April, 1696.

All the women who had been writers in her time died before Madame de Sévigné. Madame de Motteville, a judicious and sensible woman, more independent at the bottom of her heart than in externals, had died in 1689, exclusively occupied, from the time that she lost Queen Anne of Austria, in works of piety and in drawing up her *Mémoires*. Mdlle. de Montpensier, "my great Mademoiselle," as Madame de Sévigné used to call her, had died at Paris on the 5th of April, 1693, after a violent illness, as feverish as her life. Impassioned and haughty, with her head so full of

Mesdames de Motteville and de Montpensier.

her greatness that she did not marry in her youth, thinking nobody worthy of her except the king and the emperor who had no fancy for her, and ending by a private marriage with the duke of Lauzun, "a cadet of Gascony," whom the king would not permit her to espouse publicly, clever, courageous, hare-brained, generous. A few days after *Mademoiselle*, died, likewise at Paris, Madelaine de la Vergne, marchioness of La Fayette, the most intimate friend of Madame de Sévigné. Sensible, clever, a sweet and safe acquaintance, Madame de La Fayette was as simple and as true in her relations with her confidantes as in her writings. *La Princesse de Clèves* alone has outlived the times and the friends of Madame de La Fayette. Following upon the "great sword-thrusts" of La Calprenède or Mdlle. de Scudéry, this delicate, elegant and virtuous tale, with its pure and refined style, enchanted the court, which recognized itself at its best and painted under its brightest aspect; it was farewell for ever to the "Pays de Tendre."

Madame de La Fayette.

La Rochefoucauld.

Madame de La Fayette had in her life one great sorrow which had completed the ruin of her health. On the 16th of March, 1680, after the closest and longest of intimacies, she had lost her best friend, the duke of La Rochefoucauld. A meddler and intriguer during the Fronde, sceptical and bitter in his *Maximes*, the duke of La Rochefoucauld was amiable and kindly in his private life. Factions and the court had taught him a great deal about human nature, he had seen it and judged of it from its bad side; witty, shrewd, and often profound, he was too severe to be just: the bitterness of his spirit breathed itself out completely in his writings, he kept for his friends that kindliness and that sensitiveness of which he made sport. "He gave me wit," Madame de La Fayette would say, "but I reformed his heart." He had lost his son at the passage of the Rhine, in 1672. He was ill, suffering cruelly. "I was yesterday at M. de La Rochefoucauld's," writes Madame de Sévigné in 1680: "I found him uttering loud shrieks; his pain was such that his endurance was quite overcome without a single scrap remaining; the excessive pain upset him to such a degree that he was setting out in the open air with a violent fever upon him. He begged me to send you word and to assure you that the wheel-broken do not suffer during a single moment what he suffers one half of his life, and so he wishes for death as a happy release." He died with Bossuet at his pillow. M. de La Rochefoucauld thought worse of men than of life. "I have scarcely any fear of things," he had said: "I am not at all afraid of death." With all his rare qualities and great opportunities, he had done nothing but frequently embroil matters in which he had meddled

and had never been anything but a great lord with a good deal of wit. Actionless penetration and sceptical severity may sometimes clear the judgment and the thoughts, but they give no force or influence that has power over men.

Cardinal de Retz.

Cardinal de Retz had more wits, more courage and more resolution than the duke of La Rochefoucauld; he was more ambitious and more bold; he was, like him, meddlesome, powerless and dangerous to the State. He thought himself capable of superseding Cardinal Mazarin and far more worthy than he of being premier minister; but every time he found himself opposed to the able Italian, he was beaten. All that he displayed, during the Fronde, of address, combination, intrigue and resolution would barely have sufficed to preserve his name in history, if he had not devoted his leisure in his retirement to writing his *Mémoires*. Vigorous, animated, always striking, often amusing, sometimes showing rare nobleness and highmindedness, his stories and his portraits transport us to the very midst of the scenes he desires to describe and the personages he makes the actors in them. His rapid, nervous, picturesque style, is the very image of that little dark, quick, agile man, more soldier than bishop, and more intriguer than soldier, faithfully and affectionately beloved by his friends, detested by his very numerous enemies and dreaded by many people, for the causticity of his tongue, long after the troubles of the Fronde had ceased and he was reduced to be a wanderer in foreign lands, still archbishop of Paris without being able to set foot in it.

La Bruyère.

Mesdames de Sévigné and de La Fayette were of the court, as were the duke of La Rochefoucauld and Cardinal de Retz; La Bruyère lived all his life rubbing shoulders with the court; he knew it, he described it, but he was not of it and could not be of it. Nothing is known of his family. He was born at Dourdan, in 1639, and had just bought a post in the Treasury (*trésorier de France*) at Caen, when Bossuet, who knew him, induced him to remove to Paris as teacher of history to the duke, grandson of the great Condé. He remained for ever attached to the person of the prince, who gave him a thousand crowns a year, and he lived to the day of his death at Condé's house.

La Bruyère's "*Caractères*" is a book unique of its sort, full of sagacity, penetration and severity without bitterness; a picture of the manners of the court and of the world, traced by the hand of a spectator who had not essayed its temptations, but who guessed them and passed judgment on them all, "a book," as M. de Malézieux said to La Bruyère, "which was sure to bring its author many readers and many enemies." Its success was great from the

first, and it excited lively curiosity. The courtiers liked the portraits; attempts were made to name them; the good sense, shrewdness and truth of the observations struck everybody; people had met a hundred times those whom La Bruyère had described. The form appeared of a rarer order than even the matter; it was a brilliant, uncommon style, as varied as human nature, always elegant and pure, original and animated, rising sometimes to the height of the noblest thoughts, gay and grave, pointed and serious. Avoiding, by richness in turns and expression, the uniformity native to the subject, La Bruyère rivetted attention by a succession of touches making a masterly picture.

His character as a moralist.

More earnest and less bitter than La Rochefoucauld, and as brilliant and as firm as Cardinal de Retz, La Bruyère was a more sincere believer than either. "I feel that there is a God, and I do not feel that there is none; that is enough for me; the reasoning of the world is useless to me; I conclude that God exists; are men good enough, faithful enough, equitable enough to deserve all our confidence, and not make us wish at least for the existence of God to whom we may appeal from their judgments and have recourse when we are persecuted or betrayed?" A very strong reason and of potent logic, naturally imprinted upon an upright spirit and a sensible mind, irresistibly convinced, both of them, that justice alone can govern the world.

Corneille.

We pass from prose to poetry, from La Bruyère to Corneille, who had died in 1684, too late for his fame, in spite of the vigorous returns of genius which still flash forth sometimes in his feeblest works. Throughout the Regency and the Fronde, Corneille had continued to occupy almost alone the great French stage; Rotrou, his sometime rival with his piece of *Venceslas* and ever tenderly attached to him, had died, in 1650, at Dreux, of which he was civil magistrate. An epidemic was ravaging the town, and he was urged to go away: "I am the only one who can maintain good order, and I shall remain," he replied: "at the moment of my writing to you the bells are tolling for the twenty-second person to-day; perhaps, to-morrow it will be for me, but my conscience has marked out my duty; God's will be done!" Two days later he was dead.

Corneille had dedicated *Polyeucte* to the regent Anne of Austria; he published in a single year *Rodogune* and the *Mort de Pompée*, dedicating this latter piece to Mazarin, in gratitude, he said, for an act of generosity with which his Eminence had surprised him. At the same time he borrowed from the Spanish drama the canvas of the *Menteur*, the first really French comedy which appeared on

the boards, and which Molière showed that he could appreciate at its proper value. After this attempt, due perhaps to the desire felt by Corneille to triumph over his rivals in the style in which he had walked abreast with them, he let tragedy resume its legitimate empire over a genius formed by it; he wrote *Héraclius* and *Nicomède*, which are equal in parts to his finest master-pieces. But by this time the great genius no longer soared with equal flight; *Théodore* and *Pertharite* had been failures. "I don't mention them," Corneille would say, "in order to avoid the vexation of remembering them." He had announced his renunciation of the stage; he was translating into verse the *Imitation of Christ*. "It were better," he had written in his preface to *Pertharite*, "that I took leave myself instead of waiting till it is taken of me altogether; it is quite right that after twenty years' work I should begin to perceive that I am becoming too old to be still in the fashion. This resolution is not so strong but that it may be broken; there is every appearance, however, of my abiding by it."

His later works.

Posterity has done for Corneille more than Louis XIV. could have done; it has left in oblivion *Agésilas*, *Attila*, *Titus* and *Pulchérie*, it has preserved the memory of the triumphs only. The poet was accustomed to say with a smile, when he was reproached with his slowness and emptiness in conversation: "I am Peter Corneille all the same." The world has passed similar judgment on his works; in spite of the rebuffs of his latter years, he has remained "the great Corneille."

Racine.

When he died, in 1684, Racine, elected by the Academy in 1673, found himself on the point of becoming its director: he claimed the honour of presiding at the obsequies of Corneille. The latter had not been admitted to the body until 1641, after having undergone two rebuffs. Corneille had died in the night. The Academy decided in favour of Abbé de Lavau, the outgoing director. "Nobody but you could pretend to bury Corneille," said Benserade to Racine, "yet you have not been able to obtain the chance." It was only when he received into the Academy Thomas Corneille, in his brother's place, that Racine could praise, to his heart's content, the master and rival who, in old age, had done him the honour to dread him. At that time, his own dramatic career was already ended. He was born, in 1639, at La Ferté-Milon; he had made his first appearance on the stage in 1664, with the *Frères ennemis*, and had taken leave of it in 1673 with *Phèdre*; *Esther* and *Athalie*, played in 1689 and in 1691 by the young ladies of St. Cyr, were not regarded by their author and his austere friends as any derogation from the pious engagements he had entered into. If his first

two plays were feeble attempts, spoilt by a declamatory style, and altogether deficient in interest, "*Andromaque*" was a masterpiece, and all the other subsequent creations of Racine's pen only served to confirm his reputation as one of the great delineators of the passions.

Racine for a long while enjoyed the favours of the king, who went so far as to tolerate the attachment the poet had always testified towards Port-Royal. Racine, moreover, showed tact in humouring the susceptibilities of Louis XIV. and his counsellors. All this caution did not prevent him, however, from displeasing the king. After a conversation he had held with Madame de Maintenon about the miseries of the people, she asked him for a memorandum on the subject. The king demanded the name of the author and flew out at him. "Because he is a perfect master of verse," said he, "does he think he knows everything? And, because he is a great poet, does he want to be minister?" On the 21st of April, 1699, the great poet, the scrupulous Christian, the noble and delicate painter of the purest passions of the soul, expired at Paris at fifty-nine years of age, leaving life without regret, spite of all the successes with which he had been crowned. Unlike Corneille with the *Cid*, he did not take tragedy and glory by assault, he conquered them both by degrees, raising himself at each new effort and gaining over little by little the most passionate admirers of his great rival; at the pinnacle of this reputation and this victory, at thirty-eight years of age, he had voluntarily shut the door against the intoxications and pride of success, he had mutilated his life, buried his genius in penitence, obeying simply the calls of his conscience, and, with singular moderation in the very midst of exaggeration, becoming a father of a family and remaining a courtier, at the same time that he gave up the stage and glory. Racine was gentle and sensible even in his repentance and his sacrifice. Boileau gave religion the credit for this very moderation: "Reason commonly brings others to faith, it was faith which brought M. Racine to reason."

He incurs the displeasure of Louis XIV.

Boileau.

Boileau himself had entered the arena of letters at three-and-twenty, after a sickly and melancholy childhood. The *Art Poétique* and the *Lutrin* appeared in 1674; the first nine Satires and several of the Epistles had preceded them. Rather a witty, shrewd and able versifier than a great poet, Boileau displayed in the *Lutrin* a richness and suppleness of fancy which his other works had not foreshadowed. The broad and cynical buffoonery of Scarron's burlesques had always shocked his severe and pure taste. "Your father was weak enough to read *Virgile travesti* and laugh over it,"

he would say to Louis Racine, "but he kept it dark from me." In the *Lutrin*, Boileau sought the gay and the laughable under noble and polished forms: the gay lost by it, the laughable remained stamped with an ineffaceable seal. He survived all his friends; La Fontaine, born in 1621 at Château-Thierry, had died in 1695. He had entered in his youth the brotherhood of the Oratory, which he had soon quitted, being unable, he used to say, to accustom himself to theology; he went and came between town and town, amusing himself everywhere, and already writing a little. La Fontaine has been described as a solitary being, without wit and without external charm of any kind. La Bruyère has said: "A certain man appears, loutish, heavy, stupid; he can neither talk nor relate what he has just seen; he sets himself to writing, and it is a model of story-telling; he makes speakers of animals, trees, stones, everything that cannot speak; there is nothing but lightness and elegance, nothing but natural beauty and delicacy in his works." We are told that La Fontaine knew nothing of natural history; he knew and loved animals; up to his time, fable-writers had been merely philosophers or satirists; he was the first who was a poet, unique not only in France but in Europe, discovering the deep and secret charm of nature, animating it with his inexhaustible and graceful genius, giving lessons to men from the example of animals, without making the latter speak like man, ever supple and natural, sometimes elegant and noble, with penetration beneath the cloak of his simplicity, inimitable in the line which he had chosen from taste, from instinct, and not from want of power to transport his genius elsewhither. **La Fontaine**

A charming and a curious being, serious and simple, profound and childlike, winning by reason of his very vagaries, his good-natured originality, his helplessness in common life, La Fontaine knew how to estimate the literary merits as well as the moral qualities of his illustrious friends; Molière, in particular, was appreciated by him at once, and he commemorated the death of the great comic writer in a touching epitaph.

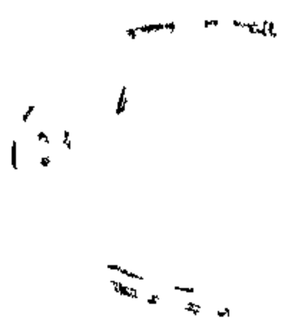
Shakspeare might dispute with Corneille and Racine the sceptre of tragedy, he had succeeded in showing himself as full of power, with more truth, as the one, and as full of tenderness, with more profundity, as the other; Molière is superior to him in originality, abundance and perfection of characters; he yields to him neither in range, nor penetration, nor complete knowledge of human nature. The lives of these two great geniuses, authors and actors both together, present in other respects certain features of resemblance. Both were intended for another career than that of the stage; both, **Moliere.**

carried away by an irresistible passion, assembled about them a few actors, leading at first a roving life, to end by becoming the delight of the court and of the world. In 1645 (? 1643), Molière had formed, with the ambitious title of *illustre théâtre*, a small company of actors who, being unable to maintain themselves at Paris, for a long while tramped the provinces, through all the troubles of the Fronde. It was in 1653 that Molière brought out at Lyons his comedy *l'Étourdi*, the first regular piece he had ever composed. The *Dépit amoureux* was played at Béziers, in 1656, at the opening of the session of the States of Languedoc; the company returned to Paris in 1658; in 1659, Molière, who had obtained a licence from the king, gave at his own theatre *les Précieuses ridicules*. He broke with all imitation of the Italians and the Spaniards, and, taking off to the life the manners of his own times, he boldly attacked the affected exaggeration and absurd pretensions of the vulgar imitators of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. The *École des Maris* and the *Fâcheux* were played at Vaux. The *École des Femmes* the *Impromptu de Versailles*, the *Critique de l'École des Femmes*, began the bellicose period in the great comic poet's life. Accused of impiety, attacked in the honour of his private life, Molière, returning insult for insult, delivered over those amongst his enemies who offered a butt for ridicule, to the derision of the court and of posterity. The *Festin de Pierre* and the signal punishment of the libertine (free-thinker) were intended to clear the author from the reproach of impiety; *la Princesse d'Élide* and *l'Amour médecin* were but charming interludes in the great struggle henceforth instituted between reality and appearance; in 1666, Molière produced *le Misanthrope*, a frank and noble spirit's sublime invective against the frivolity, perfidious and showy semblances of court. The *Misanthrope* is a shriek of despair uttered by virtue, excited and almost distraught at the defeat she forebodes. The *Tartuffe* was a new effort in the same direction, and bolder in that it attacked religious hypocrisy and seemed to aim its blows even at religion itself. Molière was a long time working at it; the first acts had been performed, in 1664, at court under the title of *l'Hypocrite*, at the same time as *la Princesse d'Élide*. Though played once publicly, in 1667, under the title of *l'Imposteur*, the piece did not appear definitively on the stage until 1669, having undoubtedly excited more scandal by interdiction than it would have done by representation. The king's good sense and judgment at last prevailed over the terrors of the truly devout and the resentment of hypocrites. He had just seen an impious piece of buffoonery played. "I should very much like to know," said he to the prince of Condé, who stood

His first plays.

"Le Misanthrope."

"Tartuffe"





LOUIS XIV IN HIS OLD AGE

up for Molière, an old fellow-student of his brother's, the prince of Conti's, "why people who are so greatly scandalized at Molière's comedy say nothing about *Scaramouche?*" "The reason of that," answered the prince, "is that *Scaramouche* makes fun of heaven and religion, about which those gentry do not care, and that Molière makes fun of their own selves, which they cannot brook." The prince might have added that all the blows in *Tartuffe*, a masterpiece of shrewdness, force and fearless and deep wrath, struck home at hypocrisy.

Whilst waiting for permission to have *Tartuffe* played, Molière had brought out *le Médecin malgré lui*, *Amphitryon*, *Georges Dandin* and *l'Avare*, lavishing freely upon them the inexhaustible resources of his genius, which was ever ready to supply the wants of kingly and princely entertainments. *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* was played for the first time at Chambord on the 6th of October, 1669; a year afterwards, on the same stage, appeared *le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, with the interludes and music of Lulli. The piece was a direct attack upon one of the most frequent absurdities of his day; many of the courtiers felt in their hearts that they were attacked; there was a burst of wrath at the first representation, by which the king had nót appeared to be struck. Molière thought it was all over with him. Louis XIV. desired to see the piece a second time; "You have never written anything yet which has amused me so much; your comedy is excellent," said he to the poet; the court was at once seized with a fit of admiration.

"Le Bourgeois gentilhomme."

Psyché, *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*, deserve just a mention; *Les Femmes savantes* had at first but little success; the piece was considered heavy; the marvellous nicety of the portraits, the correctness of the judgments, the delicacy and elegance of the dialogue were not appreciated until later on. *Le Malade imaginaire*, Molière's last play, was also the last of that succession of blows which he had so often dealt the doctors.

"Le Malade imaginaire."

It has been a labour of love to go into some detail over the lives, works and characters of the great writers during the age of Louis XIV. They did too much honour to their time and their country, they had too great and too deep an effect in France and in Europe upon the successive developments of the human intellect to refuse them an important place in the history of that France to whose influence and glory they so powerfully contributed.

In this brief survey of French literature we should not forget to mention the French Academy, which had grown and found its liberty had increased under the sway of Louis XIV.; it held its sittings at the Louvre, and, as regarded complimentary addresses to the king

on state occasions, it took rank with the sovereign bodies. The Academy of medals and inscriptions was founded by Colbert in 1662, "in order to render the acts of the king immortal by deciding the legends of the medals struck in his honour." Pontchartrain raised to forty the number of the members of the *petite académie*, as it was called, extended its functions, and entrusted it thenceforth with the charge of publishing curious documents relating to the history of France. The Academy of Sciences had already for many years had sittings in one of the rooms of the king's library. Like the French Academy, it had owed its origin to private meetings at which Descartes, Gassendi and young Pascal were accustomed to be present. "There are in the world scholars of two sorts," said a note sent to Colbert about the formation of the new Academy; "some give themselves up to science because it is a pleasure to them; they are content, as the fruit of their labours, with the knowledge they acquire, and, if they are known, it is only amongst those with whom they converse unambitiously and for mutual instruction; these are *bonâ fide* scholars, whom it is impossible to do without in a design so great as that of the *Académie royale*. There are others who cultivate science only as a field which is to give them sustenance, and, as they see by experience that great rewards fall only to those who make the most noise in the world, they apply themselves especially, not to making new discoveries, for hitherto that has not been recompensed, but to whatever may bring them into notice; these are scholars of the fashionable world, and such as one knows best." Colbert had the true scholar's taste; he had brought Cassini from Italy to take the direction of the new Observatory; he had ordered surveys for a general map of France; he had founded the *Journal des Savants;* literary men, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, enjoyed the king's bounties; Colbert had even conceived the plan of a universal Academy, a veritable forerunner of the Institute. The arts were not forgotten in this grand project; the academy of painting and sculpture dated from the regency of Anne of Austria; the pretensions of the Masters of Arts (*maitres ès arts*), who placed an interdict upon artists not belonging to their corporation, had driven Charles Lebrun, himself the son of a Master, to agitate for its foundation; Colbert added to it the academy of music and the academy of architecture, and created the French school of painting at Rome. The tradition of the masters in vogue in Italy, of the Caracci, of Guido, of Paul Veronese, had reached Paris with Simon Vouët, who had long lived at Rome. He was succeeded there by Le Poussin, whose two pupils, Lesueur and Claude Gelée, called Lorrain, soon equalled their master.

The Academies.

Fine arts.

Philip of Champagne deserves a prominent place in the brilliant roll of French seventeenth century artists. He had passionately admired Le Poussin, he had attached himself to Lesueur. "Never," says M. Vitet, "had he sacrificed to fashion; never had he fallen into the vagaries of the degenerate Italian style." This upright, simple, painstaking soul, this inflexible conscience, looking continually into the human face, had preserved in his admirable portraits the life and the expression of nature which he was incessantly trying to seize and reproduce. Lebrun was preferred to him as first painter to the king by Louis XIV. himself; Philip of Champagne was delighted thereat; he lived in retirement, in fidelity to his friends of Port-Royal, whose austere and vigorous lineaments he loved to trace, beginning with M. de St. Cyran, and ending with his own daughter, Sister Suzanne, who was restored to health by the prayers of Mother Agnes Arnauld.

Philip of Champagne.

Lebrun was as able a courtier as he was a good painter: the clever arrangement of his pictures, the richness and brilliancy of his talent, his faculty for applying art to industry, secured him with Louis XIV. a sway which lasted as long as his life. He was first painter to the king, he was director of the Gobelins and of the academy of painting. He followed the king's ideas, being entirely after his own heart; for fourteen years he worked for Louis XIV, representing his life and his conquests, at Versailles; painting for the Louvre the victories of Alexander, which were engraved almost immediately by Audran and Édelinck. After Lebrun's death (1690) Mignard became first painter to the king. He painted the ceiling of the Val-de-Grâce, which was celebrated by Molière, but it was as a painter of portraits that he excelled in France: "M. Mignard does them best," said Le Poussin not long before, with lofty good-nature, "though his heads are all paint, without force or character." To Mignard succeeded Rigaud as portrait-painter, worthy to preserve the features of Bossuet and Fénelon. The unity of organization, the brilliancy of style, the imposing majesty which the king's taste had everywhere stamped about him upon art as well as upon literature, were by this time beginning to decay simultaneously with the old age of Louis XIV., with the reverses of his arms and the increasing gloominess of his court; the artists who had illustrated his reign were dying one after another as well as the orators and the poets; the sculptor James Sarazin had been gone some time; Puget and the Anguiers were dead, as well as Mansard, Perrault and Le Nôtre; Girardon had but a few months to live; only Coysevox was destined to survive the king whose statue he had many a time moulded. The

Lebrun.

Mignard.

great age was disappearing slowly and sadly, throwing out to the last some noble gleams, like the aged king who had constantly served as its centre and guide, like olden France which he had crowned with its last and its most splendid wreath.

Society. Louis XIV. reigned everywhere, over his people, over his age, often over Europe; but nowhere did he reign so completely as over his court Never were the wishes, the defects and the vices of a man so completely a law to other men as at the court of Louis XIV. during the whole period of his long life. When near to him, in the palace of Versailles, men lived and hoped and trembled; everywhere else in France, even at Paris, men vegetated. The existence of the great lords was concentrated in the court, about the person of the king. Scarcely could the most important duties bring them to absent themselves for any time. They returned quickly, with alacrity, with ardour; only poverty or a certain rustic pride kept gentlemen in their provinces. "The court does not make one happy," says La Bruyère, "it prevents one from being so anywhere else."

Madame de La Vallière. The principle of absolute power, firmly fixed in the young king's mind, began to pervade his court from the time that he disgraced Fouquet and ceased to dissemble his affection for Mdlle. de La Vallière. She was young, charming and modest. Of all the king's favourites she alone loved him sincerely. "What a pity he is a king!" she would say. Louis XIV. made her a duchess; but all she cared about was to see him and please him. When Madame de Montespan began to supplant her in the king's favour, the grief of Madame de La Vallière was so great that she thought she should die of it. Then she turned to God, in penitence and despair; and, later on, it was at her side that Madame de Montespan, in her turn forced to quit the court, went to seek advice and pious consolation. "This soul will be a miracle of grace," Bossuet had said.

Madame de Montespan. Madame de Montespan was haughty, passionate, "with hair dressed in a thousand ringlets, a majestic beauty to show off to the ambassadors:" she openly paraded the favour she was in, accepting and angling for the graces the king was pleased to do her and hers, having the superintendence of the household of the queen, whom she insulted without disguise, to the extent of wounding the king himself: "Pray consider that she is your mistress," he said one day to his favourite. The scandal was great; Bossuet attempted the task of stopping it. It was the time of the Jubilee: neither the king nor Madame de Montespan had lost all religious feeling; the wrath of God and the refusal of the sacraments had terrors for them still.

Bossuet had acted in vain "like a pontiff of the earliest times, with a freedom worthy of the earliest ages and the earliest bishops of the Church," says St. Simon. He saw the inutility of his efforts; henceforth prudence and courtly behaviour put a seal upon his lips. It was the time of the great king's omnipotence and highest splendour, the time when nobody withstood his wishes. The great Mademoiselle had just attempted to show her independence; tired of not being married, she had made up her mind to a love-match; she did not espouse Lauzun just then, the king broke off the marriage. "I will make you so great," he said to Lauzun, "that you shall have no cause to regret what I am taking from you; meanwhile, I make you duke and peer and marshal of France." "Sir," broke in Lauzun insolently, "you have made so many dukes that it is no longer an honour to be one, and, as for the bâton of marshal of France, your Majesty can give it me when I have earned it by my services." He was before long sent to Pignerol, where he passed ten years. There he met Fouquet and that mysterious personage called the Iron Mask, whose name has not yet been discovered to a certainty by means of all the most ingenious conjectures. It was only by settling all her property on the duke of Maine after herself that Mademoiselle purchased Lauzun's release. The king had given his posts to the prince of Marcillac, son of La Rochefoucauld.

"La Grande Mademoiselle" and Lauzun.

Louis XIV. entered benevolently into the affairs of a marshal of France; he paid his debts, and the marshal was his *domestic;* all the court had come to that; the duties which brought servants in proximity to the king's person were eagerly sought after by the greatest lords. Bontemps, his chief valet, and Fagon, his physician, as well as his surgeon Maréchal, very excellent men too, were all-powerful amongst the courtiers. Louis XIV. possessed the art of making his slightest favours prized; to hold the candlestick at bed-time (*au petit coucher*), to appear in the trips to Marly, to play in the king's own game, such was the ambition of the most distinguished; the possessors of grand historic castles, of fine houses at Paris, crowded together in attics at Versailles, too happy to obtain a lodging in the palace. The whole mind of the greatest personages, his favourites at the head, was set upon devising means of pleasing the king; Madame de Montespan had pictures painted in miniature of all the towns he had taken in Holland; they were made into a book which was worth four thousand pistoles, and of which Racine and Boileau wrote the text; people of tact, like M. de Langlée, paid court to the master through those whom he loved.

Louis XIV. and the courtiers.

All the style of living at court was in accordance with the

magnificence of the king and his courtiers; Colbert was beside himself at the sums the queen lavished on play. Madame de Montespan lost and won back four millions in one night at bassette; Mdlle. de Fontanges gave away twenty thousand crowns' worth of New Year's gifts. A new power, however, was beginning to appear on the horizon, with such modesty and backwardness that none could as yet discern it, least of all could the king. Madame de Montespan had looked out for some one to take care of and educate her children. She had thought of Madame Scarron; she considered her clever; she was so herself, "in that unique style which was peculiar to the Mortemarts," said the duke of St. Simon; she was fond of conversation; Madame Scarron had a reputation for being rather a blue-stocking; this the king did not like; Madame de Montespan had her way; Madame Scarron took charge of the children secretly and in an isolated house. She was attentive, careful, sensible. The king was struck with her devotion to the children entrusted to her. "She can love," he said: "it would be a pleasure to be loved by her." This expression plainly indicated what was to happen; and Madame de Montespan saw herself supplanted by Madame Scarron. The widow of the deformed poet had bought the estate of Maintenon out of the king's bounty. He made her take the title. The recollection of Scarron was displeasing to him.

Madame de Maintenon.

The queen had died on the 30th of July, 1683, piously and gently, as she had lived. "This is the first sorrow she ever caused me," said the king, thus rendering homage, in his superb and unconscious egotism, to the patient virtue of the wife he had put to such cruel trials. Madame de Maintenon was agitated but resolute. "Madame de Montespan has plunged into the deepest devoutness," she wrote, two months after the queen's death: "it is quite time she edified us; as for me, I no longer think of retiring." Her strong common-sense and her far-sighted ambition, far more than her virtue, had secured her against rocks ahead; henceforth she saw the goal, she was close upon it, she moved towards it with an even step. The date has never been ascertained exactly of the king's private marriage with Madame de Maintenon. It took place probably eighteen months or two years after the queen's death; the king was forty-seven, Madame de Maintenon fifty. "She had great remains of beauty, bright and sprightly eyes, an incomparable grace," says St. Simon, who detested her, "an air of ease and yet of restraint and respect, a great deal of cleverness with a speech that was sweet, correct, in good terms and naturally eloquent and brief."

Her character.

Madame de La Vallière had held sway over the young and passionate heart of the prince, Madame de Montespan over the court, Madame de Maintenon alone established her empire over the man and the king. Alone she had any part in affairs, a smaller part than has frequently been made out, but important, nevertheless, and sometimes decisive. Ministers went occasionally to do their work in her presence with the king, who would turn to her when the questions were embarrassing, and ask, "What does your Solidity think?" The opinions she gave were generally moderate and discreet. Whatever the apparent reserve and modesty with which it was cloaked, the real power of Madame de Maintenon over the king's mind peeped out more and more into broad daylight. She promoted it dexterously by her extreme anxiety to please him as well as by her natural and sincere attachment to the children whom she had brought up and who had a place near the heart of Louis XIV.

Her influence over Louis XIV.

The chief ornament of the Court of Versailles was the Duchess of Burgundy. For the king and for Madame de Maintenon, the great and inexhaustible attraction of this young lady was her gaiety and unconstrained ease, tempered by the most delicate respect, which, on coming as quite a child to France from the court of Savoy, she had tact enough to introduce and always maintain amidst the most intimate familiarity. "In public, demure, respectful with the king, and on terms of timid propriety with Madame de Maintenon, whom she never called anything but *aunt*, thus prettily blending rank and affection. In private, chattering, frisking, fluttering around them, at one time perched on the arm of one or the other's chairs, at another playfully sitting on their knee, she would throw herself upon their necks, embrace them, kiss them, fondle them, pull them to pieces, chuck them under the chin, tease them, rummage their tables, their papers, their letters, reading them sometimes against their will, according as she saw that they were in the humour to laugh at it, and occasionally speaking thereon. Admitted to everything, even at the reception of couriers bringing the most important news, going in to the king at any hour, even at the time the council was sitting, useful and also fatal to ministers themselves, but always inclined to help, to excuse, to benefit, unless she were violently set against any body. The king could not do without her; when, rarely, she was absent from his supper in public, it was plainly shown by a cloud of more than usual gravity and taciturnity over the king's whole person; and so, when it happened that some ball in winter or some party in summer made her break into the night, she arranged matters so

The duchess of Burgundy.

well that she was there to kiss the king the moment he was awake and to amuse him with an account of the affair" [*Mémoires de St. Simon.*

The dauphiness had died in 1690; the duchess of Burgundy was, therefore, almost from childhood queen of the court and before long the idol of the courtiers; it was around her that pleasures sprang up; it was for her that the king gave the entertainments to which he had habituated Versailles, not that for her sake or to take care of her health he would ever consent to modify his habits or make the least change in his plans. "Thank God, it is over," he exclaimed one day, after an accident to the princess; "I shall no longer be thwarted in my trips, and in all I desire to do, by the representations of physicians. I shall come and go as I fancy; and I shall be left in peace." Even in his court and amongst his most devoted servants, this monstrous egotism astounded and scandalized everybody.

Flattery and hypocrisy.

Flattery, at Versailles, ran a risk of becoming hypocrisy. On returning to a regular life, the king was for imposing the same upon his whole court; the instinct of order and regularity, smothered for a while in the hey-day of passion, had resumed all its sway over the naturally proper and steady mind of Louis XIV. His dignity and his authority were equally involved in the cause of propriety and regularity at his court; he imposed this yoke as well as all the others; there appeared to be entire obedience; only some princes or princesses escaped it sometimes, getting about them a few free-thinkers or boon-companions; good, honest folks showed ingenuous joy; the virtuous and far-sighted were secretly uneasy at the falsehood and deplored the pressure put on so many consciences and so many lives. The king was sincere in his repentance for the past, many persons in his court were as sincere as he; others, who were not, affected, in order to please him, the externals of austerity; absolute power oppressed all spirits, extorting from them that hypocritical complaisance which it is liable to engender; corruption was already brooding beneath appearances of piety; the reign of Louis XV. was to see its deplorable fruits displayed with a haste and a scandal which are to be explained only by the oppression exercised in the last years of King Louis XIV.

Madame de Maintenon was like the genius of this reaction towards regularity, propriety, order; all the responsibility for it has been thrown upon her; the good she did has disappeared beneath the evil she allowed or encouraged; the regard lavished upon her by the king has caused illusions as to the discreet care she was continually taking to please him. She was faithful to her

friends, so long as they were in favour with the king; if they had the misfortune to displease him, she, at the very least, gave up seeing them; without courage or hardihood to withstand the caprices and wishes of Louis XIV., she had gained and preserved her empire by dint of dexterity and far-sighted suppleness beneath the externals of dignity.

The princess des Ursins.

It was through Madame de Maintenon and her correspondence with the princess des Ursins that the private business between the two courts of France and Spain was often carried on. At Madrid far more than at Versailles, the influence of women was all-powerful. The queen ruled her husband, who was honest and courageous but without wit or daring; and the princess des Ursins ruled the queen, as intelligent and as amiable as her sister the duchess of Burgundy, but more ambitious and more haughty. Louis XIV. had several times conceived some misgiving of the camarera major's influence over his grandson; she had been disgraced and then recalled; she had finally established her sway by her fidelity, ability, dexterity and indomitable courage. She served France habitually, Spain and her own influence in Spain always; she had been charming, with an air of nobility, grace, elegance and majesty all together, and accustomed to the highest society and the most delicate intrigues, during her sojourn at Rome and Madrid; she was full of foresight and calculation, but impassioned, ambitious, implacable, pushing to extremes her amity as well as her hatred, faithful to her master and mistress in their most cruel trials, and then hampering and retarding peace for the sake of securing for herself a principality in the Low Countries.

Her power and her downfall.

But the time came for Madame des Ursins to make definitive trial of fortune's inconstancy. After having enjoyed unlimited power and influence, with great difficulty she obtained an asylum at Rome, where she lived seven years longer, preserving all her health, strength, mind and easy grace until she died, in 1722, at more than eighty four years of age, in obscurity and sadness, notwithstanding her opulence, but avenged of her Spanish foes, Cardinals della Giudice and Alberoni, whom she met again at Rome, disgraced and fugitive like herself. "I do not know where I may die," she wrote to Madame de Maintenon, at that time in retirement at St. Cyr. Both had survived their power; the princess des Ursins had not long since wanted to secure for herself a dominion; Madame de Maintenon, more far-sighted and more modest, had aspired to no more than repose in the convent which she had founded and endowed. Discreet in her retirement as well as in her life, she had not left to chance the selection of a place where she might die.

"One has no more luck at our age," Louis XIV. had said to his old friend Marshal Villars, returning from his most disastrous campaign. It was a bitter reflection upon himself which had put these words into the king's mouth. After the most brilliant, the most continually and invariably triumphant of reigns, he began to see fortune slipping away from him and the grievous consequences of his errors successively overwhelming the State. "God is punishing me, I have richly deserved it," he said to Marshal Villars, who was on the point of setting out for the battle of Denain. The aged king, dispirited and beaten, could not set down to men his misfortunes and reverses; the hand of God Himself was raised against his house; Death was knocking double knocks all round him. The grand-dauphin had for some days past been ill of small-pox; he died in April, 1711; the duchess of Burgundy was carried off by an attack of malignant fever in February, 1712; her husband followed her within a week, and their eldest child, the duke of Brittany about a month afterwards.

The sun of Louis XIV. sets.

There was universal and sincere mourning in France and in Europe. The most sinister rumours circulated darkly; a base intrigue caused the duke of Orleans to be accused; people called to mind his taste for chemistry and even magic, his flagrant impiety, his scandalous debauchery; beside himself with grief and anger, he demanded of the king to be sent to the Bastille; the king refused curtly, coldly, not unmoved in his secret heart by the perfidious insinuations which made their way even to him, but too just and too sensible to entertain a hateful lie, which, nevertheless, lay heavy on the duke of Orleans to the end of his days.

Darkly, but to more effect, the same rumours were renewed before long. The duke of Berry died at the age of twenty-seven, on the 4th of May, 1714, of a disease which presented the same features as the scarlet fever (*rougeole pourprée*) to which his brother and sister-in-law had succumbed. The king was old and sad: the state of his kingdom preyed upon his mind; he was surrounded by influences hostile to his nephew, whom he himself called "a vaunter of crimes." A child who was not five years old remained sole heir to the throne. Madame de Maintenon, as sad as the king, "naturally mistrustful, addicted to jealousies, susceptibilities, suspicions, aversions, spites, and woman's wiles" [*Lettres de Fénelon au duc de Chevreuse*], being, moreover, sincerely attached to the king's natural children, was constantly active on their behalf. On the 19th of July, 1714, the king announced to the premier president and the attorney-general of the parliament of Paris that it was his pleasure to grant to the duke of Maine and to the count of Toulouse, for themselves and their descendants, the rank of princes of

Will of Louis XIV.

the blood, in its full extent, and that he desired that the deed should be enregistered in the parliament Soon after, still under the same influence, he made a will which was kept a profound secret and which he sent to be deposited in the strong-room (*greffe*) of the parliament, committing the guardianship of the future king to the duke of Maine, and placing him, as well as his brother, on the council of regency, with close restrictions as to the duke of Orleans, who would be naturally called to the government of the kingdom during the minority. The will was darkly talked about: the effect of the elevation of bastards to the rank of princes of the blood had been terrible. "There was no longer any son of France: the Spanish branch had renounced; the duke of Orleans had been carefully placed in such a position as not to dare say a word or show the least dissatisfaction; his only son was a child; neither the duke (of Berry), his brothers, nor the prince of Conti, were of an age or of standing, in the king's eyes, to make the least trouble in the world about it. The bomb-shell dropped all at once when nobody could have expected it, and everybody fell on his stomach, as is done when a shell drops; everybody was gloomy and almost wild; the king himself appeared as if exhausted by so great an effort of will and power." He had only just signed his will, when he met, at Madame de Maintenon's, the ex-queen of England. "I have made my will, Madame," said he: "I have purchased repose; I know the impotence and uselessness of it; we can do all we please as long as we are here; after we are gone, we can do less than private persons; we have only to look at what became of my father's, and immediately after his death too, and of those of so many other kings. I am quite aware of that; but, in spite of all that, it was desired; and so, Madame, you see it has been done; come of it what may, at any rate I shall not be worried about it any more." It was the old man yielding to the entreaties and intrigues of his domestic circle; the judgment of the king remained steady and true, without illusions and without prejudices.

Its chief clauses.

Death was coming, however, after a reign which had been so long, and had occupied so much room in the world, that it caused mistakes as to the very age of the king. He was seventy-seven, he continued to work with his ministers; the order so long and so firmly established was not disturbed by illness any more than it had been by the reverses and sorrows of late. He said to Madame de Maintenon once, "What consoles me for leaving you, is that it will not be long before we meet again." She made no reply. "What will become of you?" he added: "you have nothing." "Do not think of me," said she: "I am nobody; think only of God." He

Last days of the king.

said farewell to her: she still remained a little while in his room and went out when he was no longer conscious. She had given away here and there the few moveables that belonged to her, and now took the road to St. Cyr. On the steps she met Marshal Villeroy: "Good bye, marshal," she said curtly and covered up her face in her coifs. He it was who sent her news of the king to the last moment. The duke of Orleans, on becoming regent, went to see her and took her the patent (*brevet*) for a pension of sixty thousand livres, "which her disinterestedness had made necessary for her," said the preamble. It was paid her up to the last day of her life. History makes no further mention of her name; she never left St. Cyr. Thither the czar Peter the Great, when he visited Paris and France, went to see her; she was confined to her bed; he sat a little while beside her. "What is your malady?" he asked her through his interpreter. "A great age," answered Madame de Maintenon, smiling. He looked at her a moment in silence; then, closing the curtains, he went out abruptly. The memory he would have called up had vanished. The woman on whom the great king had, for thirty years, heaped confidence and affection was old, forgotten, dying; she expired at St. Cyr on the 15th of April, 1719, at the age of eighty-three.

A.D. 1719. Death of Madame de Maintenon (April 15).

She had left the king to die alone. He was in the agonies; the prayers in extremity were being repeated around him; the ceremonial recalled him to consciousness. He joined his voice with the voices of those present, repeating the prayers with them. Already the court was hurrying to the duke of Orleans; some of the more confident had repaired to the duke of Maine's; the king's servants were left almost alone around his bed; the tones of the dying man were distinctly heard above the great number of priests. He several times repeated: *Nunc et in hora mortis.* Then he said quite loud: "O my God, come Thou to help me, haste Thee to succour me." Those were his last words. He expired on Sunday, the 1st of September, 1715, at eight a.m. Next day he would have been seventy-seven years of age and he had reigned seventy-two of them.

A.D. 1715. Death of the king (Sept. 1).

In spite of his faults and his numerous and culpable errors, Louis XIV. had lived and died like a king. The slow and grievous agony of olden France was about to begin.

TABLE I.—COLBERT'S BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1662.

Debitor's Account.	livres	s.	ds.
Royal household	7,000,000		
The army (at the rate of 600,000 livres per month)	7,200,000		
Regiment of the French Guards	969,241		
Regiment of the Swiss Guards	1,224,810	6	8
Light Dragoons (chevau-légers) of the Guard	223,205		
The two companies of Musketeers	314,952		
Public Buildings	1,500,000		
Garrison expenses (as per estimate)	2,000,000		
Navy estimates	2,000,000		
The hulks (galères)	400,000		
Fortifications	300,000		
Extraordinary expenses of the Royal Family	300,000		
Ambassadors	250,000		
Salary of government officers.	1,200,000		
Foreign pensions	300,000		
Extraordinary pensions, etc. to the officers of the King's household	200,000		
Payment to the Archduke of Insprück	1,000,000		
Artillery and purchase of ammunition	300,000		
Salary of the Marshals of France	200,000		
Gratuities to members of the council, etc.	300,000		
Extraordinary and unforeseen expenses	1,317,191	13	4
Total	30,000,000 livres		

Creditor's Account.	livres	s.	ds.
Gabelles (salt tax)	13,500,000		
Les cinq grosses fermes†	3,650,000		
Aides (wine and spirit taxes).	5,211,000		
Tolls	4,720,900		
Convoi de Bordeaux†	3,600,000		
Salt-tax for Languedoc, Lyonnais, Provence, Dauphiné, and customs of Valence	5,570,000		
Overtax for Lyons	60,000		
Ditto (*quarantième.*)	120,000		
Subvention of Rouen	120,000		
Patents of Languedoc, Arzac and Bouille	566,000		
Tax of thirty-five sous raised at Brouage	335,000		
Paulette	800,000		
Farming of one-third of the domains and alienated rights	1,000,000		
Salt-tax in Roussillon	10,000		
Domains in ditto	100,000		
Salt-tax and domains of Metz, Toul and Verdun	277,000		
Farming of the King's domains in Alsace	80,000		
Post office	100,000		
Tailles (poll-tax and property tax	45,768,807		
Total	87,587,807 livres.		

* This name was given to the custom-house dues levied collectively on the provinces of Ile de France, Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, Bourgogne, Bresse and Bugey, Bourbonnais, Poitou, Anjou, Maine and Touraine, which had formed together a kind of *Zollverein*.

† A tax levied on consideration of the protection given by the King's navy to the merchant ships trading between Bordeaux and foreign parts.

N.B. This table is taken from Mr. Chéruel's excellent *Dictionnaire historique des institutions, mœurs et coutumes de la France*, published by Messrs. Hachette.

TABLE II.—A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE FRENCH ARMY, DOWN TO THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION.

1124. First instance of a permanent military force established.

1191. The supreme command of the army given to the constable of France, who has under his orders two marshals, besides the grand-master of the cross-bowmen.

1439. The cavalry of the *gens d'armes* (*compagnies d'ordonnance*) instituted; these companies, fifteen in number, are of 100 lances (600 men) each.

1445. The *Francs-archers* or *Francs-taupins* (infantry) instituted. The name *taupins* is derived from the Low Latin *talparius*, meaning a man who works underground, like a *mole*. Scotch archers appointed as part of the king's body-guard.

1478. The company of the *gentilshommes-à-bec-de-corbin* (infantry) organized.
1496. A body of Swiss soldiers, 127 in number, added to the king's household troops (*Les cent hommes de guerre Suisses de la garde du Roi*).
1532. Provincial legions instituted by Francis I. These corps, seven in all, are of 6000 men each.
1544. A colonel-general of the infantry appointed.
1558. Creation of a corps of *carabins* (light cavalry).—Marshal de Cossé-Brissac forms a regiment of dragoons destined to fight both on horseback and on foot.
1563. The provincial legions formed into regiments. The most ancient of these corps are the regiments of *Picardy*, *Champagne*, *Navarre*, *Piedmont*. Institution of the French guards.
1571. Appointment of a colonel-general of the Swiss and Grison troops in the French service.
1609. Gens d'armes of the king's body-guard instituted (cavalry).
1619. First nomination of a minister of war.
1612 The company of *grey musketeers* instituted. (Thus called from the colour of their horses.
1627. The office of constable of France suppressed.
1630. Formation of a body of *chevau-légers* (household troops, light cavalry).
1635. The musketeers and carbineers formed into regiments.
1660. A company of *black musketeers* instituted.
1665 Generals of brigade appointed for the cavalry.
1666 Louvois, minister of war.
1668. Generals of brigade appointed for the infantry.
1670. Establishment of the *gardes marines* at Brest, Rochefort and Toulon.
1671. Foundation of the Hôtel des Invalides. Introduction of the bayonet. Regiments of fusiliers formed.
1672. Companies of grenadiers introduced into each regiment.
1686. Grenadiers on foot and on horseback raised as part of the household troops.
1679-1707. Vauban reorganizes military engineering.
1682. Military schools established (*écoles de cadets*).
1691. First company of hussards raised.
1693. The order of Saint-Louis created as a decoration for military services.
1734. Marshal de Saxe forms a body of 100 Uhlans (lancers).
1748. Engineering schools established at Mézières
1751. A military school established at Paris.
1764. The *Gardes Françaises* arranged into six battalions, each containing half a company of grenadiers (50 men), and five companies of fusiliers (120 men each).
1776. The *cent-Suisses* disbanded. Count de Saint Germain, minister of war, introduces many reforms.
1789. Reform of the army.—Creation of the national guard.



CHAPTER XIII.

LOUIS XV., THE REGENCY, CARDINAL DUBOIS AND CARDINAL DE FLEURY. (1715—1748).

UNDER Henry IV., under Richelieu, under Louis XIV., events found quite naturally their guiding hand and their centre; men as well as circumstances formed a group around the head of the nation, whether king or minister, to thence unfold themselves quite clearly before the eyes of posterity. Starting from the reign of Louis XV. the nation has no longer a head, history no longer a centre; at the same time with a master of the higher order, great servants also fail the French monarchy; it all at once collapses, betraying thus the exhaustion of Louis XIV.'s latter years; decadence is no longer veiled by the remnants of the splendour which was still reflected from the great king and his great reign; the glory of olden France descends slowly to its grave. At the same time, and in a future as yet obscured, intellectual progress begins to dawn; new ideas of justice, of humanity, of generous equity towards the masses germinate sparsely in certain minds; it is no longer Christianity alone that inspires them, though the honour is reflected upon it in a general way and as regards the principles with which it has silently permeated modern society, but they who contribute to spread them refuse with indignation to acknowledge the source whence they have drawn them. Intellectual movement no longer appertains exclusively to the higher classes, to the ecclesiastics, or to the members of the parliaments; vaguely as yet, and retarded by apathy in the government as well as by disorder in affairs, it propagates and

Decay of the French monarchy.

extends itself imperceptibly pending that signal and terrible explosion of good and evil which is to characterize the close of the eighteenth century. Decadence and progress are going on confusedly in the minds as well as in the material condition of the nation. They must be distinguished and traced without any pretence of separating them.

There we have the reign of Louis XV. in its entirety.

Regency of the duke of Orleans.

The regency of the duke of Orleans and the ministry of Cardinal Dubois showed certain traits of the general tendencies and to a certain extent felt their influence; they formed, however, a distinct epoch, abounding in original efforts and bold attempts, which remained without result but which testified to the lively reaction in men's minds against the courses and fundamental principles of the reign which had just ended.

Louis XIV. had made no mistake about the respect which his last wishes were destined to meet with after his death. His will was as good as annulled; it was opened, it was read, and so were the two codicils. All the authority was entrusted to a council of regency of which the duke of Orleans was to be the head, but without preponderating voice and without power to supersede any of the members, all designated in advance by Louis XIV. The person and the education of the young king, as well as the command of the household troops, were entrusted to the duke of Maine.

The will of Louis XIV. annulled.

The Parliament applauded the formation of the six councils of foreign affairs, of finance, of war, of the marine, of *home* or the interior, of *conscience* or ecclesiastical affairs; the Regent was entrusted with the free disposal of graces: "I want to be free for good," said he, adroitly repeating a phrase from *Télémague*, "I consent to have my hands tied for evil."

The victory was complete. Not a shred remained of Louis XIV.'s will. The duke of Maine, confounded and humiliated, retired to his castle of Scéaux, there to endure the reproaches of his wife. The king's affection and Madame de Maintenon's clever tactics had not sufficed to found his power; the remaining vestiges of his greatness were themselves about to vanish before long in their turn.

On the 12th of September, the little king held a bed of justice; his governess, Madame de Ventadour, sat alone at the feet of the poor orphan, abandoned on the pinnacle of power. All the decisions of September 2 were ratified in the child's name. Louis XIV. had just descended to the tomb without pomp and without regret. The joy of the people broke out indecently as the funeral train passed by; the nation had forgotten the glory of the great king, it

remembered only the evils which had for so long oppressed it during his reign.

The new councils had already been constituted, when it was discovered that commerce had been forgotten; and to it was assigned a seventh body. How singular are the monstrosities of inexperience! At the head of the council of finance a place was found for the duke of Noailles, active in mind and restless in character, without any fixed principles, an adroit and a shameless courtier, strict in all religious observances under Louis XIV. and a notorious debauchee under the Regency, but intelligent, insolent, ambitious, hungering and thirsting to do good if he could, but evil if need were and in order to arrive at his ends. His uncle, Cardinal Noailles, who had been but lately threatened by the court of Rome with the loss of his hat, and who had seen himself forbidden to approach the dying king, was now president of the council of conscience. Marshal d'Huxelles, one of the negotiators who had managed the treaty of Utrecht, was at the head of foreign affairs. The Regent had reserved to himself one simple department, the Academy of Sciences. "I quite intend," said he gaily, "to ask the king, on his majority, to let me still be secretary of State of the Academy."

The duke of Noailles

The Regent's predilection, consolidating the work of Colbert, contributed to the development of scientific researches, for which the neatness and clearness of French thought rendered it thenceforth so singularly well adapted.

The gates of the prison were meanwhile being thrown open to many a poor creature; the Jansenists left the Bastille; others, who had been for a long time past in confinement, were still ignorant of the grounds for their captivity, which was by this time forgotten by everybody. For a while the Protestants thought they saw their advantage in the clemency with which the new reign appeared to be inaugurated, and began to meet again in their assemblies; the Regent had some idea of doing them justice, re-establishing the edict of Nantes and reopening to the exiles the doors of their country, but his councillors dissuaded him, the more virtuous, like St. Simon, from catholic piety, the more depraved from policy and indifference. However, the lot of the Protestants remained under the Regency less hard than it had been under Louis XIV. and than it became under the duke of Bourbon. The chancellor, Voysin, had just died. To this post the Regent summoned the attorney-general, D'Aguesseau, beloved and esteemed of all, learned, eloquent, virtuous, but too exclusively a man of parliament for the functions which had been confided to him.

The Bastille thrown open.

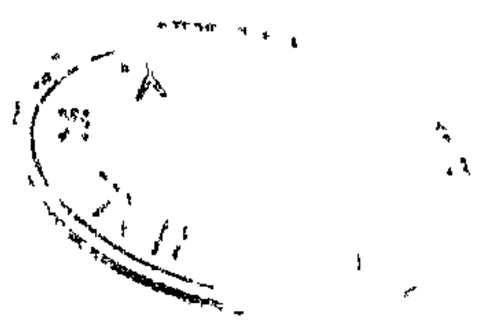
D'Aguesseau chancellor.

The treasury.

The new system of government, as yet untried and confided to men for the most part little accustomed to affairs, had to put up with the most formidable difficulties and to struggle against the most painful position. The treasury was empty and the country exhausted; the army was not paid and the most honourable men, such as the duke of St. Simon, saw no other remedy for the evils of the State but a total bankruptcy and the convocation of the States-general. Both expedients were equally repugnant to the duke of Orleans. The duke of Noailles had entered upon a course of severe economy; the king's household was diminished, twenty-five thousand men were struck off the strength of the army, exemption from talliage for six years was promised to all such discharged soldiers as should restore a deserted house and should put into cultivation the fields lying waste. At the same time something was being taken off the crushing weight of the taxes and the State was assuming the charge of recovering them directly, without any regard for the real or supposed advances of the Receivers-general; their accounts were submitted to the revision of the brothers Pâris, sons of an innkeeper in the Dauphinese Alps, who had made fortunes by military contracts and were all four reputed to be very able in matters of finance. They were likewise commissioned to *revise* the bills circulating in the name of the State, in other words, to suppress a great number without re-imbursement to the holder, a sort of bankruptcy in disguise, which did not help to raise the public credit. At the same time also a chamber of justice, instituted for that purpose, was prosecuting the tax-farmers (*traitants*), as Louis XIV. had done at the commencement of his reign, during the suit against Fouquet. The resources derived from this measure, as well as from the revision of the State's debts, remaining very much below expectation, the deficit went on continually increasing. In order to re-establish the finances, the duke of Noailles demanded fifteen years' impracticable economy, as chimerical as the increment of the revenues on which he calculated; and the duke of Orleans finally suffered himself to be led away by the brilliant prospect which was flashed before his eyes by the Scotsman Law, who had now for more than two years been settled in France.

John Law.

Law, born at Edinburgh in 1671, son of a goldsmith, had for a long time been scouring Europe, seeking in a clever and systematic course of gambling a source of fortune for himself and the first foundation of the great enterprises he was revolving in his singularly inventive and daring mind. Passionately devoted to the financial theories he had conceived, Law had expounded them to





LHL RIGHT ORLEANS

all the princes of Europe in succession. "He says that of all the persons to whom he has spoken about his system he has found but two who apprehended it, to wit, the king of Sicily and my son," wrote Madame, the Regent's mother. Victor Amadeo, however, had rejected Law's proposals. "I am not powerful enough to ruin myself," he had said. Law had not been more successful with Louis XIV. The Regent had not the same repugnance for novelties of foreign origin; so soon as he was in power, he authorised the Scot to found a circulating and discount bank (*banque de circulation et d'escompte*), which at once had very great success and did real service. Encouraged by this first step, Law reiterated to the Regent that the credit of bankers and merchants decupled their capital, if the State became the universal banker and centralized all the values in circulation, the public fortune would naturally be decupled. A radically false system, fated to plunge the State and consequently the whole nation into the risks of speculation and trading without the guarantee of that activity, zeal and prompt resolution which able men of business can import into their private enterprises. The system was not as yet applied; the discreet routine of the French financiers was scared at such risky chances, the pride of the great lords sitting in the council was shocked at the idea of seeing the State turning banker, perhaps even trader. St. Simon maintained that what was well enough for a free State could not take place under an absolute government. Law went on, however; to his bank he had just added a great company. The king ceded to him Louisiana, which was said to be rich in gold and silver mines superior to those of Mexico and Peru. People vaunted the fertility of the soil, the facility offered for trade by the extensive and rapid stream of the Mississippi; it was by the name of that river that the new company was called at first, though it soon took the title of *Compagnie d'Occident*, when it had obtained the privilege of trading in Senegal and in Guinea; it became the *Compagnie des Indes*, on forming a fusion with the old enterprises which worked the trade of the East. For the generality, and in the current phraseology, it remained the *Mississippi*; and that is the name it has left in history. New Orleans was beginning to arise at the mouth of that river. Law had bought Belle-Isle-en-Mer, and was constructing the port of Lorient.

His banking system.

"The Mississippi" bubble.

The Regent's councillors were scared and disquieted; the chancellor proclaimed himself loudly against the deception or illusion which made of Louisiana a land of promise: he called to mind that Crozat had been ruined in searching for mines of the precious metals there. This opposition, resulting from the purest

motives, caused his temporary disgrace; he was ordered by the Regent to give up the seals, which were entrusted to d'Argenson. The die had been cast and the duke of Orleans outstripped Law himself in the application of his theories. A company, formed secretly and protected by the new keeper of the seals, had bought up the general farmings (*fermes générales*), that is to say, all the indirect taxes, for the sum of forty-eight million fifty-two thousand livres; the *Compagnie des Indes* re-purchased them for fifty-two millions; the general receipts were likewise conceded to it, and Law's bank was proclaimed a Royal Bank; the Company's shares already amounted to the supposed value of all the coin circulating in the kingdom, estimated at seven or eight hundred millions. Law thought he might risk everything in the intoxication which had seized all France, capital and province. He created some fifteen hundred millions of new shares, promising his shareholders a dividend of 12 per cent. From all parts silver and gold flowed into his hands; everywhere the paper of the bank was substituted for coin. The delirium had mastered all minds. The street called *Quincampoix*, for a long time past devoted to the operations of bankers, had become the usual meeting-place of the greatest lords as well as of discreet burgesses. It had been found necessary to close the two ends of the street with gates, open from six a.m. to nine p.m.; every house harboured business agents by the hundred; the smallest room was let for its weight in gold. The workmen who made the paper for the bank-notes could not keep up with the consumption. The most modest fortunes suddenly became colossal, lacqueys of yesterday were millionaires to-morrow; extravagance followed the progress of this outburst of riches, and the price of provisions followed the progress of extravagance.

Financial schemes.

This extraordinary financial delusion did not, could not last. Law had brought with him to France a considerable fortune; he had scarcely enough to live upon when he retired to Venice, where he died some years later (1729), convinced to the last of the utility of his system, at the same time that he acknowledged the errors he had committed in its application.

Throughout the successive periods of intoxication and despair caused by the necessary and logical development of Law's scheme, the duke of Orleans had dealt other blows and directed other affairs of importance. Easy-going, indolent, often absorbed by his pleasures, the Regent found no great difficulty in putting up with the exaltation of the legitimatized princes; it had been for him sufficient to wrest authority from the duke of Maine, he let him enjoy the privileges of a prince of the blood. "I kept silence

The Regent and the legitimatized princes.

during the king's lifetime," he would say; "I will not be mean enough to break it now he is dead." But the duke of Bourbon, heir of the House of Condé, fierce in temper, violent in his hate, greedy of honours as well as of money, had just arrived at man's estate, and was wroth at sight of the bastards' greatness. He drew after him the count of Charolais his brother, and the prince of Conti his cousin: on the 22nd of April, 1716, all three presented to the king a request for the revocation of Louis XIV.'s edict declaring his legitimatized sons princes of the blood and capable of succeeding to the throne.

The duke of Bourbon indignant at the greatness of the bastards.

The Regent saw the necessity of firmness. "It is a maxim," he declared, "that the king is always a major as regards justice; that which was done without the states-general has no need of their intervention to be undone. The decree of the council of regency, based on the same principles, suppressed the right of succession to the crown, and cut short all pretensions on the part of the legitimatized princes' issue to the rank of princes of the blood; the rights thereto were maintained in the case of the duke of Maine and the count of Toulouse, for their lives, by the bounty of the Regent.

Conspiracy of Cellamare.

In the excess of her indignation and wrath the duchess of Maine determined not to confine herself to reproaches. She had passed her life in elegant entertainments, in sprightly and frivolous intellectual amusements; ever bent on diverting herself, she made up her mind to taste the pleasure of vengeance, and set on foot a conspiracy, as frivolous as her diversions. The object, however, was nothing less than to overthrow the duke of Orleans, and to confer the regency on the king of Spain, Philip V., with a council and a lieutenant, who was to be the duke of Maine.

Some scatter-brains of great houses were mixed up in the affair: MM. de Richelieu, de Laval, and de Pompadour; there was secret coming and going between the castle of Sceaux and the house of the Spanish ambassador, the prince of Cellamare; M. de Malézieux, the secretary and friend of the duchess, drew up a form of appeal from the French nobility to Philip V., but nobody had signed it or thought of doing so. They got pamphlets written by Abbé Brigault, whom the duchess had sent to Spain; the mystery was profound and all the conspirators were convinced of the importance of their manœuvres; every day, however, the Regent was informed of them by his most influential negotiator with foreign countries, Abbé Dubois, his late tutor and the most depraved of all those who were about him. Able and vigilant as he was, he was not ignorant of any single detail of the plot, and was only giving the conspirators

time to compromise themselves. At last, just as a young abbé, Porto Carrero, was starting for Spain, carrying important papers, he was arrested at Poitiers and his papers were seized. Next day, Dec. 7, 1718, the prince of Cellamare's house was visited and the streets were lined with troops.

At six a m. the king's men entered the duke of Maine's house. The Regent had for a long time delayed to act, as if he wanted to leave everybody time to get away; but the conspirators were too careless to take the trouble. The duchess was removed to Dijon, within the government and into the very house of the duke of Bourbon her nephew, which was a very bitter pill for her. The duke of Maine, who protested his innocence and his ignorance, was detained in the castle of Dourlans in Picardy. Cellamare received his passports and quitted France. The less illustrious conspirators were all put in the Bastille; the majority did not remain there long and purchased their liberty by confessions, which the duchess of Maine ended by confirming.

The duke and duchess of Maine arrested.

The only serious result of Cellamare's conspiracy was to render imminent a rupture with Spain. From the first days of the regency the old enmity of Philip V. towards the duke of Orleans and the secret pretensions of both of them to the crown of France, in case of little Louis XV.'s death, rendered the relations between the two courts thorny and strained at bottom, though still perfectly smooth in appearance. It was from England that Abbé Dubois urged the Regent to seek support. Dubois, born in the very lowest position, and endowed with a soul worthy of his origin, was "a little, lean man, wire-drawn, with a light-coloured wig, the look of a weasel, a clever expression," says St. Simon, who detested him: "all vices struggled within him for the mastery; they kept up a constant hubbub and strife together. Avarice, debauchery, ambition were his gods; perfidy, flattery, slavishness his instruments; and complete unbelief his comfort. He excelled in low intrigues; the boldest lie was second nature to him, with an air of simplicity, straightforwardness, sincerity, and often bashfulness." In spite of all these vices, and the depraving influence he had exercised over the duke of Orleans from his earliest youth, Dubois was able, often far-sighted, and sometimes bold; he had a correct and tolerably practical mind. Madame, who was afraid of him, had said to her son on the day of his elevation to power: "I desire only the welfare of the State and your own glory; I have but one request to make for your honour's sake, and I demand your word for it, that is, never to employ that scoundrel of an Abbé Dubois, the greatest rascal in the world, and one who would sacrifice the State and you to the slightest interest."

Character of the Abbé Dubois.

The Regent promised; yet a few months later and Dubois was Church-councillor of State, and his growing influence with the prince placed him, at first secretly and before long openly, at the head of foreign affairs.

Inspired by Dubois, weary of the weakness and dastardly incapacity of the Pretender, the Regent consented to make overtures to the king of England. The Spanish nation was favourable to France, but the king was hostile to the Regent; the English loved neither France nor the Regent, but their king had an interest in severing France from the Pretender for ever. Dubois availed himself ably of his former relations with Lord Stanhope, heretofore commander of the English troops in Spain, for commencing a secret negotiation which soon extended to Holland, still closely knit to England. The order of succession to the crowns of France and England, conformably to the peace of Utrecht, was guaranteed in the scheme of treaty; that was the only important advantage to the Regent, who considered himself to be thus nailing the renunciation of Philip V.; in other respects all the concessions came from the side of France; her territory was forbidden ground to the Jacobites, and the Pretender, who had taken refuge at Avignon on papal soil, was to be called upon to cross the Alps. The English required the abandonment of the works upon the canal of Mardyck, intended to replace the harbour of Dunkerque; the Hollanders claimed commercial advantages. Dubois yielded on all the points, defending to the last with fruitless tenacity the title of king of France, which the English still disputed. The negotiations came to an end at length on the 6th of January, 1717, and Dubois wrote in triumph to the Regent: "I signed at midnight; so there are you quit of servitude (your own master), and here am I quit of fear."

The czar Peter the Great visits France.

At the moment when the signature was being put to the treaty of the triple alliance, the sovereign of most distinction in Europe owing to the eccentric renown belonging to his personal merit, the czar Peter the Great, had just made flattering advances to France. He had some time before wished to take a trip to Paris, but Louis XIV. was old, melancholy and vanquished, and had declined the czar's visit. The Regent could not do the same thing, when, being at the Hague in 1717, Peter I. repeated the expression of his desire. Marshal Cossé was sent to meet him, and the honours due to the king himself were everywhere paid to him on the road. A singular mixture of military and barbaric roughness with the natural grandeur of a conqueror and creator of an empire, the czar mightily excited the curiosity of the Parisians. He testified towards the Regent a familiar good grace mingled with a certain

superiority; at the play, to which they went together, the czar asked for beer; the Regent rose, took the goblet which was brought and handed it to Peter, who drank and, without moving, put the glass back on the tray which the Regent held all the while, with a slight inclination of the head which, however, surprised the public.

Anecdotes about him.

At his first interview with the little king, he took up the child in his arms and kissed him over and over again, "with an air of tenderness and politeness which was full of nature and nevertheless intermixed with a something of grandeur, equality of rank and, slightly, superiority of age; for all that was distinctly perceptible." One of his first visits was to the church of the Sorbonne; when he caught sight of Richelieu's monument, he ran up to it, embraced the statue, and, "Ah! great man," said he, "if thou wert still alive, I would give thee one half of my kingdom to teach me to govern the other."

Political side of his visit.

Amidst all his chatting, studying, and information-hunting, Peter the Great did not forget the political object of his trip. He wanted to detach France from Sweden, her heretofore faithful ally, still receiving a subsidy which the czar would fain have appropriated to himself. Together with his own alliance he promised that of Poland and of Prussia. "France has nothing to fear from the emperor," he said: as for King George, whom he detested, "if any rupture should take place between him and the Regent, Russia would suffice to fill towards France the place of England as well as of Sweden."

Thanks to the ability of Dubois, the Regent felt himself infeoffed to England; he gave a cool reception to the overtures of the czar, who proposed a treaty of alliance and commerce. Prussia had already concluded secretly with France; Poland was distracted by intestine struggles; matters were confined to the establishment of amicable relations; France thenceforth maintained an ambassador in Russia, and the czar accepted the Regent's mediation between Sweden and himself.

Dubois was struggling everywhere throughout Europe against the influence of a broader, bolder, more powerful mind than his own, less adroit perhaps in intrigue, but equally destitute of scruples as to the employment of means. Alberoni had restored the finances and reformed the administration of Spain; he was preparing an army and a fleet, meditating, he said, to bring peace to the world,

Bold schemes of Alberoni.

and beginning that great enterprise by manœuvres which tended to nothing less than setting fire to the four corners of Europe, in the name of an enfeebled and heavy-going king, and of a queen ambitious, adroit, and unpopular. He dreamed of reviving the

ascendancy of Spain in Italy, of overthrowing the protestant king of England, whilst restoring the Stuarts to the throne, and of raising himself to the highest dignities in Church and State. He had already obtained from Pope Clement XI. the cardinal's hat, disguising under pretext of war against the Turks the preparations he was making against Italy; he had formed an alliance between Charles XII. and the czar, intending to sustain by their united forces the attempts of the Jacobites in England. His first enterprise, at sea, made him master of Sardinia within a few days; the Spanish troops landed in Sicily. The emperor and Victor Amadeo were in commotion; the pope, overwhelmed with reproaches by those princes, wept, after his fashion, saying that he had damned himself by raising Alberoni to the Roman purple; Dubois profited by the disquietude excited in Europe by the bellicose attitude of the Spanish minister to finally draw the emperor into the alliance between France and England. He was to renounce his pretensions to Spain and the Indies, and give up Sardinia to Savoy, which was to surrender Sicily to him. The succession to the duchies of Parma and Tuscany was to be secured to the children of the queen of Spain. France and England left Holland and Savoy free to accede to the treaty; but, if Spain refused to do so voluntarily within a specified time, the allies engaged to force her thereto by arms.

Dubois brings about a coalition.

The Hollanders hesitated: the Spanish ambassador at the Hague had a medal struck representing the quadruple alliance as a coach on the point of falling, because it rested on only three wheels. Certain advantages secured to their commerce at last decided the states-general. Victor Amadeo regretfully acceded to the treaty which robbed him of Sicily: he was promised one of the Regent's daughters for his son.

Alberoni refused persistently to accede to the great coalition brought about by Dubois. The hope of a sudden surprise in England, on behalf of the Jacobites, had been destroyed by the death of the king of Sweden, Charles XII., killed on the 12th of December, 1718, at Freiderishalt, in Norway; the flotilla equipped by Alberoni for Chevalier St. George had been dispersed and beaten by the elements; the Pretender henceforth was considered to cost Spain too dear; he had just been sent away from her territory at the moment when the conspiracy of Cellamare failed in France; in spite of the feverish activity of his mind and the frequently chimerical extent of his machinations, Alberoni remained isolated in Europe, without ally and without support.

Cardinal Alberoni isolated.

The treaty of the quadruple alliance had at last come to be definitively signed. Some days later appeared, almost at the same

time—the 17th of December, 1718, and the 9th of January, 1719—the manifestoes of England and France, proclaiming the resolution of making war upon Spain, whilst Philip V., by a declaration of December 25th, 1718, pronounced all renunciations illusory, and proclaimed his right to the throne of France in case of the death of Louis XV. At the same time he made an appeal to an assembly of the states-general against the tyranny of the Regent, "who was making alliances," he said, "with the enemies of the two crowns."

Preparations for war were actively carried on in France; the prince of Conti was nominally at the head of the army, Marshal Berwick was entrusted with the command. He accepted it, in spite of his old connexions with Spain, the benefits which Philip V. had heaped upon him, and the presence of his eldest son, the duke of Liria, in the Spanish ranks. Fontarabia, St. Sebastian and the castle of Urgel fell before long into the power of the French; another division burnt, at the port of Los Pasages, six vessels which chanced to be on the stocks; an English squadron destroyed those at Centera and in the port of Vigo. Everywhere the depôts were committed to the flames: this cruel and destructive war against an enemy whose best troops were fighting far away and who was unable to offer more than a feeble resistance, gratified the passions and the interests of England rather than of France.

His fall.

Alberoni attempted in vain to create a diversion by hurling into the midst of France the brand of civil war. Philip V. was beaten at home as well as in Sicily. The Regent succeeded in introducing to the presence of the king of Spain an unknown agent, who managed to persuade the monarch that the cardinal was shirking his responsibility before Europe, asserting that the king and queen had desired the war and that he had confined himself to gratifying their passions. The duke of Orleans said, at the same time, quite openly, that he made war not against Philip V. or against Spain but against Alberoni only. Lord Stanhope declared, in the name of England, that no peace was possible, unless its preliminary were the dismissal of the pernicious minister.

Dubois archbishop of Cambrai.

The cardinal's fall was almost as speedy as that which he had but lately contrived for his enemy the princess des Ursins. On the 4th of December, 1719, he received orders to quit Madrid within eight days and Spain under three weeks. So great success in negotiation, however servile had been his bearing, had little by little increased the influence of Dubois over his master. The Regent knew and despised him, but he submitted to his sway and yielded to his desires, sometimes to his fancies. Dubois had for a long while comprehended that the higher dignities of the Church could

alone bring him to the grandeur of which he was ambitious; he obtained the see of Cambrai, strange to say, through the influence of a Protestant king, George I. The Regent, as well as the whole court, was present at the ceremony, to the great scandal of the people attached to religion. Dubois received all the orders on the the same day; and, when he was joked about it, he brazenfacedly called to mind the precedent of St. Ambrose. Dubois henceforth cast his eyes upon the cardinal's hat, and his negotiations at Rome were as brisk as those of Alberoni had but lately been with the same purpose.

Amidst so much defiance of decency and public morality, in the presence of such profound abuse of sacred things, God did not, nevertheless, remain without testimony, and his omnipotent justice had spoken. On the 21st of July, 1719, the duchess of Berry, eldest daughter of the Regent, had died at the Palais-Royal, at barely twenty-four years of age; her health, her beauty, and her wit were not proof against the irregular life she had led. Ere long a more terrible cry arose from one of the chief cities of the kingdom: "The plague," they said, "is at Marseilles, brought, none knows how, *on board a ship from the East.*" The bishop of Marseilles, Monseigner de Belzunce, the sheriffs Esteile and Moustier, and a simple officer of health, Chevalier Roze, sufficed in the depopulated town for all duties and all acts of devotion. The example of the prelate animated with courageous emulation—not the clergy of lazy and emasculated dignitaries, for they fled at the first approach of danger, but—the parish-priests, the vicars, and the religious orders; not one deserted his colours, not one put any bound to his fatigues save with his life.

A.D. 1719. Death of theduchess of Berry (July 21).

Marseilles had lost a third of its inhabitants; Aix, Toulon, Arles, the Cévennes, the Gévaudan were attacked by the contagion; fearful was the want in the decimated towns, long deprived of every resource. Scarcely, however, had they escaped from the dreadful scourge which had laid them waste, when they plunged into excesses of pleasure and debauchery, as if to fly from the memories that haunted them. Scarcely was a thought given to those martyrs to devotion who had fallen during the epidemic; those who survived received no recompense; the Regent, alone, offered Monseigneur de Belzunce the bishopric of Laon, the premier ecclesiastical peerage in the kingdom; the saintly bishop preferred to remain in the midst of the flock for which he had battled against despair and death. It was only in 1802 that the city of Marseilles at last raised a monument to its bishop and its heroic magistrates.

ThePlague of Marseilles.

Dubois, meanwhile, was nearing the goal of all his efforts. In

Dubois curries favour with Rome.

order to obtain the cardinal's hat, he had embraced the cause of the Court of Rome, and was pushing forward the registration by Parliament of the Bull *Unigenitus*. The long opposition of the duke of Noailles at last yielded to the desire of restoring peace in the Church. In his wake the majority of the bishops and communities who had made *appeal* to the contemplated council renounced, in their turn, the protests so often renewed within the last few years. The Parliament was divided, but exiled to Pontoise, as a punishment for its opposition to the system of Law; it found itself threatened with removal to Blois. Chancellor d'Aguesseau had vainly sought to interpose his authority; a magistrate of the Grand Chamber, Perelle by name, was protesting eloquently against any derogation from the principles of liberty of the Gallican Church and of the parliaments: "Where did you find such maxims laid down?" asked the chancellor angrily. "In the pleadings of the late Chancellor d'Aguesseau," answered the councillor icily. D'Aguesseau gave in his resignation to the Regent, the Parliament did not leave for Blois; after sitting some weeks at Pontoise, it enregistered the formal declaration of the Bull, and at last returned to Paris on the 20th of December, 1720.

Is made a Cardinal.

On the 16th of July, 1721, Dubois was at last elected cardinal: it was stated that his elevation had cost eight millions of livres; he became premier minister in name, after having long been so in fact. His reign was not long at this unparalleled pinnacle of his greatness; he had been summoned to preside at the assembly of the clergy, and had just been elected to the French Academy, where he was received by Fontenelle, when a sore from which he had long suffered reached all at once a serious crisis; an operation was indispensable, but he set himself obstinately against it; the duke of Orleans obliged him to submit to it, and it was his death-blow; the wretched cardinal expired, without having had time to receive the sacraments.

His death.

The elevation and power of Dubois had the fatal effect of lowering France in her own eyes; she had felt that she was governed by a man whom she despised and had a right to despise; this was a deep-seated and lasting evil, authority never recovered from the blow thus struck at its moral influence. Dubois, however, was more able and more far-sighted in his foreign policy than the majority of his predecessors and his contemporaries were; without definitively losing the alliance of Spain, reattached to the interests of France by a double treaty of marriage, he had managed to form a firm connexion with England, and to rally round France the European coalition but lately in arms against her. He maintained

His ability as a statesman.

and made peace ingloriously; he obtained it sometimes by meannesses in bearing and modes of acting; he enriched himself by his intrigues, abroad as well as at home; his policy none the less was steadfastly French, even in his relations with the court of Rome and in spite of his eager desire for the cardinal's hat.

A.D. 1723. Death of the Regent (Dec. 2).

On the 2nd of December, 1723, three months and a half after the death of Dubois, the duke of Orleans succumbed in his turn. Struck down by a sudden attack of apoplexy, whilst he was chatting with his favourite for the time, the duchess of Falarie, he expired without having recovered consciousness. Lethargized by the excesses of the table and debauchery of all kinds, more and more incapable of application and work, the prince did not preserve sufficient energy to give up the sort of life which had ruined him. All the vices thus imputed to the Regent did not perish with him, when he succumbed at forty-nine years of age under their fatal effects. "The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones;" the Regency was the signal for an irregularity of morals which went on increasing, like a filthy river, up to the end of the reign of Louis XV.; the fatal seed had been germinating for a long time past under the forced and frequently hypocritical decency of the old court; it burst out under the easy-going regency of an indolent and indulgent prince, himself wholly given to the licentiousness which he excused and authorized by his own example. From the court the evil soon spread to the nation; religious faith still struggled within the soul, but it had for a long while been tossed about between contrary and violent opinions, it found itself disturbed, attacked, by the new and daring ideas which were beginning to dawn in politics as well as in philosophy. The break-up was already becoming manifest, though nobody could account for it, though no fixed plan was conceived in men's minds. People devoured the memoirs of Cardinal Retz and Madame de Motteville, which had just appeared; people formed from them their judgments upon the great persons and great events which they had seen and depicted. The University of Paris, under the direction of Rollin, was developing the intelligence and lively powers of burgessdom: and Montesquieu, as yet full young, was shooting his missiles in the *Lettres persanes* at the men and the things of his country with an almost cynical freedom, which was as it were the alarum and prelude of all the liberties which he scarcely dared to claim, but of which he already let a glimpse be seen. Evil and good were growing up in confusion, like the tares and the wheat. For more than eighty years past France has been gathering the harvest of ages; she has not yet separated the good grain from the rubbish which too often conceals it.

His character.

Break-up of the French nation.

Cardinal Fleury and the duke of Bourbon.

The bishop of Fréjus, who had but lately been the modest preceptor of the king and was quietly ambitious and greedy of power, but without regard to his personal interests, was about to become Cardinal Fleury and to govern France for twenty years; in 1723, he was seventy years old. Whether from adroitness or prudence, Fleury did not all at once aspire to all-powerfulness. Assured in his heart of his sway over the as yet dormant will of his pupil, he suffered the establishment of the duke of Bourbon's ministry, who was in a greater hurry to grasp the power he had so long coveted. He kept the list of benefices, and he alone, it was said, knew how to unloosen the king's tongue; but he had not calculated upon the pernicious and all-powerful influence of the marchioness of Prie, favourite "by appointment" (*attitrée*) to the duke. Clever, adroit, depraved, she aspired to govern, and chose for her minister Pâris-Duverney, one of the four Dauphinese brothers who had been engaged under the regency in the business of the *visa*, and the enemies as well as rivals of the Scotsman Law.

Pâris-Duverney.

His schemes of economy.

The strictness of the views and of the character of this new statesman strove, in the home department, against the insensate lavishness of the duke, and the venal irregularities of his favourite; imbued with the maxims of order and regularity formerly impressed by Colbert upon the clerks of the Treasury, and not yet completely effaced by a long interregnum, he laboured zealously to cut down expenses and useless posts, to resuscitate and regulate commerce; his ardour, systematic and wise as it was, hurried him sometimes into strange violence and improvidence; in order to restore to their proper figure values and goods which still felt the prodigious rise brought about by the *System*, Pâris-Duverney depreciated the coinage and put a tariff on merchandize as well as wages. The commotion amongst the people was great; the workmen rioted, the tradesmen refused to accept the legal figure for their goods; several men were killed in the streets, and some shops put the shutters up. The misery, which the administration had meant to relieve, went on increasing; begging was prohibited; refuges and workshops were annexed to the poor-houses; attempts were made to collect there all the old, infirm and vagabond. All this rigour was ineffectual; the useful object of Pâris-Duverney's decrees was not attained.

The Protestants persecuted.

Other outrages, not to be justified by any public advantage, were being at the same time committed against other poor creatures, for a long while accustomed to severities of all kinds. Without freedom, without right of worship, without assemblies, the Protestants had, nevertheless, enjoyed a sort of truce from their woes during the easy-going regency of the duke of Orleans. Amongst the

number of his vices Dubois did not include hypocrisy; he had not persecuted the remnants of French Protestantism, enfeebled, dumb, but still living and breathing. Pâris-Duverney and Madame de Prie returned to the policy of Louis XIV., they published in 1724 an edict which equalled in rigour the most severe proclamations of the previous reign; it placed the peace and often the life of reformers at the mercy not only of an enemy's denunciation, but of a priest's simple deposition; it destroyed all the bonds of family and substituted for the natural duties a barbarous and depraving law, but general sentiment and public opinion were no longer in accord with the royal proclamations. The clergy had not solicited the edict, the work of an ambitious man backed up by certain fanatics; they were at first embarrassed by it; when the old hatreds revived and the dangerous intoxications of power had affected the souls of bishops and priests, the magistracy, who had formerly been more severe towards the reformers than even the superintendents of the provinces had been, pronounced on many points in favour of the persecuted; the judges were timid, the legislation, becoming more and more oppressive, tied their hands, but the bias of their minds was modified, it tended to extenuate and not to aggravate the effects of the edict. The law was barbarous everywhere; it was strictly carried out only at certain spots, owing to the zeal of the superintendents or bishops; as usual, the South of France was the first to undergo all the rigours of it. Throughout a persecution which lasted nearly forty years, with alternations of severity and clemency, the chiefs of French Protestantism, Paul Rabaut, Court, and others equally distinguished, managed to control the often recurring desperation of their flocks. The execution of the unhappy Calas, accused of having killed his son, and the generous indignation of Voltaire cast a momentary gleam of light within the sombre region of prisons and gibbets. For the first time public opinion, at white heat, was brought to bear upon the decision of the persecutors. Calas was dead, but the decree of the Parliament of Toulouse, which had sentenced him, was quashed by act of the council: his memory was cleared, and the day of toleration for French Protestants began to glimmer, pending the full dawn of justice and liberty.

Rigorous measures enacted.

Execution of Calas.

The young king was growing up, still a stranger to affairs, solely occupied with the pleasures of the chase, handsome, elegant, with noble and regular features, a cold and listless expression. In the month of February 1725, he fell ill; for two days there was great danger. The duke thought himself to be threatened with the elevation of the House of Orleans to the throne. "I'll not be

caught so again," he muttered between his teeth, when he came one night to inquire how the king was: "if he recovers, I'll have him married." The king did recover, but the Infanta was only seven years old; the duke and Madame de Prie were looking out for a queen who would belong to them and would secure them the king's heart. Their choice fell upon Mary Leckzinska, a good, gentle, simple creature, without wit or beauty, twenty-two years old and living upon the alms of France with her parents, exiles and refugees at an old commandery of the Templars at Weissenburg. Before this king Stanislaus had conceived the idea of marrying his daughter to count d'Estrées; the marriage had failed through the Regent's refusal to make the young lord a duke and peer. The distress of Stanislaus, his constant begging-letters to the Court of France were warrant for the modest submissiveness of the princess. "Madame de Prie has engaged a queen, as I might engage a valet to-morrow," writes Marquis d'Argenson; "it is a pity."

Fleury had made no objection to the marriage. Louis XV. accepted it, just as he had allowed the breaking-off of his union with the Infanta and that of France with Spain. For a while the duke had hopes of reaping all the fruit of the unequal marriage he had just concluded for the king of France; but the hour of his downfall had arrived; he was ordered to quit the court and retire provisionally to Chantilly. Madame de Prie was exiled to her estates in Normandy, where she soon died of spite and anger. The head of the House of Condé came forth no more from the political obscurity which befitted his talents. At length Fleury remained sole master.

Disgrace of the duke of Bourbon.

Fleury prime minister.

He took possession of it without fuss or any external manifestation; caring only for real authority, he advised Louis XV. not to create any premier minister and to govern by himself, like his great-grandfather. The king took this advice, as every other, and left Fleury to govern. This was just what the bishop intended; a sleepy calm succeeded the commotions which had been caused by the inconsistent and spasmodic government of the duke; galas and silly expenses gave place to a wise economy, the real and important blessing of Fleury's administration. Commerce and industry recovered confidence; business was developed; the increase of the revenues justified a diminution of taxation; war, which was imminent at the moment of the duke's fall, seemed to be escaped; the bishop of Fréjus became Cardinal Fleury; the court of Rome paid on the nail for the service rendered it by the new minister in freeing the clergy from the tax of the fiftieth *impot du cinquantième*). "Consecrated to God and kept aloof from the commerce

of men," had been Fleury's expression, "the dues of the Church are irrevocable and cannot be subject to any tax whether of ratification or any other." The clergy responded to this pleasant exposition of principles by a gratuitous gift of five millions. Strife ceased in every quarter; France found herself at rest, without lustre as well as without prospect.

It was not, henceforth, at Versailles that the destinies of Europe were discussed and decided. The dismissal of the Infanta had struck a deadly blow at the frail edifice of the quadruple alliance, fruit of the intrigues and diplomatic ability of Cardinal Dubois. The efforts made in common by Fleury and Robert Walpole, prime minister of the king of England, were for a long while successful in maintaining the general peace; the unforeseen death of Augustus of Saxony, king of Poland, suddenly came to trouble it. It was, thenceforth, the unhappy fate of Poland to be a constant source of commotion and discord in Europe. The elector of Saxony, son of Augustus II., was supported by Austria and Russia; the national party in Poland invited Stanislaus Leckzinski; he was elected at the Diet by sixty thousand men of family, and set out to take possession of the throne, reckoning upon the promises of his son-in-law, and on the military spirit which was reviving in France. The young men burned to win their spurs; the old generals of Louis XIV. were tired of idleness.

Affairs of Poland.

The ardour of Cardinal Fleury did not respond to that of the friends of King Stanislaus. Russia and Austria made an imposing display of force in favour of the elector of Saxony; France sent, tardily, a body of fifteen hundred men; this ridiculous reinforcement had not yet arrived when Stanislaus, obliged to withdraw from Warsaw, had already shut himself up in Dantzic. The Austrian general had invested the place.

News of the bombardment of Dantzic greeted the little French corps as they approached the fort of Wechselmunde. Their commander saw his impotence; instead of landing his troops, he made sail for Copenhagen. The French ambassador at that court, Count Plelo, was indignant to see his countrymen's retreat, and, hastily collecting a hundred volunteers, he summoned to him the chiefs of the expeditionary corps. "How could you resolve upon not fighting at any price?" he asked. "That is easy to say," rejoined one of the officers, roughly, "when you're safe in your closet." "I shall not be there long!" exclaims the count, and presses them to return with him to Dantzic. The officer in command of the detachment, M. de la Peyrouse Lamotte, yields to his entreaties. They set out both of them, persuaded at the same time of the uselessness of their

Heroism of Count Plelo.

enterprise and of the necessity they were under, for the honour of France, to attempt it. Before embarking Count Plelo wrote to M. de Chauvelin, the then keeper of the seals: "I am sure not to return; I commend to you my wife and children." Scarcely had the gallant little band touched land beneath the fort of Wechselmunde, when they marched up to the Russian lines, opening a way through the pikes and muskets in hopes of joining the besieged, who at the same time effected a sally. Already the enemy began to recoil at sight of such audacity, when M. de Plelo fell mortally wounded; the enemy's battalions had hemmed in the French. La Peyrouse succeeded, however, in effecting his retreat, and brought away his little band into the camp they had established under shelter of the fort. For a month the French kept up a rivalry in courage with the defenders of Dantzic; when at last they capitulated, on the 23rd of June, General Munich had conceived such esteem for their courage that he granted them leave to embark with arms and baggage. A few days later King Stanislaus escaped alone from Dantzic, which was at length obliged to surrender on the 7th of July, and sought refuge in the dominions of the king of Prussia. Some Polish lords went and joined him at Konigsberg. Partisan war continued still, but the arms and influence of Austria and Russia had carried the day; the national party was beaten in Poland. The pope released the Polish gentry from the oath they had made never to entrust the crown to a foreigner. Augustus III., recognised by the mass of the nation, became the docile tool of Russia, whilst in Germany and in Italy the Austrians found themselves attacked simultaneously by France, Spain, and Sardinia.

Marshal Berwick had taken the fort of Kehl in the month of December, 1733; he had forced the lines of the Austrians at Erlingen at the commencement of the campaign of 1734, and he had just opened trenches against Phillipsburg, when he pushed forward imprudently in a reconnoissance between the fires of the besiegers and besieged: a ball wounded him mortally, and he

A.D. 1734.

Death of Marshal Berwick.

expired immediately, like Marshal Turenne; he was sixty-three. The duke of Noailles, who at once received the marshal's bâton, succeeded him in the command of the army by agreement with Marshal d'Asfeldt. Philipsburg was taken after forty-eight days' open trenches, without Prince Eugene, all the while within hail, making any attempt to relieve the town. The campaign of 1735 hung fire in Germany. It was more splendid in Italy, where the outset of the war had been brilliant. Presumptuous as ever, in spite of his eighty-two years, Villars had started for Italy, saying to Cardinal Fleury: "The king may dispose of Italy, I am going

Campaign in Italy. Cremona and Pizzighitone surrender.



LOUIS XV



HILPIRAN P.C.

to conquer it for him." And, indeed, within three months, nearly the whole of Milaness was reduced. Cremona and Pizzighitone had surrendered; but already King Charles Emmanuel was relaxing his efforts with the prudent selfishness customary to his house. The Sardinian contingents did not arrive: the Austrians had seized a passage over the Po; Villars, however, was preparing to force it, when a large body of the enemy came down upon him. The king of Sardinia was urged to retire: "That is not the way to get out of this," cried the Marshal, and, sword in hand, he charged at the head of the body-guard; Charles Emmanuel followed his example; the Austrians were driven in. "Sir," said Villars to the king, who was complimenting him, "these are the last sparks of my life; thus, at departing, I take my leave of it."

A.D. 1734. Death of Marshal Villars (June 17).

Death, in fact, had already seized his prey; the aged marshal had not time to return to France to yield up his last breath there; he was expiring at Turin, when he heard of Marshal Berwick's death before Philipsburg; "That fellow always was lucky," said he On the 17th of June, 1734, Villars died, in his turn, by a strange coincidence, in the very room in which he had been born, when his father was French ambassador at the court of the duke of Savoy.

Some days later Marshals Broglie and Coigny defeated the Austrians before Parma; the general-in-chief, M. de Mercy, had been killed on the 19th of September; the prince of Wurtemberg, in his turn succumbed at the battle of Guastalla, and yet these successes on the part of the French produced no serious result. The Spaniards had become masters of the kingdom of Naples and of nearly all Sicily; the Austrians had fallen back on the Tyrol, keeping a garrison at Mantua only. The duke of Noailles, then at the head of the army, was preparing for the siege of the place, in order to achieve that deliverance of Italy which was even then the dream of France; but the king of Sardinia and the queen of Spain were already disputing for Mantua; the Sardinian troops withdrew, and it was in the midst of his forced inactivity that the duke of Noailles heard of the armistice signed in Germany. Cardinal Fleury, weary of the war which he had entered upon with regret, disquieted too at the new complications which he foresaw in Europe, had already commenced negotiations; the preliminaries were signed at Vienna in the month of October, 1735.

A.D. 1735. Treaty of Vienna (October).

The conditions of the treaty astonished Europe. Cardinal Fleury had renounced the ambitious idea suggested to him by Chauvelin; he no longer aspired to impose upon the emperor the complete emancipation of Italy, but he made such disposition as

he pleased of the States there, and reconstituted the territories according to his fancy. The kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies were secured to Don Carlos, who renounced Tuscany and the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. These three principalities were to form the appanage of duke Francis of Lorraine, betrothed to the archduchess Maria Theresa. There it was that France was to find her share of the spoil; in exchange for the dominions formed for him in Italy, duke Francis ceded the duchies of Lorraine and Bar to king Stanislaus; the latter formally renounced the throne of Poland, at the same time preserving the title of king and resuming possession of his property; after him, Lorraine and the Barrois were to be united to the crown of France, as dower and heritage of that queen who had been but lately raised to the throne by a base intrigue, and who thus secured to her new country a province so often taken and retaken, an object of so many treaties and negotiations, and thenceforth so tenderly cherished by France.

The principal clauses.

Peace reigned in Europe, and Cardinal Fleury governed France without rival and without opposition. He had but lately, like Richelieu, to whom, however, he did not care to be compared, triumphed over parliamentary revolt. Jealous of their ancient traditional rights, the Parliament claimed to share with the government the care of watching over the conduct of the clergy. It was on that ground that they had rejected the introduction of the Legend of Gregory VII., recently canonized at Rome, and had sought to mix themselves up in the religious disputes excited just then by the pretended miracles wrought at the tomb of deacon Pâris, a pious and modest Jansenist, who had lately died in the odour of sanctity in the parish of St. Médard. The cardinal had ordered the cemetery to be closed, in order to cut short the strange spectacles presented by the *convulsionists*, as they were called; and, to break down the opposition of Parliament, the king had ordered, at a bed of justice, the registration of all the papal bulls succeeding the *Unigenitus*. In vain had D'Aguesseau, reappointed to the chancellorship, exhorted the Parliament to yield: he had fallen in public esteem. A hundred and thirty-nine members received letters under the king's seal (*lettres de cachet*), exiling them to the four quarters of France. The Grand Chamber had been spared; the old councillors, alone remaining, enregistered purely and simply the declarations of the keeper of the seals. Once more the Parliament was subdued, it had testified its complete political impotence; the iron hand of Richelieu, the perfect address of Mazarin, were no longer necessary to silence it; the prudent moderation, the reserved frigidity of Cardinal Fleury had sufficed for the purpose.

The Jansenists and the Parliament.

It was amidst this state of things that the death of the Emperor Charles VI. on the 20th of October, 1740, occurred to throw Europe into a new ferment of discord and war. Maria Theresa, the emperor's eldest daughter, was twenty-three years old, beautiful, virtuous, and of a lofty and resolute character; her rights to the paternal heritage had been guaranteed by all Europe. Europe, however, soon rose, almost in its entirety, to oppose them. The elector of Bavaria claimed the domains of the House of Austria, by virtue of a will of Ferdinand I., father of Charles V. The king of Poland urged the rights of his wife, daughter of the Emperor Joseph I. Spain put forth her claims to Hungary and Bohemia, appanage of the elder branch of the House of Austria. Sardinia desired her share in Italy; Prussia had a new sovereign, who spoke but little, but was the first to act.

A.D. 1740. Death of the emperor Charles VI. (Oct. 20). Disputes about the succession

Kept for a long while by his father in cruel captivity, always carefully held aloof from affairs, and, to pass the time, obliged to engage in literature and science, Frederick II. had ascended the throne in August, 1740, with the reputation of a mind cultivated, liberal and accessible to noble ideas. Voltaire, with whom he had become connected, had trumpeted his praises everywhere: the first act of the new king revealed qualities of which Voltaire had no conception. On the 23rd of December, after leaving a masked ball, he started post-haste for the frontier of Silesia, where he had collected thirty thousand men. Without preliminary notice, without declaration of war, he at once entered the Austrian territory, which was scantily defended by three thousand men and a few garrisons. Before the end of January, 1741, the Prussians were masters of Silesia. "I am going, I fancy, to play your game," Frederick had said, as he set off, to the French ambassador: "if the aces come to me we will share."

Frederick II., king of Prussia.

Meanwhile France, as well as the majority of the other nations, had recognized the young queen of Hungary. She had been proclaimed at Vienna on the 7th of November, 1740; all her father's States had sworn alliance and homage to her. Cardinal Fleury's intentions remained as yet vague and secret. Naturally and stubbornly pacific, he felt himself bound by the confirmation of the Pragmatic-Sanction, lately renewed, at the time of the treaty of Vienna. And yet prudent, economizing, timid as he was, he had taken a liking for a man of adventurous and sometimes chimerical spirit. "Count Belle-Isle, grandson of Fouquet," says M. d'Argenson, "had more wit than judgment, and more fire than force, but he aimed very high." He dreamed of revising the map of Europe, and of forming a zone of small States destined to protect France against the designs of Austria. Louis XV. pretended to nothing,

Count Belle-Isle.

demanded nothing for the price of his assistance; but France had been united from time immemorial to Bavaria: she was bound to raise the elector to the imperial throne. If it happened afterwards, in the dismemberment of the Austrian dominions, that the Low Countries fell to the share of France, it was the natural sequel of past conquests of Flanders, Lorraine and the Three Bishoprics. Count Belle-Isle did not disturb with his dreams the calm of the aged cardinal; he was modest in his military aspirations. The French navy was ruined, the king had hardly twenty vessels to send to sea; that mattered little, as England and Holland took no part in the contest; Austria was not a maritime power; Spain joined with France to support the elector. A body of forty thousand men was put under the orders of that prince, who received the title of lieutenant-general of the armies of the king of France. Louis XV. acted only in the capacity of Bavaria's ally and auxiliary. Meanwhile Marshal Belle-Isle, the king's ambassador and plenipotentiary in Germany, had just signed a treaty with Frederick II., guaranteeing to that monarch Lower Silesia. At the same time, a second French army under the orders of Marshal Maillebois entered Germany; Saxony and Poland came into the coalition. The king of England, George II., faithful to the Pragmatic-Sanction, hurrying over to Hanover to raise troops there, found himself threatened by Maillebois, and signed a treaty of neutrality. The elector had been proclaimed, at Lintz, archduke of Austria: nowhere did the Franco-Bavarian army encounter any obstacle. The king of Prussia was occupying Moravia; Upper and Lower Austria had been conquered without a blow, and by this time the forces of the enemy were threatening Vienna. The success of the invasion was like a dream, but the elector had not the wit to profit by the good fortune which was offered him.

France and Spain join together.

Maria Theresa in Hungary.

A few weeks had sufficed to crown the success; less time sufficed to undo it. On flying from Vienna, Maria Theresa had sought refuge in Hungary; the assembly of the Estates held a meeting at Presburg; there she appeared dressed in mourning, holding in her arms her son, scarce six months old. Already she had known how to attach the magnates to her by the confidence she had shown them; she held out to them her child; "I am abandoned of my friends," said she in Latin, a language still in use in Hungary amongst the upper classes; "I am pursued by my enemies, attacked by my relatives; I have no hope but in your fidelity and courage; we—my son and I—look to you for our safety."

The palatines scarcely gave the queen time to finish; already the sabres were out of the sheaths and flashing above their heads.

Count Bathyany was the first to shout: "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Mariâ Theresâ!*" The same shout was repeated everywhere; Maria Theresa, restraining her tears, thanked her defenders with gesture and voice; she was expecting a second child before long: "I know not," she wrote to her mother-in-law the duchess of Lorraine, "if I shall have a town left to be confined in." Hungary rose, like one man, to protect her sovereign against the excess of her misfortunes; the same spirit spread before long through the Austrian provinces; bodies of irregulars, savage and cruel, formed at all points, attacking and massacring the French detachments they encountered, and giving to the war a character of ferocity which displayed itself with special excess against Bavaria. Count Ségur, besieged in Lintz, was obliged to capitulate on the 26th of January, and the day after the elector of Bavaria had received the imperial crown at Frankfurt under the name of Charles VII.—February 12, 1742—the Austrians, under the orders of General Khevenhuller, obtained possession of Munich, which was given up to pillage.

Attitude of England.

Meanwhile England had renounced her neutrality: the general feeling of the nation prevailed over the prudent and far-sighted ability of Robert Walpole; he succumbed, after his long ministry, full of honours and riches; the government had passed into warlike hands. The women of society, headed by the duchess of Marlborough, raised a subscription of 100,000*l.*, which they offered unsuccessfully to the haughty Maria Theresa. Parliament voted more effectual aid, and English diplomacy adroitly detached the king of Sardinia from the allies whom success appeared to be abandoning. The king of Prussia had just gained at Czeslaw an important victory; next day, he was negotiating with the queen of Hungary. On the 11th of June the treaty which abandoned Silesia to Frederick II. was secretly concluded.

Chevert still occupied Prague, with six thousand sick or wounded; the prince of Lorraine had invested the place, and summoned it to surrender at discretion. "Tell your general," replied Chevert to the Austrian sent to parley, "that, if he will not grant me the honours of war, I will fire the four corners of Prague, and bury myself under its ruins." He obtained what he asked for, and went to rejoin Marshal Belle-Isle at Egra. People compared the retreat from Prague to the retreat of the Ten Thousand; but the truth came out for all the fictions of flattery and national pride. A hundred thousand Frenchmen had entered Germany at the outset of the war; at the commencement of the year 1743 thirty-five thousand soldiers, mustered in Bavaria, were nearly all that remained to withstand the increasing efforts of the Austrians.

Retreat of Chevert.

Marshal Belle-Isle was coldly received at Paris. "He is much

inconvenienced by a sciatica," writes the advocate Barbier, "and cannot walk but with the assistance of two men. He comes back with grand decorations: prince of the empire, knight of the Golden Fleece, blue riband, marshal of France and duke. He is held accountable, however, for all the misfortunes that have happened to us; it was spread about at Paris that he was disgraced and even exiled to his estate at Vernon, near Gisors. It is true, nevertheless, that he has several times done business with the king, whether in M. Amelot's presence, on foreign affairs, or M. D'Aguesseau's, on military; but this restless and ambitious spirit is feared by the ministers."

A.D. 1743. Death of Cardinal Fleury (Jan. 29).

Almost at the very moment when the Austrians were occupying Prague and Bohemia, Cardinal Fleury was expiring, at Versailles, at the age of ninety. He had lived too long: the trials of the last years of his life had been beyond the bodily and mental strength of an old man elevated for the first time to power at an age when it is generally seen slipping from the hands of the most energetic. Naturally gentle, moderate, discreet, though stubborn and persevering in his views, he had not an idea of conceiving and practising a great policy. France was indebted to him for a long period of mediocre and dull prosperity, which was preferable to the evils that had for so long oppressed her, but as for which she was to cherish no remembrance and no gratitude, when new misfortunes came bursting upon her.

Both court and nation hurled the same reproach at Cardinal Fleury; he alone prevented the king from governing and turned his attention from affairs, partly from jealousy and partly from the old habit acquired as a preceptor, who can never see a man in one who has been his pupil. When the old man died *at last*, as M. d'Argenson cruelly puts it, France turned her eyes towards Louis XV. "The cardinal is dead; hurrah for the king!" was the cry amongst the people. The monarch himself felt as if he were emancipated. "Gentlemen, here am I—premier minister!" said he to his most intimate courtiers.

The prudent hesitation and backwardness of Holland had at last yielded to the pressure of England. The States-general had sent twenty thousand men to join the army which George II. had just sent into Germany. It was only on the 15th of March, 1744, that

A.D. 1744. Louis XV. declares war against England.

Louis XV. formally declared war against the king of England and Maria Theresa, no longer as an auxiliary of the emperor, but in his own name and on behalf of France. Charles VII., a fugitive, driven from his hereditary dominions, which had been evacuated by Marshal Broglie, had transported to Frankfurt his ill fortune and his empty titles. France alone supported in Germany a quarrel the weight of which she had imprudently taken upon herself.

The effort was too much for the resources; the king's counsellors felt that it was; the battle of Dettingen, skilfully commenced on the 27th of June, 1743, by Marshal Noailles, and lost by the imprudence of his nephew, the duke of Gramont, had completely shaken the confidence of the armies; the emperor had treated with the Austrians for an armistice, establishing the neutrality of his troops, as belonging to the empire. Noailles wrote to the king on the 8th of July, "It is necessary to uphold this phantom, in order to restrain Germany, which would league against us, and furnish the English with all the troops therein, the moment the emperor was abandoned." It was necessary, at the same time, to look out elsewhere for more effectual support. The king of Prussia had been resting for the last two years, a curious and an interested spectator of the contests which were bathing Europe in blood, and which answered his purpose by enfeebling his rivals. He frankly and coolly flaunted his selfishness. "In a previous war with France," he says in his memoirs, "I abandoned the French at Prague, because I gained Silesia by that step. If I had escorted them to Vienna, they would never have given me so much." In turn, the successes of the queen of Hungary were beginning to disquiet him; on the 5th of June, 1744, he signed a new treaty with France; for the first time Louis XV. was about to quit Versailles and place himself at the head of an army. "If my country is to be devoured," said the king, with a levity far different from the solemn tone of Louis XIV., "it will be very hard on me to see it swallowed without personally doing my best to prevent it."

A.D. 1743. Battle of Dettingen (June 27).

He had, however, hesitated a long while before he started. Credit was given to the duchess of Châteauroux, Louis XV.'s new favourite, for having excited this warlike ardour in the king. Ypres and Menin had already surrendered after a few days' open trenches; siege had just been laid to Furnes. Marshal Noailles had proposed to move up the king's household troops in order to make an impression upon the enemy. "If they must needs be marched up," replied Louis XV., "I do not wish to separate from my household: *verbum sap.*"

Military ardour of the king.

The news which arrived from the army of Italy was equally encouraging; the prince of Condé, seconded by Chevert, had forced the passage of the Alps: "There will come some occasion when we shall do as well as the French have done," wrote Count Campo Santo, who, under Don Philip, commanded the Spanish detachment; "it is impossible to do better."

Just at that moment Louis XV. was taken suddenly ill, and a few days later all France was in consternation; reports flew about

Illness of Louis XV. The duchess of Chateauroux.

that his life was despaired of. Confronted with death, the king had once more felt the religious terrors which were constantly intermingled with the irregularity of his life; he had sent for the queen, and had dismissed the duchess of Châteauroux. On recovering his health, he found himself threatened by new perils, aggravated by his illness, and by the troubled state into which it had thrown the public mind. After having ravaged and wasted Alsace, without Marshals Coigny and Noailles having been able to prevent it, Prince Charles had, unopposed, struck again into the road towards Bohemia, which was being threatened by the king of Prussia. "This prince," wrote Marshal Belle-Isle on the 13th of September, "has written a very strong letter to the king, complaining of the quiet way in which Prince Charles was allowed to cross the Rhine; he attributes it all to his Majesty's illness, and complains bitterly of Marshal Noailles." And, on the 25th, to Count Clermont: "Here we are, decided at last; the king is to start on Tuesday the 27th for Lunéville, and on the 5th of October will be at Strasbourg. Nobody knows as yet any further than that, and it is a question whether he will go to Friburg or not. The ministers are off back to Paris. Marshal Noailles, who has sent for his equipage hither, asked whether he should attend his Majesty, who replied 'As you please,' rather curtly. Your Highness cannot have a doubt about his doing so after such a gracious permission."

Louis XV. went to the siege of Friburg, which was a long and a difficult one. He returned to Paris on the 13th of November, to the great joy of the people. A few days later, Marshal Belle-Isle, whilst passing through Hanover in the character of negotiator, was arrested by order of George II., and carried to England a prisoner of war, in defiance of the law of nations and the protests of France. The moment was not propitious for obtaining the release of a marshal of France and an able general. The emperor Charles VII., who had but lately returned to his hereditary dominions, and recovered possession of his capital, after fifteen months of Austrian occupation, died suddenly on the 20th of January, 1745, at forty-seven years of age. The face of affairs changed all at once; the honour of France was no longer concerned in the struggle; the grand-duke of Tuscany had no longer any competitor for the empire; the eldest son of Charles VII. was only seventeen; the queen of Hungary was disposed for peace. "The English ministry, which laid down the law for all because it laid down the money, and which had in its pay, all at one time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland and the king of Sardinia, considered that there was everything to lose by a treaty with France and everything to gain

A.D. 1745. Death of the emperor Charles VII (Jan. 20).

by arms. War continued, because it had commenced" [Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.*].

The king of France henceforth maintained it almost alone by himself. The young elector of Bavaria had already found himself driven out of Munich, and forced by his exhausted subjects to demand peace of Maria Theresa. The election to the empire was imminent; Maximilian-Joseph promised his votes to the grand-duke of Tuscany; at that price he was re-established in his hereditary dominions. The king of Poland had rejected the advances of France, who offered him the title of emperor, beneath which Charles VII. had succumbed. Marshal Saxe bore all the brunt of the war. A foreigner and a protestant, for a long while under suspicion with Louis XV., and blackened in character by the French generals, Maurice of Saxony had won authority as well as glory by the splendour of his bravery and of his military genius. Combining with quite a French vivacity the far-sightedness and the perseverance of the races of the North, he had been toiling for more than a year to bring about amongst his army a spirit of discipline, a powerful organization, a contempt for fatigue as well as for danger. "At Dettingen the success of the allies was due to their surprising order, for they were not seasoned to war," he used to say. Order did not as yet reign in the army of Marshal Saxe. In 1745, the situation was grave; the marshal was attacked with dropsy, his life appeared to be in danger. He nevertheless commanded his preparations to be made for the campaign, and, when Voltaire, who was one of his friends, was astounded at it, "It is no question of living, but of setting out," was his reply.

Marshal Saxe.

The victory of Fontenoy, like that of Denain, restored the courage and changed the situation of France. When the king of Prussia heard of his ally's success, he exclaimed with a grin: "This is about as useful to us as a battle gained on the banks of the Scamander." His selfish absorption in his personal and direct interests obscured the judgment of Frederick the Great. He, however, did justice to Marshal Saxe: "There was a discussion the other day as to what battle had reflected most honour on the general commanding," he wrote a long while after the battle of Fontenoy: "some suggested that of Almanza, others that of Turin: but I suggested—and everybody finally agreed—that it was undoubtedly that in which the general had been at death's door when it was delivered."

A.D. 1745. Battle of Fontenoy (May 10).

The fortress of Tournai surrendered on the 22nd of May; the citadel capitulated on the 19th of June. Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Dendermonde, Ostend, Nieuport, yielded one after another

Brilliant successes of the French.

to the French armies. In the month of February, 1746, Marshal Saxe terminated the campaign by taking Brussels. By the 1st of the previous September Louis XV. had returned in triumph to Paris.

The grand duke of Tuscany proclaimed emperor.

Henceforth he remained alone confronting Germany, which was neutral or had rallied round the restored empire. On the 13th of September, the grand duke of Tuscany had been proclaimed emperor at Frankfurt under the name of Francis I. The indomitable resolution of the queen his wife had triumphed; in spite of the checks she suffered in the Low Countries, Maria Theresa still withstood, at all points, the pacific advances of the belligerents.

On the 4th of June, the king of Prussia had gained a great victory at Freilberg. "I have honoured the bill of exchange your Majesty drew on me at Fontenoy," he wrote to Louis XV. A series of successful fights had opened the road to Saxony, Frederick headed thither rapidly; on the 18th of December he occupied Dresden.

Whilst Berlin was in gala trim to celebrate the return of her monarch in triumph, Europe had her eyes fixed upon the unparalleled enterprise of a young man, winning, courageous and frivolous as he was, attempting to recover by himself alone the throne of his fathers. For nearly three years past, Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Chevalier de St. George, had been awaiting in France the fulfilment of the promises and hopes which had been flashed before his eyes. Weary of hope deferred, he had conceived the idea of a bold stroke. "Why not attempt to cross in a vessel to the north of Scotland?" had been the question put to him by Cardinal Tencin, who had sometime before owed his cardinal's hat to the dethroned king of Great Britain. "Your presence will be enough to get you a party and an army, and France will be obliged to give you aid."

The Pretender Charles Edward invades England.

Charles Edward followed this audacious counsel. Landing in June, 1745, in the Highlands of Scotland, he had soon found the clans of the mountaineers hurrying to join his standard. At the head of this wild army, he had in a few months gained over the whole of Scotland. On the 20th of September he was proclaimed at Edinburgh regent of England, France, Scotland and Ireland for his father, king James III. George II. had left Hanover; the duke of Cumberland, returning from Germany, took the command of the troops assembled to oppose the invader. Their success in the battle of Preston-Pans against General Cope had emboldened the Scots; at the end of December, 1745, Prince Charles Edward and his army advanced as far as Derby.

It was the fate of the Stuarts, whether heroes or dastards, to see their hopes blasted all at once, and to drag down in their fall their

most zealous and devoted partisans. The aid, so often promised by France and Spain, had dwindled down to the private expeditions of certain brave adventurers. The duke of Richelieu, it was said, was to put himself at their head. Charles Edward had already been forced to fall back upon Scotland. As in 1651, at the time of the attempt of Charles II., England remained quite cold in the presence of the Scottish invasion; the duke of Cumberland was closely pressing the army of the mountaineers. On the 23rd of April, 1746, the foes found themselves face to face at Culloden, in the environs of Inverness. Charles Edward was completely beaten, and the army of the Highlanders destroyed; the prince only escaped either death or captivity by the determined devotion of his partisans, whether distinguished or obscure; a hundred persons had risked their lives for him, when he finally succeeded, on the 10th of October, in touching land, in Brittany, near St. Pol de Léon. His friends and his defenders were meanwhile dying for his cause on scaffold or gallows.

A.D. 1746. Battle of Culloden (April 23)

The anger and severity displayed by the English Government towards the Jacobites were aggravated by the checks encountered upon the Continent by the coalition. At the very moment when the duke of Cumberland was defeating Charles Edward at Culloden, Antwerp was surrendering to Louis XV. in person: Mons, Namur and Charleroi were not long before they fell. Prince Charles of Lorraine was advancing to the relief of the besieged places; Marshal Saxe left open to him the passage of the Meuse: the French camp seemed to be absorbed in pleasures; the most famous actors from Paris were ordered to amuse the general and the soldiers. On the 10th of October, in the evening, Madame Favart came forward on the stage: To-morrow," said she, "there will be no performance, on account of the battle: the day after, we shall have the honour of giving you *Le Coq du Village.*" At the same time, the marshal sent the following order to the columns which were already forming on the road from St. Tron to Liége, near the village of Raucoux: "Whether the attacks succeed or not, the troops will remain in the position in which night finds them, in order to recommence the assault upon the enemy."

Battle of Raucoux (Oct. 11).

The battle of October 11th left the battle-field in the hands of the victors, the sole result of a bloody and obstinate engagement. Marshal Saxe went to rest himself at Paris; the people's enthusiasm rivalled and endorsed the favours shown to him by the king.

So much luck and so much glory in the Low Countries covered, in the eyes of France and of Europe, the checks encountered by the king's armies in Italy. The campaign of 1745 had been very bril-

liant. Parma, Piacenza, Montferrat, nearly all Milaness, with the exception of a few fortresses, were in the hands of the Spanish and French forces. The king of Sardinia had recourse to negotiation; he amused the marquis of Argenson, at that time Louis XV.'s foreign minister, a man of honest, expansive, but chimerical views At the moment when the king and the marquis believed themselves to be remodelling the map of Europe at their pleasure, they heard

The French in Italy.

that Charles Emmanuel had resumed the offensive. A French corps had been surprised at Asti, on the 5th of March; thirty thousand Austrians marched down from the Tyrol, and the Spaniards evacuated Milan. A series of checks forced Marshal Maillebois to to effect a retreat; the enemy's armies crossed the Var and invaded French territory. Marshal Belle-Isle fell back to Puget, four leagues from Toulon.

The Austrians had occupied Genoa, the faithful ally of France: their vengefulness and their severe exactions caused them to lose the fruits of their victory. The resistance of Genoa was effectual; but it cost the life of the duke of Boufflers, who was wounded in an engagement and died three days before the retreat of the Austrians, on the 6th of July, 1747.

On the 19th of July, *Common Sense* Belle-Isle (*Bon-Sens* de Belle-Isle), as the Chevalier was called at court to distinguish him from his brother the marshal, nicknamed *Imagination*, attacked with a considerable body of troops the Piedmontese intrenchments at the Assietta Pass, between the fortresses of Exilles and Fenestrelles; at the same time, Marshal Belle-Isle was seeking a passage over the Stura Pass, and the Spanish army was attacking Piedmont by way of the Apennines. The engagement at the heights of Assietta was obstinate; Chevalier Belle-Isle, wounded in both arms, threw himself bodily upon the palisades to tear them down with his teeth; he was killed, and the French sustained a terrible defeat; five thousand men were left on the battle-field. The campaign of Italy was stopped. The king of Spain, Philip V., enfeebled and exhausted almost in infancy, had died on the 9th of July, 1746.

They are defeated.

The fidelity of his successor, Ferdinand VI., married to a Portuguese princess, appeared doubtful; he had placed at the head of his forces in Italy the marquis of Las Minas, with orders to preserve to Spain her only army. "The Spanish soldiers are of no more use to us than if they were so much cardboard," said the French troops. Europe was tired of the war. England avenged herself for her reverses upon the Continent by her successes at sea; the French navy, neglected systematically by Cardinal Fleury, did not even suffice for the protection of commerce. The Hollanders, who had

for a long while been undecided and had at last engaged in the struggle against France without any declaration of war, bore, in 1747, the burthen of the hostilities. Count Lowendahl, a friend of Marshal Saxe's, and, like him, in the service of France, had taken Sluys and Sas-de-Gand; Bergen-op-Zoom was besieged; on the 1st of July, Marshal Saxe had gained, under the king's own eye, the battle of Lawfeldt. As in 1672, the French invasion had been the signal for a political revolution in Holland; the aristocratical burgessdom, which had resumed power, succumbed once more beneath the efforts of the popular party, directed by the House of Nassau and supported by England.

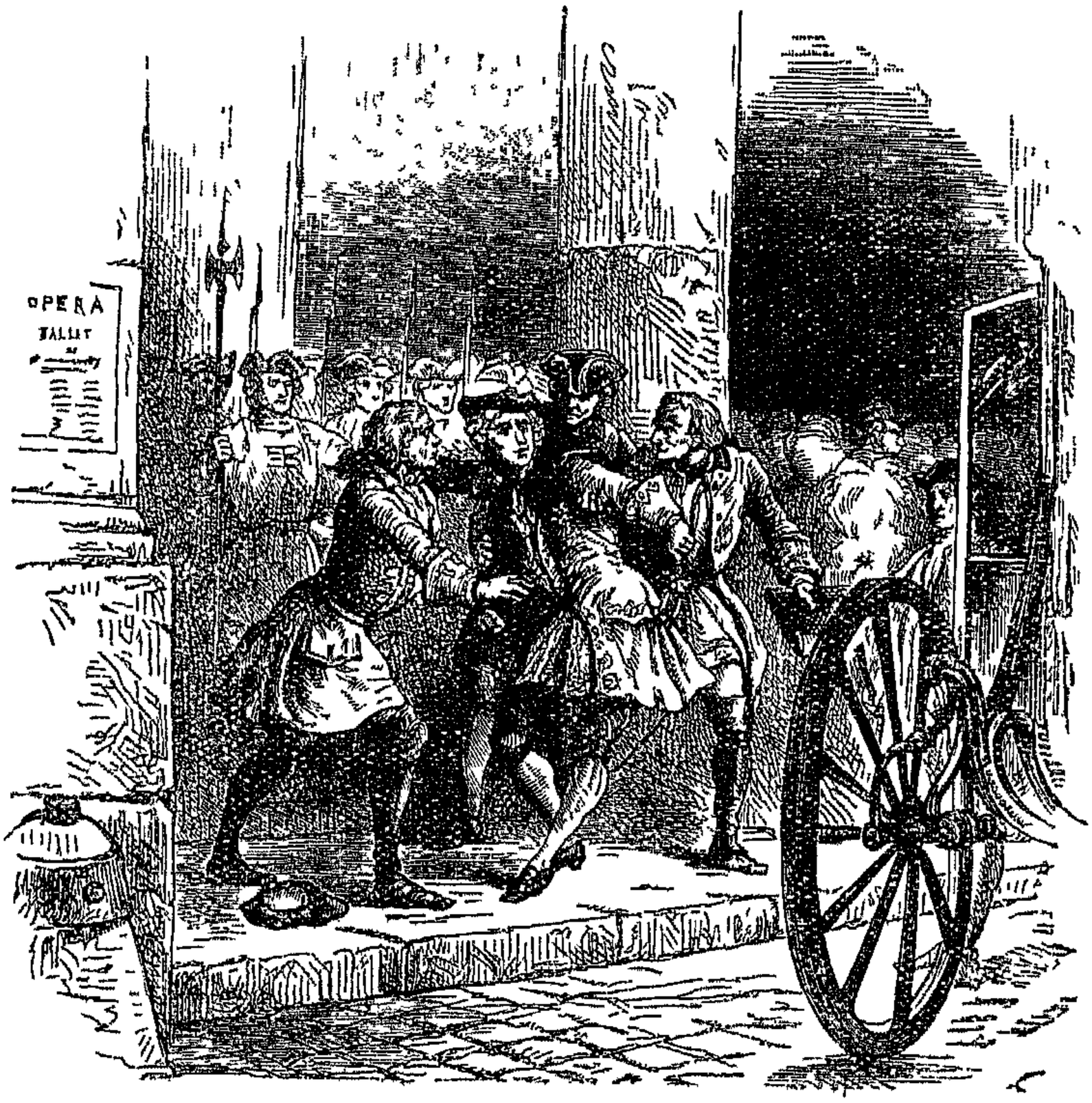
A.D. 1747. Battle of Lawfeldt (July 2).

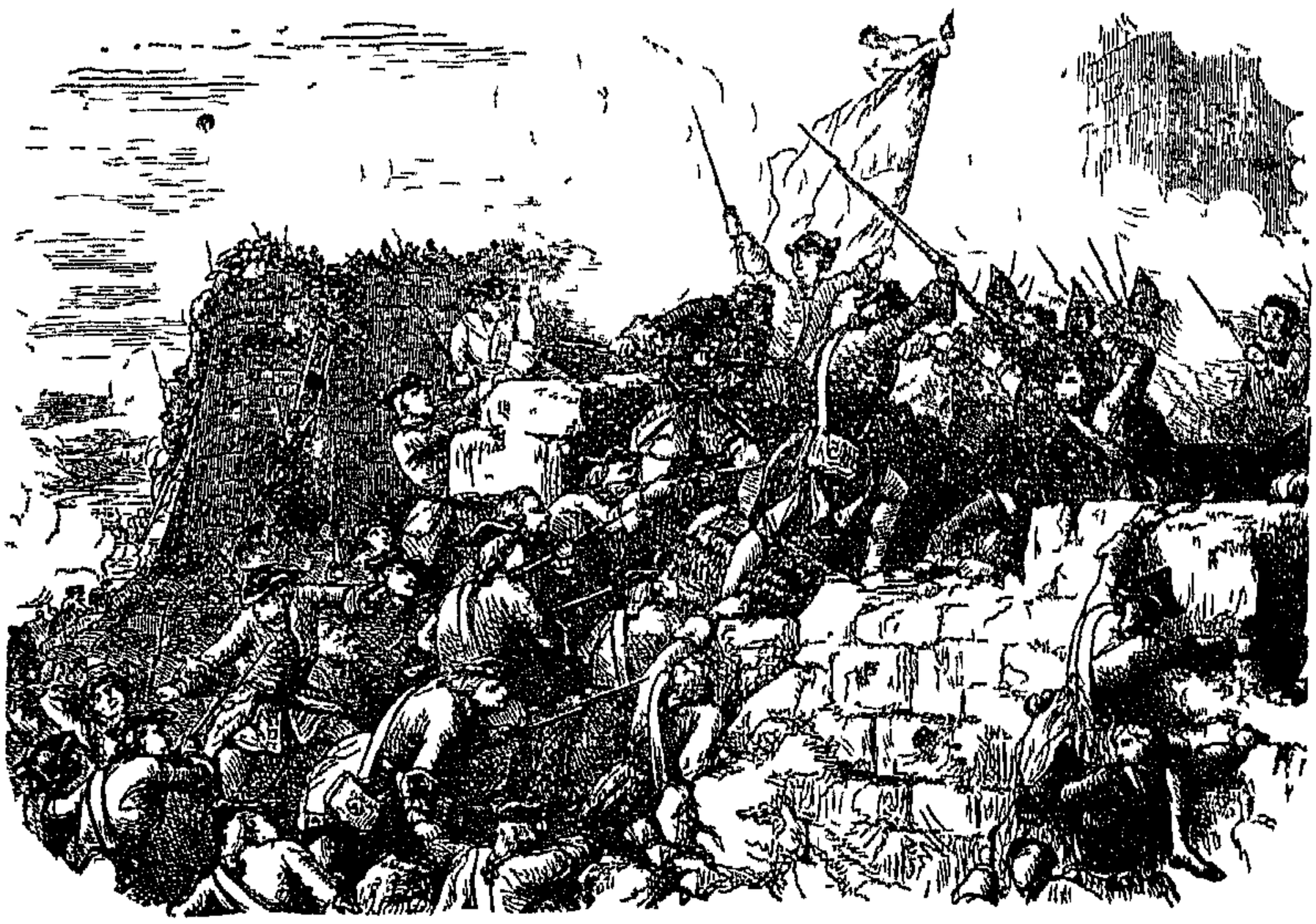
Bergen-op-Zoom was taken and plundered on the 16th of September. Count Lowendahl was made a marshal of France. "Peace is in Maestricht, sir," was Maurice of Saxony's constant remark to the king. On the 9th of April, 1748, the place was invested, before the thirty-five thousand Russians, promised to England by the Czarina Elizabeth had found time to make their appearance on the Rhine. A congress was already assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle to treat for peace. The Hollanders, whom the marquis of Argenson before his disgrace used always to call "the Ambassadors of England," took fright at the spectacle of Maestricht besieged; from parleys they proceeded to the most vehement urgency; and England yielded. The preliminaries of peace were signed on the 30th of April; it was not long before Austria and Spain gave in their adhesion. On the 18th of October the definitive treaty was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. France generously restored all her conquests, without claiming other advantages beyond the assurance of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza to the Infante Don Philip, son-in-law of Louis XV. England surrendered to France the island of Cape Breton and the colony of Louisbourg, the only territory she had preserved from her numerous expeditions against the French colonies and from the immense losses inflicted upon French commerce. The Great Frederick kept Silesia; the king of Sardinia the territories already ceded by Austria. Only France had made great conquests; and only she retained no increment of territory. She recognized the Pragmatic Sanction in favour of Austria and the Protestant succession in favour of George II. Prince Charles Edward, a refugee in France, refused to quit the hospitable soil which had but lately offered so magnificent an asylum to the unfortunates of his house: he was, however, carried off, whilst at the Opera, forced into a carriage, and conveyed far from the frontier. "As stupid as the peace!" was the bitter saying in the streets of Paris.

A.D. 1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Oct. 18).

It has no conditions of permanence.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had a graver defect than that of fruitlessness; it was not and could not be durable. England was excited, ambitious of that complete empire of the sea which she had begun to build up upon the ruins of the French navy and the decay of Holland, and greedy of distant conquests over colonies which the French could not manage to defend. In proportion as the old influence of Richelieu and of Louis XIV. over European policy became weaker and weaker, English influence, founded upon the growing power of a free country and a free government, went on increasing in strength. Without any other ally but Spain, herself wavering in her fidelity, the French remained exposed to the attempts of England, henceforth delivered from the phantom of the Stuarts. "The peace concluded between England and France in 1748 was, as regards Europe, nothing but a truce," says Lord Macaulay: "it was not even a truce in other quarters of the globe." The mutual rivalry and mistrust between the two nations began to show themselves everywhere, in the East as well as in the West, in India as well as in America





CHAPTER XIV.

LOUIS XV.—THE COLONIES —THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1748—1774). —LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

Foundation of the French-India Company.

We must now review briefly the history of the French colonies. At the outset of Louis XIV.'s personal reign and through the persevering efforts of Colbert, marching in the footsteps of Cardinal Richelieu, an India Company had been founded for the purpose of developing French commerce in those distant regions, which had always been shrouded in a mysterious halo of fancied wealth and grandeur. Several times the Company had all but perished; it had revived under the vigorous impulse communicated by Law and had not succumbed at the collapse of his system. It gave no money to its shareholders, who derived their benefits only from a partial concession of the tobacco revenues, granted by the king to the Company, but its directors lived a life of magnificence in the East, where they were authorised to trade on their own account.

Dupleix.

Abler and bolder than all his colleagues, Joseph Dupleix, member of a Gascon family and son of the comptroller-general of Hainault, had dreamed of other destinies than the management of a counting-house; he aspired to endow France with the empire of India. Placed at a very early age at the head of the French establishments at Chandernugger, he had improved the city and constructed a fleet, all the while acquiring for himself an immense fortune; he had just been sent to Pondicherry as governor-general of the Company's agencies when the war of succession to the

empire broke out in 1742. Unfortunately a serious misunderstanding took place between him and the governor of Bourbon and of Ile de France, Bertrand Francis Mahé de La Bourdonnais, who, in September, 1746, at the head of a flotilla, had obliged the English garrison of Madras to surrender. A jealous love of power and absorption in political schemes induced Dupleix to violate a promise lightly given by La Bourdonnais in the name of France; he arbitrarily quashed a capitulation of which he had not discussed the conditions. The report of this unhappy conflict, and the colour put upon it by the representations of Dupleix, ruined at Paris the governor of Ile de France.

La Bourdonnais.

On arriving at Ile de France, amidst that colony which he had found exhausted, ruined, and had endowed with hospitals, arsenals, quays, and fortifications, La Bourdonnais learned that a new governor was already installed there. His dissensions with Dupleix had borne their fruits; he had been accused of having exacted too paltry a ransom from Madras, and of having accepted enormous presents; the Company had appointed a successor in his place. Driven to desperation, anxious to go and defend himself, La Bourdonnais set out for France with his wife and his four children; a prosecution had already been commenced against him. He was captured at sea by an English ship, and taken a prisoner to England. The good faith of the conqueror of Madras was known in London; one of the directors of the English Company offered his fortune as security for M. de la Bourdonnais. Scarcely had he arrived in Paris when he was thrown into the Bastille, and for two years kept in solitary confinement. When his innocence was at last acknowledged and his liberty restored to him, his health was destroyed, his fortune exhausted by the expenses of the trial. La Bourdonnais died before long, employing the last remnants of his life and of his strength in pouring forth his anger against Dupleix, to whom he attributed all his woes. His indignation was excusable, and some of his grievances were well grounded; but the germs of suspicion thus sown by the unfortunate prisoner released from the Bastille were destined before long to consign to perdition not only his enemy, but also, together with him, that French dominion in India to which M. de La Bourdonnais had dedicated his life.

His death.

France and England had made peace; the English and French Companies in India had not laid down arms. Their power, as well as the importance of their establishments, was as yet in equipoise. At Surat both Companies had places of business; on the coast of Malabar, the English had Bombay and the French Mahé; on the coast of Coromandel, the former held Madras and Fort St. George,



CARDINAL DUBOIS.

Page 483.

the latter Pondicherry and Karikal. The principal factories, as well as the numerous little establishments which were dependencies of them, were defended by a certain number of European soldiers and by *Sepoys*, native soldiers in the pay of the Companies.

These small armies were costly, and diminished to a considerable extent the profits of trade. Dupleix espied the possibility of a new organization, which should secure to the French in India the preponderance, and ere long the empire even, in the two peninsulas. He purposed to found manufactures, utilise native hand-labour and develope the coasting-trade or *Ind to Ind* trade, as the expression then was; but he set his pretensions still higher and carried his views still further. He purposed to acquire for the Company and, under its name, for France, territories and subjects furnishing revenues and amply sufficing for the expenses of the commercial establishments. The moment was propitious; the ancient empire of the Great Mogul tottering to its base was distracted by revolutions; Dupleix reckoned without France, and without the incompetent or timid men who governed her. His successes scared King Louis XV. and his feeble ministers; they angered and discomfited England, which was as yet tottering in India, and whose affairs there had for a long while been ill managed, but which remained ever vigorous, active, animated by the indomitable ardour of a free people. At Versailles attempts were made to lessen the conquests of Dupleix, prudence was recommended to him, delay was shown in sending him the troops he demanded. In India England had at last found a man still young and unknown, but worthy of being opposed to Dupleix. Clive, who had almost in boyhood entered the Company's offices, turned out, after the turbulence of his early years, a heaven born general; he was destined to continue Dupleix's work, when abandoned by France, and to found to the advantage of the English that European dominion in India which had been the governor of Pondicherry's dream. Two French corps were destroyed by Clive, and a third army soon shared the same fate. The report of Dupleix's reverses arrived in France in the month of September, 1752.

Plans of Dupleix

Supineness of the French government.

The dismay at Versailles was great, and prevailed over the astonishment. There had never been any confidence in Dupleix's projects, there had been scarcely any belief in his conquests. The soft-hearted inertness of ministers and courtiers was almost as much disgusted at the successes as at the defeats of the bold adventurers who were attempting and risking all for the aggrandisement and puissance of France in the East. The tone of England was more haughty than ever, in consequence of Clive's successes. The recall of Dupleix was determined upon.

The governor of Pondicherry had received no troops, but he had managed to reorganise an army, and had resumed the offensive in the Carnatic ; powerfully helped by his military lieutenant, Bussy Castelnau, his future son-in-law, animated by the same zeal for the greatness of France. Clive was ill and had just set out for England : fortune had once more changed front. The open conferences held with Saunders, English governor of Madras, failed in the month of January, 1754 ; Dupleix wished to preserve the advantages he had won, Saunders refused to listen to that ; the approach of a French squadron was signalled. The ships appeared to be numerous. Dupleix was already rejoicing at the arrival of unexpected aid, when, instead of an officer commanding the twelve hundred soldiers from France, he saw the apparition of M. Godeheu, one of the directors of the Company, and but lately his friend and correspondent. "I come to supersede you, sir," said the new arrival *without any circumstance* ; "I have *full powers from the* Company to treat with the English." The cabinet of London had not been deceived as to the importance of Dupleix in India ; his recall had been made the absolute condition of a cessation of hostilities. Louis XV. and his ministers had shown no opposition, the treaty was soon concluded, restoring the possessions of the two Companies within the limits they had occupied before the war of the Carnatic, with the exception of the district of Masulipatam, which became accessible to the English. All the territories ceded by the Hindoo princes to Dupleix reverted to their former masters ; the two Companies interdicted one another from taking any part in the interior policy of India, and at the same time forbade their agents to accept from the Hindoo princes any charge, honour or dignity ; the most perfect equality was re-established between the possessions and revenues of the two great European nations, rivals in the East as well as in Europe ; England gave up some petty forts, some towns of no importance, France ceded the empire of India. When Godeheu signed the treaty, Trichinopoli was at last on the point of giving in. Dupleix embarked for France with his wife and daughter, leaving in India, together with his life's work destroyed in a few days by the poltroonery of his country's government, the fortune he had acquired during his great enterprises, entirely sunk as it was in the service of France ; the revenues destined to cover his advances were seized by Godeheu.

Dupleix is superseded.

Godeheu signs a treaty with England.

France seemed to comprehend what her ministers had not even an idea of ; Dupleix's arrival in France was a veritable triumph. It was by this time known that the reverses which had caused so much talk had been half repaired. It was by this time guessed how infinite were the resources of that empire of India, so lightly

and mean-spiritedly abandoned to the English. "My wife and I dare not appear in the streets of Lorient," wrote Dupleix, "because of the crowd of people wanting to see us and bless us;" the comptroller-general, Hérault de Séchelles, as well as the king and Madame de Pompadour, then and for a long while the reigning favourite, gave so favourable a reception to the hero of India that Dupleix, always an optimist, conceived fresh hopes. "I shall regain my property here," he would say, "and India will recover in the hands of Bussy." **Dupleix returns to France.**

He was mistaken about the justice as he had been about the discernment and the boldness of the French government; not a promise was accomplished; not a hope was realized; after delay upon delay, excuse upon excuse, Dupleix saw his wife expire at the end of two years, worn out with suffering and driven to despair: like her, his daughter, affianced for a long time past to Bussy, succumbed beneath the weight of sorrow; in vain did Dupleix tire out the ministers with his views and his projects for India, he saw even the action he was about to bring against the Company vetoed by order of the king. Persecuted by his creditors, overwhelmed with regret for the relatives and friends whom he had involved in his enterprises and in his ruin, he exclaimed a few months before his death: "I have sacrificed youth, fortune, life in order to load with honour and riches those of my own nation in Asia. Unhappy friends, too weakly credulous relatives, virtuous citizens have dedicated their property to promoting the success of my projects; they are now in want. . . . I demand, like the humblest of creditors, that which is my due; my services are all stuff, my demand is ridiculous, I am treated like the vilest of men. The little I have left is seized, I have been obliged to get execution stayed to prevent my being dragged to prison!" Dupleix died at last on the 11th of November, 1763, the most striking, without being the last or the most tragical, victim of the great French enterprises in India. **A.D 1763 His death (Nov. 11).**

Despite the treaty of peace, hostilities had never really ceased in India. Clive had returned from England; freed henceforth from the influence, the intrigues and the indomitable energy of Dupleix, he had soon made himself master of the whole of Bengal, he had even driven the French from Chandernugger; Bussy had been unable to check his successes, he avenged himself by wresting away from the English all their agencies on the coast of Orissa, and closing against them the road between the Coromandel coast and Bengal.

Meanwhile the Seven Years' war had broken out; the whole of

Europe had joined in the contest; the French navy, still feeble in spite of the efforts that had been made to restore it, underwent serious reverses on every sea. Count Lally-Tolendal, descended from an Irish family which took refuge in France with James II., went to Count d'Argenson, still minister of war, with a proposition to go and humble in India that English power which had been imprudently left to grow up without hindrance. M. de Lally had served with renown in the wars of Germany; he had seconded Prince Charles Edward in his brave and yet frivolous attempt upon England. The directors of the India Company went and asked M. d'Argenson to entrust to General Lally the king's troops promised for the expedition. "You are wrong," M. d'Argenson said to them: "I know M. de Lally, he is a friend of mine, but he is violent, passionate, inflexible as to discipline, he will not tolerate any disorder; you will be setting fire to your warehouses, if you send him thither." The directors, however, insisted, and M. de Lally set out on the 2nd of May, 1757, with four ships and a body of troops. Some young officers belonging to the greatest houses of France served on his staff.

Lally-Tolendal starts for India.

The brilliant courage and heroic ardour of M. de Lally triumphed over the first obstacles; his recklessness, his severity, his passionateness were about to lose him the fruits of his victories. "The commission I hold," he wrote to the directors of the Company at Paris, "imports that I shall be held in horror by all the people of the country." By his personal faults he aggravated his already critical position. The discord which reigned in the army as well as amongst the civil functionaries was nowhere more flagrant than between Lally and Bussy. The latter could not console himself for having been forced to leave the Deccan in the feeble hands of the marquis of Conflans. An expedition attempted against the fortress of Wandiwash, of which the English had obtained possession, was followed by a serious defeat; Colonel Coote was master of Karikal. Little by little the French army and French power in India found themselves cooped within the immediate territory of Pondicherry. The English marched against this town. Lally shut himself up there in the month of March, 1760. Bussy had been made prisoner, and Coote had sent him to Europe. "At the head of the French army Bussy would be in a position by himself alone to prolong the war for ten years," said the Hindoos. On the 27th of November, the siege of Pondicherry was transformed into an investment.

His first successes.

He held out for six weeks, in spite of famine, want of money and ever increasing dissensions. At last it became necessary to

surrender, the council of the Company called upon the general to capitulate; Lally claimed the honours of war, but Coote would have the town at discretion: the distress was extreme as well as the irritation. Pondicherry was delivered up to the conquerors on the 16th of January, 1761; the fortifications and magazines were razed; French power in India, long supported by the courage or ability of a few men, was foundering, never to rise again. "Nobody can have a higher opinion than I of M. de Lally," wrote Colonel Coote: "he struggled against obstacles that I considered insurmountable and triumphed over them. There is not in India another man who could have so long kept an army standing without pay and without resources in any direction." "A convincing proof of his merits," said another English officer, "is his long and vigorous resistance in a place in which he was universally detested."

A.D. 1761. Pondicherry surrenders to the English.

Hatred bears bitterer fruits than is imagined even by those who provoke it. The animosity which M. de Lally had excited in India was everywhere an obstacle to the defence; and it was destined to cost him his life and imperil his honour. Scarcely had he arrived in England, ill, exhausted by sufferings and fatigue, followed even in his captivity by the reproaches and anger of his comrades in misfortune, when he heard of the outbreak of public opinion against him in France; he was accused of treason; and he obtained from the English cabinet permission to repair to Paris. "I bring hither my head and my innocence," he wrote, on disembarking, to the minister of war, and he went voluntarily to imprisonment in the Bastille. After a delay of nineteen months, the trial commenced in December, 1764, and on the 9th of May, at the close of the day, the valiant general whose heroic resistance had astounded all India mounted the scaffold on the Place de Grève, nor was permission granted to the few friends who remained faithful to him to accompany him to the place of execution; there was only the parish-priest of St. Louis en l'Ile at his side; as apprehensions were felt of violence and insult on the part of the condemned, he was gagged like the lowest criminal when he resolutely mounted the fatal ladder; he knelt without assistance and calmly awaited his death-blow. "Everybody," observed D'Alembert, expressing by that cruel saying the violence of public feeling against the condemned, "everybody, except the hangman, has a right to kill Lally." Voltaire's judgment, after the subsidence of passion and after the light thrown by subsequent events upon the state of French affairs in India before Lally's campaigns, is more just: "It was a murder committed with the sword of justice."

A.D. 1766. Lally-Tolendal beheaded, (May 9).

King Louis XV. and his government had lost India; the rage and shame blindly excited amongst the nation by this disaster had been visited upon the head of the unhappy general who had been last vanquished in defending the remnants of French power.

For a long time past the French had directed towards America their ardent spirit of enterprise; in the fifteenth century, on the morrow of the discovery of the new world, when the indomitable genius and religious faith of Christopher Columbus had just opened a new path to inquiring minds and daring spirits, the Basques, the Bretons and the Normans were amongst the first to follow the road he had marked out; their light barques and their intrepid navigators were soon known among the fisheries of Newfoundlond and the Canadian coast. As early as 1506 a chart of the St. Law-

The French in Canada.

rence was drawn by John Denis, who came from Honfleur in Normandy. Before long the fishers began to approach the coasts, attracted by the fur-trade; they entered into relations with the native tribes, buying, very often for a mere song, the produce of their hunting, and introducing to them together with the first-fruits of civilization, its corruptions and its dangers. Before long the savages of America became acquainted with the *fire-water*.

Policy was not slow to second the bold enterprises of the navigators. France was at that time agitated by various earnest and mighty passions: for a moment the Reformation, personified by the austere virtues and grand spirit of Coligny, had seemed to dispute the empire of the Catholic Church. The forecasts of the admiral became more and more sombre every day, he weighed the power and hatred of the Guises as well as of their partisans; in his anxiety for his countrymen and his religion, he determined to secure for the persecuted Protestants a refuge, perhaps, a home in the new world, after that defeat of which he already saw a glimmer.

A first expedition had failed, after an attempt on the coasts of Brazil; in 1562, a new flotilla set out from Havre, commanded by

Ribaut's expedition.

John Ribaut of Dieppe, who, having effected a landing, took possession of the country in the name of France, and immediately began to construct a fort which they called Fort Charles, in honour of the young king, Charles IX. Unhappily, at the end of three years, a Spanish expedition landed in Florida, commanded by Pedro Menendez de Avilès, who attacked and overmastered the French colonists; a great number were massacred, others crowded on to the little vessels still at their disposal and carried to France the news of the disaster.

For a long while expeditions and attempts at French colonization

had been directed towards Canada. James Cartier, in 1535, had taken possession of its coasts under the name of New France. M. de Roberval had taken thither colonists, agricultural and mechanical; but the hard climate, famine and disease had stifled the little colony in the bud; religious and political disturbances in the mother-country were absorbing all thoughts; it was only in the reign of Henry IV., when panting France, distracted by civil discord, began to repose for the first time since more than a century, beneath a government just, able, and firm at the same time, that zeal for distant enterprises at last attracted to New France its real founder. Samuel de Champlain du Brouage, born in 1567, a faithful soldier of the king's so long as the war lasted, was unable to endure the indolence of peace. After long and perilous voyages, he enlisted in the company which M. de Monts, gentleman of the bedchamber in ordinary to Henry IV., had just formed for the trade in furs on the northern coast of America; appointed viceroy of Acadia, a new territory, of which the imaginary limits would extend in our times from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal, and furnished with a commercial monopoly, M. de Monts set sail on the 7th of April, 1604, taking with him, Calvinist though he was, Catholic priests as well as Protestant pastors. After long and painful explorations in the forests and amongst the Indian tribes, after frequent voyages to France on the service of the colony, he became at last, in 1606, the first governor of the nascent town of Quebec.

A.D. 1535. James Cartier.

Champlain.

Never was colony founded under more pious auspices; for some time past the Recollects had been zealously labouring for the conversion of unbelievers; seconded by the Jesuits, who were before long to remain sole masters of the soil, they found themselves sufficiently powerful to forbid the protestant sailors certain favourite exercises of their worship: "At last it was agreed that they should not chant the psalms," says Champlain, "but that they should assemble to make their prayers."

In 1627, Richelieu put himself at the head of a company of a hundred associates, on which the king conferred the possession as well as the government of New France, together with the commercial monopoly and freedom from all taxes for fifteen years. The colonists were to be French and Catholics; huguenots were excluded: they alone had till then manifested any tendency towards emigration; the attempts at colonization in America were due to their efforts: less liberal in New France than he had lately been in Europe, the cardinal thus enlisted in the service of the foreigner all the adventurous spirits and the bold explorers amongst the French Protestants, at the very moment when the English

Richelieu creates a company for the colonization of Canada.

Puritans, driven from their country by the narrow and meddlesome policy of James I., were dropping anchor at the foot of Plymouth Rock, and were founding, in the name of religious liberty, a new protestant England, the rival ere long of that New France which was catholic and absolutist.

A.D. 1635. Champlain's death (Dec. 25). Champlain had died at Quebec on Christmas Day, 1635, after twenty-seven years' efforts and sufferings in the service of the nascent colony. Bold and enterprising, endowed with indomitable perseverance and rare practical faculties, an explorer of distant forests, an intrepid negotiator with the savage tribes, a wise and patient administrator, indulgent towards all, in spite of his ardent devotion, Samuel de Champlain had presented the rare intermixture of the heroic qualities of past times with the zeal for science and the practical talents of modern ages; he was replaced in his government by a knight of Malta, M. de Montmagny. Quebec had a seminary, a hospital and a convent, before it possessed a population.

The foundation of Montreal was still more exclusively religious. The accounts of the Jesuits had inflamed pious souls with a noble emulation; a Montreal association was formed, under the direction of M. Olier, founder of St. Sulpice. The first expedition was placed under the command of a valiant-gentleman, Paul de Maisonneuve, and of a certain Mademoiselle Mance, belonging to the middle-class of Nogent-le-Roi, who was not yet a nun, but who was destined to become the foundress of the hospital-sisters of Ville-Marie, the name which the religious zeal of the explorers intended for the new colony.

The affair of Montreal stood, like that of Quebec; New France was founded in spite of the sufferings of the early colonists, thanks to their courage, their fervent enthusiasm, and the support afforded them by the religious zeal of their friends in Europe. The Jesuit missionaries every day extended their explorations, sharing with M. de la Salle the glory of the great discoveries of the West. Champlain had before this dreamed of and sought for a passage across the continent, leading to the Southern seas and permitting

La Salle. of commerce with India and Japan. La Salle, in his intrepid expeditions, discovered Ohio and Illinois, navigated the great lakes, crossed the Mississippi, which the Jesuits had been the first to reach, and pushed on as far as Texas. Constructing forts in the midst of the savage districts, taking possession of Louisiana in the name of King Louis XIV., abandoned by the majority of his comrades and losing the most faithful of them by death, attacked by savages, betrayed by his own men, thwarted in his projects by his

enemies and his rivals, this indefatigable explorer fell at last beneath the blows of a few mutineers, in 1687, just as he was trying to get back to New France; he left the field open after him to the innumerable travellers of every nation and every language who were one day to leave their mark on those measureless tracts. Everywhere, in the western regions of the American continent, the footsteps of the French, either travellers or missionaries, preceded the boldest adventurers. It is the glory and the misfortune of France to always lead the van in the march of civilization, without having the wit to profit by the discoveries and the sagacious boldness of her children. On the unknown roads which she has opened to the human mind and to human enterprise she has often left the fruits to be gathered by nations less inventive and less able than she, but more persevering and less perturbed by a confusion of desires and an incessant renewal of hopes.

France as a civilizing nation.

The treaty of Utrecht had taken out of French hands the gates of Canada, Acadia and Newfoundland. It was now in the neighbourhood of New France that the power of England was rising, growing rapidly through the development of her colonies, usurping little by little the empire of the seas. Canada was prospering, however; during the long wars which the condition of Europe had kept up in America, the Canadians had supplied the king's armies with their best soldiers. Returning to their homes and resuming without an effort the peaceful habits which characterized them, they skilfully cultivated their fields and saw their population increasing naturally without any help from the mother-country. The governors had succeeded in adroitly counterbalancing the influence of the English over the Indian tribes. The Iroquois, but lately implacable foes of France, had accepted a position of neutrality. Agricultural development secured to the country comparative prosperity, but money was scarce, the instinct of the population was not in the direction of commerce; it was everywhere shackled by monopolies. The English were rich, free and bold; for them the transmission and the exchange of commodities were easy. The commercial rivalry which set in between the two nations was fatal to the French; when the hour of the final struggle came, the Canadians, though brave, resolute, passionately attached to France and ready for any sacrifice, were few in number compared with their enemies. Scattered over a vast territory, they possessed but poor pecuniary resources and could expect from the mother-country only irregular assistance, subject to variations of government and fortune as well as to the chances of maritime warfare and engagements at sea, always perilous for the French ships,

The French Canadians.

which were inferior in build and in number, whatever might be the courage and skill of their commanders.

The capture of Louisbourg and of the island of Cape Breton by the English colonists, in 1745, profoundly disquieted the Canadians, it was the first scene in a drama doomed to end fatally for the interests of France.

Regretfully and as if compelled by a remnant of national honour Louis XV. adopted the resolution of defending his colonies; he had, and the nation had as well, the feeling that the French were hopelessly weak at sea. "What use to us will be hosts of troops and plenty of money," wrote the advocate Barbier, "if we have only to fight the English at sea? They will take all our ships one after another, they will seize all our settlements in America and will get all the trade. We must hope for some division amongst the English nation itself, for the king personally does not desire war."

The English attack the French in Canada.

The English nation was not divided. The ministers and the parliament, as well as the American colonies, were for war. "There is no hope of repose for our thirteen colonies, as long as the French are masters of Canada," said Benjamin Franklin on his arrival in London in 1754. He was already labouring, without knowing it, at that great work of American independence which was to be his glory and that of his generation; the common efforts and the common interest of the thirteen American colonies in the war against France were the first step towards that great coalition which founded the United States of America.

The union with the mother country was as yet close and potent: at the instigation of Mr. Fox, soon afterwards Lord Holland, and at the time Prime Minister of England, parliament voted twenty-five millions for the American war. The bounty given to the soldiers and marines who enlisted was doubled by private subscription; 15,000 men were thus raised to invade the French colonies.

Canada and Louisiana together did not number 80,000 inhabitants, whilst the population of the English colonies already amounted to 1,200,000 souls; to the 2800 regular troops sent from France the Canadian militia added about 4000 men, less experienced but quite as determined as the most intrepid veterans of the campaigns in Europe. During more than twenty years the courage and devotion of the Canadians never faltered for a single day.

Heroism of the Canadians.

The wicked deportation of four hundred and eighteen heads of families from Acadia excited in France the greatest and most natural emotion; a few brilliant successes obtained by the marquis of Montcalm cheered up for a short space the hopes of the French

government; but it was all in vain. Quebec, besieged by general Wolfe, capitulated on the 18th of September, 1759. Both the English and the French commanders had been killed; the capitulation of Montreal was signed on the 8th of September, 1760; on the 10th of February, 1763, the peace concluded between France, Spain, and England completed without hope of recovery the loss of all the French possessions in America; Louisiana had taken no part in the war, it was not conquered; France ceded it to Spain in exchange for Florida, which was abandoned to the English. Canada and all the islands of the St. Lawrence shared the same fate. Only the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were preserved for the French fisheries. One single stipulation guaranteed to the Canadians the free exercise of the Catholic religion. The principal inhabitants of the colony went into exile on purpose to remain French. The weak hands of King Louis XV. and of his government had let slip the fairest colonies of France, Canada and Louisiana had ceased to belong to her; yet attachment to France subsisted there a long while and her influence left numerous traces there. It is an honour and a source of strength to France that she acts powerfully on men through the charm and suavity of her intercourse; they who have belonged to France can never forget her.

A.D. 1760. Capitulation of Montreal (Sept. 8).

The struggle was over. King Louis XV. had lost his American colonies, the nascent empire of India and the settlements of Senegal. He recovered Guadaloupe and Martinique, but lately conquered by the English, Chandernugger and the ruins of Pondicherry. The humiliation was deep and the losses were irreparable. All the fruits of the courage, of the ability and of the passionate devotion of the French in India and in America were falling into the hands of England. Her government had committed many faults; but the strong action of a free people had always managed to repair them. The day was coming when the haughty passions of the mother-country and the proud independence of her colonies would engage in that supreme struggle which has given to the world the United States of America.

France humiliated through the inefficiency of Louis XV.

It was not only in the colonies and on the seas that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had seemed merely a truce destined to be soon broken: hostilities had never ceased in India or Canada; English vessels scoured the world, capturing, in spite of treaties, French merchant-ships; in Europe and on the continent, all the sovereigns were silently preparing for new efforts; only the government of King Louis XV., intrenched behind its disinterestedness in the negotiations and ignoring the fatal influences of weakness and vanity, believed itself henceforth beyond the reach of a fresh war,

The nation, as oblivious as the government but less careless than it, because they had borne the burthen of the fault committed, were applying for the purpose of their material recovery that power of revival which, through a course of so many errors and reverses, has always saved France; in spite of the disorder in the finances and the crushing weight of the imposts, she was working and growing rich; intellectual development was following the rise in material resources; the court was corrupt and inert, like the king, but a new life, dangerously free and bold, was beginning to course through men's minds: the wise, reforming instincts, the grave reflections of the dying Montesquieu no longer sufficed for them; Voltaire, who had but lately been still moderate and almost respectful, was about to commence with his friends of the *Encyclopédie* that campaign against the Christian faith which was to pave the war for the materialism of our own days. The state of the royal treasury, and the measures to which recourse was had to enable the State to make both ends meet, aggravated the dissension and disseminated discontent amongst all classes of society. Comptrollers-general came one after another, all armed with new expedients; MM de Machault, Moreau de Séchelles, de Moras, excited, successively, the wrath and the hatred of the people, crushed by imposts in peace as well as war; the clergy refused to pay the twentieth, still claiming their right of giving only a free gift; the states-districts, Languedoc and Brittany at the head, resisted, in the name of their ancient privileges, the collection of taxes to which they had not consented; riots went on multiplying: they even extended to Paris, where the government was accused of kidnapping children for transportation to the colonies. The people rose, several police-agents were massacred; the king avoided passing through the capital on his way from Versailles to the camp at Campiègne: the path he took in the Bois de Boulogne received the name of Revolt Road. "I have seen in my days," says D'Argenson, "a decrease in the respect and love of the people for the kingship."

State of the French treasury.

Decadence went on swiftly, and no wonder. At forty years of age Louis XV., finding every pleasure pall, indifferent to or forgetful of business from indolence and disgust, bored by every thing and on every occasion, had come to depend solely on those who could still manage to amuse him. Madame de Pompadour had accepted this ungrateful and sometimes shameful task. Vigilant in attaching the courtiers to herself, she sowed broadcast, all around her, favours, pensions, profitable offices, endowing the gentlemen to facilitate their marriage, turning a deaf ear to the complaints of the people as well as to the protests of the States or Parliaments. The

Madame de Pompadour.

court still swarmed with brave officers, ready to march to death at the head of the troops; the command of armies henceforth depended on the favour of Madame the marchioness of Pompadour.

The day had come when the fortune of war was about to show itself fatal to France. Marshal Saxe had died at Chambord, still young and worn out by excesses rather than by fatigue. War, however, was inevitable; five months of public or private negotiation, carried on by the ambassadors or personal agents of the king, could not obtain from England any reparation for her frequent violation of the law of nations: the maritime trade of France was destroyed; the vessels of the royal navy were themselves no longer safe at sea. On the 21st of December, 1755, the minister of foreign affairs, Rouillé, notified to the English cabinet "that His Most Christian Majesty, before giving way to the effects of his resentment, once more demanded from the king of England satisfaction for all the seizures made by the English navy, as well as restitution of all vessels, whether war-ships or merchant-ships, taken from the French, declaring that he should regard any refusal that might be made as an authentic declaration of war." England eluded the question of law, but refused restitution. On the 23rd of January, an embargo was laid on all English vessels in French ports, and war was officially proclaimed. It had existed in fact for two years past.

War declared against England.

A striking incident signalized the commencement of hostilities. Rather a man of pleasure and a courtier than an able soldier, Marshal Richelieu had, nevertheless, the good fortune to connect his name with the only successful event of the Seven Years' War that was destined to remain impressed upon the mind of posterity, namely the capture of Port Mahon in the island of Minorca.

Capture of Port Mahon.

At the same time the king's troops were occupying Corsica in the name of the city of Genoa, the time-honoured ally of France. Mistress of half the Mediterranean and secure of the neutrality of Holland, France could have concentrated her efforts upon the sea and have maintained a glorious struggle with England, on the sole condition of keeping peace on the Continent. The policy was simple and the national interest palpable; King Louis XV. and some of his ministers understood this; but they allowed themselves to drift into forgetfulness of it.

For a long time past, under the influence of Count Kaunitz, a young diplomat equally bold and shrewd, "frivolous in his tastes and profound in his views," Maria Theresa was inclining to change the whole system of her alliances in Europe; she had made advances to France. Louis XV. still sought to hold the balance

steady between the two great German sovereigns, but he was already beginning to lean towards the empress. A proposal was made to Maria Theresa for a treaty of guarantee between France, Austria and Prussia; the existing war between England and France was excepted from the defensive pact; France reserved to herself the right of invading Hanover. The same conditions had been offered to the king of Prussia; he was not contented with them. Whilst Maria Theresa was insisting at Paris upon obtaining an offensive as well as defensive alliance, Frederick II. was signing with England an engagement not to permit the entrance into Germany of any foreign troops. "I only wish to preserve Germany from war," wrote the king of Prussia to Louis XV. On the 1st of May, 1756, at Versailles, Louis XV. replied to the Anglo-Prussian treaty by his alliance with the Empress Maria Theresa The House of Bourbon was holding out the hand to the House of Austria; the work of Henry IV. and of Richelieu, already weakened by an inconsistent and capricious policy, was completely crumbling to pieces, involving in its ruin the military fortunes of France.

Treaty of Versailles.

The prudent moderation of Abbé de Bernis, then in great favour with Madame de Pompadour and managing the negotiations with Austria, had removed from the treaty of Versailles the most alarming clauses. The empress and the king of France mutually guaranteed to one another their possessions in Europe, "each of the contracting parties promising the other, in case of need, the assistance of twenty-four thousand men." Russia and Saxony were soon enlisted in the same alliance; the king of Prussia's pleasantries, at one time coarse and at another biting, had offended the czarina Elizabeth and the elector of Saxony as well as Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour. The weakest of the allies was the first to experience the miseries of that war so frivolously and gratuitously entered upon, from covetousness, rancour or weakness, those fertile sources of the bitterest sorrows to humanity.

A.D. 1757. Louis XV. stabbed by Damiens (Jan. 5).

Whilst hostilities were thus beginning throughout Europe, whilst negotiations were still going on with Vienna touching the second treaty of Versailles, King Louis XV., as he was descending the staircase of the marble court at Versailles on the 5th of January, 1757, received a stab in the side from a knife. Withdrawing full of blood the hand he had clapped to his wound, the king exclaimed: "There is the man that wounded me, with his hat on; arrest him, but let no harm be done him!" The guards were already upon the murderer and were torturing him pending



MADAME DE POMPADOUR.

the legal question. The king had been carried away, slightly wounded by a deep puncture from a penknife. In the soul of Louis XV. apprehension had succeeded to the first instinctive and kingly impulse of courage: he feared the weapon might be poisoned, and hastily sent for a confessor. The crowd of courtiers was already thronging to the dauphin's. To him the king had at once given up the direction of affairs.

Justice, meanwhile, had taken the wretched murderer in hand. Robert Damiens was a lacquey out of place, a native of Artois, of weak mind and sometimes appearing to be deranged. In his vague and frequently incoherent depositions, he appeared animated by a desire to avenge the wrongs of the Parliament; he burst out against the archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont, a virtuous prelate of narrow mind and austere character: "The archbishop of Paris," he said, "is the cause of all this trouble through ordering refusal of the sacraments." No investigation could discover any conspiracy or accomplices: with less coolness and fanatical resolution than Ravaillac, Damiens, like the assassin of Henry IV., was an isolated criminal, prompted to murder by the derangement of his own mind; he died, like Ravaillac, amidst fearful tortures which were no longer in accord with public sentiment, and caused more horror than awe. France had ceased to tremble for the life of King Louis XV.

Torture and death of Damiens.

For one instant the power of Madame de Pompadour had appeared to be shaken: the king, in his terror, would not see her; M. de Machault, but lately her protégé, had even brought her orders to quit the palace. Together with the salutary terrors of death, Louis XV.'s repentance soon disappeared; the queen and the dauphin went back again to the modest and pious retirement in which they passed their life; the marchioness returned in triumph to Versailles. MM. de Machault and D'Argenson were exiled: the latter, who had always been hostile to the favourite, was dismissed with extreme harshness. The king had himself written the sealed letter: "Your services are no longer required. I command you to send me your resignation of the secretaryship of State for war and of all that appertains to the posts connected therewith, and to retire to your estate of Ormes." Madame de Pompadour was avenged.

Machault and D'Argenson exiled.

The war, meanwhile, continued: the king of Prussia, who had at first won a splendid victory over the Austrians in front of Prague, had been beaten at Kolin and forced to fall back on Saxony. Marshal d'Estrées, slowly occupying Westphalia, got the duke of Cumberland into a corner on the Weser, and defeated him

The duke of Richelieu.

at Hastenbeck. He was then superseded by Richelieu, who in Germany, reaped the fruits of Marshal d'Estrées' successes; the electorate of Hanover was entirely occupied; all the towns opened their gates; Hesse Cassel, Brunswick, the duchies of Verden and of Bremen met with the same fate. The marshal levied on all the conquered countries heavy contributions, of which he pocketed a considerable portion. His soldiers called him "Father La Maraude." The pavilion of Hanover at Paris was built out of the spoils of Germany. Meanwhile, the duke of Cumberland, who had taken refuge in the marshes at the mouth of the Elbe, under the protection of English vessels, was demanding to capitulate; his offers were lightly accepted. On the 8th of September, through the agency of Count Lynar, minister of the king of Denmark, the duke of Cumberland and the marshal signed at the advanced posts of the French army the famous convention of Closter-Severn. The king's troops kept all the conquered country; those of Hesse, Brunswick and Saxe-Gotha returned to their homes; the Hanoverians were to be cantoned in the neighbourhood of Stade. The marshal had not taken the precaution of disarming them.

Convention of Closter-Severn.

Incomplete as the convention was, it nevertheless excited great emotion in Europe. The duke of Cumberland had lost the military reputation acquired at Fontenoy; the king of Prussia remained alone on the Continent, exposed to all the efforts of the allies; every day fresh reverses came down upon him: the Russian army had invaded the Prussian provinces and beaten marshal Schwald near Memel; twenty-five thousand Swedes had just landed in Pomerania. Desertion prevailed amongst the troops of Frederick, recruited as they often were from amongst the vanquished.

Frederick II. contemplates suicide.

For a moment, indeed, Frederick had conceived the idea of deserting simultaneously from the field of battle and from life. "My dear sister," he wrote to the margravine of Baireuth, "there is no port or asylum for me any more save in the arms of death." A letter in verse to the marquis of Argens pointed clearly to the notion of suicide. A firmer purpose, before long, animated that soul, that strange mixture of heroism and corruption.

Fortune, moreover, seemed to be relaxing her severities. Under the influence of the hereditary grand-duke, a passionate admirer of Frederick II., the Russians had omitted to profit by their victories; they were by this time wintering in Poland, which was abandoned to all their exactions. The Swedes had been repulsed in the island of Rugen, Marshal Richelieu received from Versailles orders to remain at Halberstadt, and to send reinforcements to the army of the prince of Soubise; it was for this latter that Madame de Pom-

padour was reserving the honour of crushing the Great Frederick. More occupied in pillage than in vigorously pushing forward the war, the marshal tolerated a fatal licence amongst his troops.

Whilst the plunder of Hanover was serving the purpose of feeding the insensate extravagance of Richelieu and of the army, Frederick II. had entered Saxony, hurling back into Thuringia the troops of Soubise and of the prince of Hildburghausen. By this time the allies had endured several reverses; the boldness of the king of Prussia's movements bewildered and disquieted officers as well as soldiers. On the 3rd of November the Prussian army was all in order of battle on the left bank of the Saale, near Rosbach.

Battle of Rosbach (Nov. 3).

Soubise hesitated to attack: being a man of honesty and sense, he took into account the disposition of his army, as well as the bad composition of the allied forces, very superior in number to the French contingent. The command belonged to the duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who had no doubt of success. Orders were given to turn the little Prussian army, so as to cut off its retreat. All at once, as the allied troops were effecting their movement to scale the heights, the king of Prussia, suddenly changing front by one of those rapid evolutions to which he had accustomed his men, unexpectedly attacked the French in flank, without giving them time to form in order of battle. The batteries placed on the hills were at the same time unmasked and mowed down the infantry. The German troops at once broke up. Soubise sought to restore the battle by cavalry charges, but he was crushed in his turn. The rout became general, the French did not rally till they reached Erfurt; they had left eight thousand prisoners and three thousand dead on the field.

Popularity of Frederick II.

The news of the defeat at Rosbach came bursting on France like a clap of thunder; Frederick II. had renovated affairs and spirits in Germany; the day after Rosbach, he led his troops into Silesia against Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had just beaten the duke of Bevern; the king of Prussia's lieutenants were displeased and disquieted at such audacity. He assembled a council of war, and then, when he had expounded his plans, "Farewell, gentlemen," said he, "we shall soon have beaten the enemy or we shall have looked on one another for the last time." On the 3rd of December the Austrians were beaten at Lissa as the French had been at Rosbach, and Frederick II. became the national hero of Germany; the protestant powers, but lately engaged, to their sorrow, against him, made up to the conqueror; admiration for him permeated even the French army. "At Paris," wrote D'Alembert to Voltaire,

"everybody's head is turned about the king of Prussia; five months ago he was trailed in the mire."

Bernis minister of foreign affairs.

The counsels of Abbé de Bernis had for some time past been pacific; from a court-abbé, elegant and glib, he had become, on the 25th of June, minister of foreign affairs. But Madame de Pompadour remained faithful to the empress. In the month of January, 1758, Count Clermont was appointed general-in-chief of the army of Germany. In disregard of the convention of Closter-Severn, the Hanoverian troops had just taken the field again under the orders of the grand-duke Ferdinand of Brunswick: he had already recovered possession of the districts of Luneberg, Zell, a part of Brunswick and of Bremen. In England, Mr. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, had again come into office; the king of Prussia could henceforth rely upon the firmest support from Great Britain.

He had need of it. A fresh invasion of Russians, aided by the savage hordes of the Zaporoguian Cossacks, was devastating Prussia; the sanguinary battle of Zorndorf, forcing them to fall back on Poland, permitted Frederick to hurry into Saxony, which was attacked by the Austrians. General Daun surprised and defeated him at Hochkirch; in spite of his inflexible resolution, the king of Prussia was obliged to abandon Saxony. His ally and rival, Ferdinand of Brunswick, had just beaten Count Clermont at Crevelt.

The count of Clermont defeated at Crevelt.

The new commander-in-chief of the king's armies, prince of the blood, brother of the late *Monsieur le Duc*, abbot commendatory of St. Germain-des-Prés, "general of the Benedictines," as the soldiers said, had brought into Germany, together with the favour of Madame de Pompadour, upright intentions, a sincere desire to restore discipline, and some great allusions about himself. Defeated at Crevelt, he was superseded by the marquis of Contades. The army murmured; they had no confidence in their leaders. At Versailles, Abbé de Bernis, who had lately become a cardinal, paid by his disgrace for the persistency he had shown in advising peace.

The duke of Choiseul. His character.

Madame de Pompadour had just procured for herself a support in her obstinate bellicosity: Bernis was superseded in the ministry of foreign affairs by Count Stainville, who was created duke of Choiseul. After the death of Marshal Belle-Isle he exchanged the office for that of minister of war; with it he combined the ministry of the marine. The foreign affairs were entrusted to the duke of Praslin, his cousin. The power rested almost entirely in the hands of the duke of Choiseul. Of high birth, clever, bold, ambitious, he

had but lately aspired to couple the splendour of successes in the fashionable world with the serious preoccupations of politics: his marriage with Mdlle. Crozat, a wealthy heiress, amiable and very much smitten with him, had strengthened his position. Elevated to the ministry by Madame de Pompadour, and as yet promoting her views, he nevertheless gave signs of an independent spirit and a proud character capable of exercising authority firmly in the presence and the teeth of all obstacles. France hoped to find once more in M. de Choiseul a great minister; nor were her hopes destined to be completely deceived.

A new and secret treaty had just rivetted the alliance between France and Austria. M. de Choiseul was at the same time dreaming of attacking England in her own very home, thus dealing her the most formidable of blows. The preparations were considerable: M. de Soubise was recalled from Germany to direct the army of invasion. He was to be seconded in his command by the duke of Aiguillon, to whom, rightly or wrongly, was attributed the honour of having repulsed in the preceding year an attempt of the English at a descent upon the coasts of Brittany. The expedition was ready, there was nothing to wait for save the moment to go out of port, but Admiral Hawke was cruising before Brest; it was only in the month of November, 1759, that the marquis of Conflans, who commanded the fleet, could put to sea with twenty-one vessels. Finding himself at once pursued by the English squadron, he sought shelter in the difficult channels at the mouth of the Vilaine. The English dashed in after him. A partial engagement, which ensued, was unfavourable; and the commander of the French rear-guard, M. St. André du Verger, allowed himself to be knocked to pieces by the enemy's guns in order to cover the retreat. The admiral ran ashore in the bay of Le Croisic and burnt his own vessel; seven ships remained blockaded in the Vilaine. *M. de Conflans' job*, as the sailors called it at the time, was equivalent to a battle lost without the chances and the honour of the struggle. The English navy was triumphant on every sea, and even in French waters.

Invasion of England projected.

The commencement of the campaign of 1759 had been brilliant in Germany: the duke of Broglie had successfully repulsed the attack made by Ferdinand of Brunswick on his positions at Bergen; the prince had been obliged to retire. The two armies, united under M. de Contades, invaded Hesse and moved upon the Weser; they were occupying Minden when Duke Ferdinand threw himself upon them on the 1st of August. The action of the two French generals was badly combined and the rout was complete.

Campaign of 1759.

The necessity for peace was beginning to be admitted even in Madame de Pompadour's little cabinets.

Maria Theresa, however, was in no hurry to enter into negotiations; her enemy seemed to be bending at last beneath the weight of the double Austrian and Russian attack. At one time Frederick had thought that he saw all Germany rallying round him; now, beaten and cantoned in Saxony, with the Austrians in front of him, during the winter of 1760, he was everywhere seeking alliances and finding himself everywhere rejected: "I have but two allies left," he would say, "valour and perseverance." Repeated victories, gained at the sword's point, by dint of boldness and in the extremity of peril, could not even protect Berlin. The capital of Prussia found itself constrained to open its gates to the enemy, on the sole condition that the regiments of Cossacks should not pass the line of enclosure. When the regular troops withdrew, the generals had not been able to prevent the city from being pillaged. The heroic efforts of the king of Prussia ended merely in preserving to him a foot-hold in Saxony. The Russians occupied Poland.

The Russians occupy Poland.

Marshal Broglie, on becoming general-in-chief of the French army, had succeeded in holding his own in Hesse; he frequently made Hanover anxious. To turn his attention elsewhither and in hopes of deciding the French to quit Germany, the hereditary prince of Brunswick attempted a diversion on the Lower Rhine; he laid siege to Wesel whilst the English were preparing for a descent at Antwerp. Marshal Broglie detached M. de Castries to protect the city. The French corps had just arrived, it was bivouacking. On the night between the 15th and 16th of October, Chevalier d'Assas, captain in the regiment of Auvergne, was sent to reconnoitre. He had advanced some distance from his men and happened to stumble upon a large force of the enemy. The prince of Brunswick was preparing to attack. All the muskets covered the young captain: "Stir, and thou'rt a dead man," muttered threatening voices. Without replying, M. d'Assas collected all his strength and shouted: "Auvergne! Here are the foe!" At the same instant he fell pierced by twenty balls. [Accounts differ: but this is the tradition of the Assas family.] The action thus begun was a glorious one. The hereditary prince was obliged to abandon the siege of Wesel and to re-cross the Rhine. The French divisions maintained their positions.

Marshal Broglie general-in chief.

Heroic death of Chevalier d'Assas.

The war went on as bloodily as monotonously and fruitlessly, but the face of Europe had lately altered. The old king George II., who died on the 25th of September, 1760, had been succeeded on the throne of England by his grandson, George III., aged twenty-

two, the first really native sovereign who had been called to reign over England since the fall of the Stuarts. Pitt still reigned over Parliament and over England, governing a free country sovereign-masterlike. His haughty prejudice against France still ruled all the decisions of the English government, but Lord Bute, the young monarch's adviser, was already whispering pacific counsels destined ere long to bear fruit. Pitt's dominion was tottering when the first overtures of peace arrived in London. The duke of Choiseul proposed a congress. He at the same time negotiated directly with England, and seemed to be resigned to the most humiliating concessions, when a new actor came upon the scene of negotiation; France no longer stood isolated face to face with triumphant England. The younger branch of the House of Bourbon cast into the scale the weight of its two crowns and the resources of its navy; and at the moment when Mr. Pitt was haughtily rejecting the modest ultimatum of the French minister, the treaty, known by the name of *Family Pact*, was signed at Paris (August 15, 1761), between France and the young king of Spain, Charles III.

A.D. 1761. "Family Pact" (Aug. 15).

Never had closer alliance been concluded between the two courts, even at the time when Louis XIV. placed his grandson upon the throne of Spain. It was that intimate union between all the branches of the House of Bourbon which had but lately been the great king's conception, and which had cost him so many efforts and so much blood; for the first time it was becoming favourable to France; the noble and patriotic idea of M. de Choiseul found an echo in the soul of the king of Spain; the French navy, ruined and humiliated, the French colonies, threatened and all but lost, found faithful support in the forces of Spain, recruited as they were by a long peace. The king of the Two Sicilies and the Infante Duke of Parma entered into the offensive and defensive alliance, but it was not open to any other power in Europe to be admitted to this family-union, cemented by common interests more potent and more durable than the transitory combinations of policy. In all the ports of Spain ships were preparing to put to sea. Charles III. had undertaken to declare war against the English if peace were not concluded before the 1st of May, 1762. France promised in that case to cede to him the island of Minorca.

Spain prepares for war.

Such efforts, however, were not destined to be attended with success; before the year had rolled by, Cuba was in the hands of the English, the Philippines were ravaged and the galleons laden with Spanish gold captured by British ships. The unhappy fate of France had involved her generous ally. The campaign attempted against Portugal, always hand in hand with England, had not been

attended with any result. Martinique had shared the lot of Guadaloupe, lately conquered by the English after a heroic resistance. Canada and India had at last succumbed. War dragged its slow length along in Germany. The brief elevation of the young czar Peter III., a passionate admirer of the Great Frederick, had delivered the king of Prussia from a dangerous enemy, and promised to give him an ally equally trusty and potent. France was exhausted, Spain discontented and angry; negotiations recommenced, on what disastrous conditions for the French colonies in both hemispheres has already been remarked: in Germany the places and districts occupied by France were to be restored; Lord Bute, like his great rival, required the destruction of the port of Dunkerque.

The preliminaries of peace had been already signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd of November, 1762; it was received, not without ill-humour on the part of England but with a secret feeling of relief; the burthens which weighed upon the country had been increasing every year. In 1762, Lord Bute had obtained from Parliament 450 millions (18,000,000*l.*) to keep up the war: "I wanted the peace to be a serious and a durable one," said the English minister in reply to Pitt's attacks; "if we had increased our demands, it would have been neither the one nor the other."

Errors of the French government.

M. de Choiseul submitted in despair to the consequences of the long-continued errors committed by the Government of Louis XV. "Were I master," said he, "we would be to the English what Spain was to the Moors; if this course were taken, England would be destroyed in thirty years from now." The king was a better judge of his weakness and of the general exhaustion. "The peace we have just made is neither a good one nor a glorious one, nobody sees that better than I," he said in his private correspondence; "but, under such unhappy circumstances, it could not be better, and I answer for it that if we had continued the war, we should have made a still worse one next year." All the patriotic courage and zeal of the duke of Choiseul, all the tardy impulse springing from the nation's anxieties could not suffice even to palliate the consequences of so many years' ignorance, feebleness and incapacity in succession.

Choiseul in despair.

Prussia and Austria henceforth were left to confront one another, the only actors really interested in the original struggle, the last to quit the battle-field on to which they had dragged their allies. By an unexpected turn of luck, Frederick II. had for a moment seen Russia becoming his ally; a fresh blow came to wrest from him this powerful support. The czarina Catherine II., princess of Anhalt-Zerbst and wife of the czar Peter III., having been pro-

claimed empress, inaugurated a new policy, equally bold and astute, having for its sole aim, unscrupulously and shamelessly pursued, the aggrandisement and consolidation of the imperial power: Russia became neutral in the strife between Prussia and Austria. The two sovereigns, left without allies and with their dominions drained of men and money, agreed to a mutual exchange of their conquests; the boundaries of their territories once more became as they had been before the Seven Years' war. England alone came triumphant out of the strife. She had won India for ever; and, for some years at least, civilized America, almost in its entirety, obeyed her laws. She had won what France had lost, not by superiority of arms, or even of generals, but by the natural and proper force of a free people, ably and liberally governed.

The Czarina Catherine II.

The position of France abroad, at the end of the Seven Years' war, was as painful as it was humiliating; her position at home was still more serious and the deep-lying source of all the reverses which had come to overwhelm the French. Slowly lessened by the faults and misfortunes of King Louis XIV.'s later years, the kingly authority, which had fallen, under Louis XV., into hands as feeble as they were corrupt, was ceasing to inspire the nation with the respect necessary for the working of personal power; public opinion was no longer content to accuse the favourite and the ministers, it was beginning to make the king responsible for the evils suffered and apprehended. People waited in vain for a decision of the crown to put a stop to the incessantly renewed struggles between the Parliament and the clergy. Thus, by mutually weakening each other, the great powers and the great influences in the State were wasting away; the reverses of the French arms, the loss of their colonies and the humiliating peace of Paris aggravated the discontent. In default of good government the people are often satisfied with glory. This consolation, to which the French nation had but lately been accustomed, failed it all at once; mental irritation, for a long time silently brooding, cantoned in the writings of philosophers and in the quatrains of rhymesters, was beginning to spread and show itself amongst the nation; it sought throughout the State an object for its wrath: the powerful society of the Jesuits was the first to bear all the brunt of it.

Position of France.

A French Jesuit, Father Lavalette, had founded a commercial house at Martinique. Ruined by the war, he had become bankrupt to the extent of three millions; the Order having refused to pay, it was condemned by the Parliament to do so. The responsibility was declared to extend to all the members of the Institute, and

Proceedings against the Jesuits in France and Portugal.

public opinion triumphed over the condemnation with a "quasi-indecent" joy, says the advocate Barbier. Nor was it content with this legitimate satisfaction. One of the courts which had until lately been most devoted to the Society of Jesus had just set an example of severity. In 1759, the Jesuits had been driven from Portugal by the marquis of Pombal, King Joseph I.'s all-powerful minister; their goods had been confiscated, and their principal, Malagrida, handed over to the Inquisition, had just been burnt as a heretic (Sept. 20, 1761).

A D. 1767. And in Spain.

In 1767, the king of Spain, Charles III., less moderate than the government of Louis XV., expelled with violence all the members of the Society of Jesus from his territory, thus exciting the Parliament of Paris to fresh severities against the French Jesuits, and, on the 20th of July, 1773, the court of Rome itself, yielding at last to pressure from nearly all the sovereigns of Europe, solemnly pronounced the dissolution of the Order: "Recognizing that the members of this Society have not a little troubled the Christian commonwealth, and that for the welfare of Christendom it were better that the Order should disappear." The last houses still offering shelter to the Jesuits were closed; the general, Ricci, was imprisoned at the castle of St. Angelo, and the Society of Jesus, which had been so powerful for nearly three centuries, took refuge in certain distant lands, seeking in oblivion and silence fresh strength for the struggle which it was one day to renew.

The Parliaments. Affair of La Chalotais.

The Parliaments were triumphant, but their authority, which seemed never to have risen so high or penetrated so far in the government of the State, was already tottering to its base. Once more the strife was about to begin between the kingly power and the magistracy, whose last victory was destined to scarcely precede its downfall. The financial embarrassments of the State were growing more serious every day: to the debts left by the Seven Years' war were added the new wants developed by the necessities of commerce and by the progress of civilization. The refusal of several of the provincial parliaments to register the edicts promulgated by the crown ended in the arrest of five of the members of the Parliament of Rennes; at their head was the attorney-general, M. de la Chalotais, author of a very remarkable paper against the Jesuits. It was necessary to form at St. Malo a *King's Chamber* to try the accused. M. de Calonne, an ambitious young man, the declared foe of M. de la Chalotais, was appointed attorney-general on the commission. He pretended to have discovered grave facts against the accused; he was suspected of having invented them. Public feeling was at its height; the magistrates loudly proclaimed the

theory of *Classes*, according to which all the Parliaments of France, responsible one for another, formed in reality but one body, distributed by delegation throughout the principal towns of the realm.

Under the administration of the duke of Duras, the agitation subsided in Brittany; the magistrates who had resigned resumed their seats; M. de La Chalotais and his son, M. de Caradeuc, alone remained excluded by order of the king. The restored Parliament immediately made a claim on their behalf, accompanying the request with a formal accusation against the duke of Aiguillon. The states supported the Parliament. A royal ordinance forbade any proceedings against the duke of Aiguillon, and enjoined silence on the parties. Parliament having persisted, and declaring that the accusations against the duke of Aiguillon *attached* (*entachaient*) his honour, Louis XV., egged on by the chancellor, M. de Maupeou, an ambitious, bold, bad man, repaired in person to the office and had all the papers relating to the procedure removed before his eyes. The strife was becoming violent: the duke of Choiseul, still premier minister, but sadly shaken in the royal favour, disapproved of the severities employed against the magistracy. All the blows dealt at the Parliaments recoiled upon him.

A.D. 1764. Death of Madame de Pompadour (April 15).

King Louis XV. had taken a fresh step in the shameful irregularity of his life; on the 15th of April, 1764, Madame de Pompadour had died, at the age of forty-two, of heart-disease. As frivolous as she was deeply depraved and base-minded in her calculating easiness of virtue, she had more ambition than comported with her mental calibre or her force of character; she had taken it into her head to govern, by turns promoting and overthrowing the ministers, herself proffering advice to the king, sometimes to good purpose, but more often still with a levity as fatal as her obstinacy. Less clever, less ambitious but more potent than Madame de Pompadour over the faded passions of a monarch aged before his time, the new favourite, Madame Dubarry, made the least scrupulous blush at the lowness of her origin and the irregularity of her life. It was, nevertheless, in her circle that the plot was formed against the duke of Choiseul. Bold, ambitious, restless, presumptuous sometimes in his views and his hopes, the minister had his heart too nearly in the right place and too proper a spirit to submit to either the yoke of Madame Dubarry or that of the shameless courtiers who made use of her influence. He was dismissed on the 24th of December, 1770, and the power passed into the hands of Chancellor Maupeou, the new comptroller-general, Abbé Terray, and the duke of Aiguillon.

Disgrace of Choiseul. Madame Dubarry.

With M. de Choiseul disappeared the sturdiest prop of the Parliaments. In vain had the king ordered the magistrates to resume their functions and administer justice. "There is nothing left for your Parliament," replied the premier president, "but to perish with the laws, since the fate of the magistrates should go with that of the State." Madame Dubarry, on a hint from her able advisers, had caused to be placed in her apartments a fine portrait of Charles I. by Van Dyck. "*France,*" she was always reiterating to the king with vulgar familiarity, "France, thy Parliament will cut off *thy* head too!"

No analogy between the English and the French parliaments.

A piece of ignorant confusion, due even more to analogy of name than to the generous but vain efforts often attempted by the French magistracy in favour of sound doctrines of government. The Parliament of Paris fell sitting upon curule chairs, like the old senators of Rome during the invasion of the Gauls; the political spirit, the collected and combative ardour, the indomitable resolution of the English Parliament, freely elected representatives of a free people, were unknown to the French magistracy. Despite the courage and moral elevation it had so often shown, its strength had been wasted in a constantly useless strife; it had withstood Richelieu and Mazarin; already reduced to submission by Cardinal Fleury, it fell beneath the equally bold and skilful blows of Chancellor Maupeou. Amidst the rapid decay of absolute power, the transformation and abasement of the Parliaments a skilful and bold attempt to restore some sort of force and unity to the kingly authority. It was thus that certain legitimate claims had been satisfied, the extent of jurisdictions had been curtailed, the saleability of offices had been put down, the expenses of justice had been lessened.

The ferment caused by this measure subsided without having reached the mass of the nation; the majority of the princes made it up with the court, the dispossessed magistrates returned one after another to Paris, astonished and mortified to see justice administered without them and advocates pleading before the *Maupeou* Parliament. The chancellor had triumphed and remained master: all the old jurisdictions were broken up, public opinion was already forgetting them; it was occupied with a question more important still than the administration of justice. The ever increasing disorder in the finances was no longer checked by the enregistering of edicts; the comptroller-general, Abbé Terray, had recourse shamelessly to every expedient of a bold imagination to fill the royal treasury; it was necessary to satisfy the ruinous demands of Madame Dubarry and of the depraved courtiers who thronged

"Maupeou Parliament."

about her. Successive bad harvests and the high price of bread still further aggravated the position. It was known that the king had a taste for private speculation; he was accused of trading in grain and of buying up the stores required for feeding the people. The odious rumour of this *famine-pact*, as the bitter saying was, soon spread amongst the mob. Before its fall, the Parliament of Rouen had audaciously given expression to these dark accusations; it had ordered proceedings to be taken against the *monopolists*. A royal injunction put a veto upon the prosecutions. Contempt grew more and more profound: the king and Madame Dubarry by their shameful lives, Maupeou and Abbé Terray by destroying the last bulwarks of the public liberties, were digging with their own hands the abyss in which the old French monarchy was about to be soon engulfed.

A.D. 1765. Death of the Dauphin (Dec. 20), of the Dauphiness (1767), and of the Queen (1768).

In the meanwhile, the dauphin died at the age of thirty-six on the 20th of December, 1765, profoundly regretted by the bulk of the nation, who knew his virtues without troubling themselves, like the court and the philosophers, about the stiffness of his manners and his complete devotion to the cause of the clergy. The new dauphin, who would one day be Louis XVI., was still a child: the king had him brought into his closet. "Poor France!" he said sadly, "a king of fifty-five and a dauphin of eleven!" The dauphiness and Queen Mary Leczinska soon followed the dauphin to the tomb (1767, 1768). The king, thus left alone, and scared by the repeated deaths around him, appeared for a while to be drawn closer to his daughters, for whom he had always retained some sort of affection, a mixture of weakness and habit. One of them, Madame Louise, who was deeply pious, left him to enter the convent of the Carmelites; he often went to see her, and granted her all the favours she asked. But by this time Madame Dubarry had become all-powerful; to secure to her the honours of presentation at court the king personally solicited the ladies with whom he was intimate in order to get them to support his favourite on this new stage; when the youthful Marie Antoinette, archduchess of Austria and daughter of Maria Theresa, whose marriage the duke of Choiseul had negotiated, arrived in France, in 1770, to espouse the dauphin, Madame Dubarry appeared alone with the royal family at the banquet given at La Muette on the occasion of the marriage. After each reaction of religious fright and transitory repentance, after each warning from God that snatched him for an instant from the depravity of his life, the king plunged more deeply than before into shame. Madame Dubarry was to reign as much as Louis XV.

Before his fall the duke of Choiseul had made a last effort to

revive abroad that fortune of France which he saw sinking at home without his being able to apply any effective remedy. He had vainly attempted to give colonies once more to France by founding in French Guiana settlements which had been unsuccessfully attempted by a Rouennese Company as early as 1634. The enterprise was badly managed; the numerous colonists, of very diverse origin and worth, were cast without resources upon a territory as unhealthy as fertile. No preparations had been made to receive them; the majority died of disease and want; *New France* henceforth belonged to the English, and the great hopes which had been raised of replacing it in *Equinoctial France*, as Guiana was named, soon vanished never to return. An attempt made about the same epoch at St. Lucie was attended with the same result. The great ardour and the rare aptitude for distant enterprises which had so often manifested themselves in France from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century seemed to be henceforth extinguished. Only the colonies of the Antilles, which had escaped from the misfortunes of war, and were by this time recovered from their disasters, offered any encouragement to the patriotic efforts of the duke of Choiseul. He had been more fortunate in Europe than in the colonies.

State of the French colonies.

Corsica, whose independence had been gloriously but fruitlessly defended by Pascal Paoli, was to be the last conquest of the old French monarchy. Great or little, magnificent or insignificant, from Richelieu to the duke of Choiseul, France had managed to preserve her territorial acquisitions; in America and in Asia, Louis XV. had shamefully lost Canada and the Indies; in Europe, the diplomacy of his ministers had given to the kingdom Lorraine and Corsica. The day of insensate conquests ending in a diminution of territory had not yet come. In the great and iniquitous dismemberment which was coming, namely the partition of Poland, France was to have no share. The political annihilation of Louis XV. in Europe had been completed by the dismissal of the duke of Choiseul.

The public conscience is lightened by lights which ability, even when triumphant, can never altogether obscure. The Great Frederick and the Empress Catherine have to answer before history for a crime which they made acceptable to the timorous jealousy of Maria Theresa and to the youthful ambition of her son.

Partition of Poland.

France did not do anything and could not do anything; the king's secret negotiators, as well as the minister of foreign affairs, had been tricked by the allied powers. "Ah! if Choiseul had been here!" exclaimed King Louis XV., it is said, when he heard

of the partition of Poland. The duke of Choiseul would no doubt have been more clear-sighted and better informed than the duke of Aiguillon, but his policy could have done no good. Frederick II. knew that. "France plays so small a part in Europe," he wrote to Count Solms, "that I merely tell you about the impotent efforts of the French ministry's envy just to have a laugh at them and to let you see in what visions the consciousness of its own weaknesses is capable of leading that court to indulge." "Oh, where *is* Poland?" Madame Dubarry had said to Count Wicholorsky, King Stanislaus Augustus' chargé d'affaires, who was trying to interest her in the misfortunes of his country.

Lethargy and immorality of Louis XV.

The partition of Poland was barely accomplished, and already King Louis XV., for a moment roused by the audacious aggression of the German courts, had sunk back into the shameful lethargy of his life. When Madame Louise, the pious Carmelite of St. Denis, succeeded in awakening in her father's soul a gleam of religious terror, the courtiers in charge of the royal pleasures redoubled their efforts to distract the king from thoughts so perilous for their own fortunes. Louis XV., fluctuating between remorse and depravity, ruled by Madame Dubarry, bound hand and foot to the triumvirate of Chancellor Maupeou, Abbé Terray and the duke of Aiguillon, who were consuming between them in his name the last remnants of absolute power, fell suddenly ill of small-pox. The princesses, his daughters, had never had that terrible disease, the scourge and terror of all classes of society, yet they bravely shut themselves up with the king, lavishing their attentions upon him to the last gasp. Death, triumphant, had vanquished the favourite: Madame Dubarry was sent away as soon as the nature of the malady had declared itself. The king charged his grand almoner to ask pardon of the courtiers for the scandal he had caused them. "Kings owe no account of their conduct save to God only," he had often repeated to comfort himself for the shame of his life. "It is just He whom I fear," said Maria Theresa, pursued by remorse for the partition of Poland.

A.D. 1774. Death of Louis XV. (May 10).

Louis XV. died on the 10th of May, 1774, in his sixty-fourth year, after reigning fifty-nine years, despised by the people who had not so long ago given him the name of Well-beloved, and whose attachment he had worn out by his cold indifference about affairs and the national interests as much as by the irregularities of his life. With him died the old French monarchy, that proud power which had sometimes ruled Europe whilst always holding a great position therein. Henceforth France was marching towards the unknown, tossed about as she was by divers movements, which were mostly

hostile to the old state of things, blindly and confusedly as yet, but, under the direction of masters as inexperienced as they were daring, full of frequently noble though nearly always extravagant and reckless hopes, all founded on a thorough reconstruction of the bases of society and of its ancient props. Far more even than the monarchy, at the close of Louis XV.'s reign, did religion find itself attacked and threatened; the blows struck by the philosophers at fanaticism recoiled upon the Christian faith, transiently liable here below for human errors and faults over which it is destined to triumph in eternity.

Literature. Nowhere and at no epoch had literature shone with so vivid a lustre as in the reign of Louis XIV.; never has it been in a greater degree the occupation and charm of mankind, never has it left nobler and rarer models behind it for the admiration and imitation of the coming race: the writers of Louis XV.'s age, for all their brilliancy and all their fertility, themselves felt their inferiority in respect of their predecessors. Voltaire confessed as much with a modesty which was by no means familiar to him. Inimitable in their genius, Corneille, Bossuet, Pascal, Molière, left their imprint upon the generation that came after them; it had judgment enough to set them by acclamation in the ranks of the classics; in their case, greatness displaced time. Voltaire took Racine for model; La Motte imagined that he could imitate La Fontaine. The illustrious company of great minds which surrounded the throne of Louis XIV. and had so much to do with the lasting splendour of his reign had no reason to complain of ingratitude on the part of its successors; but, from the pedestal to which they raised it, it exercised no potent influence upon new thought and new passions.

Montesquieu. Montesquieu, despite the wise moderation of his great and strong mind, was the first to awaken that yearning for novelty and reforms which had been silently brooding at the bottom of men's hearts. Born in 1689 at the castle of La Brède, near Bordeaux, Montesquieu really belonged, in point of age, to the reign of Louis XIV., of which he bears the powerful imprint even amidst the boldness of his thoughts and expressions. Grandeur is the distinctive characteristic of Montesquieu's ideas as it is of the seventeenth century altogether. In 1721, when he still had his seat on the fleurs-de-lis, he had published his *Lettres persanes*, an imaginary trip of two exiled Parsees, freely criticizing Paris and France. The book appeared under the Regency, and bears the imprint of it in the licentiousness of the descriptions and the witty irreverence of the criticisms. Sometimes, however, the future gravity of Montesquieu's genius reveals itself amidst the shrewd or biting judgments.



BUFFON.

The success of the *Lettres persanes* was great; Montesquieu had said what many people thought without daring to express it; the doubt which was nascent in his mind, and which he could only withstand by an effort of will, the excessive freedom of the tone and of the style scared the authorities, however; when he wanted to get into the French Academy, in the place of M. de Sacy, Cardinal Fleury opposed it formally. It was only on the 24th of January, 1728, that Montesquieu, recently elected, delivered his reception speech. He at once set out on some long travels; and in 1734, he published his *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains* Montesquieu did not, as Bossuet did, seek to hit upon God's plan touching the destinies of mankind: he discovers in the virtues and vices of the Romans themselves the secret of their triumphs and of their reverses. The contemplation of antiquity inspires him with language often worthy of Tacitus, curt, nervous, powerful in its grave simplicity.

The "Considérations."

Montesquieu thus performed the prelude to the great work of his life: he had been working for twenty years at the *Esprit des lois*, when he published it in 1748. "In the course of twenty years," he says, "I saw my work begin, grow, progress and end." He had placed as the motto to his book this Latin phrase, which at first excited the curiosity of readers: *Prolem sine matre creatam* (*Offspring begotten without a mother*). "Young man," said Montesquieu, by this time advanced in years, to M. Suard (afterwards perpetual secretary to the French Academy), "young man, when a notable book is written, genius is its father and liberty its mother; that is why I wrote upon the title-page of my work: *Prolem sine matre creatam.*"

The "Esprit des lois"

It was liberty at the same time as justice that Montesquieu sought and claimed in his profound researches into the laws which have from time immemorial governed mankind; that new instinctive idea of natural rights, those new yearnings which were beginning to dawn in all hearts, remained as yet, for the most part, upon the surface of their minds and of their lives; what was demanded at that time in France was liberty to speak and write rather than to act and govern. Montesquieu, on the contrary, went to the bottom of things, and, despite the natural moderation of his mind, he propounded theories so perilous for absolute power that he dared not have his book printed at Paris, and brought it out in Geneva; its success was immense: before his death, Montesquieu saw twenty-one French editions published and translations in all the languages of Europe. "Mankind had lost its title-deeds," says Voltaire: "Montesquieu recovered and restored them."

The intense labour, the immense courses of reading, to which Montesquieu had devoted himself, had exhausted his strength; he died on the 10th of February, 1755, at the age of sixty-six, at the beginning of the reign of the philosophers, whose way he had prepared before them without having ever belonged to their number. Diderot alone followed his bier. Fontenelle, nearly a hundred years old, was soon to follow him to the tomb.

Fontenelle.

Born at Rouen in February, 1657, and nephew of Corneille on the mother's side, Fontenelle did not receive from nature any of the unequal and sublime endowments which have fixed the dramatic crown for ever upon the forehead of Corneille; but he inherited the wit, and *bel esprit* which the great tragedian hid beneath the splendours of his genius. When, at forty years of age, he became perpetual secretary to the Academy of Sciences, he had already written his book on the *Pluralité des Mondes*, the first attempt at that popularization of science which has spread so since then. "I believe more and more," he said, "that there is a certain genius which has never yet been out of our Europe, or, at least, has not gone far out of it." This *genius*, clear, correct, precise, the genius of method and analysis, the genius of Descartes, which was at a later period that of Buffon and of Cuvier, was admirably expounded and developed by Fontenelle for the use of the ignorant. He wrote for society and not for scholars, of whose labours and discoveries he gave an account to society. His extracts from the labours of the Academy of Science, and his eulogies of the Academicians are models of lucidness under an ingenious and subtle form, rendered simple and strong by dint of wit. "There is only truth that persuades," he used to say, "and even without requiring to appear with all its proofs. It makes its way so naturally into the mind, that, when it is heard for the first time, it seems as if one were merely remembering."

A popular expounder of science.

Equitable and moderate in mind, prudent and cold in temperament, Fontenelle passed his life in discussion without ever stumbling into disputes; his very courage and trustiness bore this stamp of discreet moderation. When the Abbé St. Pierre was excluded from the French Academy under Louis XV. for having dared to criticize the government of Louis XIV., one single ball in the urn protested against the unjust pressure exercised by Cardinal Fleury upon the society. They all asked one another who the rebel was; each defended himself against having voted against the minister's order; Fontenelle alone kept silent; when everybody had exculpated himself, "It must be myself, then," said Fontenelle half aloud.

His liberal views.

So much cool serenity and so much taste for noble intellectual works prolonged the existence of Fontenelle beyond the ordinary limits; he was ninety-nine and not yet weary of life: "If I might but reach the strawberry-season once more!" he had said. He died at Paris on the 9th of January, 1759; with him disappeared what remained of the spirit and traditions of Louis XIV.'s reign. Montesquieu and Fontenelle were the last links which united the seventeenth century to the new era. The flood of free-thinking had spared Montesquieu and Fontenelle, it was about to carry away Voltaire almost as far as Diderot.

Voltaire.

Born at Paris on the 21st of November, 1694, François Marie Arouet de Voltaire was sent to the college of Louis-le-Grand, which at that time belonged to the Jesuits. As early as then little Arouet, who was weak and in delicate health, but withal of a very lively intelligence, displayed a freedom of thought and a tendency to irreverence which already disquieted and angered his masters. Father Lejay jumped from his chair and took the boy by the collar, exclaiming, "Wretch, thou wilt one of these days raise the standard of Deism in France!" Father Pallou, his confessor, accustomed to read the heart, said as he shook his head, "This child is devoured with a thirst for celebrity." Under a despotic government, this awkward disposition must necessarily lead to painful consequences; it was within the precincts of the Bastille that young Arouet wrote the first part of the poem called *La Henriade*, under the title of *La Ligue;* when he at last obtained his release in April, 1718, he at the same time received orders to reside at Châtenay, where his father had a country house. It was on coming out of the Bastille that the poet took, from a small family-estate, that name of Voltaire which he was to render so famous. "I have been too unfortunate under my former name," he wrote to Mdlle. du Noyer, "I mean to see whether this will suit me better."

The players were at that time rehearsing the tragedy of *Œdipe*, which was performed on the 18th of November, 1718, with great success. The daring flights of philosophy introduced by the poet into this profoundly and terribly religious subject excited the enthusiasm of the *roués;* Voltaire was well received by the Regent, who granted him an honorarium. "Monseigneur," said Voltaire, "I should consider it very kind if his Majesty would be pleased to provide henceforth for my board, but I beseech your Highness to provide no more for my lodging." Voltaire's acts of imprudence were destined more than once to force him into leaving Paris; he all his life preserved such a horror of prison that it made him

His acts of imprudence.

commit more than one platitude. "I have a mortal aversion for prison," he wrote in 1734; once more, however, he was to be an inmate of the Bastille.

Launched upon the most brilliant society, everywhere courted and flattered, Voltaire was constantly at work, displaying the marvellous suppleness of his mind by shifting from the tragedies of *Artémise* and *Marianne*, which failed, to the comedy of *L'Indiscret*, to numerous charming epistles, and lastly to the poem of *La Henriade*, which he went on carefully revising, reading fragments of it as he changed his quarters from castle to castle.

Voltaire in England.

After another visit to the Bastille, he passed three years in England, engaged in learning English and finishing *La Henriade*, which he published by subscription in 1727. Touched by the favour shown by English society to the author and the poem, he dedicated to the queen of England his new work, which was entirely consecrated to the glory of France; three successive editions were disposed of in less than three weeks. Lord Bolingbroke, having returned to England and been restored to favour, did potent service to his old friend, who lived in the midst of that literary society in which Pope and Swift held sway. When, in the month of March, 1729, Voltaire at last obtained permission to revisit France, he had worked much without bringing out anything. The riches he had thus amassed appeared ere long: before the end of the year 1731 he put *Brutus* on the stage, and began his publication of the *Histoire de Charles XII.*; he was at the same time giving the finishing touch to *Ériphyle* and *La Mort de César*. *Zaïre*, written in a few weeks, was played for the first time on the 13th of August, 1732.

Returns to France.

Voltaire had just inaugurated the great national tragedy of his country, as he had likewise given it the only national epic attempted in France since the *Chansons de geste*; by one of those equally sudden and imprudent reactions to which he was always subject, it was not long before he himself damaged his own success by the publication of his *Lettres philosophiques sur les Anglais*.

The light and mocking tone of these letters, the constant comparison between the two peoples, with many a gibe at the English, but always turning to their advantage, the preference given to the philosophical system of Newton over that of Descartes, lastly the attacks upon religion concealed beneath the cloak of banter—all this was more than enough to ruffle the tranquillity of Cardinal Fleury. The book was brought before Parliament: Voltaire was disquieted. He ran, first, for refuge to Bâle, then to the castle of Cirey, to the marchioness du Châtelet's, a woman as learned as she

was impassioned, devoted to literature, physics and mathematics, and tenderly attached to Voltaire, whom she enticed along with her into the paths of science. For fifteen years Madame du Châtelet and Cirey ruled supreme over the poet's life. There began a course of metaphysics, tales, tragedies; *Alzire*, *Mérope*, *Mahomet* were composed at Cirey and played with ever increasing success. Pope Benedict XIV. had accepted the dedication of *Mahomet*, which Voltaire had addressed to him in order to cover the freedoms of his piece. Every now and then, terrified in consequence of some bit of anti-religious rashness, he took flight, going into hiding at one time to the court of Lorraine beneath the wing of King Stanislaus, at another time in Holland, at a palace belonging to the king of Prussia, the Great Frederick. **Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet.**

Madame du Châtelet died on the 4th of September, 1749, at Lunéville, where she then happened to be with Voltaire. Their intimacy had experienced many storms, yet the blow was a cruel one for the poet; in losing Madame du Châtelet he was losing the centre and the guidance of his life. For a while he spoke of burying himself with Dom Calmet in the abbey of Senones; then he would be off to England: he ended by returning to Paris, summoning to his side a widowed niece, Madame Denis, a woman of coarse wit, and full of devotion to him, who was fond of the drama, and played her uncle's pieces on the little theatre which he had fitted up in his rooms.

Despite the lustre of that fame which was attested by the frequent attacks of his enemies as much as by the admiration of his friends, Voltaire was displeased with his sojourn at Paris, and weary of the Court and the men of letters. The king had always exhibited towards him a coldness which the poet's adulation had not been able to overcome; he had offended Madame de Pompadour, who had but lately been well disposed towards him; the religious circle, ranged around the queen and the dauphin, was of course hostile to him. "The place of historiographer to the king was but an empty title," he says himself: "I wanted to make it a reality by working at the history of the war of 1741; but, in spite of my work, Moncrif had admittance to his Majesty and I had not."

In tracing the tragic episodes of the war, Voltaire, set as his mind was on the royal favour, had wanted in the first place to pay homage to the friends he had lost. It was in the "eulogium of the officers who fell in the campaign of 1741" that he touchingly called attention to the memory of Vauvenargues. He, born at Aix on the 6th of August, 1715, died of his wounds, at Paris, in 1747. **Vauvenargues**

Poor and proud, resigning himself with a sigh to idleness and obscurity, the young officer had written merely to relieve his mind. His friends had constrained him to publish a little book, one only, the *Introduction à la connaissance de l'esprit humain, suivie de réflexions et de maximes.* Its success justified their affectionate hopes: delicate minds took keen delight in the first essays of Vauvenargues. Hesitating between religion and philosophy, with a palpable leaning towards the latter, ill and yet bravely bearing the disappointments and sufferings of his life, Vauvenargues was already expiring at thirty years of age, when Provence was invaded by the enemy. The humiliation of his country and the peril of his native province roused him from his tranquil melancholy: "All Provence is in arms," he wrote to his friend Fauris de St. Vincent, "and here am I quite quietly in my chimney-corner; the bad state of my eyes and of my health is not sufficient excuse for me, and I ought to be where all the gentlemen of the province are. Send me word then, I beg, immediately whether there is still any employment to be had in our newly raised levies and whether I should be sure to be employed if I were to go to Provence." Before his friend's answer had reached Vauvenargues, the Austrians and the Piedmontese had been forced to evacuate Provence; the dying man remained in his chimney-corner, where he soon expired, leaving amongst the public and still more amongst those who had known him personally the impression of great promise sadly extinguished. "It was his fate," says his faithful biographer, M. Gilbert, "to be always opening his wings and to be unable to take flight."

His views on philosophy.

Voltaire, quite on the contrary, was about to take a fresh flight. After several rebuffs and long opposition on the part of the eighteen ecclesiastics who at that time had seats in the French Academy, he had been elected to it in 1746. In 1750, he offered himself at one and the same time for the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Inscriptions: he failed in both candidatures. This mishap filled the cup of his ill-humour. For a long time past Frederick II. had been offering the poet favours which he had long refused. The disgust he experienced at Paris through his insatiable vanity made him determine upon seeking another arena; after having accepted a pension and a place from the king of Prussia, Voltaire set out for Berlin. He was received there with enthusiasm and as sovereign of the little court of philosophers; but his intimacy with Frederick II. did not last long; it had for a while done honour to both of them, it had ended by betraying the pettinesses and the meannesses natural to the king as well as to

Voltaire and the king of Prussia.

the poet. Frederick did not remain without anxiety on the score of Voltaire's rancour; Voltaire dreaded nasty diplomatic proceedings on the part of the king; he had been threatened with as much by Lord Keith, *Milord Maréchal*, as he was called on the Continent from the hereditary title he had lost in his own country through his attachment to the cause of the Stuarts :—

Voltaire's squabbles.

"Let us see in what countries M. de Voltaire has not had some squabble or made himself many enemies," said a letter to Madame Denis from the great Scotch lord when he had entered Frederick's service: "every country where the Inquisition prevails must be mistrusted by him; he would put his foot in it sooner or later. The Mussulmans must be as little pleased with his *Mahomet* as good Christians were. He is too old to go to China and turn mandarin; in a word, if he is wise, there is no place but France for him. He has friends there, and you will have him with you for the rest of his days; do not let him shut himself out from the pleasure of returning thither, for you are quite aware that, if he were to indulge in speech and epigrams offensive to the king my master, a word which the latter might order me to speak to the court of France would suffice to prevent M. de Voltaire from returning, and he would be sorry for it when it was too late."

Voltaire was already in France, but he dared not venture to Paris. Mutilated, clumsy or treacherous issues of the *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle* had already stirred the bile of the clergy; there were to be seen in circulation copies of *La Pucelle*, a disgusting poem which the author had been keeping back and bringing out alternately for several years past. Voltaire fled from Colmar, where the Jesuits held sway, to Lyons, where he found Marshal Richelieu, but lately his protector and always his friend, who was repairing to his government of Languedoc. Cardinal Tencin refused to receive the poet, who regarded this sudden severity as a sign of the feelings of the court towards him. "The king told Madame de Pompadour that he did not want me to go to Paris; I am of his Majesty's opinion, I don't want to go to Paris," wrote Voltaire to the marquis of Paulmy. He took fright and sought refuge in Switzerland, where he soon settled on the lake of Geneva, pending his purchase of the estate of Ferney in the district of Gex and that of Tourney in Burgundy. He was henceforth fixed, free to pass from France to Switzerland and from Switzerland to France; in the comparative security which he thought he possessed, he gave scope to all his free-thinking, which had but lately been often cloaked according to circumstances. In the great campaign against Christianity undertaken by the philosophers, Voltaire, so long a

He takes fright.

wavering ally, will henceforth fight in the foremost ranks; it is he who shouts to Diderot, "Squelch the thing (*Écrasez l'infâme*)!" The masks are off, and the fight is bare-faced; the Encyclopædists march out to the conquest of the world in the name of reason, humanity and free-thinking; even when he has ceased to work at the *Encyclopædia*, Voltaire marches with them.

The *Essai sur l'Histoire générale et les Mœurs* was one of the first broadsides of this new anti-religious crusade. "Voltaire will never write a good history," Montesquieu used to say: "he is like the monks, who do not write for the subject of which they treat, but for the glory of their order: Voltaire writes for his convent."

Takes the lead in the crusade against religion.

The same intention betrayed itself in every sort of work that issued at that time from the hermitage of Délices, the poem on *Le Tremblement de terre de Lisbonne*, the drama of *Socrate*, the satire of the *Pauvre Diable*, the sad story of *Candide*, led the way to a series of publications every day more and more violent against the Christian faith. The tragedy of *l'Orphelin de la Chine* and that of *Tancrède*, the quarrels with Fréron, with Lefranc de Pompignan, and lastly with Jean Jacques Rousseau, did not satiate the devouring activity of the *Patriarch*, as he was called by the knot of philosophers.

His love of justice.

Innate love of justice and horror of fanaticism had inspired Voltaire with his zeal on behalf of the Calas family and other persecuted Protestants; a more personal feeling, a more profound sympathy caused his grief and his dread when Chevalier de la Barre, accused of having mutilated a crucifix, was condemned, in 1766, to capital punishment; the scepticism of the eighteenth century had sudden and terrible reactions towards fanatical violence, as a protest and a pitiable struggle against the doubt which was invading it on all sides; the chevalier was executed; he was not twenty years old. He was an infidel and a libertine, like the majority of the young men of his day and of his age; the crime he expiated so cruelly was attributed to reading bad books, which had corrupted him. "I am told," writes Voltaire to D'Alembert, "that they said at their examination that they had been led on to the act of madness they committed by the works of the Encyclopædists. I can scarcely believe it; these madmen don't read; and certainly no philosopher would have counselled profanation. The matter is important; try to get to the bottom of so odious and dangerous a report."

Voltaire reigned peacefully, however, over his little empire at Ferney, courted from afar by all the sovereigns of Europe who made any profession of philosophy. "I have a sequence of four

kings" (*Irelan de roi quatrième*), he would say with a laugh when he counted his letters from royal personages. The empress of Russia, Catherine II., had dethroned, in his mind, the Great Frederick. He was destined to die at Paris; there he found the last joys of his life, and there he shed the last rays of his glory.

Voltaire's death. General survey of his character.

Voltaire's incessant activity bore many fruits which survived him; he contributed powerfully to the triumph of those notions of humanity, justice and freedom, which, superior to his own ideal, did honour to the eighteenth century; he became the model of a style, clear, neat, brilliant, the natural exponent of his own mind, far more than of the as yet confused hopes and aspirations of his age; he defended the rights of common sense and sometimes withstood the anti religious passion of his friends, but he blasted both minds and souls with his sceptical gibes; his bitter and at the same time temperate banter disturbed consciences which would have been revolted by the materialistic doctrines of the Encyclopædists; the circle of infidelity widened under his hands; his disciples were able to go beyond him on the fatal path he had opened to them. Voltaire has remained the true representative of the mocking and stone-flinging phase of free-thinking, knowing nothing of the deep yearnings any more than of the supreme wretchlessness of the human soul, which it kept imprisoned within the narrow limits of earth and time. At the outcome from the bloody slough of the French Revolution and from the chaos it caused in men's souls, it was the infidelity of Voltaire which remained at the bottom of the scepticism and moral disorder of the France of our day. The demon which torments her is even more Voltairian than materialistic.

Other influences, more sincere and at the same time more dangerous, were simultaneously undermining men's minds. The group of Encyclopædists, less prudent and less temperate than Voltaire, flaunted openly the flag of revolt. At the head marched Denis Diderot, born in 1715, the most daring of all, the most genuinely affected by his own ardour, without perhaps being the most sure of his ground in his negations. He was an original and exuberant nature, expansively open to all new impressions; it was in conjunction with his friends and in community of ideas that Diderot undertook the immense labour of the *Encyclopædia*. Having, in the first instance, received a commission from a publisher to translate the English collection of [Ephraim] Chambers, Diderot was impressed with a desire to unite in one and the same collection all the efforts and all the talents of his epoch, so as to render joint homage to the rapid progress of science. Won over by his enthu-

Diderot and the Encyclopædia.

siasm, D'Alembert consented to share the task; and he wrote the beautiful exposition in the introduction. Voltaire sent his articles from *Les Délices*. The Jesuits had proposed to take upon themselves a certain number of questions, but their co-operation was declined: it was a monument to philosophy that the Encyclopædists aspired to raise: the clergy were in commotion at seeing the hostile army, till then uncertain and unbanded, rally organized and disciplined around this vast enterprise. An early veto, soon, however, taken off, compelled the philosophers to a certain moderation: Voltaire ceased writing for the *Encyclopædia*, it was not sufficiently free-going for him: "You admit articles worthy of the Trévoux journal," he said to D'Alembert. New severities on the part of the Parliament and the grand council dealt a blow to the philosophers before long: the editors' privilege was revoked. Orders were given to seize Diderot's papers. Lamoignon de Malesherbes, who was at that time director of the press, and favourable to freedom without ever having abused it in thought or action, sent him secret warning. Diderot ran home in consternation. "What's to be done?" he cried: "how move all my manuscripts in twenty-four hours? I haven't time even to make a selection. And, above all, where find people who would and can take charge of them safely?" "Send them all to me," replied M. de Malesherbes: "nobody will come thither to look for them."

Severity of the government.

Feeble governments are ill served even by their worthiest servants; the severities ordered against the *Encyclopædia* did not stop its publication; D'Alembert, however, weary of the struggle, had ceased to take part in the editorship. An infidel and almost a materialist by the geometer's rule, who knows no power but the laws of mathematics, he did not carry into anti-religious strife the bitterness of Voltaire, or the violence of Diderot. More and more absorbed by pure science, which he never neglected save for the French Academy, whose perpetual secretary he had become, D'Alembert left to Diderot alone the care of continuing the *Encyclopædia*. When he died, in 1783, at fifty-six years of age, the work had been finished nearly twenty years. In spite of the bad faith of publishers, who mutilated articles to render them acceptable, in spite of the condemnation of the clergy and the severities of the council, the last volumes of the *Encyclopædia* had appeared in 1765.

A.D. 1783. Death of Diderot.

This immense work, unequal and confused as it was, a medley of various and often ill-assorted elements, undertaken for and directed to the fixed end of an aggressive emancipation of thought, had not sufficed to absorb the energy and powers of Diderot. The stage

occupied largely his attention; he sought to introduce reforms, the fruit of his own thought as well as of imitation of the Germans, which he had not perhaps sufficiently considered. For the classic tragedies, the heritage of which Voltaire received from the hands of Racine, Diderot aspired to substitute the *natural drama*. His two attempts in that style, *Le Père de Famille* and *Le Fils naturel*, had but little success in France, and contributed to develope in Germany the school already founded by Lessing. Diderot died on the 29th of July, 1784, still poor, an invalid for some time past, surrounded to the end by his friends, who rendered back to him that sincere and devoted affection which he made the pride of his life. The charm of his character had often caused people to forget his violence, which he himself no longer remembered the next day.

The "natural drama."

"I should like to know this hot-headed metaphysician," was the remark made to Buffon by President De Brosses, who happened to be then at Paris; and he afterwards added: "He is a nice fellow, very pleasant, very amiable, a great philosopher, a mighty arguer, but a maker of perpetual digressions. Yesterday he made quite five and twenty between nine o'clock and one, during which time he remained in my room. Oh! how much more lucid is Buffon than all those gentry!"

Buffon.

The magistrate's mind understood and appreciated the great naturalist's genius. Diderot felt in his own fashion the charm of nature, but, as was said by Chevalier Chastellux, "his ideas got drunk and set to work chasing one another." The ideas of Buffon, on the other hand, came out in the majestic order of a system under powerful organization and informed as it were with the very secrets of the Creator. "The general history of the world," he says, "ought to precede the special history of its productions; and the details of singular facts touching the life and habits of animals, or touching the culture and vegetation of plants, belong perhaps less to natural history than do the general results of the observations which have been made on the different materials which compose the terrestrial globe, on the elevations, the depressions and the unevennesses of its form, on the movement of the seas, on the trending of mountains, on the position of quarries, on the rapidity and effects of the currents of the sea—this is nature on the grand scale."

M. Flourens truly said: "Buffon aggrandises every subject he touches."

It was in his dignified and studious retirement at Montbard that Buffon, after having transformed, and almost created the Paris Jardin du Roi, quietly passed his long life. Born in 1707, he died

on the 14th of April, 1788. "I dedicated," he says, "twelve, nay fourteen, hours to study; it was my whole pleasure. In truth, I devoted myself to it far more than I troubled myself about fame; fame comes afterwards, if it may, and it nearly always does."

His works on natural history.

Buffon did not lack fame; on the appearance of the first three volumes of his *Histoire naturelle*, published in 1749, the breadth of his views, the beauty of his language and the strength of his mind excited general curiosity and admiration. The Sorbonne was in a flutter at certain bold propositions; Buffon, without being disconcerted, took pains to avoid condemnation. "I took the liberty," he says in a letter to M. Leblant, "of writing to the duke of Nivernais (then ambassador at Rome), who has replied to me in the most polite and most obliging way in the world; I hope, therefore, that my book will not be put in the Index, and, in truth, I have done all I could not to deserve it and to avoid theological squabbles, which I fear far more than I do the criticisms of physicists and geometricians." "Out of a hundred and twenty assembled doctors," he adds before long, "I had a hundred and fifteen, and their resolution even contains eulogies which I did not expect." Despite certain boldnesses which had caused anxiety, the Sorbonne had reason to compliment the great naturalist. The unity of the human race as well as its superior dignity were already vindicated in these first efforts of Buffon's genius, and his mind never lost sight of this great verity. He continued his work, adroitly availing himself of the talent and researches of the numerous co-operators whom he had managed to gather about him, directing them all with indefatigable vigilance in their labours and their observations. "Genius is but a greater aptitude for perseverance," he used to say, himself justifying his definition by the assiduity of his studies.

His literary assistants.

To the *Théorie de la Terre*, the *Idées générales sur les Animaux* and the *Histoire de l'Homme*, already published when Buffon was elected by the French Academy (1754), succeeded the twelve volumes of the *Histoire des Quadrupèdes*, a masterpiece of luminous classifications and incomparable descriptions; eight volumes on *Oiseaux* appeared subsequently, a short time before the *Histoire des Minéraux*; lastly, a few years before his death, Buffon gave to the world the *Époques de la Nature*. "As in civil history one consults titles, hunts up medals, deciphers antique inscriptions to determine the epochs of revolutions amongst mankind, and to fix the date of events in the moral world, so, in natural history, we must ransack the archives of the universe, drag from the entrails of the earth the olden monuments, gather together their ruins and collect

into a body of proofs all the indications of physical changes that can guide us back to the different ages of nature. It is the only way of fixing certain points in the immensity of space and of placing a certain number of memorial-stones on the endless road of time."

"This is what I perceive with my mind's eye," Buffon would say, "thus forming a chain which, from the summit of Time's ladder, descends right down to us." "This man," exclaimed Hume, with an admiration which surprised him out of his scepticism, "this man gives to things which no human eye has seen a probability almost equal to evidence."

Buffon and his theories

Some of Buffon's theories have been disputed by his successors' science; as D'Alembert said of Descartes: "If he was mistaken about the laws of motion, he was the first to divine that there must be some." Buffon divined the epochs of nature, and by the intuition of his genius, absolutely unshackled by any religious prejudice, he involuntarily reverted to the account given in Genesis: "We are persuaded," he says, "independently of the authority of the sacred books, that man was created last, and that he only came to wield the sceptre of the earth when that earth was found worthy of his sway."

His domestic life.

Buffon was still working at eighty years of age; he had undertaken a dissertation on style, a development of his splendid reception-speech at the French Academy. Great sorrows had crossed his life; married late to a young wife whom he loved, he lost her early; she left him a son, brought up under his wing and the object of his constant solicitude. Just at the time of sending him to school, he wrote to Madame Daubenton, wife of his able and learned co-operator: "I expect Buffonet on Sunday; I have arranged all his little matters: he will have a private room, with a closet for his man-servant; I have got him a tutor in the school-house itself, and a little companion of his own age; I do not think that he will be at all unhappy." And, at a later date, when he is expecting this son, who has reached man's estate and has been travelling in Europe: "My son has just arrived; the empress and the grand duke have treated him very well and we shall have some fine minerals, the collection of which is being at this moment completed. I confess that anxiety about his return has taken away my sleep and the power of thinking."

When the young Count de Buffon, an officer in the artillery and at first warmly favourable to the noble professions of the French Revolution, had, like his peers, to mount the scaffold of the Terror, he damned with one word the judges who profaned in his person

his father's glory. "Citizens," he exclaimed from the fatal car, "my name is Buffon." With less respect for the rights of genius than was shown by the Algerian pirates who let pass, without opening them, the chests directed to the great naturalist, the executioner of the Committee of public safety cut off his son's head.

The "Five great men."

"How many great men do you reckon?" Buffon was asked one day. "Five," answered he at once: "Newton, Bacon, Leibnitz, Montesquieu and myself."

This self-appreciation, fostered by the homage of his contemporaries, which showed itself in Buffon undisguisedly with an air of ingenuous satisfaction, had poisoned a life already extinguished ten years before amidst the bitterest agonies. Taking up arms against a society in which he had not found his proper place, Jean Jacques Rousseau (born at Geneva, 28th of June, 1712) had attacked the present as well as the past, the Encyclopædists as well as the old social organization. It was from the first his distinctive trait to voluntarily create a desert around him. The eighteenth century was in its nature easily seduced; liberal, generous and open to allurements, it delighted in intellectual contentions, even the most dangerous and the most daring; it welcomed with alacrity all those who thus contributed to its pleasures. The charming drawing-rooms of Madame Geoffrin, of Madame du Deffand, of Madlle. Lespinasse, belonged of right to philosophy. "Being men of the world as well as of letters, the philosophers of the eighteenth century had passed their lives in the pleasantest and most brilliant regions of that society which was so much attacked by them. It had welcomed them, made them famous; they had mingled in all the pleasures of its elegant and agreeable existence; they shared in all its tastes, its manners, all the refinements, all the susceptibilities of a civilization at the same time old and rejuvenated, aristocratic and literary; they were of that old regimen which was demolished by their hands. The philosophical circle was everywhere, amongst the people of the court, of the church, of the long robe, of finance; haughty here, complaisant there, at one time indoctrinating, at another amusing its hosts, but everywhere young, active, confident, recruiting and battling everywhere, penetrating and fascinating the whole of society" [M. Guizot, *Madame la comtesse de Rumford*]. Rousseau never took his place in this circle; in this society, he marched in front like a pioneer of new times, attacking tentatively all that he encountered on his way. "Nobody was ever at one and the same time more factious and more dictatorial," is the clever dictum of M. Saint Marc Girardin,

French "salons."

In his *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts*, Rousseau showed the characteristic which invariably distinguished him from the philosophers, and which ended by establishing deep enmity between them and him; the eighteenth century espied certain evils, certain sores in the social and political condition, believed in a cure and blindly relied on the power of its own theories. Rousseau, more earnest, often more sincere, made a better diagnosis of the complaint, he described its horrible character and the dangerousness of it, he saw no remedy and he pointed none out. Profound and grievous impotence, whose utmost hope is an impossible recurrence to the primitive state of savagery! "In the private opinion of our adversaries," says M. Royer-Collard eloquently, "it was a thoughtless thing, on the great day of creation, to let man loose, a free and intelligent agent, into the midst of the universe; thence the mischief and the mistake. A higher wisdom comes forward to repair the error of Providence, to restrain his thoughtless liberality and to render to prudently mutilated mankind the service of elevating it to the happy innocence of the brute." Rousseau.

Before Rousseau, and better than he, Christianity had recognized and proclaimed the evil; but it had, at the same time, announced to the world a remedy and a Saviour.

Henceforth Rousseau had chosen his own road: giving up the drawing-rooms and the habits of that elegant society for which he was not born and the admiration of which had developed his pride, he made up his mind to live independent, copying music to get his bread, now and then smitten with the women of the world who sought him out in his retirement, in love with Madame d'Épinay and Madame d'Houdetot, anon returning to the coarse servant-wench whom he had but lately made his wife and whose children he had put in the foundling-hospital. Music at that time absorbed all minds: Rousseau brought out a little opera entitled *Le Devin de village* (*The Village Wizard*), which had a great success. It was played at Fontainebleau before the king. The emotions of the eighteenth century were vivid and easily roused; fastening upon everything without any earnest purpose and without any great sense of responsibility it grew as hot over a musical dispute as over the gravest questions of morality or philosophy. Grimm had attacked French music, Rousseau supported his thesis by a *Lettre sur la Musique*. It was the moment of the great quarrel between the Parliament and the Clergy. "When my letter appeared, there was no more excitement save against me," says Rousseau: "it was such that the nation has never recovered from it. When people read that this pamphlet probably prevented a revolution in the

His independent life.

State, they will fancy they must be dreaming." And Grimm adds in his correspondence: "The Italian actors who have been playing for the last ten months on the stage of the Opéra de Paris and who are called here *bouffons*, have so absorbed the attention of Paris that the Parliament, in spite of all its measures and proceedings, which should have earned it celebrity, could not but fall into complete oblivion."

"Discours sur l'Inégalité."

Rousseau had just printed his *Discours sur l'Inégalité des conditions*, a new and violent picture of the corruptions of human society. "Inequality being almost *nil* in a state of nature," he says, "it derives its force and increment from the development of our faculties and from the progress of the human mind . . . . . according to the poet it is gold and silver, but according to the philosopher it is iron and corn which have civilized men and ruined the human race."

The singularity of his paradox had worn off; Rousseau no longer astounded, he shocked the good sense as well as the aspirations, superficial or generous, of the eighteenth century: the *Discours sur l'Inégalité des conditions* was not a success. It was at the Hermitage, under Madame d'Épinay's roof, that he began the tale of *La Nouvelle Héloise*, which was finished at Marshal de Montmorency's, when the susceptible and cranky temper of the philosopher had justified the malevolent predictions of Grimm.

Character of Rousseau.

The latter had but lately said to Madame d'Épinay: "I see in Rousseau nothing but pride concealed everywhere about him; you will do him a very sorry service in giving him a home at the Hermitage, but you will do yourself a still more sorry one. Solitude will complete the blackening of his imagination; he will fancy all his friends unjust, ungrateful, and you first of all, if you once refuse to be at his beck and call; he will accuse you of having bothered him to live under your roof and of having prevented him from yielding to the wishes of his country. I already see the germ of these accusations in the turn of the letters you have shown me."

Rousseau quarrelled with Madame d'Épinay, and shortly afterwards with all the philosophical circle: Grimm, Helvétius, D'Holbach, Diderot; his quarrels with the last were already of old date, they had made some noise. "Good God!" said the duke of Castries in astonishment, "wherever I go I hear of nothing but this Rousseau and this Diderot! Did anybody ever? Fellows who are nobody, fellows who have no house, who lodge on a third floor! Positively, one can't stand that sort of thing!" The rupture was at last complete, it extended to Grimm as well



NECKER AT SAINT OUEN

as to Diderot. "Nobody can put himself in my place," wrote Rousseau, "and nobody will see that I am a being apart, who has not the character, the maxims, the resources of the rest of them, and who must not be judged by their rules."

Rousseau was right; he was a being apart; and the philosophers could not forgive him for his independence. His merits as well as his defects annoyed them equally: his *Lettre contre les Spectacles* had exasperated Voltaire; isolated henceforth by the good as well as by the evil tendencies of his nature, Jean Jacques stood alone against the philosophical circle which he had dropped as well as against the protestant or catholic clergy whose creed she often offended. He had just published *Le Contrat Social*, "The Gospel," says M. Saint-Marc Girardin, "of the theory as to the sovereignty of the State representing the sovereignty of the people." The governing powers of the time had some presentiment of its danger; they had vaguely comprehended what weapons might be sought therein by revolutionary instincts and interests; their anxiety and their anger as yet brooded silently; the director of publications (*de la librairie*), M. de Malesherbes, was one of the friends and almost one of the disciples of Rousseau whom he shielded; he himself corrected the proofs of the *Émile* which Rousseau had just finished. The book had barely begun to appear, when, on the 8th of June, 1762, Rousseau was awakened by a message from la Maréchale de Luxembourg: the Parliament had ordered *Émile* to be burned and its author arrested. Rousseau took flight, reckoning upon finding refuge at Geneva. The influence of the French government pursued him thither; the grand council condemned *Émile*. One single copy had arrived at Geneva: it was this which was burned by the hand of the common hangman, nine days after the burning at Paris in the Place de Grève. "The *Contrat Social* has received its whipping on the back of *Émile*," was the saying at Geneva. "At the instigation of M. de Voltaire they have avenged upon me the cause of God," Jean Jacques declared.

Rousseau as a politician.

Rousseau rashly put his name to his books; Voltaire was more prudent One day, having been imprisoned for some verses which were not his, he had taken the resolution to impudently repudiate the paternity of his own works: "You must never publish anything under your own name," he wrote to Helvetius; "*La Pucelle* was none of my doing, of course. Master Joly de Fleury will make a fine thing of his requisition; I shall tell him that he is a calumniator, that *La Pucelle* is his own doing, which he wants to put down to me out of spite."

Voltaire's prudence.

Rousseau died at the pavilion of Ermenonville, which had

been offered to him by M. de Girardin, he died there at the age of sixty-six, sinking even more beneath imaginary woes than under the real sorrows and bitter deceptions of his life. The disproportion between his intellect and his character, between the boundless pride and the impassioned weakness of his spirit, had little by little estranged his friends and worn out the admiration of his contemporaries. By his writings Rousseau acted more powerfully upon posterity than upon his own times: his personality had ceased to do his genius injustice.

Character of Rousseau.

He belonged moreover and by anticipation to a new era; from the restless working of his mind, as well as from his moral and political tendencies, he was no longer of the eighteenth century properly speaking, though the majority of the philosophers out-lived him; his work was not their work, their world was never his. He had attempted a noble reaction, but one which was fundamentally and in reality impossible. The impress of his early education had never been thoroughly effaced: he believed in God, he had been nurtured upon the Gospel in childhood, he admired the morality and the life of Jesus Christ; but he stopped at the boundaries of adoration and submission. "The spirit of Jean Jacques Rousseau inhabits the moral world, but not that other which is above," M. Joubert has said in his *Pensées*. The weapons were insufficient and the champion was too feeble for the contest; the spirit of the moral world was vanquished as a foregone conclusion. Against the systematic infidelity which was more and more creeping over the eighteenth century, the Christian faith alone, with all its forces, could fight and triumph. But the Christian faith was obscured and enfeebled, it clung to the vessel's rigging instead of defending its powerful hull; the flood was rising meanwhile, and the dikes were breaking one after another. The religious belief of the Savoyard vicar, imperfect and inconsistent, such as it is set forth in *Émile*, and that sincere love of nature which was recovered by Rousseau in his solitude, remained powerless to guide the soul and regulate life.

The eighteenth century.

"The eighteenth century" [M. Guizot, *Mélanges biographiques*: (*Madame la Comtesse de Rumford*)], was far superior to all its sceptics, to all its cynics. What do I say? Superior? Nay it was essentially opposed to them and continually gave them the lie. Despite the weakness of its morals, the frivolity of its forms, the mere dry bones of such and such of its doctrines, despite its critical and destructive tendency, it was an ardent and a sincere century, a century of faith and disinterestedness. It had faith in the truth, for it claimed the right thereof to reign in this world. It had faith

in humanity, for it recognized the right thereof to perfect itself, and would have had that right exercised without obstruction. It erred, it lost itself amidst this twofold confidence, it attempted what was far beyond its right and power; it misjudged the moral nature of man and the conditions of the social state. Its ideas as well as its works contracted the blemish of its views. But, granted so much, the original idea, dominant in the eighteenth century, the belief that man, truth and society are made for one another, worthy of one another and called upon to form a union, this correct and salutary belief rises up and overtops all its history. That belief it was the first to proclaim and would fain have realized. Hence its power and its popularity over the whole face of the earth. Hence, also to descend from great things to small, and from the destiny of man to that of the drawing-room, hence the seductiveness of that epoch and the charm it scattered over social life. Never before were seen all the conditions, all the classes that form the flower of a great people, however diverse they might have been in their history and still were in their interests, thus forgetting their past, their personality, in order to draw near to one another, to unite in a communion of the sweetest manners and solely occupied in pleasing one another, in rejoicing and hoping together during fifty years which were to end in the most terrible conflicts between them."

The eighteenth century an epoch of hope.

At the death of King Louis XV., in 1774, the easy-mannered joyance, the peaceful and brilliant charm of fashionable and philosophical society were reaching their end: the time of stern realities was approaching with long strides.



CHAPTER XV.

LOUIS XVI.—(1775—1789.)

At the news that Louis XV. had just heaved his last sigh in the arms of his pious daughters, Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette both flung themselves upon their knees, exclaiming, "O God, protect us, direct us, we are too young."

The monarch's youth did not scare the country, itself everywhere animated and excited by a breath of youth. There were congratulations on escaping from the well-known troubles of a regency; the king's ingenuous inexperience, moreover, opened a vast field for the most contradictory hopes. The philosophers counted upon taking possession of the mind of a good young sovereign, who was said to have his heart set upon his people's happiness; the clergy and the Jesuits themselves expected every thing from the young prince's pious education; the old parliaments, mutilated, crushed down, began to raise up their heads again, whilst the economists were already preparing their most daring projects. Like literature, the arts had got the start, in the new path, of the politicians and the magistrates. M. Turgot and M. de Malesherbes had not yet laid their enterprising hands upon the old fabric of French administration, and already painting, sculpture, architecture, and music had shaken off the shackles of the past. The conventional graces of Vanloo, of Watteau, of Boucher, of Fragonard, had given place to a severer school. Greuze was putting upon canvas the characters and ideas of Diderot's *Drame naturel;* but Vien, in France, was

Intellectual state of France

seconding the efforts of Winckelman and of Raphaël Mengs in Italy; he led his pupils back to the study of ancient art; he had trained Regnault, Vincent, Ménageot, and lastly Louis David, destined to become the chief of the modern school; Julien, Houdon, the last of the Coustous, were following the same road in sculpture: Soufflot, an old man by this time, was superintending the completion of the church of St. Geneviève, dedicated by Louis XV. to the commemoration of his recovery at Metz, and destined, from the majestic simplicity of its lines, to the doubtful honour of becoming the Pantheon of the revolution; Servandoni had died a short time since, leaving to the church of St. Sulpice the care of preserving his memory; everywhere were rising charming mansions imitated from the palaces of Rome. The painters, the sculptors and the architects of France were sufficient for her glory; only Grétry and Monsigny upheld the honour of that French music which was attacked by Grimm and by Jean Jacques Rousseau; but it was at Paris that the great quarrel went on between the Italians and the Germans: Piccini and Glück divided society, wherein their rivalry excited violent passions. Everywhere and on all questions, intellectual movement was becoming animated with fresh ardour; France was marching towards the region of storms, in the blindness of her confidence and joyance; the atmosphere seemed purer since Madame Dubarry had been sent to a convent by one of the first orders of young Louis XVI. **First acts**

Already, however, farseeing spirits were disquieted; scarcely had he mounted the throne, when the king summoned to his side, as his minister, M. de Maurepas, but lately banished by Louis XV., in 1749, on a charge of having tolerated, if not himself written, songs disrespectful towards Madame de Pompadour; in the place of the duke of Aiguillon, who had the ministry of war and that of foreign affairs both together, the count of Muy and the count of Vergennes were called to power. Some weeks later, the obscure minister of marine, M. de Boynes, made way for the superintendent of the district (*généralité*) of Limoges, M. Turgot.

Intimately connected with the most esteemed magistrates and economists, such as MM. Trudaine, Quesnay, and Gournay, at the same time that he was writing in the *Encyclopædia*, and constantly occupied in useful work, Turgot was not yet five and thirty when he was appointed superintendent of the district of Limoges. There, the rare faculties of his mind and his sincere love of good found their natural field; the country was poor, crushed under imposts, badly intersected by roads badly kept, inhabited by an ignorant populace, violently hostile to the recruitment of the militia. He **Turgot.**

encouraged agriculture, distributed the talliages more equitably, amended the old roads and constructed new ones, abolished forced labour (*corvées*), provided for the wants of the poor and wretched during the dearth of 1770 and 1771, and declined, successively, the superintendentship of Rouen, of Lyons, and of Bordeaux, in order that he might be able to complete the useful tasks he had begun at Limoges. It was from that district that he was called to a seat in the new cabinet. Scarcely had he been installed in the department of marine, and begun to conceive vast plans, when the late ministers of Louis XV. succumbed at last beneath the popular hatred; in the place of Abbé Terray, M. Turgot became comptroller-general.

His career and views of reform.

The old parliamentarians were triumphant; at the same time as Abbé Terray, Chancellor Maupeou was disgraced, and the judicial system he had founded fell with him. Unpopular from the first, the Maupeou Parliament had remained in the nation's eyes the image of absolute power corrupted and corrupting. The suit between Beaumarchais and Councillor Goëzman had contributed to decry it, thanks to the uproar the able pamphleteer had managed to cause; the families of the former magistrates were powerful, numerous, esteemed, and they put pressure upon public opinion. Imperturbable and haughty as ever, Maupeou retired to his estate at Thuit, near the Andelys, where he drew up a justificatory memorandum of his ministry, which he had put into the king's hands, without ever attempting to enter the court or Paris again; he died in the country, at the outset of the revolutionary storms, on the 29th of July, 1792, just as he had made the State a patriotic present of 800,000 livres. At the moment when the populace were burning him in effigy in the streets of Paris together with Abbé Terray, when he saw the recall of the parliamentarians, and the work of his whole life destroyed, he repeated with his usual coolness: "If the king is pleased to lose his kingdom—well, he is master."

Maupeou retires.

The Abbé Terray obliged to refund.

Abbé Terray had been less proud, and was more harshly treated. It was in vain that he sought to dazzle the young king with ably prepared memorials; he had to refund nearly 900,000 livres to the public treasury. Being recognized by the mob as he was passing over the Seine in a ferry boat, he had some difficulty in escaping from the hands of those who would have hurled him into the river.

The contrast was great between the crafty and unscrupulous ability of the disgraced comptroller-general and the complete disinterestedness, large views, and noble desire of good which

animated his successor. After his first interview with the king, at Compiègne, M. Turgot wrote to Louis XVI. :—"Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to permit me to place before your eyes the engagement you took upon yourself, to support me in the execution of plans of economy which are at all times, and now more than ever, indispensable. I confine myself for the moment, sir, to reminding you of these three expressions :—1° No bankruptcies ; 2° No augmentation of imposts ; 3° No loans." M. Turgot set to work at once. Whilst governing his district of Limoges, he had matured numerous plans and shaped extensive theories. He belonged to his times and to the school of the philosophers as regarded his contempt for tradition and history ; it was to natural rights alone, to the innate and primitive requirements of mankind that he traced back his principles and referred as the basis for all his attempts. "He desired no more to reform old France ; he wanted a new France. Before ten years are over," he would say, "the nation will not be recognizable, thanks to enlightenment. This chaos will have assumed a distinct form. Your Majesty will have quite a new people, and the first of peoples." A profound error, which was that of the whole Revolution, and the consequences of which would have been immediately fatal, if the powerful instinct of conservatism and of natural respect for the past had not maintained between the regimen which was crumbling away and the new fabric connexions more powerful and more numerous than their friends as well as their enemies were aware of.

Turgot's financial schemes.

Two fundamental principles regulated the financial system of M. Turgot, economy in expenditure and freedom in trade ; everywhere he ferreted out abuses, abolishing useless offices and payments, exacting from the entire administration that strict probity of which he set the example. Louis XVI. supported him conscientiously at that time in all his reforms ; the public made fun of it. It was on account of his financial innovations that the comptroller-general particularly dreaded the return of the old Parliament, with which he saw himself threatened every day. "I fear opposition from the Parliament," he said to the king. "Fear nothing," replied the king warmly, "I will stand by you ;" and, passing over the objections of the best politician amongst his ministers, he yielded to M. de Maurepas, who yielded to public opinion. On the 12th of November, 1774, the old Parliament was formally restored, subjected, however, to the same jurisdiction which had controlled the Maupeou Parliament. The latter had been sent to Versailles to form a grand council there. The restored magistrates

He is supported by Louis XVI.

The Parliaments.

grumbled at the narrow limits imposed upon their authority; the duke of Orleans, the duke of Chartres, the prince of Conti supported their complaints; it was in vain that the king for some time met them with refusals; threats soon gave place to concessions; and the parliaments everywhere reconstituted, enfeebled in the eyes of public opinion, but more than ever obstinate and Fronde-like, found themselves free to harass, without doing any good, the march of an administration becoming every day more difficult. "Your Parliament may make barricades," Lord Chesterfield had remarked contemptuously to Montesquieu, "it will never raise barriers."

The taxes.

M. Turgot, meanwhile, was continuing his labours, preparing a project for equitable redistribution of the talliage and his grand system of a graduated scale (*hiérarchie*) of municipal assemblies, commencing with the parish, to culminate in a general meeting of delegates from each province; he threatened, in the course of his reforms, the privileges of the noblesse and of the clergy, and gave his mind anxiously to the instruction of the people, whose condition and welfare he wanted to simultaneously elevate and augment; already there was a buzz of murmurs against him, confined as yet to the courtiers, when the dearness of bread and the distress which ensued in the spring of 1775 furnished his adversaries with a convenient pretext. Up to that time the attacks had been cautious and purely theoretical.

Necker's criticism.

M. Necker, an able banker from Geneva, for a long while settled in Paris, hand and glove with the philosophers, and keeping up, moreover, a great establishment, had brought to the comptroller-general a work which he had just finished on the trade in grain; on many points he did not share M. Turgot's opinions. "Be kind enough to ascertain for yourself," said the banker to the minister, "whether the book can be published without inconvenience to the government." M. Turgot was proud and sometimes rude: "Publish, sir, publish," said he, without offering his hand to take the manuscript, "the public shall decide." M. Necker, out of pique, published his book; it had an immense sale; other pamphlets, more violent and less solid, had already appeared; at the same moment a riot, which seemed to have been planned and to be under certain guidance, broke out in several parts of France. Drunken men shouted about the public thoroughfares, "Bread! cheap bread!"

Bread riots.

Serious damage was done throughout France to property, and even to provisions; barns were burnt, farm-houses plundered, wheat thrown in to the river, and sacks of flour ripped to pieces before the king's eyes at Versailles. At last the troubles began to subside, and the merchants recovered their spirits; M. Turgot had

at once sent fifty thousand francs to a trader whom the rioters had robbed of a boat full of wheat which they had flung into the river; two of the insurgents were at the same time hanged at Paris on a gallows forty feet high, and a notice was sent to the parish-priests, which they were to read from the pulpit in order to enlighten the people as to the folly of such outbreaks, and as to the conditions of the trade in grain: "My people, when they know the authors of the trouble, will regard them with horror," said the royal circular. The authors of the trouble have remained unknown; to his last day, M. Turgot believed in the existence of a plot concocted by the prince of Conti, with the design of overthrowing him.

Measures taken to put them down.

Severities were hateful to the king; he had misjudged his own character, when, at the outset of his reign, he had desired the appellation of *Louis le Sévère*. "Have we nothing to reproach ourselves with in these measures?" he was incessantly asking M. Turgot, who was as conscientious, but more resolute, than his master. An amnesty preceded the coronation, which was to take place at Rheims on the 11th of June, 1775.

A grave question presented itself as regarded the king's oath: should he swear, as the majority of his predecessors had sworn, to exterminate heretics? M. Turgot had aroused Louis XVI.'s scruples upon this subject: "Tolerance ought to appear expedient in point of policy for even an infidel prince," he said; "but it ought to be regarded as a sacred duty for a religious prince." The clergy, scared by the minister's liberal tendencies, reiterated their appeals to the king against the liberties tacitly accorded to Protestants. "Finish," they said to Louis XVI., "the work which Louis the Great began, and which Louis the Well-beloved continued." The king answered with vague assurances; already MM. Turgot and de Malesherbes were entertaining him with a project which conceded to Protestants the civil status.

M. de Malesherbes and judicial reforms.

M. de Malesherbes, indeed, had been for some months past seconding his friend in the weighty task which the latter had undertaken. Called to the ministry in the place of the duke of La Vrillière, his first care was to protest against the sealed letters (*lettres de cachet*—summary arrest), the application whereof he was for putting in the hands of a special tribunal; he visited the Bastille, releasing the prisoners confined on simple suspicion. He had already dared to advise the king to a convocation of the states-general.

Almost the whole ministry was in the hands of reformers; a sincere desire to do good impelled the king towards those who promised him the happiness of his people. The count de St.

Germain, who succeeded M. de Muy at the war-office, had conceived a thousand projects of reform; he wanted to apply them all at once. He made no sort of case of the picked corps, and suppressed the majority of them, thus irritating, likewise, all the privileged. "M. de St. Germain," wrote Frederick II. to Voltaire, "had great and noble plans very advantageous for your Welches; but everybody thwarted him, because the reforms he proposed would have entailed a strictness which was repugnant to them on ten thousand sluggards, well frogged, well laced." The enthusiasm which had been excited by the new minister of war had disappeared from amongst the officers; he lost the hearts of the soldiers by wanting to establish in the army the corporal punishments in use amongst the German armies in which he had served. The feeling was so strong, that the attempt was abandoned. "In the matter of sabres," said a grenadier, "I like only the edge." Violent and weak both together, in spite of his real merit and his genuine worth, often giving up wise resolutions out of sheer embarrassment, he nearly always failed in what he undertook; the outcries against the reformers were increased thereby; the faults of M. de St. Germain were put down to M. Turgot.

M de Saint Germain and military reforms.

The task which that energetic and well-meaning statesman had undertaken was above his strength. Ever occupied with the public weal, he turned his mind to every subject, issuing a multiplicity of decrees, sometimes with rather chimerical hopes. He had proposed to the king six edicts; two were extremely important; the first abolished jurorships (*jurandes*) and masterships (*maîtrises*) among the workmen: "The king," said the preamble, "wishes to secure to all his subjects and especially to the humblest, to those who have no property but their labour and their industry, the full and entire enjoyment of their rights, and to reform, consequently, the institutions which strike at those rights, and which, in spite of their antiquity, have failed to be legalized by time, opinion and even the acts of authority." The second substituted for forced labour on roads and highways an impost to which all proprietors were equally liable.

Suppression of the "jurandes" and "maîtrises."

This was the first step towards equal redistribution of taxes; great was the explosion of disquietude and wrath on the part of the privileged; it showed itself first in the council, by the mouth of M. de Miromesnil; Turgot sprang up with animation. "The keeper of the seals," he said, "seems to adopt the principle that, by the constitution of the State, the noblesse ought to be exempt from all taxation. This idea will appear a paradox to the majority of the nation. The commoners (*roturiers*) are certainly the

greatest number, and we are no longer in the days when their voices did not count." The king listened to the discussion in silence. "Come," he exclaimed abruptly, "I see that there are only M. Turgot and I here who love the people," and he signed the edicts.

The comptroller-general was triumphant; but his victory was but the prelude to his fall. Too many enemies were leagued against him, irritated both by the noblest qualities of his character, and at the same time by the natural defects of his manners. Possessed of love "for a beautiful ideal, of a rage for perfection," M. Turgot had wanted to attempt everything, undertake everything, reform everything at one blow. He fought single-handed. M. de Malesherbes, firm as a rock at the head of the Court of Aids, supported as he was by the traditions and corporate feeling of the magistracy, had shown weakness as a minister. The two friends fell together. M. Turgot had espied the danger and sounded some of the chasms just yawning beneath the feet of the nation as well as of the king; he committed the noble error of believing in the instant and supreme influence of justice and reason. "Sir," said he to Louis XVI., "you ought to govern, like God, by general laws." Had he been longer in power, M. Turgot would still have failed in his designs. The life of one man was too short, and the hand of one man too weak, to modify the course of events, fruit slowly ripened during so many centuries. It was to the honour of M. Turgot that he discerned the mischief and would fain have applied the proper remedy. He was often mistaken about the means, oftener still about the strength he had at disposal. He had the good fortune to die early, still sad and anxious about the fate of his country, without having been a witness of the catastrophes he had foreseen and of the sufferings as well as wreckage through which France must pass before touching at the haven he would fain have opened to her.

Fall of M. Turgot.

The joy of the courtiers was great, at Versailles, when the news arrived of M. Turgot's fall; the public regretted it but little: the inflexible severity of his principles, which he never veiled by grace of manners, a certain disquietude occasioned by the chimerical views which were attributed to him, had alienated many people from him. His real friends were in consternation.

Joy of the courtiers.

A few months later M. de St. Germain retired in his turn, not to Alsace again, but to the Arsenal with forty thousand livres for pension. The first, the great attempt at reform had failed; a vain attempt had been made to establish the government on the soundest as well as the most moderate principles of pure philosophy; at

home a new attempt, bolder and at the same time more practical, was soon about to resuscitate for a while the hopes of liberal minds; abroad and in a new world there was already a commencement of events which were about to bring to France a revival of glory and to shed on the reign of Louis XVI. a moment's legitimate and brilliant lustre.

Foreign politics. The American War.

The Seven Years' War was ended, shamefully and sadly for France; M. de Choiseul, who had concluded peace with regret and a bitter pang, was ardently pursuing every means of taking his revenge. To foment disturbances between England and her colonies appeared to him an efficacious and a natural way of gratifying his feelings. "There is great difficulty in governing States in the days in which we live," he wrote to M. Durand, at that time French minister in London; "still greater difficulty in governing those of America; and the difficulty approaches impossibility as regards those of Asia. I am very much astonished that England, which is but a very small spot in Europe, should hold dominion over more than a third of America, and that her dominion should have no other object but that of trade. . . . As long as the vast American possessions contribute no subsidies for the support of the mother-country, private persons in England will still grow rich for some time on the trade with America, but the State will be undone for want of means to keep together a too extended power; if, on the contrary, England proposes to establish imposts in her American domains, when they are more extensive and perhaps more populous than the mother-country, when they have fishing, woods, navigation, corn, iron, they will easily part asunder from her, without any fear of chastisement, for England could not undertake a war against them to chastise them." He encouraged his agents to keep him informed as to the state of feeling in America, welcoming and studying all projects, even the most fantastic, that might be hostile to England.

M. de Choiseul wishes to support the Americans.

When M. de Choiseul was thus writing to M. Durand, the English government had already justified the fears of its wisest and most sagacious friends. The disruption of the American colonies, and the declaration of independence created in Europe, as may well be supposed, the greatest excitement. Statesmen followed with increasing interest the vicissitudes of a struggle which at a distance had from the first appeared to the most experienced an unequal one. "Let us not anticipate events, but content ourselves with learning them when they occur," said a letter, in 1775, to M. de Guines, ambassador in London, from Louis XVI.'s minister for foreign affairs, M. de Vergennes: "I prefer to follow, as a quiet

observer, the course of events rather than try to produce them." He had but lately said with prophetic anxiety: "Far from seeking to profit by the embarrassment in which England finds herself on account of affairs in America, we should rather desire to extricate her. The spirit of revolt, in whatever spot it breaks out, is always of dangerous precedent; it is with moral as with physical diseases, both may become contagious. This consideration should induce us to take care that the spirit of independence, which is causing so terrible an explosion in North America, have no power to communicate itself to points interesting to us in this hemisphere."

The Americans anxious to secure the help of France.

Independence was not yet proclaimed, and already the committee charged by Congress "to correspond with friends in England, Ireland, and other parts of the world," had made inquiry of the French government, by roundabout ways, as to what were its intentions regarding the American colonies, and was soliciting the aid of France. On the 3rd of March, 1776, an agent of the committee, Mr. Silas Deane, started for France; he had orders to put the same question point blank at Versailles and at Paris.

The ministry was divided on the subject of American affairs; M. Turgot inclined towards neutrality. "Let us leave the *insurgents*," he said, "at full liberty to make their purchases in our ports and to provide themselves by the way of trade with the munitions, and even the money, of which they have need. A refusal to sell to them would be a departure from neutrality. But it would be a departure likewise to furnish them with secret aid in money, and this step, which it would be difficult to conceal, would excite just complaints on the part of the English."

This was, however, the conduct adopted on the advice of M. de Vergennes; he had been powerfully supported by the arguments presented in a memorandum drawn up by M. de Rayneval, senior clerk in the foreign office; he was himself urged and incited by the most intelligent, the most restless and the most passionate amongst the partisans of the American rebellion—Beaumarchais. The versatile author of "*Le mariage de Figaro*" had for a long while been pleading the cause of the colonies, sure, he said, of its ultimate triumph. On the 10th of January, 1776, three weeks before the declaration of independence, M. de Vergennes secretly remitted a million to M. de Beaumarchais; two months later the same sum was entrusted to him in the name of the king of Spain. Beaumarchais alone was to appear in the affair and to supply the insurgent Americans with arms and ammunition. "You will found," he had been told, "a great commercial house, and you will try to

Secret transactions at the French foreign office.

draw into it the money of private individuals; the first outlay being now provided, we shall have no further hand in it, the affair would compromise the government too much in the eyes of the English." It was under the style and title of *Rodrigo Hortalez and Co.* that the first instalment of supplies, to the extent of more than three millions, was forwarded to the Americans; and, notwithstanding the hesitation of the ministry and the rage of the English, other instalments soon followed. Beaumarchais was henceforth personally interested in the enterprise; he had commenced it from zeal for the American cause and from that yearning for activity and initiative which characterized him even in old age. "I should never have succeeded in fulfilling my mission here without the indefatigable, intelligent and generous efforts of M. de Beaumarchais," wrote Silas Deane to the secret committee of Congress: "the United States are more indebted to him, on every account, than to any other person on this side of the Ocean."

M. de Vergennes and Beaumarchais.

The hereditary sentiments of Louis XVI. and his monarchical principles, as well as the prudent moderation of M. Turgot, retarded at Paris the negotiations which caused so much ill-humour among the English, and which Silas Deane and Franklin were endeavouring to bring to a satisfactory issue; M. de Vergennes still preserved, in all diplomatic relations, an apparent neutrality. "It is *my* line (*métier*), you see, to be a royalist," the Emperor Joseph II. had said during a visit he had just paid to Paris, when he was pressed to declare in favour of the American insurgents; at the bottom of his heart the king of France was of the same opinion; he had refused the permission to serve in America which he had been asked for by many gentlemen: some had set off without waiting for it; the most important as well as the most illustrious of them all, the marquis of La Fayette, was not twenty years old when he slipped away from Paris, leaving behind his young wife close to her confinement, to go and embark upon a vessel which he had bought, and which, laden with arms, awaited him in a Spanish port; arrested by order of the court, he evaded the vigilance of his guards; in the month of July, 1777, he disembarked in America.

La Fayette in America.

Washington did not like France, he did not share the hopes which some of his fellow-countrymen founded upon her aid; he made no case of the young volunteers who came to enrol themselves amongst the defenders of independence and whom Congress loaded with favours. "No bond but interest attaches these men to America," he would say, "and, as for France, she only lets us get our munitions from her because of the benefit her commerce derives from it." Prudent, reserved, and proud, Washington looked for

Washington's feelings towards France.

America's salvation to only America herself; neither had he foreseen, nor did he understand that enthusiasm, as generous as it is unreflecting, which easily takes possession of the French nation, and of which the United States were just then the object. M. de La Fayette was the first who managed to win the general's affection and esteem. A great yearning for excitement and renown, a great zeal for new ideas and a certain political perspicacity had impelled M. de La Fayette to America; he showed himself courageous, devoted, more judicious and more able than had been expected from his youth and character. Washington came to love him as a son. The great and strong common-sense of the American general had enlightened him as to the conditions of the contest he had entered upon. He knew it was a desperate one, he foresaw that it would be a long one; better than anybody he knew the weaknesses as well as the merits of the instruments which he had at disposal, he had learned to desire the alliance and the aid of France. She did not belie his hopes; at the very moment when Congress was refusing to enter into negotiations with Great Britain as long as a single English soldier remained on American soil, rejoicings and thanksgivings were everywhere throughout the thirteen colonies greeting the news of the recognition by France of the Independence of the United States; the treaties of alliance, a triumph of diplomatic ability on the part of Franklin, had been signed at Paris on the 6th of February, 1778.

Washington and La Fayette.

"Assure the English government of the king's pacific intentions," M. de Vergennes had written to the marquis of Noailles, then French ambassador in England. George III. replied to these mocking assurances by recalling his ambassador.

"Anticipate your enemies," Franklin had said to the ministers of Louis XVI., "act towards them as they did to you in 1755, let your ships put to sea before any declaration of war, it will be time to speak, when a French squadron bars the passage of Admiral Howe, who has ventured to ascend the Delaware." The king's natural straightforwardness and timidity were equally opposed to this bold project; he hesitated a long while; when Count d'Estaing at last, on the 13th of April, went out of Toulon harbour to sail for America with his squadron, it was too late, the English were on their guard.

George III. recalls his ambassador from Paris.

When the French admiral arrived in America, hostilities had commenced between France and England, without declaration of war, by the natural pressure of circumstances and the state of feeling in the two countries. England fired the first shot on the 17th of June, 1778.

War declared.

The French navy improved.

From the day when the duke of Choiseul had been forced to sign the humiliating treaty of 1763, he had never relaxed in his efforts to improve the French navy. In the course of ministerial alternations, frequently unfortunate for the work in hand, it had nevertheless been continued by his successors. Counts d'Estaing and d'Orvilliers nobly maintained the honour of the fleur-de-lys against men such as admiral Howe and Lord Keppel; in England the commotion was great at the news that France and America in arms against her had just been joined by Spain. A government essentially monarchical, faithful to ancient traditions, the Spaniards had for a long while resisted the entreaties of M. de Vergennes, who availed himself of the stipulations of the *Family pact.* Charles III. felt no sort of sympathy for a nascent republic, he feared the contagion of the example it showed to the Spanish colonies, he hesitated to plunge into the expenses of a war. His hereditary hatred against England prevailed at last over the dictates of prudence. He was promised, moreover, the assistance of France to reconquer Gibraltar and Minorca. The king of Spain consented to take part in the war, without however recognizing the independence of the United States or entering into alliance with them.

Situation of England.

The situation of England was becoming serious, she believed herself to be threatened with a terrible invasion. As in the days of the Great Armada, "orders were given to all functionaries, civil and military, in case of a descent of the enemy, to see to the transportation into the interior and into a place of safety of all horses, cattle and flocks that might happen to be on the coasts." "Sixty-six allied ships of the line ploughed the Channel, fifty thousand men, mustered in Normandy, were preparing to burst upon the southern counties. A simple American corsair, Paul Jones, ravaged with impunity the coasts of Scotland. The powers of the North, united with Russia and Holland, threatened to maintain, with arms in hand, the rights of neutrals, ignored by the English admiralty-courts. Ireland awaited only the signal to revolt; religious quarrels were distracting Scotland and England; the authority of Lord North's cabinet was shaken in Parliament as well as throughout the country, the passions of the mob held sway in London, and amongst the sights that might have been witnessed was that of this great city given up for nearly a week to the populace, without anything that could stay its excesses save its own lassitude and its own feeling of shame" [M. Cornélis de Witt, *Histoire de Washington*].

So many and such imposing preparations were destined to produce but little fruit; everywhere the strength of the belligerents

was being exhausted without substantial result and without honour; for more than four years now America had been keeping up the war, and her Southern provinces had been everywhere laid waste by the enemy; in spite of the heroism which was displayed by the patriots and of which the women themselves set the example, General Lincoln had just been forced to capitulate at Charlestown; Washington, still encamped before New York, saw his army decimated by hunger and cold, deprived of all resources, and reduced to subsist at the expense of the people in the neighbourhood. All eyes were turned towards France; the marquis of La Fayette had succeeded in obtaining from the king and the French ministry the formation of an auxiliary corps; the troops were already on their way under the orders of Count de Rochambeau.

Capitulation of Charlestown.

Misfortune and disappointments are great destroyers of some barriers, prudent tact can overthrow others; Washington and the American army would but lately have seen with suspicion the arrival of foreign auxiliaries; in 1780, transports of joy greeted the news of their approach; M. de La Fayette, moreover, had been careful to spare the American general all painful friction. Count de Rochambeau and the French officers were placed under the orders of Washington, and the auxiliary corps entirely at his disposal. The delicate generosity and the disinterestedness of the French government had sometimes had the effect of making it neglect the national interests in its relations with the revolted colonies; but it had derived therefrom a spirit of conduct invariably calculated to triumph over the prejudices, as well as the jealous pride of the Americans.

The French in America.

"The history of the War of Independence is a history of hopes deceived," said Washington. He had conceived the idea of making himself master of New York with the aid of the French. The transport of the troops had been badly calculated; Rochambeau brought to Rhode Island only the first division of his army, five thousand men about, and Count de Guichen, whose squadron had been relied upon, had just been recalled to France. Washington was condemned to inaction. "Our position is not sufficiently brilliant," he wrote to M. de La Fayette, "to justify our putting pressure upon Count de Rochambeau; I shall continue our arrangements, however, in the hope of more fortunate circumstances." The American army was slow in getting organized, obliged as it had been to fight incessantly and make head against constantly recurring difficulties; it was getting organized, however; the example of the French, the discipline which prevailed in the auxiliary corps, the good understanding thenceforth established amongst the

officers, helped Washington in his difficult task. From the first the superiority of the general was admitted by the French as well as by the Americans; naturally and by the mere fact of the gifts he had received from God, Washington was always and everywhere chief of the men placed within his range and under his influence.

After many and painful efforts, the day of triumph was at last dawning upon General Washington and his country. Alternations of success and reverse had signalized the commencement of the campaign of 1781. Lord Cornwallis, who commanded the English armies in the South, was occupying Virginia with a considerable force, when Washington, who had managed to conceal his designs from Sir Henry Clinton, shut up in New York, crossed Philadelphia on the 4th of September and advanced by forced marches against the enemy. The latter had been for some time past harassed by the little army of M. de La Fayette. The fleet of Admiral de Grasse cut off the retreat of the English. Lord Cornwallis threw himself into Yorktown; on the 30th of September the place was invested, and on the 17th October it capitulated.

Campaign of 1781.

Whilst the United States were celebrating their victory with thanksgivings and public festivities, their allies were triumphing at all the different points, simultaneously, at which hostilities had been entered upon. Becoming embroiled with Holland, where the republican party had prevailed against the stadtholder, who was devoted to them, the English had waged war upon the Dutch colonies. Admiral Rodney had taken St. Eustache, the centre of an immense trade; he had pillaged the warehouses and laden his vessels with an enormous mass of merchandise; the convoy which was conveying a part of the spoil to England was captured by Admiral La Motte-Piquet; M. de Bouillé surprised the English garrison remaining at St. Eustache and recovered possession of the island, which was restored to the Dutch. They had just maintained gloriously, at Dogger Bank, their old maritime renown: "Officers and men all fought like lions," said Admiral Zouttman. The firing had not commenced until the two fleets were within pistol-shot. The ships on both sides were dismasted, scarcely in a condition to keep afloat; the glory and the losses were equal, but the English admiral, Hyde Parker, was irritated and displeased; George III. went to see him on board his vessel: "I wish your Majesty younger seamen and better ships," said the old sailor, and he insisted on resigning. This was the only action fought by the Dutch during the war; they left to Admiral de Kersaint the job of recovering from the English their colonies of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice on the coasts of Guiana. A small Franco-

The English and the Dutch.

Spanish army was at the same time besieging Minorca; the fleet was considerable, the English were ill-prepared; they were soon obliged to shut themselves up in Fort St. Philip, and, finally, to surrender (February 4th, 1782).

The French in India.

As early as 1778, even before the maritime war had burst out in Europe, France had lost all that remained of her possessions on the Coromandel coast. Pondicherry, scarcely risen from its ruins, was besieged by the English, and had capitulated on the 17th of October, after a heroic resistance of forty days' open trenches. Since that day a Mussulman, Hyder Ali, conqueror of the Carnatic, had struggled alone in India against the power of England: it was around him that a group had been formed by the old soldiers of Bussy, and by the French who had escaped from the disaster of Pondicherry. It was with their aid that the able robber-chief, the crafty politician, had defended and consolidated the empire he had founded against that foreign dominion which threatened the independence of his country. He had just suffered a series of reverses, and he was on the point of being forced to evacuate the Carnatic, and take refuge in his kingdom of Mysore when he heard, in the month of July, 1782, of the arrival of a French fleet commanded by M. de Suffren. Hyder Ali had already been many times disappointed. The preceding year Admiral d'Orves had appeared on the Coromandel coast with a squadron, the Sultan had sent to meet him, urging him to land and attack Madras, left defenceless; the admiral refused to risk a single vessel or land a single man, and he returned, without striking a blow, to Île-de-France. Ever indomitable and enterprising, Hyder Ali hoped better things of the new comers: he was not deceived. Six months, however, had scarcely elapsed when he died, leaving to his son Tippoo Sahib affairs embroiled and allies enfeebled. At this news the Mahrattas, in revolt against England, hastened to make peace, and Tippoo Sahib, who had just seized Tanjore, was obliged to abandon his conquest, and go to the protection of Malabar. Ten thousand men, only, remained in the Carnatic to back the little corps of French; these had resumed the offensive and were preparing to make fresh sallies, when it was known at Calcutta that the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Paris on the 9th of February. The English immediately proposed an armistice. The *Surveillante* shortly afterwards brought the same news, with orders for Suffren to return to France. India was definitively given up to the English, who restored to the French Pondicherry, Chandernugger, Mahé and Karikal, the last strips remaining of that French dominion which had for a while been triumphant

Suffren and Hyder Ali.

throughout the Peninsula. The feebleness and the vices of Louis XV.'s government weighed heavily upon the government of Louis XVI. in India as well as in France, and at Paris itself.

Reception of M. de Suffren at Versailles.

It is to the honour of mankind and their consolation under great reverses that political checks and the inutility of their efforts do not obscure the glory of great men. M. de Suffren had just arrived at Paris, he was in low spirits; M. de Castries took him to Versailles. There was a numerous and brilliant court. On entering the guards' hall, "Gentlemen," said the minister to the officers on duty, "this is M. de Suffren." Everybody rose, and the bodyguards, forming an escort for the admiral, accompanied him to the king's chamber. His career was over; the last of the great sailors of the *ancien régime* died on the 8th of December, 1788.

Whilst Hyder Ali and M. de Suffren were still disputing India with England, that power had just gained in Europe an important advantage in the eyes of public opinion as well as in respect of her supremacy at sea; we allude to the town and fortress of Gibraltar which, after being invested by the Franco-Spanish army for a considerable time, was relieved and revictualled by Lord Howe in 1782.

Negociations for peace.

Peace was at hand, however: all the belligerents were tired of the strife, the marquis of Rockingham was dead; his ministry, after being broken up, had re-formed with less lustre under the leadership of Lord Shelburne; William Pitt, Lord Chatham's second son, at that time twenty-two years of age, had a seat in the cabinet. Already negotiations for a general peace had begun at Paris, but Washington, who eagerly desired the end of the war, did not yet feel any confidence. On the 5th of December, at the opening of Parliament, George III. announced in the speech from the throne that he had offered to recognize the independence of the American colonies. "In thus admitting their separation from the crown of this kingdom, I have sacrificed all my desires to the wishes and opinion of my people," said the king. "I humbly pray Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which may flow from so important a dismemberment of its empire, and that America may be a stranger to the calamities which have before now proved to the mother-country that monarchy is inseparable from the benefits of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interests, affections may still form a bond of union between the two countries, and I will spare no pains or attention to promote it." "I was the last man in England to consent to the independence of America," said the king to John Adams, who was the first to represent the new republic at the Court of St. James's;

"I will now be the last in the world to sanction any violation of it." Honest and sincere in his concessions as he had been in his persistent obstinacy, the king supported his ministers against the violent attacks made upon them in Parliament. The preliminaries of general peace had been signed at Paris on the 20th of January, 1783.

Its results for France.

To the exchange of conquests between France and England was added the cession to France of the island of Tobago and of the Senegal river with its dependencies. The territory of Pondicherry and Karikal received some augmentation. For the first time for more than a hundred years the English renounced the humiliating conditions so often demanded on the subject of the harbour of Dunkerque. Spain saw herself confirmed in her conquest of the Floridas and of the island of Minorca. Holland recovered all her possessions, except Negapatam.

France came out exhausted from the struggle, but relieved in her own eyes as well as those of Europe from the humiliation inflicted upon her by the disastrous Seven Years' War, and by the treaty of 1763. She saw triumphant the cause she had upheld, and her enemies sorrow-stricken at the dismemberment they had suffered. It was a triumph for her arms and for the generous impulse which had prompted her to support a legitimate but for a long while doubtful enterprise. A fresh element, however, had come to add itself to the germs of disturbance, already so fruitful, which were hatching within her. She had promoted the foundation of a Republic based upon principles of absolute right, the government had given way to the ardent sympathy of the nation for a people emancipated from a long yoke by its deliberate will and its indomitable energy. France felt her heart still palpitating from the efforts she had witnessed and shared on behalf of American freedom; the unreflecting hopes of a blind emulation were already agitating many a mind. "In all states," said Washington, "there are inflammable materials which a single spark may kindle." In 1783, on the morrow of the American war, the inflammable materials everywhere accumulated in France were already providing means for that immense conflagration in the midst of which the country well-nigh perished.

Longing for freedom.

After a few inefficient and useless ministers, Necker had been called to the important post so ably filled by Turgot. Public opinion was favourable to him, his promotion was well received; it presented, however, great difficulties: he had been a banker, and hitherto the comptrollers-general had all belonged to the class of magistrates or superintendents; he was a Protestant,

and, as such, could not hold any office. The clergy were in commotion; they tried certain remonstrances. "We will give him up to you," said M. de Maurepas, "if you undertake to pay the debts of the State." The opposition of the Church, however, closed to the new minister an important opening; at first director of the treasury, then director-general of finance, M. Necker never received the title of comptroller-general, and was not admitted to the council. From the outset, with a disinterestedness not devoid of ostentation, he had declined the salary attached to his functions. The courtiers looked at one another in astonishment: "It is easy to see that he is a foreigner, a republican and a Protestant," people said. M. de Maurepas laughed: "M. Necker," he declared, "is a maker of gold; he has introduced the philosopher's stone into the kingdom."

Necker at the head of affairs.

This was for a while the feeling throughout France. "No bankruptcies, no new imposts, no loans," M. Turgot had said, and had looked to economy alone for the resources necessary to restore the finances. Bolder and less scrupulous, M. Necker, who had no idea of having recourse to either bankruptcy or imposts, made unreserved use of the system of loans. During the five years that his ministry lasted, the successive loans he contracted amounted to nearly 500 million livres. There was no security given to insure its repayment to the lenders. The mere confidence felt in the minister's ability and honesty had caused the money to flow into the treasury.

His financial plans.

M. Necker did not stop there: a foreigner by birth, he felt no respect for the great tradition of French administration; practised in the handling of funds, he had conceived as to the internal government of the finances theories opposed to the old system; the superintendents established a while ago by Richelieu had become powerful in the central administration as well as in the provinces, and the comptroller-general was in the habit of accounting with them; they nearly all belonged to old and notable families; some of them had won the public regard and esteem. The new minister suppressed several offices and diminished the importance of some others; the treasurers-general, numbering forty-eight, were reduced to a dozen, and the twenty-seven treasurers of the navy and of war to two; the farmings-general (of taxes) were renewed with an advantage to the treasury of fifteen millions. The posts at court likewise underwent reform: the courtiers saw at one blow the improper sources of their revenues in the financial administration cut off, and obsolete and ridiculous appointments, to which numerous pensions were attached, reduced. Their discontent was

becoming every day more noisy, without as yet shaking the credit of M. Necker. He thought the moment had come for giving public opinion the summons of which he recognized the necessity; he felt himself shaken at court, weakened in the regard of M. de Maurepas, who was still powerful in spite of his great age and jealous of him as he had been of M. Turgot; he had made up his mind, he said, to let the nation know how its affairs had been managed, and in the early days of the year 1781 he published his *Compte rendu au roi.*

A.D. 1781. His "Compte Rendu."

It was a bold innovation; hitherto the administration of the finances had been carefully concealed from the eyes of the public as the greatest secret in the affairs of State; for the first time the nation was called upon to take cognizance of the position of the public estate and, consequently, pass judgment upon its administration. The very reforms brought about by the minister rendered his fall more imminent every day. He had driven into coalition against him the powerful influences of the courtiers, of the old families whose hereditary destination was office in the administration, and of the Parliament everywhere irritated and anxious. He had lessened the fortunes and position of the two former classes, and his measures tended to strip the magistracy of the authority whereof they were so jealous; obliged finally to send in his resignation (1781), he was replaced by M. de Calonne.

His downfall. Replaced by M. de Calonne.

It was court-influence that carried the day and, in the court, that of the queen, prompted by her favourite, Madame de Polignac. Tenderly attached to his wife, who had at last given him a son, Louis XVI., delivered from the predominant influence of M. de Maurepas, was yielding, almost unconsciously, to a new power. Marie Antoinette, who had long held aloof from politics, henceforth changed her part; at the instigation of the friends whom she honoured with a perhaps excessive intimacy, she began to take an important share in affairs, a share which was often exaggerated by public opinion, more and more hard upon her every day.

The queen Marie Antoinette.

Received on her arrival in France with some mistrust, of which she had managed to get the better amongst the public, having been loved and admired as long as she was dauphiness, the young queen, after her long period of constraint in the royal family, had soon profited by her freedom; she had a horror of etiquette, to which the court of Austria had not made her accustomed, she gladly escaped from the grand palaces of Louis XIV., where the traditions of his reign seemed still to exercise a secret influence, in order to seek at her little manor-house of Trianon new amusements and rustic pleasures, innocent and simple, and attended with no other

inconvenience but the air of cliquedom and almost of mystery in which the queen's guests enveloped themselves.

The royal family of France.

In the home-circle of the royal family, the queen had not found any intimate friend: the king's aunts had never taken to her; the crafty ability of the count of Provence and the giddiness of the count of Artois seemed in the prudent eye of Maria Theresa to be equally dangerous; Madame Elizabeth, the heroic and pious companion of the evil days, was still a mere child; already the duke of Chartres, irreligious and debauched, displayed towards the queen who kept him at a distance symptoms of a bitter rancour which was destined to bear fruit; Marie Antoinette, accustomed to a numerous family, affectionately united, sought friends who could "love her for herself," as she used to say. An illusive hope, in one of her rank, for which she was destined to pay dearly. She formed an attachment to the young princess of Lamballe, daughter-in-law of the duke of Penthièvre, a widow at twenty years of age, affectionate and gentle, for whom she revived the post of lady-superintendent, abolished by Mary Leczinska. The court was in commotion, and the public murmured; the queen paid no heed, absorbed as she was in the new delights of friendship; the intimacy, in which there was scarcely any inequality, with the princess of Lamballe, was soon followed by a more perilous affection; the countess Jules de Polignac, who was generally detained in the country by the narrowness of her means, appeared at court on the occasion of a festival; the queen was pleased with her, made her remain and loaded her and her family, not only with favours but with unbounded and excessive familiarity. Finding the court-circles a constraint and an annoyance, Marie Antoinette became accustomed to seek in

Madame de Polignac.

the drawing-room of Madame de Polignac amusements and a freedom which led before long to sinister gossip. Those who were admitted to this royal intimacy were not always prudent or discreet, they abused the confidence as well as the generous kindness of the queen; their ambition and their cupidity were equally concerned in urging Marie Antoinette to take in the government a part for which she was not naturally inclined. M. de Calonne was intimate with Madame de Polignac; she, created a duchess and appointed governess to the children of France (the royal children), was all-powerful with her friend the queen; she dwelt upon the talents of M. de Calonne, the extent and fertility of his resources; M. de Vergennes was won over, and the office of comptroller-general, which had but lately been still discharged with lustre by M. Turgot and M. Necker, fell on the 30th of October, 1784, into the hands of M. de Calonne.

Discredited from the very first by a dishonourable action, he had invariably managed to get his vices forgotten, thanks to the charms of a brilliant and fertile wit. Prodigal and irregular as superintendent of Lille, he imported into the comptroller-generalship habits and ideas opposed to all the principles of Louis XVI. "The reputation of M. de Calonne," says M. Necker in his mémoires, "was a contrast to the morality of Louis XVI., and I know not by what argumentation, by what ascendancy such a prince was induced to give a place in his council to a magistrate who was certainly found agreeable in the most elegant society of Paris but whose levity and principles were dreaded by the whole of France. Money was lavished, largesses were multiplied, there was no declining to be goodnatured or complaisant, economy was made the object of ridicule, it was daringly asserted that immensity of expenditure, animating circulation, was the true principle of credit." **M. de Calonne's financial views.**

If the first steps of M. de Calonne dismayed men of foresight and of experience in affairs, the public was charmed with them, no less than the courtiers. The *bail des fermes* was re-established, the *Caisse d'escompte* had resumed payment, the stock-holders (*rentiers*) received their quarters' arrears, the loan whereby the comptroller-general met all expenses had reached 11 per cent. "A man who wants to borrow," M. de Calonne would say, "must appear rich, and to appear rich he must dazzle by his expenditure. Act we thus in the public administration. Economy is good for nothing, it warns those who have money not to lend it to an indebted Treasury, and it causes decay amongst the arts which prodigality vivifies."

The captivation was general, the blindness seemed to be so likewise; a feverish impulse carried people away into all new-fangled ways, serious or frivolous. Mesmer brought from Germany his mysterious revelations in respect of problems as yet unsolved by science, and pretended to cure all diseases around the magnetic battery; the adventurer Cagliostro, embellished with the title of count and lavishing gold by handfuls, bewitched court and city. **Excitement in France.**

At the same time splendid works in the most diverse directions maintained at the topmost place in the world that scientific genius of France which the great minds of the seventeenth century had revealed to Europe. The ladies of fashion crowded to the brilliant lectures of Fourcroy. The princes of pure science, M. de Lagrange, M. de Laplace, M. Monge, did not disdain to wrench themselves from their learned calculations in order to second the useful labours of Lavoisier. Bold voyagers were scouring the world, pioneers of **Science.**

those enterprises of discovery which had appeared for a while abandoned during the seventeenth century. M. de Bougainville had just completed the round of the world, and the English captain, Cook, during the war which covered all seas with hostile ships, had been protected by generous sympathy. The name of another distinguished sailor, M. de La Peyrouse, must not be forgotten; nor should we leave unnoticed the first attempts in aerial locomotion made by MM. de Montgolfier and Pilâtre de Rozier.

Discoveries.

So many scientific explorations, so many new discoveries of nature's secrets were seconded and celebrated by an analogous movement in literature. Rousseau had led the way to impassioned admiration of the beauties of nature; Bernardin de St. Pierre had just published his *Études de la Nature;* he had in the press his *Paul et Virginie;* the Abbé Delille was reading his *Jardin,* and M. de St. Lambert his *Saisons.* In their different phases and according to their special instincts, all minds, scholarly or political, literary or philosophical, were tending to the same end and pursuing the same attempt. It was nature which men wanted to discover or recover: scientific laws and natural rights divided men's souls between them. Buffon was still alive, and the great sailors were every day enriching with their discoveries the Jardin du Roi; the physicists and the chemists, in the wake of Lavoisier, were giving to science a language intelligible to common folks; the juris-consults were attempting to reform the rigours of criminal legislation at the same time with the abuses they had entailed, and Beaumarchais was bringing on the boards his *Mariage de Figaro.*

Literature.

Figaro ridiculed everything with a dangerously pungent vigour; the days were coming when the pleasantry was to change into insults. Already public opinion was becoming hostile to the queen: she was accused of having remained devoted to the interests of her German family; the people were beginning to call her *the Austrian.* This direful malevolence on the part of public opinion, springing from a few acts of imprudence, and fomented by a long series of calumnies, burst forth on the occasion of a scandalous and grievous occurrence; we mean the affair of the diamond necklace, which led to the arrest of the cardinal de Rohan.

The queen unpopular. The diamond necklace.

Guilty in the king's eyes, a dupe according to the judgment of history, Cardinal Rohan was exiled to his abbey of Chaise-Dieu, less to be pitied than the unhappy queen abruptly wrenched from the sweet dreams of a romantic friendship and confidence, as well as from the nascent joys of maternal happiness, to find herself henceforth confronting a deluded people and an ever-increasing

hostility which was destined to unjustly persecute her even to the block.

Convocation of the notables. Downfall of M. de Calonne.

M. de Calonne had taken little part in the excitement which the trial of Cardinal Rohan caused in court and city: he was absorbed by the incessantly recurring difficulties presented by the condition of the Treasury; speculation had extended to all classes of society; loans succeeded loans, everywhere there were formed financial companies, without any resources to speak of, speculating on credit. Parliament began to be alarmed, and enregistered no more credits save with repugnance. In view of the stress at the Treasury, of growing discontent, of vanished illusions, the comptroller-general meditated convoking the Assembly of Notables, the feeble resource of the old French kingship before the days of pure monarchy, an expedient more insufficient and more dangerous than the most far-seeing divined after the lessons of the philosophers and the continuous abasement of the kingly Majesty.

M. de Brienne. Agitation in the Parliament.

The convocation of the Notables brought about the views of the minister, who had staked his popularity upon it (1787); he was succeeded by Loménie de Brienne, a minister who "had nothing but bad moves to make," says M. Mignet. Three edicts touching the trade in grain, forced labour and the provincial assemblies were first sent up to the Parliament and enregistered without any difficulty; the two edicts touching the stamp-tax and equal assessment of the impost were to meet with more hindrance; the latter at any rate united the sympathies of all the partisans of genuine reforms; the edict touching the stamp-tax was by itself and first submitted for the approval of the magistrates: they rejected it, asking, like the notables, for a communication as to the state of finance. "It is not states of finance we want," exclaimed a councillor, Sabatier de Cabre, "it is States-general." This bold sally became a theme for deliberation in the Parliament. "The nation represented by the States-general," the court declared, "is alone entitled to grant the king subsidies of which the need is clearly demonstrated." At the same time the Parliament demanded the impeachment of M. de Calonne; he took fright and sought refuge in England. The mob rose in Paris, imputing to the court the prodigalities with which the Parliament reproached the late comptroller-general. Sad symptom of the fatal progress of public opinion! The cries heretofore raised against the queen under the name of *Austrian* were now uttered against *Madame Deficit*, pending the time when the fearful title of *Madame Veto* would give place in its turn to the sad name of *the woman Capet* given to the victim of October 16, 1793.

The king summoned the Parliament to Versailles, and on the 6th of August, 1787, the edicts touching the stamp-tax and territorial subvention were enregistered in bed of justice. The Parliament had protested in advance against this act of royal authority, which it called "a phantom of deliberation." On the 13th of August, the court declared "the registration of the edicts null and without effect, incompetent to authorize the collection of imposts opposed to all principles;" this resolution was sent to all the seneschalties and bailiwicks in the district. It was in the name of the privilege of the two upper orders that the Parliament of Paris contested the royal edicts and made appeal to the supreme jurisdiction of the States-general; the people did not see it, they took out the horses of M. d'Esprémesnil, whose fiery eloquence had won over a great number of his colleagues, and he was carried in triumph. On the 15th of August, the Parliament was sent away to Troyes, to be, however, recalled a little more than a month later. M. de Brienne hoped thus to obtain a loan of 420,000,000, which was to be raised in the course of five years. The king held a bed of justice at Versailles, and insisted upon the registration of the necessary edicts; notwithstanding the efforts of M. de Malesherbes and the duke of Nivernais, the Parliament inscribed on the registers that it was not to be understood to take any part in the transcription here ordered of gradual and progressive loans for the years 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791 and 1792. In reply, the duke of Orleans was banished to Villers-Cotterets, whilst Councillors Fréteau and Sabatier, who had made themselves conspicuous by their opposition, were arrested and taken to a state-prison.

Bed of justice.

The parliament sent to Troyes.

The contest extended as it grew hotter; everywhere the Parliaments took up the quarrel of the court of Paris; the formation of the provincial assemblies furnished new centres of opposition; the petty noblesse made alliance with the magistracy, the antagonism of principles became every day more evident; after the five months elapsed since the royal session, the Parliament was still protesting against the violence done to it. "I had no need to take or count the votes," said the king's reply; "being present at the deliberation, I judged for myself without taking any account of plurality. If plurality in my courts were to force my will, the monarchy would be nothing but an aristocracy of magistrates." "No, Sir, no aristocracy in France, but no despotism either," replied the members of parliament.

Provincial assemblies.

The indiscretion of a printer made M. d'Esprémesnil acquainted with the great designs which were in preparation; at his instigation the Parliament issued a declaration as to the reciprocal rights

and duties of the monarch and the nation. "France," said the resolution, "is a monarchy hereditary from male to male, governed by the king following the laws; it has for fundamental laws the nation's right to freely grant subsidies by means of the States-general convoked and composed according to regulation, the customs and capitulations of the provinces, the irremoveability of the magistrates, the right of the courts to enregister edicts, and that of each citizen to be judged only by his natural judges, without liability ever to be arrested arbitrarily." "The magistrates must cease to exist before the nation ceases to be free," said a second protest.

Bold and defiant in its grotesque mixture of the ancient principles of the magistracy with the novel theories of philosophy, the resolution of the Parliament was quashed by the king. Orders were given to arrest M. d'Esprémesnil and a young councillor, Goislard de Montsabert, who had played also an active part in the spirited resistance to the orders of the court The former was taken to the island of St. Marguerite, and the latter imprisoned at Pierre Encise.

Arrest of d'Esprémesnil and Goislard de Montsabert.

Notwithstanding his promise to convoke the States-general for the 1st of May, 1789, M. de Brienne became more and more unpopular, and disturbances broke out in several points of the kingdom. Legal in Normandy, violent in Brittany, tumultuous in Béarn, the parliamentary protests took a politic and methodical form in Dauphiny. An insurrection amongst the populace of Grenoble, soon supported by the villagers from the mountains, had at first flown to arms at the sound of the tocsin. The members of the Parliament, on the point of leaving the city, had been detained by force, and their carriages had been smashed. The troops offered little resistance; an entry was effected into the house of the governor, the duke of Clermont-Tonnerre, and, with an axe above his head, the insurgents threatened to hang him to the chandelier in his drawing-room if he did not convoke the Parliament. Ragged ruffians ran to the magistrates, and compelled them to meet in the sessions-hall. The members of parliament succeeded with great difficulty in pacifying the mob. As soon as they found themselves free, they hastened away into exile. Other hands had taken up their quarrel. A certain number of members of the three orders met at the town hall, and, on their private authority, convoked for the 21st of July the special states of Dauphiny, suppressed a while before by Cardinal Richelieu.

Disturbances in the provinces.

The duke of Clermont-Tonnerre had been superseded by old Marshal Vaux, rough and ready. He had at his disposal twenty thousand men. Scarcely had he arrived at Grenoble when he wrote

to Versailles, "It is too late," he said. The prerogatives of royal authority were maintained, however. The marshal granted a meeting of the states-provincial, but he required permission to be asked of him. He forbade the assembly to be held at Grenoble. It was in the castle of Vizille, a former residence of the dauphins, that the three orders of Dauphiny met, closely united together in wise and patriotic accord. The archbishop of Vienne, Lefranc de Pompignan, brother of the poet, lately the inveterate foe of Voltaire, an ardently and sincerely pious man, led his clergy along the most liberal path; the noblesse of the sword, mingled with the noblesse of the robe, voted blindly all the resolutions of the third estate; these were suggested by the real head of the assembly, M. Mounier, judge-royal of Grenoble, a friend of M. Necker's, an enlightened, loyal, honourable man, destined ere long to make his name known over the whole of France by his courageous resistance to the outbursts of the National Assembly. Unanimously the three orders presented to the king their claims to the olden liberties of the province; they loudly declared, however, that they were prepared for all sacrifices and aspired to nothing but the common rights of all Frenchmen. The double representation of the third in the estates of Dauphiny was voted without contest, as well as equal assessment of the impost intended to replace forced labour. Throughout the whole province the most perfect order had succeeded the first manifestations of popular irritation.

The three orders of Dauphiny.

Meanwhile the Treasury was found to be empty; all the resources were exhausted, disgraceful tricks had despoiled the hospitals and the poor; credit was used up, the payments of the State were backward; the discount-bank (*caisse d'escompte*) was authorized to refuse to give coin. To divert the public mind from this painful situation, Brienne proposed to the king to yield to the requests of the members of Parliament, of the clergy, and of the noblesse themselves. A decree of August 8, 1788, announced that the States-general would be convoked May 1, 1789; the re-establishment of the plenary court was suspended to that date. Concessions wrested from the weakness and irresolution of governments do not strengthen their failing powers. Brienne had exhausted his boldness as well as his basenesses; he succumbed beneath the outcry of public wrath and mistrust.

On the 25th of August, 1788, the king sent for M. Necker. For an instant his return to power had the effect of restoring some hope to the most far-sighted. On his coming into office, the Treasury was empty, there was no scraping together as much as five thousand livres. The need was pressing, the harvests were

M. Necker resumes office.

bad; the credit and the able resources of the great financier sufficed for all; the funds went up thirty per cent. in one day, certain capitalists made advances, the chamber of the notaries of Paris paid six millions into the Treasury, M. Necker lent two millions out of his private fortune. The great financial talents of the minister, his probity, his courage had caused illusions as to his political talents; useful in his day and in his degree, the new minister was no longer equal to the task. The distresses of the Treasury had powerfully contributed to bring about, to develope the political crisis; the public cry for the States-general had arisen in a great degree from the deficit; but henceforth financial resources did not suffice to conjure away the danger; the Discount-bank had resumed payment, the State honoured its engagements, the phantom of bankruptcy disappeared from before the frightened eyes of stockholders; nevertheless the agitation did not subside, minds were full of higher and more tenacious concernments. Every gaze was turned towards the States-general. Scarcely was M. Necker in power, when a royal proclamation, sent to the Parliament returning to Paris, announced the convocation of the Assembly for the month of January, 1789.

Financial Crisis.

The States-general themselves had become a topic of the most lively discussion. Amidst the embarrassment of his Government, and in order to throw a sop to the activity of the Opposition, Brienne had declared his doubts and his deficiency of enlightenment as to the form to be given to the deliberations of that ancient assembly, always convoked at the most critical junctures of the national history, and abandoned for 175 years past. "The researches ordered by the king," said a decree of the Council, "have not brought to light any positive information as to the number and quality of the electors and those eligible, any more than as to the form of the elections; the king will always try to be as close as possible to the old usages, and, when they are unknown, his Majesty will not supply the hiatus till after consulting the wish of his subjects, in order that the most entire confidence may hedge a truly national assembly. Consequently the king requests all the municipalities and all the tribunals to make researches in their archives; he likewise invites all scholars and well-informed persons, and especially those who are members of the Academy of inscriptions and literature, to study the question and give their opinion." In the wake of this appeal, a flood of tracts and pamphlets had inundated Paris and the provinces: some devoted to the defence of ancient usages; the most part intended to prove that the Constitution of the olden monarchy

The States-general summoned.

Pamphlets.

of France contained in principle all the political liberties which were but asking permission to soar; some finally, bolder and the most applauded of all, like that of Count d'Entraigues, *Note on the States-general, their rights and the manner of convoking them,* and that of the Abbé Sieyès, *What is the third estate?* Count d'Entraigues' pamphlet began thus: "It was doubtless, in order to give the most heroic virtues a home worthy of them that heaven willed the existence of republics, and, perhaps to punish the ambition of men, it permitted great empires, kings and masters to arise." Sièyes' pamphlet had already sold to the extent of thirty thousand copies; the development of his ideas was an audacious commentary upon his modest title. "What is the third estate?" said that able revolutionist: "Nothing. What ought it to be? Everything?" It was hoisting the flag against the two upper orders.

The whole of France was fever-stricken. The agitation was contradictory and confused, a medley of confidence and fear, joy and rage, everywhere violent and contagious. This time again Dauphiny showed an example of politic and wise behaviour. The preparatory assemblies were tumultuous in many spots: in Provence as well as in Brittany they became violent. In his province, Mirabeau was the cause or pretext for the troubles. Born at Bignon, near Nemours, on the 9th of March, 1749, well known already for his talent as a writer and orator as well as for the startling irregularities of his life, he was passionately desirous of being elected to the States-general. "I don't think I shall be useless there," he wrote to his friend Cerruti. Nowhere, however, was his character worse than in Provence: there people had witnessed his dissensions with his father as well as with his wife. Public contempt, a just punishment for his vices, caused his admission into the states-provincial to be unjustly opposed. The assembly was composed exclusively of nobles in possession of fiefs, of ecclesiastical dignitaries and of a small number of municipal officers. It claimed to elect the deputies to the States-general according to the ancient usages. Mirabeau's common sense, as well as his great and powerful genius, revolted against the absurd theories of the privileged; he overwhelmed them with his terrible eloquence, whilst adjuring them to renounce their abuseful and obsolete rights; he scared them by his forceful and striking hideousness: "Generous friends of peace," said he, addressing the two upper orders, "I hereby appeal to your honour! Nobles of Provence, the eyes of Europe are upon you, weigh well your answer! Ye men of God, have a care; God hears you! But, if

au.



MARIE ANTOINETTE.

you keep silence or if you intrench yourselves in the vague utterances of a piqued self-love, allow me to add a word. In all ages, in all countries, aristocrats have persecuted the friends of the people, and if, by I know not what combination of chances, there have arisen one in their own midst, he it is whom they have struck above all, thirsting as they were to inspire terror by their choice of a victim. Thus perished the last of the Gracchi, by the hand of the patricians; but, wounded to the death, he flung dust towards heaven, calling to witness the gods of vengeance, and from that dust sprang Marius, Marius less great for having exterminated the Cimbri than for having struck down at Rome the aristocracy of the noblesse."

Mirabeau returned for Marseilles and for Aix.

Mirabeau was shut out from the states-provincial, and soon adopted eagerly by the third estate. Elected at Marseilles as well as at Aix for the States-general, he quieted, in these two cities successively, riots occasioned by the dearness of bread. The people, in their enthusiasm, thronged upon him, accepting his will without a murmur when he restored to their proper figure provisions lowered in price through the terror of the authorities. The petty noblesse and the lower provincial clergy had everywhere taken the side of the third estate. Mirabeau was triumphant: "I have been, am, and shall be to the last," he exclaimed, "the man for public liberty, the man for the constitution. Woe to the privileged orders, if that means better be the man of the people than the man of the nobles, for privileges will come to an end, but the people is eternal!"

The day of meeting of the States-general was at hand. Almost everywhere the elections had been quiet, and the electors less numerous than had been anticipated. We know what indifference and lassitude may attach to the exercise of rights which would not be willingly renounced; ignorance and inexperience kept away from the primary assemblies many working-men and peasants; the middle class alone proceeded in mass to the elections. The irregular slowness of the preparatory operations had retarded the convocations; for three months, the agitation attendant upon successive assemblies kept France in suspense. Paris was still voting on the 28th of April, 1789, the mob thronged the streets; all at once the rumour ran that an attack was being made on the house of an ornamental-paper maker in the faubourg St. Antoine, named Réveillon. Starting as a simple journeyman, this man had honestly made his fortune; he was kind to those who worked in his shops: he was accused, nevertheless, amongst the populace, of having declared that a journeyman could live on fifteen sous a day.

Plunder of Réveillon's manufactory.

The day before, threats had been levelled at him; he had asked for protection from the police, thirty men had been sent to him. The madmen who were swarming around his house and stores soon got the better of so weak a guard, everything was destroyed; the rioters rushed to the archbishop's, there was voting going on there; they expected to find Réveillon, whom they wanted to murder. They were repulsed by the battalions of the French and Swiss guards. More than two hundred were killed. Money was found in their pockets. The Parliament suspended its prosecutions against the ringleaders of so many crimes. The Government, impotent and disarmed, as timid in presence of this riot as in presence of opposing parties, at last came before the States-general, but blown about by the contrary winds of excited passions, without any guide and without fixed resolves, without any firm and compact nucleus in the midst of a new and unknown Assembly without confidence in the troops, who were looked upon, however, as a possible and last resort.

The Government is powerless.

The States-general were presented to the king on the 2nd of May, 1789. It seemed as if the two upper orders, by a prophetic instinct of their ruin, wanted, for the last time, to make a parade of their privileges. Introduced without delay to the king, they left, in front of the palace, the deputies of the third estate to wait in the rain. The latter were getting angry, and already beginning to clamour, when the gates were opened to them. In the magnificent procession on the 4th, when the three orders accompanied the king to the church of St. Louis at Versailles, the laced coats and decorations of the nobles, the superb vestments of the prelates easily eclipsed the modest cassocks of the country-priests as well as the sombre costume imposed by ceremonial upon the deputies of the third estate; the bishop of Nancy, M. de la Fare, maintained the traditional distinctions even in the sermon he delivered before the king: "Sir," said he, "accept the homage of the clergy, the respects of the noblesse and the most humble supplications of the third estate." The untimely applause which greeted the bishop's words was excited by the picture he drew of the misery in the country-places exhausted by the rapacity of the fiscal agents. At this striking solemnity, set off with all the pomp of the past, animated with all the hopes of the future, the eyes of the public sought out, amidst the sombre mass of deputies of the third (estate), those whom their deeds, good or evil, had already made celebrated: Malouet, Mounier, Mirabeau, the last greeted with a murmur which was for a long while yet to accompany his name. "When the summons by name per bailiwick took place," writes

A.D. 1789. Opening of the States-general (May).

an eye-witness, "there were cheers for certain deputies who were known, but at the name of Mirabeau there was a noise of a very different sort. He had wanted to speak on two or three occasions, but a general murmur had prevented him from making himself heard. I could easily see how grieved he was, and I observed some tears of vexation standing in his bloodshot eyes" [*Souvenirs de Dumont*, 47].

The opening of the session took place on the 5th of May. The royal procession had been saluted by the crowd with repeated and organized shouts of "Harrah! for the duke of Orleans!" which had disturbed and agitated the queen. "The king," says Marmontel, "appeared with simple dignity, without pride, without timidity, wearing on his features the impress of the goodness which he had in his heart, a little affected by the spectacle and by the feelings which the deputies of a faithful nation ought to inspire in its king." His speech was short, dignified, affectionate, and without political purport. With more of pomp and detail, the minister confined himself within the same limits. "Aid his Majesty," said he, "to establish the prosperity of the kingdom on solid bases, seek for them, point them out to your sovereign, and you will find on his part the most generous assistance." The mode of action corresponded with this insufficient language. Crushed beneath the burthen of past defaults and errors, the government tendered its abdication, in advance, into the hands of that mightily bewildered Assembly it had just convoked. The king had left the verification of powers to the States-general themselves. M. Necker confined himself to pointing out the possibility of common action between the three orders, recommending the deputies to examine those questions discreetly. "The king is anxious about your first deliberations," said the minister, throwing away at hap-hazard upon leaders as yet unknown the direction of those discussions which he with good reason dreaded.

Speeches of the king and of M. Necker.

It was amidst a chaos of passions, wills, and desires, legitimate or culpable, patriotic or selfish, that there was, first of all, propounded the question of verification of powers. Prompt and peremptory on the part of the noblesse, hesitating and cautious on the part of the clergy, the opposition of the two upper orders to any common action irritated the third estate; its appeals had ended in nothing but conferences broken off, then resumed at the king's desire, and evidently and painfully to no purpose. "By an inconceivable oversight on the part of M. Necker in the local apportionment of the building appointed for the Assembly of the States-general, there was the throne-room or room of the three

Verification of powers.

orders, a room for the noblesse, one for the clergy, and none for the commons, who remained, quite naturally, established in the states-room, the largest, the most ornate, and all fitted up with tribunes for the spectators who took possession of the public boxes (*loges communes*) in the room. When it was perceived that this crowd of strangers and their plaudits only excited the audacity of the more violent speakers, all the consequences of this installation were felt. Would anybody believe," continues M. Malouet, "that M. Necker had an idea of inventing a ground-slip, a falling-in of the cellars of the Menus, and of throwing down, during the night, the carpentry of the grand room, in order to remove and install the three orders separately? It was to me myself that he spoke of it, and I had great difficulty in dissuading him from the notion, by pointing out to him all the danger of it." The want of foresight and the nervous hesitation of the ministers had placed the third estate in a novel and a strong situation. Installed officially in the states-room, it seemed to be at once master of the position, waiting for the two upper orders to come to it. Mirabeau saw this with that rapid insight into effects and consequences which constitutes, to a considerable extent, the orator's genius. The third estate had taken possession, none could henceforth dispute with it its privileges, and it was the defence of a right that had been won which was to inspire the fiery orator with his mighty audacity, when on the 23rd of June, towards evening, after the miserable affair of the royal session, the marquis of Dreux-Brézé came back into the room to beg the deputies of the third estate to withdraw. The king's order was express, but already certain nobles and a large number of ecclesiastics had joined the deputies of the commons; their definitive victory on the 27th of June and the fusion of the three orders were foreshadowed; Mirabeau rose at the entrance of the grand-master of the ceremonies: "Go," he shouted, "and tell those who send you, that we are here by the will of the people, and that we shall not budge save at the point of the bayonet." This was the beginning of revolutionary violence.

Hesitation of the Ministers.

Mirabeau and M. de Dreux-Brézé.

On the 12th of June the battle began; the calling over of the bailiwicks took place in the States-room. The third estate sat alone. At each province, each chief-place, each roll (*procès-verbal*), the secretaries repeated in a loud voice, "Gentlemen of the clergy? None present. Gentlemen of the noblesse? None present." Certain parish-priests alone had the courage to separate from their order and submit their powers for verification. All the deputies of the third (estate) at once gave them precedence. The day of persecution was not yet come.

Legality still stood, the third estate maintained a proud moderation, the border was easily passed, a name was sufficient.

What was to be the name of the new assembly?

The title of States-general was oppressive to the new Assembly, it recalled the distinction between the orders as well as the humble posture of the third estate heretofore. "This is the only true name," exclaimed Abbé Siéyes; "Assembly of acknowledged and verified representatives of the nation." This was a contemptuous repudiation of the two upper orders. Mounier replied with another definition: "Legitimate Assembly of the majority amongst the deputies of the nation, deliberating in the absence of the duly invited minority." The subtleties of metaphysics and politics are powerless to take the popular fancy. Mirabeau felt it: "Let us call ourselves *representatives of the people!*" he shouted. For this ever fatal name he claimed the kingly sanction: "I hold the king's *veto* so necessary," said the great orator, "that, if he had it not, I would rather live at Constantinople than in France. Yes, I protest, I know of nothing more terrible than a sovereign aristocracy of six hundred persons who, having the power to declare themselves to-morrow irremoveable and the next day hereditary, would end, like the aristocracies of all countries in the world, by swooping down upon everything."

An obscure deputy here suggested during the discussion the name of *National Assembly*, often heretofore employed to designate the States-general; Siéyes took it up, rejecting the subtle and carefully prepared definitions: "I am for the amendment of M. Legrand," said he, "and I propose the title of *National Assembly*." Four hundred and ninety-one voices against ninety adopted this simple and superb title. In contempt of the two upper orders of the State, the national assembly was constituted. The decisive step was taken towards the French Revolution.

History is never recommenced

During the early days, in the heat of a violent discussion, Barrère had exclaimed, "You are summoned to recommence history." It was an arrogant mistake. For more than eighty years modern France has been prosecuting laboriously and in open day the work which had been slowly forming within the dark womb of olden France. In the almighty hands of eternal God a people's history is interrupted and recommenced never.

APPENDIX.

A.—SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

I.—COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS, MEMOIRS, LAWS, CHARTERS, ETC.

Bibliothèque Historique de la France, contenant le catalogue des ouvrages imprimés et manuscrits qui traitent de l'histoire de ce royaume, ou qui y ont rapport; avec des notes critiques et historiques. Par feu Jacques Lelong, prêtre de l'Oratoire, bibliothécaire de la maison de Paris. Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée par M. Fevret de Fontette. 5 vols. folio. *One of the best and most useful works of its kind.*

Bibliothèque Nationale, catalogue de l'histoire de France. 10 vols. 4to.

Table Chronologique des Diplomes, chartes, titres et actes imprimés concernant l'histoire de France, par MM. de Bréquigny et Pardessus. 7 vols. folio.

Diplomata, chartæ, epistolæ, leges, aliaque instrumenta ad res gallo-francicas spectantia. Prius collecta a V. V. C. C. de Bréquigny et la Porte du Theil; nunc nova ratione ordinata, plurimumque aucta, jubente ac moderante Academia inscriptionem et humaniorum litterarum, edidit J.-M. Pardessus. 5 vols. folio.

Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. Commencé par les bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur et continué par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres. 22 vols. folio, *in progress.*

Collection des Documents Inédits relatifs à l'histoire de France. Publiés sous les auspices du ministère de l'instruction publique. 177 vols. 4to, *in progress.*

Recueil général des Anciennes Lois Françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789. Contenant la notice des principaux monumens des Mérovingiens, des Carlovingiens et des Capétiens, et le texte des ordonnances, édits, déclarations, lettres patentes, règlemens, arrêts du conseil, etc., de la troisième race, qui ne sont pas abrogés, ou qui peuvent servir, soit à l'interprétation, soit à l'histoire du droit public et privé. Avec notes de concordance, table chronologique et table générale analytique et alphabétique des matières. Par MM. Jourdan, Decrusy, et Isambert. 22 vols. 8vo.

Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, depuis la fondation de la monarchie française jusqu'au xiii^e^ siècle. Avec une introduction, des suppléments, des notices et des notes, par M. F. Guizot. 31 vols. 8vo. *This collection is valuable because it comprises in a portable and convenient shape a large number of documents: but it has been edited in a slovenly manner.*

Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises écrites en langue vulgaire, du xiii^e^ au xvi^e^ siècle, avec notes et éclaircissements par J.-A. Buchon. 47 vols. 8vo.

Collection complète des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, depuis le règne de Philippe-Auguste jusqu'à la paix de Paris conclue en 1763. Avec des notices sur chaque auteur et des observations sur chaque ouvrage, par MM. Petitot et Monmerqué. 131 vols. 8vo.

Nouvelle collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France, depuis le xiii^e^ siècle jusqu'à la fin du xviii^e^. Précédés de notices pour caractériser chaque auteur des mémoires et son époque, suivis de l'analyse des documents historiques qui s'y rapportent, par MM. Michaud et Poujoulat. 32 vols. 8vo.

Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa. Qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et abbatum Franciæ vicinarumque ditionum, ab origine Ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur, et probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem appositis. Opera et studio domni Dionysii Sammarthani, presbyteri et monachi ordinis Sancti Benedicti e congregatione Sancti Mauri. Vols. 1—16 folio, *in progress. Continued by the Institute of France.*

Concilia Antiqua Galliæ, tres in tomos ordine digesta. Cum epistolis Pontificum, principum constitutionibus, et aliis Gallicanæ rei ecclesiasticæ monimentis. Quorum plurima vel integra, vel magna ex parte, nunc primum in lucem exeunt. Opera et studio Jacobi Sirmondi, societatis Jesu presbyteri. 3 vols. folio.

Histoire Littéraire de la France, où l'on traite de l'origine et du progrès, de la décadence et du rétablissement des sciences parmi les Gaulois et parmi les François; du goût et du génie des uns et des autres pour les lettres en chaque siècle; de leurs anciennes écoles; de l'établissement des universités en France; des principaux colléges; des Académies des sciences et des belles-lettres; des meilleures bibliothèques anciennes et modernes; des plus célèbres imprimeurs; et de tout ce qui a un rapport particulier à la littérature. Avec les éloges historiques des Gaulois et des François qui s'y sont fait quelque réputation, le catalogue et la chronologie de leurs écrits; des remarques historiques et critiques sur les principaux ouvrages; le dénombrement des différentes éditions; le tout justifié par les citations des auteurs originaux. Par des Religieux Bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur. Vols. 1—27 4to. *Continued by the Institute of France.*

Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, ipsius fundationem, nationes, facultates, magistratus, decreta, consuras et judicia in negotiis fidei, privilegia, comitia, legationes, reformationes; item antiquissimas Gallorum academias, aliarum quoque universitatum et religiosorum ordinum, qui ex eadem communi matre exierunt, institutiones et fundationes, aliaque id genus; cum instrumentis publicis et authenticis, a Carolo magno ad nostro tempora, ordine chronologico complectens. Authore Cæsare-Egassio Bulæo, eloquentiæ emerito professore, antiquo rectore et scriba ejusdem universitatis. 6 vols. folio. *Ouvrage curieux* (Lalanne).

II.—LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES FOR EACH EPOCH.

1.—*The Gauls, and the Origin of the French Monarchy.*

Histoire des Gaulois, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'entière soumission de la Gaule à la domination romaine, par Amédée Thierry. 3 vols. 8vo.

Histoire critique de l'établissement de la monarchie Françoise dans les Gaules, par M. l'abbé Dubos. 2 vols. 4to. *Dubos*, says Montesquieu, *had made a conspiracy against the aristocracy.*

Histoire de l'ancien gouvernement de la France, avec quatorze lettres historiques sur les Parlements ou États généraux, par M. le comte de Boulainvilliers. 3 vols. 8vo. *Aims at proving the superiority of the nobility to the rest of the community.*

Observations sur l'histoire de France, par l'abbé de Mably, nouvelle édition, revue par M. Guizot. 3 vols. 8vo.

Essais sur l'histoire de France, pour faire suite aux observations de l'abbé de Mably, par F. Guizot. 8vo. Paris.

2.—*The Merovingians.*

Histoire des institutions Mérovingiennes, et du gouvernement des Mérovingiens, par T. M. Lehuerou. 2 vols. 8vo.

Récits des temps Mérovingiens, précédés de considérations sur l'histoire de France, par Augustin Thierry. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris.

Histoire des Francs, par Grégoire de Tours. [300—589.] G. 1, 2. S.H.F. 4 vols. 8vo.[1] *Le plus précieux monument des premiers temps de notre histoire.* (Lalanne.)

Chronique de Frédégaire. [583—641.] G. 2. *Le seul monument qui nous fasse connaître l'histoire de cette obscure époque.* (Lalanne.)

Continuations anonymes de Frédégaire. [642—768.] G. 2.

Vie de Dagobert I. Par un moine de Saint Denis. [600—651.] G. 2.

Vie de saint Léger, évêque d'Autun. [Par un moine de Saint-Symphorien d'Autun. 616—683.] G. 2.

Vie de Pépin le Vieux, dit de Landen, maire du palais en Austrasie. [622—752.] G. 2.

3.—*The Carlovingians.*

Annales des rois Pépin, Charlemagne et Louis le Débonnaire, par Eginhard. [740—829.] G. 3. S.H.F. 8vo. *Le meilleur ouvrage d'histoire de cette époque.* (Lalanne.)

---

[1] G.—Collection of memoirs published by M. Guizot.

S.H.F.—Publications of the *Société de l'Histoire de France.*

Vie de Charlemagne, par Eginhard. [740—814.] G. vol. 3.

Des faits et gestes de Charles le Grand, roi des Francs et empereur, par un moine de Saint-Gall. [771—812.] G. vol. 3.

De la vie et des actions de Louis le Débonnaire, par Thégan. [813—835.] G. 3.

Vie de Louis le Débonnaire, par l'Anonyme dit l'Astronome. [768—840.] G. 3.

Histoire des dissensions des fils de Louis le Débonnaire, par Nithard. [814—843.] G. 3.

Faits et gestes de Louis le Pieux (ou le Débonnaire), par Ermold le Noir. [780—826.] G. 4.

Annales de Saint-Bertin. [840—882.] G. 4. S.H.F. 8vo.

Annales de Metz. [883—903.] G. 4.

Histoire de l'église de Reims, par Frodoard. [290—940.] G. 5.

Siège de Paris par les Normands, poème d'Abbon. [885—896.] G. 6.

Chronique de Frodoard. [877—978.] G. 6.

4.—*The Capetians.*

Chronique de Raoul Glaber. [900—1044.] G. 6.

Richer, Histoire de son temps. [888—954.] S.H.F. 8vo.

Vie du roi Robert, par Helgaud. [997—1031.] G. 6.

Poème d'Adalbéron, évêque de Laon, adressé à Robert, roi des Français. [1006] G. 6.

Vie de Bouchard [Burckhardt], comte de Melun et de Corbeil. [Par Eudes, moine de l'abbaye de Saint-Maur des Fossés. [950—1058.] G. 6.

Fragmens [anonymes] de l'histoire des Français, de l'avènement de Hugues-Capet à la mort de Philippe Ier. [987—1110.] G. 6.

Chronique de Hugues [moine] de Fleury [Saint-Benoît sur Loire], 949—1108, Chronicon Floriacense]. G. 7.

Procès-verbal du sacre de Philippe Ier, à Reims, le 23 mai 1059. G. 7.

Histoire du monastère de Vézelai, par Hugues de Poitiers. [Livres II.—IV. 1140—1167.] G. 7.

Histoire des croisades, par Guibert de Nogent. [1090—1100.] G. 9.

Vie de Guibert de Nogent, par lui même. [1053—1190.] G. 9, 10.

Vie de Saint Bernard, abbé de Clairvaux. Par Guillaume de Saint-Thierri, Arnaud de Bonneval et Geoffroi de Clairvaux. 1091—1153. G. 10.

Vie de Philippe-Auguste, par Rigord. [1165—1208.] G.

Vie de Philippe-Auguste, par Guillaume le Breton, et autres. [1165—1223.] G. 11.

Vie de Louis VIII. par un anonyme. [1223—1226.] G. 11.

Des faits et gestes de Louis VIII., poème historique, par Nicholas de Bray. [1223—1226]. G. 11.

La Philippide, poème historique, par Guillaume le Breton. G. 12.

Chronique de Guillaume de Nangis. [1113—1327]. G. 13. S H.F. 2 vols. 8vo.

Histoire de l'hérésie des Albigeois, et de la sainte guerre entreprise contre eux, [1203—1218,] par Pierre de Vaulx-Cernay. G. 14.

Chanson de la croisade contre les Albigeois. [1207—1218.] S.H.F., vol. 1, 8vo. D.I. 1207—1219. 4to.[2]

Histoire de la Guerre des Albigeois. [1202—1219.] G. 15.

Chronique de Guillaume de Puy-Laurens, contenant l'histoire de l'expédition contre les Albigeois. [1200—1272.] G. 15.

Des Gestes glorieux des Français. [1202—1311.] Chronique dite de Simon de Montfort. G. 15.

Histoire des croisades, par Guillaume de Tyr. [610—1184.] G. 15—18.

Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier. [1101—1231.] G. 19. S.H.F. 8vo.

Histoire des croisades, par Albert d'Aix. (Chronicon Hierosolymitanum.) [1095—1120.] G. 20, 21.

L'Ystoire de li Normant, laquelle compila un moine do mont de Cassin, et la manda à lo abbé Désidere de mont de Cassym. [.....—1078.] S.H.F. 8vo.

Chronique de Robert Viscart et de ses frères. [.....—1282.] S.H.F. S.H.F. 8vo.

Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre. [.....—1220.] S.H.F. 8vo.

Histoire des Francs qui ont pris Jérusalem, par Raimond d'Agiles, chapelain du comte Raimond de Toulouse. [1096—1100.] G. 21.

Histoire des croisades [historia Hierosolymitana], par Jacques de Vitry. [1096—1220.] G. 22.

Faits et gestes du prince Tancrède [de Sicile] pendant l'expédition de Jérusalem, par Raoul de Caen. [1096—1105.] G. 23.

Histoire de la première croisade, par Robert le Moine. [1095—1099.] G. 23.

Histoire des croisades, par Foulcher de Chartres. [1095—1127.] G. 24.

---

[2] D.I.—Collection of *Documents inédits*, published by the French Government.

Histoire de la croisade de Louis VII., par Odon de Deuil. [1146—1148.] G. 24.

Histoire de Normandie, par Orderic Vital. [.....—1141.] G. 25—28. S.H.F. 5 vols. 8vo.

Histoire des Normands, par Guillaume de Jumiège. [850—1137.] G. 29.

Vie de Guillaume le Conquérant, par Guillaume de Poitiers. [.....—1070.] G. 29.

Histoire de la guerre de Navarre en 1276 et 1277, par Guillaume Anelier, de Toulouse. D.I. 4to.

Les Grandes Chroniques de France. [876—1381.] Paris, Techener, 6 vols 8vo.

Geoffrey de Ville-Hardouin, de la conqueste de Constantinople. [1198-1207.] Mi. i. 1. Bu. 3. P. i. 1.[3] See also M. Natalis de Wailly's edition, royal 8vo. *Sous tous les rapports cette chronique offre un vif interêt.* (Lalanne.)

Continuation de l'histoire de Ville-Hardouin, d'après les mémoires de Henri de Valenciennes. Mi. i. 1. Bu. 43.

Cuvelier (Robert) chronique de Bertrand Du Guesclin. D I. 4to. *An historical poem in monorhyme stanzas.*

Chronique métrique de Saint-Magloire. [1223—1292.] Bu. 7.

Chronique métrique d'Adam de la Halle, [1282 ?] Bu. 7.

Branche des royaux lignages. Chronique métrique de Guillaume Guiart. [1160—1306.] Bu. 7, 8.

Chronique métrique de Philippe le Bel, par Godofroy de Paris. [1300—1316.] Bu. 9.

Livre de la taille de Paris en l'an 1313. Bu. 9.

Les chroniques de Jean Froissart. [1325—1400.] Bu. 10—25. S.H.F. *in progress. N'a pas d'autre passion que celle de voir et de narrer.*

Mémoires du Sire de Joinville. See also M. Natalis de Wailly's splendid edition, published by Didot. [1245—1270.] Mi. i. 1. P. i. 2. S.H.F. *Plus sensé qu'enthousiaste, plus fin que passionné.* (Lalanne.)

Lettre de Jean-Pierre Sarrazins, chambellan du roi de France, à Nicolas Arrode, sur la première croisade de Saint Louis. [1248—1261.] Mi. i. 1.

Extraits des historiens arabes, relatifs aux deux croisades de Saint Louis. [1243—1270.] Mi. i. 1.

5.—*The Valois.*

Anciens mémoires du XIV^e^ siècle sur Bertrand du Guesclin. [1320—1380.] Mi. i. 1. P. i. 4.

Chronique des quatre premiers Valois. [1327—1393.] S.H.F. 8vo.

Le livre des fais et bonnes mours du sage roy Charles [V.], par Christine de Pisan. [1336—1380.] Mi. i. 1, 2. P. i. 8. S.H.F. 8vo. *An authentic narrative, but written in too pompous a style.*

La chronique du bon duc Louis de Bourbon. [1360—1410.] S.H.F. 8vo.

Le livre des faicts du bon messire Jean le Maingre, dit mareschal de Boucicaut. [1368—1421.] Mi. i 2. P. 6, 7.

Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denis. [1380—1422.] D.I. 6 vols. 4to.

Histoire de Charles VI., roy de France, par Jean Juvenal des Ursins. [1380—1422.] Mi. i. 2.

Monstrelet (Enguerrand de), chroniques [1400—1444]. Bu. 26—32. S.H.F. 6 vols. 8vo. *Very valuable, but most tediously written. Contain a number of official documents.*

Lefèvre de Saint-Rémy (Jean), mémoires. [1407—1435.] Bu. 32, 33.

Mémoires de Pierre de Fenin. [1408—1425.] Mi. i. 2. P. i. 7. *Very partial on the Burgundian side.*

Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de Charles VI. [1408—1422.] Mi. i. 2.

Cousinot (Guillaume), Chronique de la Pucelle. [1422—1429.] 12mo. *An interesting work.*

Cochon (Pierre), chronique Normande. [1118—1430.] *A decided champion of the Armagnacs.*

Mémoires concernant la Pucelle d'Orléans. [1422—1429.] Mi. i. 3. Bu. 34. P. i. 3.

Chartier (Jean) chronique de Charles VII. [1422—1461.]

Histoire d'Artus III., duc de Bretaigne, comte de Richemont et connestable de France, contenant ses mémorables faicts depuis l'an 1418 jusques à l'an 1457; mise en lumière par Th. Godefroy. Mi. i. 3. P. 1—8.

Mémoires relatifs à Florent, sire d'Illiers [par Denis Godefroy]. Mi. i. 3. P. i. 8.

---

[3] Mi. Collection of Memoirs published by Messrs. Michaud and Poujoulat.

Bu. Collection of Memoirs published by M. Buchon.

P. Memoirs published by Messrs. Petitot and Monmerqué.

Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de Charles VII. [1422—1449.] Mi. 3. Bu. 40.

Les 1er et 2e livre des mémoires de messire Olivier de la Marche. [1435—1488.] Mi. i. 3. *Précieux pour l'histoire du temps.*

S'ensuyt l'estat de la maison du duc Charles de Bourgongne, dit le Hardy, composé par Olivier de la Marche. [1474.] Mi. i. 3. P. i. 9, 10.

Mémoires de Jacques du Clercq, sieur de Beauvoir en Ternois. [1448—1467.] Mi. i. 3. Bu. 37—40. P. i. 11. *Full of details on the dukes of Burgundy.*

Chronique de Mathieu de Coussy (or d'Escouchy). [1444—1461.] Bu. 35, 36. S.H.F. 3. vols. 8vo.

Mémoires de Philippe de Comines. [1464—1498.] Mi. i. 4. Pi. 11—13. S.H.F. 3 vols. 8vo. *Il voit son temps tel qu'il est, et le peint avec des couleurs qui ne viennent point de l'école.* (Lalanne.)

Les chroniques du très-chrestien et très-victorieux Louys de Valois, feu roy de France, unziesme de ce nom; avecques plusieurs aultres adventures advenues tant en ce royaume de France, comme ès pays voisins. [1460—1483.] Mi. i. 4. P. i. 13—14. *Cette chronique est appelée bien à tort "Chronique Scandaleuse."* (Lalanne.)

Basin (Thomas), Histoire de Charles VII. et de Louis XI. S.H.F. 4 vols. 8vo. *Précieuse chronique.* (Lalanne.)

Journal des États généraux de 1484, par Jean Masselin. D. i. 4to.

Mémoires de Guillaume de Villenouve. [1494—1497.] Mi. i. 4. P. i. 14. *Invaluable for the history of the wars of Charles VIII. in Italy.*

Panégyrique du chevallier sans reproche, Louis de la Trémoille, par Jean Bouchet. [1460—1525.] Mi. i. 4. P. i. 14.

Très-joyeuse, plaisante et récréative histoire du bon chevalier sans paour et sans reprouche, composée par le loyal serviteur. [1476—1520.] Mi. i. 4. S.H.F. 8vo. P. i. 15, 16. *Un des chefs-d'œuvre de notre langue.* (Lalanne.)

Chronique du bon chevalier messire Jacques de Lalain, père et compagnon de l'ordre de la toison d'Or, par messire Georges Chastellain. [1430—1453.] Bu. 41.

Déclaration de tous les hautz faictz et glorieuses adventures du duc Philippe de Bourgongne, par messire Georges Chastellain, son indiciaire [historiographe]. [1464—1470.] Bu. 42, 43.

Chroniques de Jean Molinet. [1470—1506.] Bu. 43, 47.

6.—*Branch of Orleans.*

Histoire des choses mémorables advenues du reigne de Louis XII. et François 1er, par Robert de la Marck, seigneur de Fleurange. [1499—1521.] Mi. i. 5. P. i. 16. *Curieux mémoires . . . . vivacité naïve et un peu fanfaronne.* (Lalanne.)

Journal de Louise de Savoye. [1476—1522.] Mi. i. 5. P. i. 16. *Short, but very interesting.*

Les mémoires de messire Martin du Bellay, seigneur de Langey, chevalier de l'ordre du roy, capitaine de cinquante hommes d'armes de ses ordonnances, et son lieutenant général en ses pays et duché de Normandie, en l'absence de monseigneur le Dauphin. [1512—1534.] Mi. i. 5.

Les mémoires de messire Guillaume du Bellay. [1535—1536.] Mi. i. 5. P. i. 17, 18, 19.

7.—*Branch of Valois-Angoulême.*

Les mémoires de messire Martin du Bellay. [1536—1547.] Mi. i. 5. P. i. 18, 19.

Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Ier. [1515—1536.] S.H.F. 8vo.

Mémoires-journaux de François de Lorraine, duc d'Aumale et de Guise. [1547—1563.] Mi. i. 6.

Mémoires du prince de Condé. Recueil des choses mémorables faites et passées pour le faict de la religion et estat de ce royaume, depuis la mort du roy Henry II. jusqu'en l'année 1564. [1559—1564.] Mi. i. 6.

Mémoires d'Antoine du Puget, sieur de Saint-Marc, relatifs aux troubles de Provence. [1561—1596.] Mi. i. 6.

Commentaires de messire Blaise de Montluc, mareschal de France. [1521—1574.] Mi. i. 7. S.H.F. 5 vols. 8vo. P. i. 20—22. *Il faut faire soigneusement la part du caractère fanfaron de l'auteur.* (Lalanne.)

Commentaires des dernières guerres en la Gaule Belgique, entre Henry second du nom, très-chrestien roy de France, et Charles cinquiesme, empereur, et Philippe son fils, roy d'Espaigne, par François de Rabutin. [1551—.] Mi. i. 7. P. i. 31, 32.

Mémoires sur Gaspard de Saulx, seigneur de Tavannes. [1515—1573.] Mi. i. 8. P. i. 23.

Mémoires de Guillaume de Saulx, seigneur de Tavannes. [1560—1595.] Mi. i. 8. P. i. 35.

Le siège de Metz par Bertrand de Salignac. [1552.]. Mi. i. 8. P. i. 32.

Discours de Gaspard de Coligny, où sont sommairement contenues les choses qui se sont passées durant le siége de Saint-Quentin. [1557.] Mi. i. 9. P. i. 32.

Mémoire de la Chastre, sur le voyage de M. le duc de Guise en Italie. [1556—1557.] Mi. i. 8. P. i. 32.

Mémoires de Guillaume de Rochechouart. [1497—1565.] Mi. i. 8. P. i. 33.

Mémoires de Claude Haton. [1553—1582.] D. i. 2 vols. 4to.

Mémoires d'Achille Gamon. [1558—1586.] Mi. i. 4. P. i. 34.

8.—*The Bourbons.*

Mémoires de Jean Philippi. [1560—1590.] Mi. i 8. P. i. 34.

Mémoires de la vie de François de Scepeaux, mareschal de Vielleville. [1527—1571.] Mi. i. 9. P. i. 26—28.

Mémoires de Michel de Castelnau. [1559—1570.] Mi. i. 9. P. i. 33. *Mémoires fort intéressants.* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires de Jean de Mergey. [1554—1589.] Mi. i. 9. P. i. 34.

Mémoires de François de la Noue. [1562—1570.] Mi. i. 9. P. i. 34. *On the Protestant side, but impartial, and well written.*

Brantôme (Pierre de Bourdeille, sieur de). Vies des grands capitaines, dames illustres, etc. S.H.F. 9 vols. 8vo. *Le plus fidèle miroir des mœurs de cette époque.* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires de Boyvin du Villars. [1550—1569.] Mi. i. 10. P. i. 28—30. *Curieux, et écrits d'un ton de franchise et de vérité.* (Boissonade.)

Mémoires de Marguerite de Valois. [1569—1582.] Mi. i. 1. P. i. 37. S.H.F. 8vo. 1842. *S'est peinte d'une plume légère.*

Mémoires de messire Philippe Hurault, comte de Cheverny. [1553—1599.] Mi. i. 10. P. i. 36. *The transactions carried on by the royalist party are explained in detail.*

Mémoires de Philippe Hurault, abbé de Pontlevoy, évêque de Chartres. [1599—1601.] Mi. i. 10. P. i. 36.

Mémoires de Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, duc de Bouillon, adressez à son fils le prince de Sedan. [1555—1586.] Mi. i. 11. P. i. 35.

Mémoires du duc d'Angoulême, pour servir à l'histoire des règnes de Henri III. et de Henri IV. [1589—1593.] Mi. i. 11. P. i. 44.

Mémoires de Th. Agrippa d'Aubigné. [1551—1562.] 8vo. *Ne doivent être lus qu'avec une certaine méfiance.* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires d'Estat de Monsieur de Villeroy, secrétaire des commandemens des rois Charles IX., Henri III., Henri IV., et Louis XIII. [1574—1594.] Mi. i. 11. P. i. 44.

Mémoires de Jacques-Auguste de Thou. [1553—1601.] Mi. i. 11. P. i. 37. *These memoirs, originally written in Latin, form part of the author's great work "Historia sui temporis."*

Mémoires de Jean Choisnin. [1571—1573.] Mi. i. 11. P. 38.

Relation faite par maître Jacques Gillot, de ce qui se passa au Parlement touchant la régence de la reine Marie de Médicis. [1610.] Mi. i. 11. P. i. 49.

Mémoires du marquis de Beauvais-Nangis. [1562—1641.] S.H.F.

Journal du procès du marquis de la Boulaye. [Maximilien Échalard. December 1649, May, 1650.] S.H.F.

Mémoires de Mathieu Merle, baron de Salavas. [1570—1580.] Mi. i. 11. P. i. 38.

Mémoires de Jacques Pape, seigneur de Saint-Auban. [1572—1587.] Mi. i. 11. P. i. 43.

Mémoire fidèle des choses qui se sont passées à la mort de Louis XIII., par Dubois, l'un des valets de chambre de S.M. [1643.] Mi. i. 11.

Mémoires de Michel de Marillac. [1593—1594.] Mi. i. 11. P. i. 49.

Mémoires de Claude Groulart, ou voyages par lui faits en cour. [1588—1606.] Mi. i. 11. P. i. 49. *Peignent en traits vifs et caractéristiques toute la classe grave de la société de cette époque.* (Poirson.)

Chronologie novénaire de Palma Cayet. [1576—1597.] Mi. i. 12.

Chronologie septénaire de Palma Cayet. [1598—1604.] Mi. i. 12. P. i. 38—43. *Ouvrages fort importants.* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires et correspondance de Jacques Nompar de Caumont, duc de la Force [1572—1640.] *Renseignements précieux sur des points particuliers.* (Poirson.)

Mémoires et journal de Pierre de l'Estoile. [. . . —1574.]

Registre-journal de Henri III, roi de France et de Pologne, par P. de l'Estoile. [1574—1589.] Mi. ii. 1.

Mémoires et journal de Pierre de l'Estoile.—Règne de Henri IV., roy de France et de Navarre. [1589—1610.]

Mémoires et journal de Pierre de l'Estoile.—Règne de Loys XIII., roy de France et de Navarre. [1610—1611.] Mi. ii. 1. P. i. 45—49. *A new and complete edition of these interesting and valuable journals is now in progress.*

Mémoires des sages et royales œconomies d'Estat de Henry le Grand, ou mémoires de Sully. [1570—1611. Mi. ii. 2, 3. P. ii. 1—9. *Pleins de faits et précieux pour l'histoire.* (Lalanne.)

Les négociations du président Jeannin. [1598—1609.] Mi. ii. 4. P. ii. 11—15

Mélanges diplomatiques du président Jeanuin. [1595—1623.] Mi. ii. 4. P. ii. 16. *Déploya une capacité égale à son intégrité.* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires de François Duval, marquis de Fontenay-Mareuil. [1609—1647.] Mi. ii. 5. P. i. 50—51. *Mémoires intéressants.* (Lalanne)

Mémoires de P. Phelypeaux de Pontchartrain. [1610—1620.] Mi. ii. 5. P. ii. 16, 17.

Conférence de Loudun. [1616.] Mi. ii. 3.

Mémoires du duc de Rohan. [1610—1629] Mi. ii. 5. P. ii. 18, 19. *Un des plus beaux monuments historiques et littéraires de cette époque.* (Haag.)

Mémoires du duc de Rohan sur la guerre de la Valteline. [1630—1637.] Mi. ii. 5.

Mémoires du maréchal de Bassompierre. [1579—1640.] Mi. ii. 6. P. ii. 19—21. S.H.F. 3 vols. *Pleins de détails précieux et authentiques.*

Mémoires de Madame de Mornay. [1549—1606.] S.H.F. 2 vols. *Narration sincère, honnête, sans restriction.* (Poirson.)

Mémoires du maréchal d'Estrées. [1610—1617.] Mi. ii. 6. P. ii. 16.

Mémoires du sieur de Pontis. [1597—1652.] Mi. ii. 6. P. ii. 31. *Mémoires à classer parmi les romans historiques.* (D'Avrigny.)

Mémoires du cardinal de Richelieu. [1600—1638.] Mi. ii. 7—9. P. ii. 21 *bis*—30. *De la plus haute importance. Leur authenticité avait été bien à tort attaquée par Voltaire.* (Lalanne.)

Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux. Paris, Techener, 9 vols. 8vo. *Anecdotes de tout genre sur les hommes de la première moitié du xvi*ie*. siècle.*

Testament de S. E. Armand-Jean du Plessis, cardinal duc de Richelieu. [1642.] Mi. ii. 9.

Mémoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly. [1600—1656.] Mi. ii. 9. P. ii. 33, 34.

Mémoires de Mathieu Molé. [1614—1650.] S.H.F. 4 vols. *Documents dépourvus d'intérêt.* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires de l'abbé Antoine Arnauld. [1634—1675.] Mi. ii. 9. P. ii. 34.

Mémoires de Gaston, duc d'Orléans. 1608—1636.] Mi. ii. 9. P. ii. 31.

Mémoires de la duchesse de Nemours. [1618—1653.] Mi. ii. 9. P. ii. 34. *Mémoires piquants, spirituels, mais un peu secs.* (Ste. Beuve.)

Mémoires de Madame de Motteville. [1630—1666.] Mi. ii. 10. P. ii. 36—40. *Portent au plus haut degré, dans leur allure négligée, le caractère de la vérité.* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires du Père Fr. Berthod. [1652—1653.] Mi. ii. 10. P. ii 48.

La vie du cardinal de Rais. [1630—1655.] Mi. iii. 1. P. ii. 44—46.

Complément des mémoires du cardinal de Retz. Rédigé d'après les documents originaux, par M. Champollion-Figeac. [1654—1679.] Mi. iii. 1. *An excellent edition of the cardinal's memoirs forms part of Messrs Hachette's collection,* "Les Grands Écrivains de la France," *and is now in progress.*

Mémoires de Guy Joly. [1613—1665.] Mi. iii. 2. P. ii. 47.

Mémoires concernant le cardinal de Retz, par Claude Joly. [1618—1655.] Mi, iii. 2. P. ii. 47. *Peuvent être regardés comme la contre-partie des mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires de Pierre Lenet. [1649—1659.] Mi. iii. 2. P. ii. 53, 54. *Écrits avec beaucoup de franchise*

Journal d'Olivier Lefèvre d'Ormesson. [1643—1672.] D.I. 2 vols. 4to.

Mémoires du comte de Brienne, avec additions. inédites. [1613 | 1661.] Mi. iii. 3. P. ii. 35, 36.

Mémoires de Claude de Bourdeille, comte de Montrésor. [1632—1637.] Mi. iii. 3. P. ii. 54. *Très intéressants; souvent réimprimés.* (Lalanne.)

Relation faite par le vicomte de Fontrailles. [1642.] Mi. iii. 3. P. ii. 54.

Mémoires du comte de la Chatre. [1638—1643.] Mi. iii. 3. P. ii. 51.

Mémoires de Nicolas Joseph Foucault. [1675—1706.] D.I.

Mémoires du comte de Coligny-Saligny. [1617—1690. S.H.F.

Mémoires de Daniel de Cosnac. [1650—1701.] S.H.F. 2 vols. *Très curieux, très animés, très piquants.*

Mémoires du marquis de Villette. [1672—1704.] S.H.F.

Extrait des mémoires de Henri de Campion. Mi. iii. 3. P. ii. 51. *Mémoires pleins d'intérêt. A good and complete edition of these memoirs was published in the "Bibliothèque Elzévirienne" of M. P. Jannet.* 12mo. (Lalanne.)

Lettres du vicomte de Turenne, pour servir d'introduction à ses mémoires. [1627—1643.] Mi. iii. 3.

Mémoires du maréchal vicomte de Turenne. [1643—1658.] Mi. iii 3.

Mémoires de Mademoiselle de Montpensier. [1627—1688.] Mi. iii. 4. P. ii. 40—43. *Très véridiques.* (Sainte Beuve.)

Mémoires de Valentin Conrart. [1652.] Mi. iii. 4 P. ii. 48.

Mémoires du marquis de Montglat. [1635—1668] Mi. iii. 5. P. ii. 49—51. *Offrent des renseignements précieux.*

Mémoires du duc de la Rochefoucauld. [1630—1652.] Mi. iii. 5. P. ii. 51, 52. *See also the edition published by Messrs. Hachette in the* Grands Écrivains. *L'histoire de la régence d'Anne d'Autriche y est racontée avec netteté et une élégante précision.* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires de Jean Hérault de Gourville. [1642—1697.] Mi. iii. 5. P. ii. 52. *Gil Blas supérieur.* (Sainte Beuve.)

Mémoires d'Omer Talon. [1630—1653.] Mi. iii. 6. P. ii. 60—63.

Mémoires de l'abbé de Choisy. [1661—1683.] Mi. iii. 6. P. ii. 63. *Agréablement écrits* (Lalanne.)

Mémoires du duc de Guise. [1647—1648.] Mi iii. 7. P. ii 55, 56.

Mémoires du maréchal de Gramont. [1604—1677.] Mi. iii. 7. P. ii. 56, 57.

Relation du passage du Rhin, par le comte de Guiche. [1672.] Mi. iii. 7.

Mémoires du maréchal du Plessis. [1627—1671.] Mi. iii. 7. P. ii. 57.

Mémoires de M. de *** [le comte de Brégy]. [1643—1690.] Mi. iii. 7. P. ii. 58, 59.

Mémoires de P. de la Porte. [1624—1666.] Mi. iii. 8. P. ii. 59.

Histoire de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre. [1659—1670.] Mi. iii. 8. P. ii. 64.

Mémoires de la cour de France, pendant les années 1688 et 1689. Mi. iii. 8. P. ii. 65.

Mémoires du marquis de la Fare. [1672—1693.] Mi. iii. 8. P. ii. 65.

Souvenirs de Madame de Caylus. Mi. iii. 8. P. ii. 66. *Suite rapide de portraits et d'esquisses. Elle y excelle.* (Ste. Beuve.)

Mémoires du marquis de Torcy. [1687—1713.] Mi. iii. 8. P. ii. 67, 68.

Mémoires du maréchal de Villars. [1672—1734.] Mi. iii. 9. P. ii. 68—71.

Mémoires du comte de Forbin. [1675—1710.] Mi. iii. 9. P. ii. 74, 75.

Mémoires de Duguay-Trouin. [1689—1715.] Mi. iii. 9. P. 75.

Mémoires politiques et militaires, composés par l'abbé Millot, sur les pièces recueillies par le duc de Noailles. [1682—1766.] Mi. iii. 10. P. ii. 71—74.

Mémoires secrets de Duclos, sur les règnes de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV. [1700—1726.] Mi. iii. 10. P. ii. 76, 77. *Abondent en renseignements.*

Mémoires de Madame de Staal. Mi. iii. 10. P. ii. 77, 78. *Forment une des plus agréables lectures.* (Vinet.)

Journal et Mémoires du marquis d'Argenson. [1657—1757.] S.H.F. 5 vols. 8vo. *Il choque, mais il instruit.* (Ste. Beuve.)

Chronique de la Régence et du règne de Louis XV., ou journal de Barbier, avocat au Parlement. S.H.F. 4 vols. Charpentier, 8 vols. 12mo. (*Best edition.*) *Un des ouvrages les plus intéressants que nous ayons sur le* xviii^e^. *siècle.* (Lalanne.)

Journal du marquis de Dangeau. [1684—1720.] Paris, Didot, 19 vols. 8vo. *Utile à consulter, mais ennuyeux.*

Mémoires complets et authentiques du duc de Saint Simon. [1691—1723.] Paris, Hachette, 20 vols. 8vo. *Ne doivent être lus qu'avec une certaine précaution, car les erreurs, volontaires ou non, n'y sont pas rares.* (Lalanne.)

Journal et mémoires de Mathieu Marais, avocat au Parlement de Paris. [1707—1733.] Paris, Didot, 4 vols. 8vo. *Intéressants.*

Mémoires du duc de Luynes sur la cour de Louis XV. [1735—1758.] Paris, Didot, 17 vols. 8vo. *Journal à peu près dans le même genre que celui de Dangeau.* (Lalanne.)

B.—PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY IN FRANCE.

1. *Division of Fiefs*. The essential principle of a fief was a mutual contract of support and fidelity.

- ***Estates*** —
  - ***Fiscal lands***, belonging to the crown, the greater portion of which were granted to favoured subjects under the name of benefices. Whosoever possessed a benefice was obliged to follow his sovereign to the wars.
  - Lands belonging to the nation —
    - ***Salic lands*** from which females were excluded.
    - ***Allodial lands***, subject to no burden, except that of public defence. They passed to all the children equally. They were changed afterwards into feudal tenures, that is to say, the owners acknowledged themselves vassal of a Suzerain and received of him their estates as Fiefs.
- ***Fiefs of office***, by which the officers who exercised functions about the royal person were rewarded with grants of land.

2. *Classes of Society*.

- ***Nobility***. When gentility of blood was not marked by the actual tenure of land, something was wanting to ascertain it. Hence the adoption of surnames and of armorial bearings which were devised in the 11th and 12th centuries. There were different orders of nobility . . . . .
  - ***The Barons***, originally peers of the King's court; they held lands immediately under the crown.
  - They possessed the higher territorial jurisdiction, and had the right of carrying their own banner to the field.
  - The twelve peers of France were—
    - The ***Marquises***
    - The ***Knights*** (*Chevaliers*) — *Chev. bannerets*; *Chev. de haubert*; *Bacheliers*
    - The Duke of Burgundy
    - The Duke of Normandy
    - The Duke of Guienne
    - The *Count of Toulouse*
    - The Count of Flanders
    - The Count of Champagne
    - The Duke-bishop of Reims
    - The Duke-bishop of Laon
    - The Duke-bishop of Langres
    - The Count-bishop of Beauvais
    - The Count-bishop of Châlons
    - The Count-bishop of Noyon
- ***Freemen***. Inhabitants of chartered towns, citizens, burghers.
- ***Villeins***, or Serfs attached to the Glebe.

3. The Ceremonies used in conferring a fief were principally . . . . .

- ***Homage***. None but the Lord could receive it.
- ***Fealty***. Was an indispensable form, but might be received by proxy.
- ***Investiture*** —
  - ***Proper***, consisted in the actual putting in possession upon the ground (livery of Seisin).
  - ***Improper***, was symbolical, and expressed, for example, by giving a stone, a turf, a wand.

4. The advantages derived by the lord from his vassal were chiefly . .

- ***Military Service*** . . . — The tenant of a knight's fee (£20 per annum in England) was obliged to serve his lord forty days at his own expense. Louis 9th of France extended this period to sixty days.
- ***Feudal incidents*** . . . —
  - ***Reliefs***. Duties paid by every person of full age taking a fief by descent.
  - ***Fines upon alienation***. The alienation of fiefs was prohibited without the lord's consent.
  - ***Escheats and Forfeits*** occurring either in consequence of the fief being vacant from want of heirs, or more frequently through the vassal's delinquency.
  - ***Aids*** (*auxilia*) to which the lord was entitled— 1. At certain fixed intervals; generally at Easter, and on Michaelmas-day; 2. In extraordinary cases, as—
    - When he made his eldest son a knight.
    - When he married his eldest daughter.
    - When his own person was to be redeemed from captivity.
    - When the king ascended the throne (*Droit de joyeux avènement*).
  - ***Particular to English and to Norman laws.*** —
    - ***Wardship***. During the minority of the vassal, the lord had both the care of his person, and the profits of his estates.
    - ***Marriage***. The lord had the power of marrying his wards without their consent.

5. *Privileges of the Nobility enjoyed by them as landowners.* (Point de terre sans seigneur; point de seigneur sans terre) . . .

- ***Right of coining money.***
- ***Right of waging private War.***
- ***Immunity from all public tributes except the feudal aids.***
- ***Freedom from legislative control.***
- Exclusive right of judicature in their dominions, possessed in different degrees . . . . . —
  - ***High jurisdiction.*** This alone conveyed the right of life and death.
  - ***Middle jurisdiction.***
  - ***Low jurisdiction*** was merely applied in matters of police. — These sent the capital cases to the superior, except when a thief was taken in the fact.
- ***Rights of various kinds.*** Hunting, preserving (*garenne*), appropriating the wrecks and persons of the shipwrecked (*bris*), labour (*corvées*), tolls; compelling the vassals to grind their corn, bake their bread, and make their wine at the baronial mill, bakery, or wine-press (*banalité*).

C.—TABLE OF THE FEUDAL DISMEMBERMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE, ABOUT THE END OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

Duchy of Gascony, became hereditary in	872
Viscounty of Béarn	819
County of Toulouse	850
Marquisate of Septimania	878
County of Barcelona	864
County of Carcassonne	819
Viscounty of Narbonne	802
County of Roussillon	812
County of Urgel	884
County of Poitiers	880
County of Auvergne	864
Duchy of Aquitaine	864
County of Angoulême	866
County of Périgord	866
Viscounty of Limoges, became hereditary in	887
Lordship of Bourbon	890
County of the Lyonnais	890
Lordship of Beaujolais	880
Duchy of Burgundy	887
County of Châlons	886
Duchy of France	830
County of Vexin	878
County of Vermandois	about 880
County of Valois	about 880
County of Ponthieu	859
County of Boulogne	about 860
County of Anjou	875
County of Maine	853
County of Brittany	824

D.—TABLE OF THE FEUDAL DISMEMBERMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE, ABOUT THE END OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

Duchy of Gascony, became hereditary in	875
Viscounty of Béarn	819
Viscounty of Bigorre, end of the 9th century	
County of Fezensac	920
County of Armagnac	960
County of Lectoure, end of the 10th century	
County of Astarac	about 930
County of Toulouse	850
County of Barcelona	864
County of Rouergue	820
County of Carcassonne	819
Viscounty of Narbonne, end of the 9th cent.	
County of Melgueil, commencement of the 9th century	
Lordship of Montpellier	975
County of Roussillon, middle of the 9th cent.	
County of Urgel	884
County of Poitiers	880
Duchy of Aquitaine	864
County of Auvergne	864
County of Angoulême	866
County of Périgord	866
County of Lower March	866
Viscounty of Limoges	887
Viscounty of Turenne, middle of the 9th cent.	
Viscounty of Bourges	927
Lordship of Bourbon, end of the 9th century	
County of Mâcon	920
Duchy of Burgundy, became hereditary in	877
County of Châlons	886
Lordship of Salins	920
County of Nevers	987
County of Tonnerre, end of the 10th century	
County of Sens	914
County of Champagne, end of the 9th cent.	
County of Blois	884
County of Rethel, middle of the 10th century	
County of Corbeil, middle of the 10th century	
Barony of Montmorency, middle of the 10th century	
County of Vexin	878
County of Meulan	959
County of Vermandois	880
County of Valois	880
County of Soissons, end of the 10th century	
County of Reims	940
County of Ponthieu	859
County of Boulogne	860
County of Guines	905
County of Vendôme, end of the 10th century	
Duchy of Normandy	912
County of Anjou	870
County of Maine	853
Lordship of Bellême	940
County of Brittany	1008
Barony of Fougères, end of the 10th cent.	
County of Flanders	860

E.—TABLE SHOWING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

PERSONS COMPRISING THE PARLIAMENT:—The king; the princes of the blood royal; the peers of the realm; the chancellor; the *conseillers d'honneur;* four *maîtres des requêtes du conseil du roi;* the *procureur-général* (solicitor), and his *substituts* (assistants); three *avocats du roi* (king's counsel); two *premiers présidents;* nine *présidents à mortier;* a number of councillors.

INFERIOR OFFICERS:—One registrar in chief (*greffier*) for civil cases, one for criminal cases, and one for presentations; four notaries and secretaries of the court; several special registrars; one usher (*huissier*) in chief; twenty-two subordinate ones.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENTS,
with the date of their creation.

Aix, 1501;
Besançon, 1676;
Bordeaux, 1462;
Bourges or Dijon, 1477;
Brittany, 1553;
Dombes, 1583;
Grenoble, 1453;
Metz, 1635;
Nancy, 1769;
Normandy, 1499;
Pau, 1620;
Rennes, 1553;
Rouen, 1499.
Toulouse, 1302.
Tournai and Douai, 1668.

PARLEMENT DE PARIS (Cour, hôtel du Roi, La cort le Roy, L'ostel le Roy, etc.).
Ceased to follow the King's movements, and settled at Paris in 1302.

The *grand conseil*, which was both a tribunal judging in certain special cases, and a political council. Charles VIII modified its functions (1497), assigning them to two different courts:—

- The *grand conseil* remained a special court of justice.
- The *conseil d'état* preserved the political functions. It was subdivided into four sections which were organized by Richelieu (1624).
  - The *conseil d'en haut*, also called *conseil secret*, or *conseil du cabinet*, for the discussions of foreign political topics. Its members were exclusively the princes of the blood, and the ministers.
  - A judicial court.
  - A treasury or financial court.
  - A court for the settlement of home questions (*conseil des dépêches*).

The *parlement* was entrusted with the administration of justice. But it soon assumed a political character, especially in connection with the registration (*enregistrement*) of the taxes (*édits bursaux*). Under the reign of Louis XIV. it consisted of five courts (*chambres*):—

1. *La grand' chambre, chambre du parlement, chambre des plaids* (by opposition to the *chambre des enquêtes*). This was the most important of all. There were held the *beds of justice;* letters of grace, pardon, abolition, etc., were also presented and examined at the *grand' chambre.* It consisted of the senior president, nine presidents *à mortier*, twenty-five lay, and twelve clerical councillors.
2. *La chambre de la Tournelle.* Existed as far back as 1436, and judged the only petty cases of a criminal nature. In 1515 its jurisdiction was extended to *all* cases of the kind.
3. *Les chambres des enquêtes.* The first existed at the beginning of the 14th century; a second was established in 1319; a third in 1521; a fourth in 1543, and a fifth in 1568. The two last were suppressed in 1756. Preliminary examination of cases of appeal.
4. *La chambre des requêtes.* Decided on all cases brought immediately before the parliament. Its earliest organization dates from 1304, or even from 1291, when Philip III. appointed three *maîtres des requêtes* and one notary for the purpose of collecting the petitions during the session of the Parliament.
5. *La chambre des vacations,* instituted in 1405; confirmed in 1499 and 1519. Judged preliminary civil cases, and all criminal cases during the autumn vacations of the other courts.

La chambre de la marée was a kind of police court or commission established to settle and regulate the sale of salt-water fish, and to decide in all cases connected with that industry.

The *grands-jours* were assizes held at irregular periods and in various places in order to despatch long-pending law-suits, punish cases of oppression or gross misdemeanour, relieve the sufferings of the people, etc. Instances of *grands-jours* occur between the 14th and the 17th centuries.

The *chambre des comptes* became sedentary about the year 1319; it had to examine and regulate the accounts of the government officers, to settle everything connected with the management of the royal domains, the temporalities of the Church, etc. Its principal officers were, under the reign of Louis XIV:—

1. One first president, and twelve others.
2. Seventy-eight masters (*maîtres des comptes*), who delivered judgment.
3. Thirty-eight revisers (*correcteurs*). These officers were established in 1410.
4. A hundred and eighty-two clerks or *auditeurs*, who had to prepare and draw up the reports.
5. One attorney-general, and one solicitor-general.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MEROVINGIAN DYNASTY.

Clodion
(k. 427–448).
|
Meroveus
(k. 448–458).
|
Childéric I.
(k. 458–481).
|
Clovis
(k. 481–511).

Thierry, k. of Austrasia. *d.* 534.
Chlodomir, k. of Orleans. *d.* 524.
Childebert I., k. of Paris. *d.* 558.
Clotaire I., k. of Soissons, sole king (558–561).

Caribert, k. of Paris (*d.* 567).
Gontran, k. of Burgundy and of Orléans (*d.* 593).
Sigebert I.=Brunehaut, k. of Austrasia (*d.* 575).
Chilpéric I., k. of Soissons= Frédégonde (*d.* 584).

Childebert II., k. of Austrasia and Burgundy (*d.* 596).
Clotaire II., sole king (613–628).

Théodebert, k of Austrasia (*d.* 312).
Thierry II., k. of Burgundy (*d.* 613).

Dagobert I., sole king (628–638).
Caribert, k. of Aquitaine (*d.* 631).

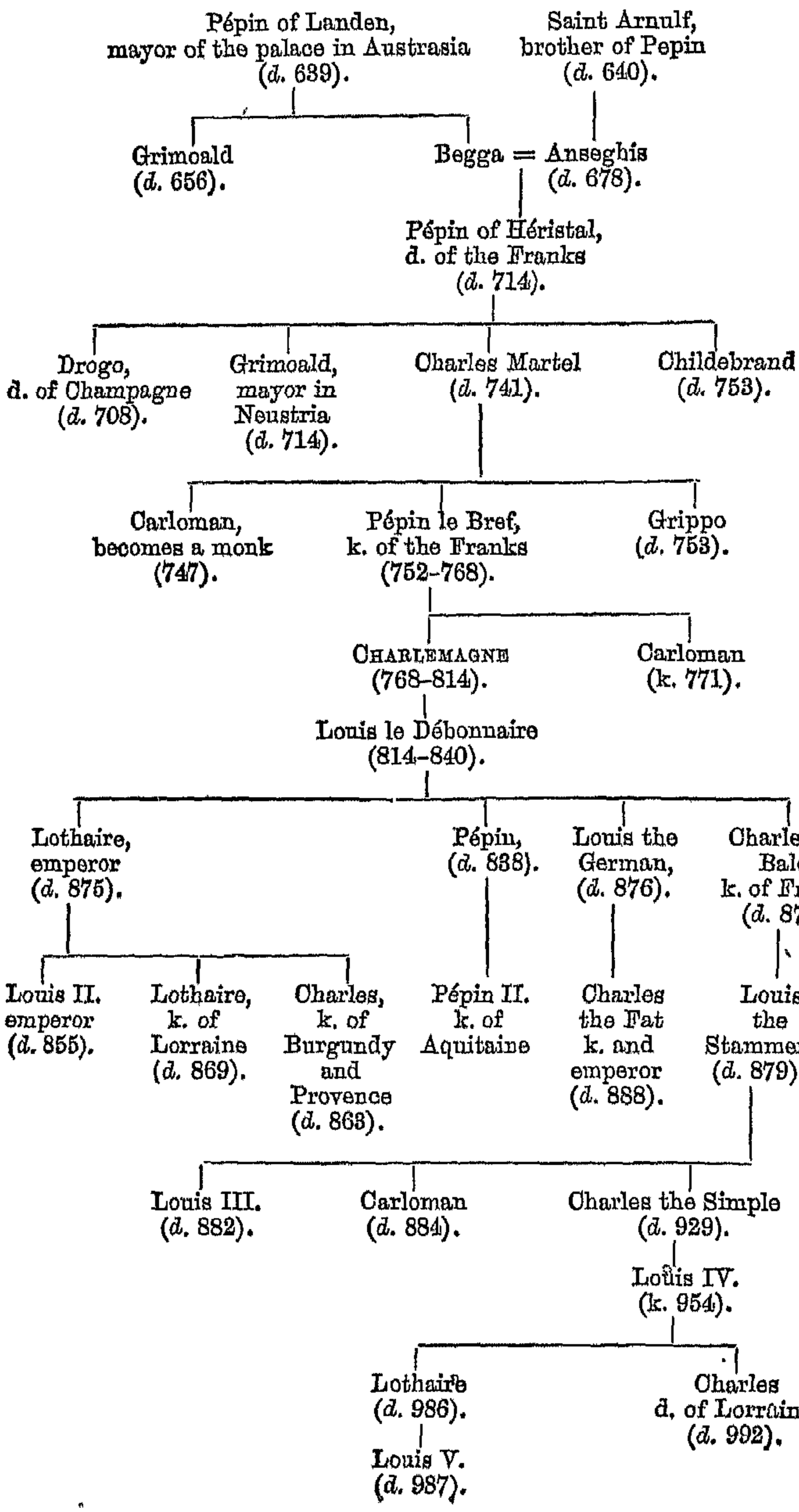
Sigebert II., k. of Austrasia (*d.* 656).
Clovis II., (638–656).
Boggis, d. of Aquitaine.
Eudes, d. of Aquitaine (688–735).

Dagobert II., last Merovingian k. of Austrasia (*d.* 679
Clotaire III., k. of Neustria (656–670).
Childéric II., k. of Austrasia, then sole k. (*d.* 673).
Thierry III., k. of Burgundy.

Clotaire IV. k. of Austrasia (*d.* 719).
Clovis (673–674).
Chilpéric II.
Clovis III. (691—695).
Childebert III. (695–711).

Childéric III. (742–752), deposed by Pepin le Bref.
Dagobert III. (711–715).
Thierry IV. (720–737).

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CARLOVINGIANS.



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY.

I. From the Accession of Hugh Capet to the Accession of the House of Valois.

Robert the Strong, count of Anjou (*d.* 867). = Adelaide, daughter of Louis le Débonnaire.

- Eudes, count of Paris, king, 888–898.
- Robert, duke of France, (*d.* 923).
  - Hugh le Grand or le Blanc, king of France and count of Paris (*d.* 956).
    - Hugh Capet, king, 987–996.
      - Robert, k. 996–1031.
        - Henry I., k. 1031–1060.
          - Philip I., k. 1060–1108.
            - Louis VI. (le Gros), k. 1108–1137.
              - Louis VII. (le Jeune), k. 1137–1180.
                - Philip II. (Augustus), k. 1180–1223.
                - Louis VIII., k. 1223–1226.
                  - Louis IX. (St. Louis), k. 1226–1270.
                    - Philip III. (le Hardi), k. 1270–1285.
                      - Philip IV. (le Bel), k. 1285–1314.
                        - Louis X. (le Hutin), k. 1314–1316.
                          - Jeanne, m. Philip, k. of Navarre (*d.* 1349).
                            - Charles, k. of Navarre.
                        - Philip V. (le Long), k. 1316–1322.
                        - Charles IV. (le Bel), k. 1322–1328.
                        - Isabella, m. Edward II. of England.
                          - Edward III. of England.
                      - Charles, count of Valois, founder of the House of Valois.
                    - Robert, count of Clermont, founder of the House of Bourbon.
                  - Robert, founder of the counts of Artois.
                  - Alphonse, count of Poitiers and Toulouse.
                  - Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, founder of the Royal House of Naples.
          - Hugh, founder of the Capetian counts of Vermandois and Valois.
        - Robert, duke of Burgundy.
  - Emma = Rodolph, or Raoul, king of France, from 923 to 936.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF VALOIS OF FRANCE.

Charles, count of Valois, younger son of king Philip III.

Philip VI., k. 1328–1350.

John (le Bon), k. 1350–1364.

Charles V. (le Sage), k. 1364–1380.

Louis, duke of Anjou, founder of the 2nd royal house of Naples.

John, duke of Berry.

Philip, duke of Burgundy (*d.* 1404).

Jean Sans peur, killed at Montereau, 1419.

Philip (le Bon) (*d.* 1467).

Charles (le Téméraire) (*d.* 1477).

Mary, duchess of Burgundy = Maximilian, archduke of Austria.

Philip, archduke of Austria, and sovereign of the Netherlands (*d.* 1506). = Juana, heiress of Castille and Aragon.

Charles V., king of Spain, sovereign of the Netherlands, and emperor, 1519.

Charles VI. (le Bien-aimé), (k. 1380–1422). =Isabella of Bavaria.

Louis, duke of Orléans, assassinated 1407, founder of the line of Valois-Orléans.

Louis (*d.* 1415).

John (*d.* 1416).

Charles VII. (le Victorieux), k. 1422–1461.

Isabella =1. Richard II. of England. 2. Duke of Orléans.

Catherine =Henry V. of England.

Louis XI., k. 1461–1483.

Charles, duke of Berry.

Four daughters.

Charles VIII., k. 1483–1498.

Anne= Sire de Beaujeu.

Jeanne= Duke of Orléans, afterwards Louis XII.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF VALOIS ORLEANS.

Louis, duke of Orléans (younger son of Charles V., assassinated 1407) = Valentina of Milan.

- **Charles**, duke of Orléans (*d.* 1465).
  - Louis XII. king, 1498-1515 =1. Jeanne, d. of King Louis XI. 2. Anne, duchess of Brittany. 3. Mary, d of Henry VII. of England.
    - (2) Claude (1499-1524) = François of Angoulême, afterwards king Francis I.
    - (2) Renée = Duke of Ferrara.
- **John**, count of Angoulême.
  - Charles, count of Angoulême (1459-1496) = Louise, d. of Philip, duke of Savoy.
    - François I. king, 1515-1547 =1. Claude, d. of Louis XII. 2. Eleanor of Austria.
      - François (*d.* 1536).
      - Henry II. king, 1547-1559 = Catherine de' Medici (*d.* 1589).
        - François II. king, 1559-1560 = Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland
        - Charles IX. king, 1560-1574.
        - Henry III. king, 1574-1589.
        - François, duke of Alençon (1554-1584).
      - Charles, duke of Orléans (*d.* 1545).
      - Elizabeth (*b.* 1545) = Philip II. of Spain.
      - Claude (*b.* 1547) = Duke of Lorraine.
      - Marguerite (*b.* 1552) = Henry, king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France.
    - Magdelaine = James V. of Scotland.
    - Marguerite = Philibert Emmanuel, duke of Savoy.
    - Marguerite = Henri d'Albret, k. of Navarre.

TABLE OF THE DUCAL HOUSES OF LORRAINE AND GUISE.

Raoul, duke and marquis of Lorraine, killed at Crécy, 1346.
John, duke and marquis of Lorraine (*d.* 1390).

Charles I., duke and marquis of Lorraine, and constable of France (*d.* 1430).
Isabella, duchess of Lorraine=René (le Bon), duke of Anjou and titular king of Naples and Sicily.

Marguerite=Henry VI. of England.
John, duke of Calabria (*d.* 1470).
Violante, duchess of Lorraine=Ferri II., comte de Vaudemont, Guise, &c.
René II., duke of Lorraine and Bar, comte de Vaudemont, Guise, &c. (*d.* 1508).

Ferri=Marguerite de Joinville, comtesse de Vaudemont.
Antoine, comte de Vaudemont, Guise, &c.

Antoine, duke of Lorraine and Bar (*d.* 1544).
François, duke of Lorraine (*d.* 1545).
Charles II., duke of Lorraine=Claude, d. of Henry II. of France.
Henry, duke of Lorraine (*d.* 1624).
François II., duke of Lorraine (*d.* 1632).
Charles III., duke of Lorraine (*d.* 1675).
Nicolas François, duke of Lorraine.
Charles Leopold, duke of Lorraine (*d.* 1690).
Leopold Joseph, duke of Lorraine (*d.* 1729)=Elizabeth, d. of Philip duke of Orléans, the regent.
Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine=Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary.
He became emperor of Germany, 1745 (*d.* 1765).

Claude, duke of Guise, count of Aumale, &c. (*d.* 1550).
François, d. of Guise (*d.* 1563).
Charles, card. of Lorraine.
Claude, d. of Aumale.
Louis, card. de Guise.
Mary=James V. of Scotland.
Henry, duke of Guise (*d.* 1588).
Charles, duke of Mayenne.
Louis, cardinal de Guise (*d.* 1588).

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.

Robert, count of Clermont = Beatrice, heiress of Bourbon, 1272.
younger son of St. Louis.

Louis, duke of Bourbon (*d.* 1341).

Peter, duke of Bourbon, ancestor of the Constable Charles, duke of Bourbon.

James, count de la Marche.

John, count de la Marche = Catherine, heiress of Vendôme.

Louis, count of Vendôme (*d.* 1447).

John, count of Vendôme (*d.* 1477).

Francis, count of Vendôme.

Louis, prince of La Roche-sur-Yon = Louisa, countess of Montpensier. This branch became extinct 1608.

Charles, first duke of Vendôme.

Antoine, duke of Vendôme = Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre (*d.* 1572).

Henry IV. king of France and Navarre, 1589-1610.
=1. Marguerite de Valois, d. of Henry II.
2. Mary de' Medici.

Louis XIII. king, 1610-1643 = Anne of Austria, d. of Philip III. of Spain.

Gaston, duke of Orleans (*d.* 1660).

"La grande mademoiselle" (*d.* 1693).

Elizabeth = Philip IV. of Spain (*d.* 1644).

Christiana = duke of Savoy (*d.* 1663).

Henrietta Maria = Charles I. of England (*d.* 1669).

Louis XIV. king, 1643-1715 = Maria Theresa, d. of Philip IV. of Spain.

Philip, duke of Orleans (founder of the branch of Bourbon-Orleans) (*d.* 1701).

Louis, the dauphin, ob. 1711 = Mary Anne Christine Victoire of Bavaria.

Louis, duke of Burgundy (*d.* 1712) = Mary Adelaide of Savoy.

Philip V. of Spain.

Charles, duke of Berry (*d.* 1714).

Louis XV. king, 1715-1774 = Mary Leczynska of Poland.

Louis, the dauphin (*d.* 1765).

Six daughters.

Louis XVI. king, 1774-1793. = Marie Antoinette of Austria.

Louis Stanislas Xavier, count of Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII. king, 1814-1824.

Charles Philip count of Artois, afterwards Charles X. king, 1824-1830.

Three daughters. (*d.* 1836).

Maria Theresa Louis, duke of Angoulême.

Louis XVII. (*d.* 1795).

Louis, duke of Angoulême = Maria Theresa, daughter of Louis XVI.

Charles Ferdinand, duke of Berry, assassinated, Feb. 1820.

Henry, duke of Bordeaux, comte de Chambord—"Henry V."

Louisa, duchess of Parma.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BOURBON-ORLEANS FAMILY.

Philip, duke of Orléans, younger son of king Louis XIII. (*d.* 1701).
=1. Henrietta Maria, d. of Charles I. of England.
2. Charlotte Elizabeth, d. of Charles, elector palatine.

- 1. Maria Louisa =Charles II., king of Spain.
- 2. Philip, duke of Orléans, regent of France 1715-1722 (*d.* 1723).
  - Louis (*d.* 1752).
    - Louis Philip (*d.* 1785) =Louisa Henrietta, d. of Armand, prince of Conti.
      - Louis Philip, duke of Orléans ("Egalité") 1747-1793 =Louisa Maria de Bourbon, d. of duke of Penthièvre.
        - **Louis Philip**, duke of Orléans, king of the French, 1830-1848 (*b.* Oct. 6, 1773; *d.* Aug. 26, 1850) =Maria Amelia, d. of Ferdinand IV. of Naples (*b.* April 26, 1782).
          - **Ferdinand**, duke of Orléans (*b.* Sept 3, 1810; *d.* July 13, 1842) =Hélène Louise, duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.
            - Louis Philip, comte de Paris (*b.* Aug. 24, 1838).
            - Robert, duc de Chartres (*b.* Nov. 9, 1840).
          - Louise Marie Thérèse, queen of the Belgians (*d.* 1850).
          - Louis Charles, duc de Nemours (*b.* Oct. 25, 1814).
            - Louis, comte d'Eu (*b.* April 28, 1842).
            - Ferdinand, duc d'Alençon (*b.* July 12, 1844).
            - Two daughters.
          - Marie-Christine (*b.* 1813) =Prince Frederick of Wurtemberg (*d.* 1839).
          - Marie-Clémentine (*b.* 1817) =Augustus prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.
          - François, prince de Joinville (*b.* Aug. 14, 1818).
            - 1. Pierre, duc de Penthièvre (*b.* Nov. 4, 1845).
            - 2. A daughter.
          - Henri, duc d'Aumale (*b.* Jan. 16, 1822).
            - Louis Philip, prince de Condé (*b.* Nov. 15, 1845).
            - François, duc de Guise (*b.* Jan. 5, 1854).
          - Antoine, duc de Montpensier (*b.* July 31, 1824). =Maria Louisa, Infanta of Spain.
            - 1. Ferdinand (*b.* May 30, 1859).
            - 2. Four daughters.
        - Antoine, duke of Montpensier (*d.* 1807).
        - Adelaide, Mademoiselle d'Orléans.
        - Alphonse, count of Beaujolais (*d.* 1808).

INDEX.

A.

Abdel-Rhaman, 38.
Abélard; 103; a Freethinker, his struggles with the Church, 104.
Academy, the French, founded by Richelieu, 363.
———, the (see also *French Academy*), and Corneille's *Cid*, 365; and Racine, 429.
——— of Sciences, the, 434; and Fontenelle, 514.
Acadia, French colony of, and M. de Monts, 489; and the Treaty of Utrecht, 491.
Acadians, Emigration of, to the Bay of Fundy, 492.
Adalhard, Scholar of the School of the Palace, time of Charlemagne, 50.
Adams, John, 548.
Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, 76.
Adrets, Baron, 294.
Adrian I., Pope, 44.
Æduans, the, 3, 8.
Ægidius, Roman General, 29.
Ætius, Roman General, 28.
Agatha (Agde), Founding of, 2.
Agenois ceded to Edward I. of England by Philip III., 122.
Agincourt, the battle of, Oct. 25, 1415, 178.
Agnadello, the battle of, between the French under Louis XII. and the Venetians, 1509, 231.
Agobard, scholar of the School of the Palace, time of Charlemagne, 50.
Aguesseau, Chancellor d', 449; exiled, 458.
Aigues-Mortes, meeting at, between Francis I. and Charles V., 261.
Aiguillon, the Duke of, 501, 507.
Aire, John d', 149.
Aix-la-Chapelle, residence of Charlemagne, 46; the Peace of, 1668, 378; Peace Congress and Treaty of 1748, 477.
Alais, the Peace of, 354.
Alaric II., King of the Visigoths, 30.
Alans, the, 28.
Alauda, the, Julius Cæsar's "Wakeful" Gallic Legion, 17.
Albemarle, the Duke of, 396.
Alberoni, 455; fall of, 456.
Albigensians, the, 101; crusade against, 105, 106; and Louis VIII., 111.
Albret, Jeanne d', 297.
Alcuin, 45.
Aldred, Archbishop of York, anoints Harold King of England, 69.
Alençon, the Duke d', killed at Agincourt, 179.
Alesia, the town of, 15.
Alexander IV., Pope, and St. Louis, 119.
——— VI., Pope, 222, 223; and Louis XII., 229.
Alexis Comnenus, the Emperor, and the Crusaders, 76, 81.
Allemanians, the, invade the settlements of the Franks, A.D. 496, 29.
Allobrogians, the, 8, 9.
Almanza, the battle of, 1707, 390.
Alphonso II., King of Naples, and Charles VIII., 223.
Alps, the, crossed by Francis I. and his army, 243.
Alsace, 368; restored to France, 398.
Alviano, Barthelemy d', at the battle of Agnadello, 231.
Amadeo, Victor, Duke of Savoy, 385, 390, 391, 392; and Law, the Scotch adventurer, 448, 449.
Amboise, Cardinal d', 229; death and character, 232.
———, the Peace and Ediot of, 1563, 295, 296.
Ambrons, the, and Teutons, the, defeated by the Romans under Marius at the Campi Putridi, 102 B.C., 9.
America and French enterprise, 488.
American Independence, the Declaration of, July 4, 1776, 513.
American Colonies, the, independence of recognized by England, 548.
——— War of Independence, the, 540 *et seq.*
Ampsuarians, the, a tribe of the Franks, 27.
Amsterdam, gallant defence of, against Louis XIV. 379.

Amyot, James, 359.
Anastasius, Emperor of the East, 32.
Ancenis, the Treaty of, 1468, 204.
Ancre, Marshal d' (see also *Concini*), death of, 337.
Andelot, Francis d', 297.
Angilbert, scholar of the School of the Palace, time of Charlemagne, 50.
Anjou,, the Duke of, and Charles VI., 171.
———, the Duke of, son of John II, breaks his word of honour and escapes to France, 161.
———, Henry, Duke of, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 300; and the siege of La Rochelle in 1573, 305; elected King of Poland, 305; recalled from Poland to the crown of France as Henry III., 306.
———, the Duke of, becomes Philip V. of Spain by the will of Charles II., 388.
Anne of Austria and Louis XIII., 337; and the Broussel affair, 369.
Anne de Beaujeu, 217, 221; government of, 218.
Anne of Brittany, 220; marriage of, with Charles VIII., 221; wife of Louis XII., 239.
Anne, Queen of England, and the Duke of Marlborough, 388.
Anselm, St., 265.
Antioch and the Crusaders, 77, 79.
Antipolis (Antibes), founding of, 2.
Antoinette, Marie, and Louis XVI., 551; and court intrigues, 552; growing unpopularity of, 554; increase of the popular feeling against, 555.
Antwerp surrenders to Louis XV., 475.
Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), the first Roman settlement in Transalpine Gaul, 123 B.C., 8.
Aquinas, St. Thomas, 265.
Aquitania, 34; conquered by the Visigoths, 30; district of, 35.
Aquitanian province, the, of ancient Gaul, 2, 17.
Aquitanians, the, 2.
Arabs, the, 37, 44; incursions of the, in Southern Gaul, 38.
Arbogastes, a leader of the Franks, 27.
Arelate (Arles), the town of, 2.
Argenson, Marquis d', 476; and the Orleans Regency, 452; quoted, 462, 469; and M. de Lally, 486; and the decline of the kingship in France, 494; dismissed by Louis XV., 497.
Arians, the, 29.
Ariovistus, 10, 11; is defeated by Julius Cæsar, 12.
Armagnac, Count Bernard d', 177.
———, the Constable, torn to pieces by the mad mob of Burgundians, 180.
Armagnac, Count James d', and Louis XI., 202, 212.
Armagnacs and Burgundians, civil war between the, 179.
———, Massacre of the, 180.
Armoric League, the, 3.
Armorica, the Britons of, 3.
Army reforms of Louvois, 404.
Arnaulds, the, and M. de St. Cyran, 414, 415.
Arouet, François Marie, see *Voltaire*.
Arques, battle of, gained by Henry IV., 318.
Arras, siege of, July 1414, 178; the Peace of (1435), 191; treaty at, in 1482, between Louis XI., and Maximilian of Austria, 215.
Artevelde, James Van, the brewer of Ghent, and Edward III. of England, 142.
———, Philip Van, leader of the insurgent Flemings, 172.
Artois, Count Robert of, commands the army of Philip IV. raised to subdue the revolt in Flanders, and is defeated and killed at the battle of Courtrai, 124.
Arvernians, the, 3.
Assas, Chevalier d', heroic death of, 502.
Assembly of Notables, convocation of the, proposed by M. de Calonne (1787), 555.
Assizes of Jerusalem, Godfrey de Bouillon's Code of Laws, 79.
Ataulph, King of the Visigoths, 28.
Attila, the famous Hun King, 28.
Aubin du-Cormier, St., battle of, 220.
Audenarde, the battle of, 391.
Augsburg, the League of, 1686, 384.
Augustus, sole master of the Roman world, 17; forms roads in Gaul, 17.
——— III. of Poland, death of, 465.
———, Stanislaus, of Poland, 465.
Auneau, the battle of, 310.
Auray, battle of, costs Charles of Blois his life and the countship of Brittany, 144.
Aurelian, the Roman Emperor, 20.
Aurelius, Marcus, 19; persecutes the Christians, 25.
Aurillac, Gerbert de, 265.
Austrasia, kingdom of, 33, 35.
Austria and France, commencement of the rivalry between, 211.
——— and Henry IV., 331.
——— and the Partition of Poland, 1772, 510.
———, Margaret of (see also *Margaret*), 216.
———, Anne of, wife of Louis XIII. 337.

Avaux, M. d', 368.
Avenio (Avignon), the town of, 2.
Avernians, the, 9, 10, 11.
Avignon, chosen as the Papal residence by Clement V., 130.
Aydie, Odet d', and Louis XI. 213.

B.

Baldwin III., King of Jerusalem, and Louis VII., 82.
Balue, Cardinal de la, 211.
Balzac, 363.
Barbarigo, Doge of Venice, and Charles VIII., 222.
Barbarities of the early French Kings, 34.
Barbarossa, Frederic, 85.
Barbezieux, 406.
Barbier, Advocate, 492, 506.
Barfleur taken by Edward III., 146.
Barri, Godfrey de, Lord of Renaudie, 289.
Barricades in Paris in 1648, 369.
Bart, John, a corsair of Dunkerque, exploits of, 381.
Bartholomew, St, the Massacre of, events which led to, 300; commencement of the Massacre of, by the murder of Admiral Coligny, 301.
Basques, the, 2.
Bastille, the, begun by Charles V., 171.
Baudricourt and Joan of Arc, 186.
Bavaria, the Duke of, asked to give his daughter Isabel in marriage to Charles, 173.
———, Judith of, becomes the wife of Louis the Debonnair, 55.
———, the Elector of, and the battle of Blenheim, 389, claims to the Empire, 469; made lieutenant-general of the armies of France, 470; proclaimed Emperor as Charles VII., 471.
Bavarians, the, 43.
Baville, Lamoignon de, 412.
Bayard, Peter du Terrail, the Chevalier de, knights Francis I., 244; wounded near Romagnano; death of that "gentle knight, well-beloved of every one," 252.
Bayonne, loss of, by the English after holding it for three centuries, 194.
Bazin, Thomas, quoted, 195.
Beachy Head, naval engagement off, in which the English and Dutch are defeated by the French under Tourville, 385.
Beaujeu, Anne de, government of, 218.
Beaumarchais, aids the Americans against England, 541.
——— *Mariage de Figaro*, 554.
Beaumont, Christopher de, Archbishop of Paris, 497.
Beauvais, siege of, by Charles the Rash, 206.
———, the Bishop of, and the trial of Joan of Arc, 190.
———, Vincent of, writings of, 264.
Beauvilliers, the Duke of, 416.
Beda, Nöel, denounced by Erasmus, 272.
Bedford, the Duke of, regent of France, 184; and Joan of Arc, 421; has King Henry VI. crowned at Paris, 1431, 191.
Belgian province, the, of Roman Gaul, 17.
Belgians, the, 1.
Belle-Isle, Count, character of, 469.
———, Marshal, coldly received at Paris, 478; and the Italian campaign of 1745, 474; death of, 500.
Belleville, Joan of, wife of Oliver de Clisson, revenges her husband's death, 145.
Belzunce, Monseigneur de, heroic self-sacrifice and benevolence of, during the time of the Plague in Marseilles, 459.
Benedict XI., Pope, and Philip IV. of France, 130
Benefices, 39.
Bentinck, Earl of Portland, 386.
Béranger, Raymond, Count of Provence, gives his daughter Marguerite in marriage to Louis IX., 113.
Berbers, the, or Moors, 44.
Berengaria of Navarre, married to Richard Cœur de Lion at Cyprus, 86.
Bergen-op-Zoom, captured 1747, 479.
Bergerac, the Peace of, in 1577, 309.
Berlin, captured and pillaged by the Russians, 502.
Bernard, St., 81; death of, 84; and Abélard, 103; in concert with Cardinal Albéric, preaches against the heretics in the Countship of Toulouse, 105.
———, Duke, of Saxe-Weimar, 357, 358.
Bernis, Abbé de, 496; dismissed by Louis XV., 500.
Berquin, Louis de, burnt as a heretic, 272.
Bertrand du Guesclin, 164, 169.
Berry, the Duke of, and Charles VI., 174.
——— the Duchess of, death of, 459.
Bérulle, Cardinal, 350.
Berwick, Marshal, and Philip V. of Spain, 390; gains the victory of Almanza, 390; commences the campaign of 1734 against Austria, and is killed, 466.
Béziers, capture of, 106.
Bibracte (Autun), the town of, 3.
Biron, Marshal de, conspiracy against Henry IV., 334.
Black Plague, the, 1347—1349, 149.
Blanche, Queen, of Castille, aids her

husband, Prince Louis, in his expedition against England, 108; character of, 112; mother of St. Louis, 111.
Blenheim, the battle of, 1704, 189.
Blois, Charles of, war with John of Montfort, 143.
—— Treaty of, between Louis XII. and Venice, 235.
Boileau, 430.
———, Stephen, Provost of Paris, 117.
Bolingbroke, Lord, (see also *St. John*), and Voltaire, 516.
Bologna, meeting of Francis I. and Pope Leo II., 245; siege of, raised by Gaston de Foix, 233.
Boniface VIII., Pope, St. Louis, claims temporal as well as spiritual power in the affairs of Christendom, 126, 127; and his Bull, "*Hearken, most dear Son,*" 128; narrow escape of, death of, 130.
Bonifacius, Roman General, 27.
Bonnivet, Admiral, entrusted by Francis I. with the conduct of the war in Italy, 251.
Bordeaux, loss of, by the English, 1451, 194; retaken by Lord Talbot, 195; revolt of, against the Salt Tax, 1548, 277.
Borgia, Cæsar, 222.
Bossuet, and the works of Madame Guyon, 417; and Fénelon, 417; head of the great French Catholic Party, 421; and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 418; death of, 422.
Bouchain, captured by Villars and the French, 397.
Boucicaut, Marshal de, 178.
Boufflers, Marshal, 386, 388; defends Lille against Marlborough and Eugene, 391; at Malplaquet, 393.
Bougainville, M. de, world circumnavigator, 554.
Bouillon, the Duke of, arrested for conspiring with Cinq Mars, 343.
Bourbon, Francis of. See *Count d'Enghien.*
———, Charles, Duke of, and Francis I., 243.
———, Charles II., Duke of, revolt of, 250; interview with Bayard, 252; lays siege to Marseilles, 253; is repulsed, and has to fall back on Italy, 254; leaves the Imperial army in Italy and raises an army in Germany, 255; killed at the storming of Rome, 1527, 259.
———, the Constable de. See *Charles II. of Bourbon.*
———, Louis de. See *Prince Louis de Condé.*
———, Henry de, son of Prince Louis de Condé. See *Henry de Condé.*
———, Cardinal Charles de, 317.
Bourbon, the Duke of, and the legitimized princes, 453.
———, French colony, 482.
Bourdaloue, Father, death and character of, 422.
Bourges besieged by the Burgundians, 178.
Bouteville, M. de, executed for duelling, 341.
Bouvines, battle of, won by the French under Philip II., 101.
Boyne, battle of the, 385.
Brabant, the Duke of, killed at Agincourt, 179.
Bréda, Peace of, between England and Holland, 377.
Brenn (the Brennus of the Greeks and Latins), the great Gallic chieftain, 4.
Brescia captured by Gaston de Foix, 233.
Brétigny, the Treaty of, between the English and French, 1360, 160.
Brézé, Peter de, seneschal of Louis XI., 203.
——, Sire de, 250.
Briçonnet, William, 271.
Brienne and Louis XIV., 375.
———, Loménie de, 555.
Brissac, Charles de, 327.
Brittany, the Parliament of, 494.
———, John III. of, 143.
———, Arthur of, 100.
———, Francis II. of, and Louis XI., 204, 208.
———, Anne of, wife of Louis XII., 239.
Broglie, Marshal, 472.
———, the Duke of, defeated at Minden, 502.
Broussel, arrest of, 369.
Broye, castle of, 147.
Bructerians, the, 27.
Brunehaut, Queen, 35.
Brunswick, Grand Duke Ferdinand of, defeats Count Clermont at Crevelt, 500, defeats the French at Minden, 502.
Brussels captured by Marshal Saxe, 476.
Budé (or Budæus), 273.
Buffon, 523—525.
———, Count de, death of, in the Revolution, 525.
Burgundy, kingdom of, 33.
——— and Edward III. of England, 159; taken possession of by John II., 161; the Dukes of, and Charles VI., 175, 176, 177.
———, Philip the Bold, Duke of, and Charles VI., 176, 177.
———, Duke John the Fearless of, murders the Duke of Orleans, 176;

returns, and becomes master of Paris, 180; death of, 181.
Burgundy, Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, and Louis XI., 205; and the siege of Beauvais, 206; and the English in France, 207; defeated by the Swiss at Morat, 209; defeated and killed at the battle of Nancy, 210.
———, the Duke of, takes command of the French army in Flanders, 384; death of, 394.
———, the Duchess of, and Louis XIV., 439; death of, 440.
Burgundians, the, 16; and Armagnacs, civil war between the, 177; obtain possession of Paris, 180.
Bussy, M. de, 484—486.
Butchers, the, of Paris, 177.
Bute, Lord, and Mr. Pitt, 503; demands the destruction of Dunkerque, 504.
Byzantium in danger from the Crusaders, 81.

C.

Cabellio (Cavaillon), the town of, 2.
Caen taken by Edward III., 146.
Cæsar Borgia, 222.
———, Julius, and the conquest of Gaul, 10, defeats the Helvetians, B.C. 58, 12; begins his conquest of Gaul, 9; defeats the Germans who had invaded Gaul under Ariovistus, 10; character of, 13; defeats the Gauls under Vercingetorix, 14; encloses eighty thousand Gallic insurgents under Vercingetorix in the town of Alesia, 16.
Calais, siege of, by Edward III., 147, 148, captured from the English by Duke de Guise, 1558, 281; and the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 282.
Calas, 520; the persecution of the, and Voltaire, 463.
Caligula, government of, 18.
Calixtus III., Pope, rehabilitates Joan of Arc, 191.
Calonne, M. de, made comptroller-general by Louis XVI., 551; extravagant measures of, 553; proposes to convoke the Assembly of Notables, 555.
Calvin, 274, 275; *Christian Institutes*, 274.
Calvinists, the, and Henry IV., 322, 323.
Cambrai, the League of, 230; the Peace of, 1529, 260; captured, 381.
Camisards, revolt of the, 412, 413.
Canada, early French settlements in, 488; and the Treaty of Utrecht, 491; abandoned by France, 493.
Canadians, the French, 491; character of, 492; devotion and courage of, 491.
Canals, the, of Languedoc and Orleans, 402.
Cape Breton, captured by the English, 1745, 492.
Capet, Hugh, 62; and Feudal France, 63; has his son Robert crowned with him, death of, A.D. 996, 63.
Capitularies, the, of Charlemagne and the Frankish Kings, 48, 49.
Capponi, Peter, and Charles VIII, 223.
Captal of Buch, capture of, 164, 166.
Carcassonne, 105.
Carloman, son of Pepin the Short, 42, 43.
Carlovingian line, fall of the, A.D. 937, 57.
Carnatic, the, 484.
Cartier, James, 489.
Cassel, 172.
Castelnaudary, battle of, 343.
Castillon, death of Lord Talbot and his son at the siege of, 195.
Castries, Marshal de, 502, 548.
Cateau-Cambrésis, Treaty of, 1559, 281.
Catherine de Medici. See *Medici*.
———, Princess, daughter of Charles VI., offered in marriage to Henry V. of England, 182.
——— II. of Russia, 504, 505; and Voltaire, 521.
Catholics, the, and the Edict of Nantes, 323.
Catinat, 385, 386, 387.
Cattians, the, a tribe of the Franks, 27.
Cauchon, Peter, Bishop of Beauvais, and Joan of Arc, 189.
Cavalier, the Camisard, 413.
Cellamare's conspiracy 453, 454.
Celts, the, 2.
Ceresole, victory of the French over the Imperial forces at, 1544, 262.
Cerignola, battle of, between the French and Spaniards, 1503, 228.
Cévennes, ruins in the, 413.
Chabannes, Philip of, Count de Dampmartin. See *Dampmartin*.
Chalais, Count of, 341.
Chalons, the battle of, between the Franks and Huns, in which the latter are defeated, 28.
Chalotais, M. de la, 506, 507.
Chamavians, the, a tribe of the Franks, 27.
Chamillard, 388, 392, 406.
Champagne, Philip of, 435.
Champeaux, William of, 265.
Champlain, Samuel de, 489, 490.
Chandernugger, French colony, 485; restored to the French, 493.
Chandos, John, leader of the English at the battle of Auray, 104; defeats Guesclin, 166; and the Prince of Wales enter Spain with an army of 27,000 men, 167.
Chararic, king of the Terouanne Franks, 32.

Charibert of Paris, 33.
Charlemagne, 42; sole king of the Gallo-Franco-Germanic Monarchy, A.D. 771, 43; summary of the wars of, 43; invades Lombardy, 44; enters Rome, A.D. 774, 46; invades Spain, 44; and his government, 46; his *missi dominici* or chief agents of government, 47; *Capitularies*, 48; great men of the reign of, 49; forms a school of the palace, 50; death of, on Jan. 28, 814, 51.
Charles of Austria and Francis I., commencement of the struggle between; elected Emperor of Germany as Charles V. at the Diet of Frankfort, 1519, 248.
——— VI. of Austria, 390.
——— of Blois, 143, 144.
——— the Bad. See *Navarre.*
——— the Bald, son of Louis the Debonnair, born, 56.
——— of Burgundy. See *Burgundy.*
——— the Dauphin re enters Paris, 153.
——— Edward, Prince, expelled from France, 479.
——— the Fat, 53, 58, 62.
———, son of Pepin the Short, 42.
——— the Rash. See *Burgundy.*
——— the Simple, A.D. 898, 54.
——— I. of England and Henrietta of France, 353.
——— II. of England and Louis XIV., secret alliance between, 378.
——— II. of Spain and the claimants to his kingdom, 387.
——— III. of Spain and Louis XV., treaty between, 1761, 503.
——— IV., called the Handsome, 152.
——— V. of France, 162; the Fifth's brothers and sisters, 163; government of, 163, 169, commands Edward the Black Prince to come to Paris; the Prince's answer, 167; death of, 1380, 170; character of, 170, 171.
——— V., Emperor of Germany, and Francis I, 248; and the commencement of the war with France, 249; and Charles II of Bourbon, 250; and his prisoner Francis I., 256; demands the Duchy of Burgundy of Francis I., 258; and the Holy League, 259; and the treaty of Cambrai, 260; enters Provence with 50,000 men in 1536, 261; and Francis I., treaty and meeting between, 1538, 261; and Henry VIII. of England, treaty between, 1543, 262; and Francis I., renewal of war qetween, 1542—1544, 262; invades France, and forces terms on Francis I., 263; and the Protestant Princes of Germany, 273; at the siege of Mezt, 279; captures Théronanne, 280; abdication of, 280; and the capture of Saint Quentin, 281.
Charles VI. and the Duke of Burgundy, 171; minority, 171; of France invades Flanders, 172; enters Paris, 172; and the Princess Isabel of Bavaria, 173; character of, 184; mental derangement of, 174; mad freaks of, 174; and the civil war between the Armagnacs and Burgundians, 177; and Odette, 174; by the treaty of Troyes, leaves the crown of France to Henry V. of England, 182; death of, 184.
——— VII., 184; youth of, 185; first hears of Joan of Arc, 186; and Joan of Arc, 187; coronation of, at Rheims, 188; remorse for the death of Joan of Arc, 190; convokes the States-General at Tours to ratify the peace with Burgundy, 193; and the Constable De Richemont, 196; re-enters Paris Nov. 12th, 1437, 192; besieges Montereau in person, and is one of the first assailants to penetrate into the place, 192; expedition against Aquitaine, 194; renews the war with England, 1449, 194, 195; renders tardy homage to the memory and fame of Joan of Arc, 196; and Jacques Cœur, 196; character of, 197; and the Pragmatic Sanction, 199; troubles with his son, 199; death of 200.
——— Emperor, 397; death of, 469.
——— VIII., 217; and the States-General of 1484, 218; and Duke Louis of Orleans, 219; marriage of, with Anne of Brittany, 210; prepares to win back the kingdom of Naples, 221; enters Italy, 222; and Pope Alexander VI., 223; enters Rome 1495, and Naples, 223; league of the Italian Princes against, 224; starts to return to France; wins the battle of Fornovo and returns to France, 224; government of, death of, 225, Commynes' character of, 226.
——— IX. and the religious wars, 1560—1574, accession of, 291; and the St. Bartholomew, 301; and the battle of Dreux, 294; and the Huguenots, 296; and the marriage of Marguerite de Valois and the Prince of Navarre, 299; and Coligny, 299; the Guises and Coligny, 300; and the murder of Coligny, 301; and Michel de l'Hospital, 292; excuses for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 301; and the fourth religious war, 304; and the peace of La Rochelle, 305; death of, 1574, 305.
Charolais, Count Charles of, 202; and Louis XI, 203.

Chartier's Alan, *Quadriloge invectif*, 309 poet, 183.
Chastel, John, attempts to murder Henry IV., 328.
Châteauroux, the Duchess of, and Louis XV., 474.
Châtelet, Madame du, and Voltaire, 517.
Chatham, Lord, (see also *Pitt*), 500, 503.
Châtillon, Madame de, 242.
Chaucians, the, a tribe of the Franks, 27.
Chauvelin, 467.
Chavigny, 366.
Cherbourg taken by Edward III., 146.
Cheruscans, the, a tribe of the Franks, 27.
Chevert, 471.
Chevreuse, the Duke of, 416.
Childebert of Paris, 33.
——— III., 36.
Childéric, King of the Franks; 33, 36.
Chilpéric of Soissons, 33.
Chiverny, Chancellor de, 326.
Choiseul, the Duke of, Ministry of, 500; attempt to invade England defeated, 501; and the *Family Pact*, 503; dismissed by Louis XV., 507; his attempts to obtain colonies for France, 501; and the Polish insurrection, 511; and the approaching rupture between England and the American colonies, 540.
Christian zeal superior to pagan persecution, 25.
Christianity, establishment of, in Gaul, 25; rise of, 24; peculiar and glorious characteristic of, 25; influence of, on the order of knighthood, and, through it, on civilization in general, 66.
Christians, persecution of, by Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 177, 25; the, expected the end of the world A.D. 1000, 66; and the Holy Land, 74; persecuted, 77.
Church and State in the time of Louis XIII. and Richelieu, 350.
Cimbrians, or Kymrians, the, and the Teutons driven from their homes on the shores of the Baltic by an earthquake and inundations, spread southwards over Europe and threaten Gaul and Italy, 113, B.C., 9; invade Gaul by way of Belgica, 110 B.C., 9.
Cinq-Mars, M. de, favourite of Louis XIII., 343; imprisonment of, 344; condemned to death and threatened with torture, 344.
Cisalpine Gaul, 7.
Citeaux, twelve abbots and twenty monks of Citeaux disperse themselves in all directions, preaching the crusade against the Albigensians, 105.
Civilization, progress of, in the time of Louis XI., 215.
Civita Vecchia provisionally given up to Charles VIII., 223.
Claude, the Princess, of France, daughter of Louis XII., and Charles of Austria, 228.
Claudius, policy of, in Gaul, 18.
Clément, James, stabs King Henry III., 315.
——— V., Pope, and Philip IV., 130; abolishes the order of the Templars, 130; death of, 131.
——— VII., Pope, 260.
——— VIII., Pope, 322; and Henry IV., 543; absolves Henry IV., 328; annuls the marriage of Henry IV. with Marguerite of Valois, 333.
Clermont, grand Council at, in 1095, under Pope Urban II., 74.
———, Count, beaten at Crevelt, 500.
Clisson, Oliver de, attempted assassination of, 173.
Clive "a heaven-born general," 483; his early successes against the French and their Indian allies, returns to India and conquers Bengal, 484.
Clodomir of Orleans, 33.
Clostor-Severn, the convention of, 1757, 498.
Clotaire I. of Soissons, 33.
——— II. of Soissons murders his nephew, 33.
Clovis, King of the Salian Franks, 29; and Clotildo, marriage of, 29; at the battle of Tolbiac, 30; baptism of, 30; makes Paris the centre of his dominions, 32; death of, in A.D. 511, 32.
Clovis III., 37.
Code Michau, 349.
Coëttier, James, 214.
Cœur de Lion, Richard, in the Holy Land, 85, 86, 87.
———, Jacques, a great merchant and statesman, 196, 197.
Cognac, Francis I at, in 1527, 257.
Coigny, Marshal, 467.
Colbert, M., 376; and Louis XIV. 399; able administration of, 400, 402; literary taste and work of, 434.
Coligny, Admiral de, and the Reformation, 294, 296; influence with Charles IX, 299; attempted murder of, 300, 301, 431; and the early French Settlements in America, 488.
Collège Royal, the, 268.
Colonna, Sciarra, and Pope Boniface VIII., 129.
Colonna, Prosper, 249.

Common weal, war of the, against Louis XI., 202.
Communes, the, and the Third Estate, 134; rise of the, 135; Roman traditions and Christian sentiments had their share in the formation of the, 135, 136.
Commynes, Philip de, quoted, 202, 205, 206, 211, 216; and Louis XI., 213, 216; character and works of, 267.
Compagnie des Indes, Law's, 451.
Concini, Concino, 337; see *Marshal d'Ancre*.
Concordat, the, between Pope Leo X and Francis I., 247.
Condé, Prince Louis de, 283, 289, 290; 295, 297; and the Reformation, and the Guises, 287; trial of, sentenced to death, set at liberty, 291; taken prisoner at Dreux, 294; death of, at Jarnac, 298.
———, the Duke of Enghien, Prince of, at the, 367; and the Frondeurs, 369-371; arrested, 370; taken back to favour by Louis XIV., and restored to all his honours, 374; placed by Louis XIV. in command of the army to be employed in the reduction of the Netherlands, commands the French army in Holland, 378, 379; gains the bloody battle of Seneffe over the Prince of Orange, 1674, 380; and Bossuet, 421; and Molière, 432, 433.
Conflans, Lord de, assassinated, 154.
———, the Marquis of, defeated by Admiral Hawke, 501.
———, treaty of, between Louis XI. and the Count of Charolais, 203.
Conquest of England by the Normans, 70-73.
——— III., Emperor of Germany, arrives at the Holy City almost alone, 82.
Constantine, the Emperor, 26.
Constantinople, in danger from the Crusaders, 81; perils of the Latin empire of, in the 13th century, 88.
Contades, the Marquis of, 500.
Conti, the Prince of, 369, 370.
Cook, Captain, and the generous attitude of the French towards his mission, 554.
Coote, Colonel, captures Bussy, 486; captures Pondicherry, 487.
Corneille, Peter, 364; and Richelieu, 365; his *Cid*, 365, 366; works of, 428, 429.
Cornwallis, Lord, forced to capitulate to Washington, 394.
Corsica, and Pascal Paoli, 510.
Cossé, Marshal de, 301, 327.
Council of Clermont, 74.
Courtrai, battle of, in which the French are defeated by the Flemings, 124.
Couston, 533.
Coysevox, 435.
Craon, Peter de, 173.
Crécy, arrival of the English under Edward III., 146; commencement of the battle of, 147.
Créqui, Marshal de, subdues Lorraine, 382.
Crespy, the peace of, 263.
Crevelt, battle of, 500.
Cromwell, Oliver, and Mazarin, treaty between, and English aid to France, 373.
Crusade, the, of Godfrey de Bouillon, 74—77; the four leaders of the first great, 77; of Richard Cœur de Lion, Philip Augustus of France, and Fredric Barbarossa of Germany, 85; end of the third great, 87; the sixth, the personal achievement of St. Louis, 88; of St. Louis, end of, 95.
Crusaders, ravages of the early, 77; and Saladin, 80, 85.
Crusades, the, their origin and their success, 75; mostly from France, England, and Italy, 80.
Culloden, battle of, 477.

D.

Dagobert I., 35.
——— III., 37.
D'Aguesseau, character of; appointed chancellor, 449.
D'Aiguillon, the Duke of, 507.
D'Albret, the Constable, killed at Agincourt, 179.
D'Alembert, 522.
Damiens attemps to assassinate Louis XV., 496.
Damietta captured by St. Louis, 90.
Dampierre, Guy de, Count of Flanders, his challenge to Philip IV., 123; death of, in the prison of Compiègne, 124.
Dampmartin, Count de, 213.
Damville, Marshal de, 301.
D'Andelot, 297.
Danès, (Danesius), 268.
Dantzick, siege of, 465, 466.
D'Argenson, M., quoted, 464.
D'Asfeldt, Count, and the campaign of 1734, 466.
D'Aubigné, Theodore Agrippa, 290; character of, 332, 333.
Daun, General, defeats the Prussians at Hochkirch, 500.
Dauphin, the, and Edward III, and the English, 158.
———, the, son of Charles VI., assumes the title of Regent, 175; treaty between, and John, Duke of Burgundy, 177.

Dauphin, the, son of Louis XV., character and death of, 509.
Dauphiny, the parliament of, 558.
Reconing, Peter, leader of the revolt of the Flemings, 124.
De Cossé, Marshal de, 301, 327.
Decius, the Roman Emperor, 20.
D'Emery, 368.
Deffand, Madame du, 526.
De Luynes, Constable, 339, 340.
Denain, captured by Villars and the French, 396; effects of the battle of, 397.
Denis, Saint, 325.
D'Épernon, 317.
De Richemont, the Constable, his character and part in the successes of France at the close of the 100 years' war, 195, 196.
Descartes, René, life, character, and works of, 361.
Desmarets, 401.
Despréaux, M. See *Boileau.*
De Thou, 307.
Dettingen, the battle of, 473.
Diderot, 521, 523.
Didier, King of Lombardy, 44.
Diocletian, 25.
Dives, the town of, Duke William of Normandy's *rendezvous* for his troops and ships, meant for the invasion of England, 69.
Divitiacus, 10.
Domremy, native place of Joan of Arc, 186.
Dormans, William de, minister of Charles V, 163.
D'Orte, Viscount, 303.
Doryleum, the Saracens defeated at, by the Crusaders, 77.
Douai, captured by Villars and the French, 397.
Dreux, results of the battle of, 294.
Dreux Brézé, the Marquis of, 564.
Druids, persecution of, by Claudius, 18.
Druidism, the national religion of the Gauls, 23, 24.
Dubarry, Madame, and Louis XV., 507; and the fall of the French Parliament, 508; growing contempt of her by the people, 509.
Dubois, Abbé, character of, 454; and Lord Stanhope, 455; how he became Archbishop of Cambrai, 458; elected Cardinal, 460; becomes premier Minister of the Orleans regency; death and character, 460; and the Protestants, 463.
Dubourg, A. De, martyrdom of, 286.
Duchâtel, Tanneguy, leader of the Armagnacs, 180.
Duclos, quoted, 217.
Duels, severe ordinance against, 341.
Dunkerque, destruction of, demanded by Pitt, and by Lord Bute, 504.
Dunois and the Maid of Orleans, 188.
Dupleix, Joseph, 479-85.
Duplessis Guénégaud and Louis XIV., 375.
Du Plessis-Mornay, 332.
Duprat, Anthony, and Francis I., 246; and the Concordat, 247, 248; death of, 260.
Duquesne and Admiral Ruyter, 381; bombards Algiers and Genoa, 383.
Duras, Marshal, 385.
Dutch, the, declare war against England, 546.

E.

Ecluse, defeat of the French fleet at, by Edward III. of England, 142.
Ecouen, the edict of, 287.
Edict Chamber, the, 329.
—— of Nantes, the (see also *Nantes*), issued by Henry IV., 329; revoked by Louis XIV., 1685, 384, 409.
—— *of Grace*, the, signed at Alais, 354.
—— *of Union*, the, 368.
—— of 1724, the, against the Protestants, 463.
Edward the Black Prince, death and character of, 168.
——— I. of England receives Agenois of Philip III. of France, 122; swears fealty at Paris to Philip IV. of France, 124.
——— III. of England, 142; and Robert of Artois, 143; declares war with Philip VI. of France on August 21st, 1337, 143; commences war with France, 142; and the English before the battle of Crécy, 146; and the Burghers of Calais, 147; and John II. of France, 151; and his prisoner, King John of France, 153; again invades France, 146; declares war with Charles V, 167; death of, 168.
——— IV. of England's claims on France, 207.
Eginhard, quoted, 43 46.
———, biographer of Charlemagne, 46.
Ehresburg, castle of, 43.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, and the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 281; and the French Protestants, 304; death and character of, 330.
———, Madame, and Marie Antoinette, 552
Emporiæ (Ampurias, in Catalonia), founding of, 2.
Encyclopædists, the, 521, 522.
Enghien, Francis of Bourbon, Count d', 262.

Enghien, the Duke of, and the relief of Rocroi, 367.
England, conquest of, by William the Bastard, 1066, 66-72; its influence on France, 123.
——— and the Normans, 66; invaded by the Normans, 70; and France, origin of the rivalry between, 123; and Flanders in the 13th century, 123; and France, origin of the Hundred Years' War between, 142; and continental affairs, 1509, 230; and France, outbreak of war between, in 1512, 234; and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 304; and the revolt of La Rochelle, 353; and Holland, alliance between, at the marriage of William of Orange and the Princess Mary, 1677, 381; and France declare war with Spain, 1719, 458; and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, 479; rise of her power in America, and decline of that of France, 491; and France, war between, in 1756, 495; French attempt to invade, in 1759, defeated by Admiral Hawke, 501; declares war with Spain, 1762, 504; and the partition of Poland, 1772, 503; and the American War of Independence, 540 *et seq.*; and France, commencement of war between, 1778, 543; threatened invasion of, by France and Spain, 544; at war with France, Spain, and America, declares war against Holland, 546.
English, the, and Marcel, 157; defeated by Joan of Arc, raise the siege of Orleans, 188; evacuate Paris, 192; and France under Louis XI., 206; invade France under Henry VIII., and take Boulogne, 263; and Philip II. of Spain invade France; expedition against La Rochelle defeated, 353; and the battle of Fontenoy, 475.
Épernon, the Duke of, 317, 335.
Épinay, Madame d', and Rousseau, 528.
Erasmus, quoted, 272; denounces Noël Beda, 272.
Erigena, John Scot, 265.
Escurial, the, 330.
Esprémesnil, M. d', 556, 557.
Estates-General, assembled at Paris, 129. See *States-General.*
———, the three, of 1468, 204.
Estaing, Count d', commands the French fleet sent to aid the Americans, 543, 544.
Estelle, Sheriff, and the Plague in Marseilles, 459.
Estienne, Robert (Stephanus), 268.
Estrées, Gabrielle d', 333.
———, Marshal d', commander of the French army at the commencement of the Seven Years' War, repulses the Duke of Cumberland, 497.
Établissements de St. Louis, the, 116.
Etruria, Tuscany, ravaged by the Gauls, 587—581 B.C., 6.
Eudos, Duke of Aquitania, 37.
———, Count of Paris, defends Paris against the Northmen, 52.
Eugène, Prince, of Savoy-Carignano, 388; and Marlborough, 388; and Villeroi, 389; and the battle of Malplaquet, 393; and the Peace of Utrecht, 397; and the campaign of 1734, 466.
Europe, trade of, in the 13th century, principally carried on by Flanders, 123; coalition of, against France under Louis XIV., 389.
Euthymenes, the explorer, 2.

F.

Fagon, 437.
Family Pact, the, between France and Spain, 1761, 503.
Farce of Patelin, the, 267.
Farel, William, 270.
Farnese, Alexander. See *Parma.*
Fénelon, Bossuet, and Madame Guyon, 416; his work on the *Inner Life*, 417; birth of, 1651, and early life of, 423; made preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy, his *Télémaque*, 423; death and character of, 424; Pascal, and Bossuet, 424.
Ferdinand, the Catholic, of Spain and Louis XII., 240.
——— II. of Naples and Charles VIII, 223; energy of, 225.
Féria, Duke of, leaves Paris with the Spanish troops, 327.
Feudal France and Hugh Capet, 62.
——— System, the essential elements of the, 59; considered by the mass of the population a foe to be fought, and fought down at any cost, 59, 60.
——— Society and Louis XI., 207.
Feudalism in France, 65.
Fiefs, the owners of, and their mutual relations considered, 60.
Field of the Cloth of Gold, 248.
Flanders, commercial relations of, with England, 123; submits to Philip IV., 125; under Count Louis de Nevers, 142; and the threatening 100 years' war between France and England, 142; and Charles IX. of France, 299; and Louis XIII., 358.
———, Joan of, her intrepid defence of Hennebon Castle, 144.
———, Louis, Count of, and Charles VI., 171, 172.

Fleet, the French, and Colbert, 402; under Louis XV., 495.
Fleix, the Peace of, in 1580, 309.
Fleurus, battle of, 1690, 385
Fleury's, Cardinal, ministry, 1723—1748, 464; commencement of his fostering administration, 464, 465; concludes the peace of Vienna, 1735, 467; and Chauvelin, 467; and the Parliament of Paris, 468; and Count Belle-Isle, 469; death and character of, 472.
Fleury, M. Joly de, 529.
Florence, the Republic of, and Charles VIII., 222.
Floridas, the, confirmed to Spain, 493.
Foix, Gaston de, Duke of Nemours, takes command of the French army in Italy, 1512, 233; death of, at the victory of Ravenna, 236.
Fontaine, La (see also *La Fontaine*), 431.
Fontaine Française, encounter at, 328.
Fontainebleau, Peace of, 1762, 504.
Fontenelle, character and works of, 514.
Fontenoy, the battle of, 475.
Fontrailles, Viscount de, 344.
Formigny, the battle of, 1450, 193.
Fornovo, the battle of, 1495, in which Charles VIII. of France defeats the army of the Italian league, 224.
Fouquet, Superintendent, and Louis XIV., 376.
——— and Molière, 432.
Fourquet, Joan, 206.
France, kingdom and history of, really commenced with Clovis, A.D. 481, 29; and England, origin of the "rivalry" between, 108; the kingship in, 65, 96; extent of the kingdom of, under Philip II., 97; and England, origin of the Hundred Years' War between, 141; sends an army to aid Sigismund against the Turks, which is destroyed, 175; condition of, in 1440, 185; and England, end of the Hundred Years' War between, 195; under Charles VII., 197; and Austria, commencement of the rivalry between, 223; invaded, 251; and England, renewal of the war between, 1512, 234; the situation of, in 1513, 235; and the Renaissance, 264; in the Middle Ages, 265; and the nascent Reformation, 270; and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 281; state of, at the commencement of the reign of Henry III., 307; condition of, after Henry IV.'s abjuration, 327; and England, treaty between, in 1697, 386; and sufferings of, during the reign of Louis XIV., 407; and England declare war with Spain, 1719, 458; and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, 479; inability of, to turn her discoveries in foreign lands to her own profit, 491; leaves Canada to her fate, 493; position of, at the end of the Seven Years' War, 510; and the partition of Poland, 1772, 510; the effects of Voltaire's writings on, 521; and the American War of Independence, 540; and England and the American War of Independence, 541; recognizes the Independence of the United States, 1778, and declares war with England, 543; and the peace between England and America, 1783, 549; on the eve of the Revolution, 556-560.
Francis de Valois, Count of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I., 240.
Francis I., 241; and Charles V., 218; the era of modern France commences with his government and times, 241; made king, 240; prepares to invade Italy, 243; and his army cross the Alps, and the battle of Melegnano, 244; regains possession of Milaness, 250; Pope Leo X., the *Pragmatic Sanction*, 246, 247; and the Concordat, and the Parliament of Paris' refusal to acknowledge the Concordat, 248; and the vacant throne of the Emperor Maximilian, 248; and Charles of Austria, commencement of the struggle between, 249; meets Henry VIII. of England at *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, 248; commences war with Charles V., 249; and Charles II. of Bourbon, 250; and the conspiracy of Charles II. of Bourbon, 250; entrusts the conduct of the war in Italy to Admiral Bonnivet, 251; loses Milaness for the third time, 252; advances to the relief of Marseilles, 253; enters Italy, 1524, 255; bravery and capture at the battle of Pavia, 255; his letters to his mother and to Charles V. after his defeat and capture at Pavia, 256; carried prisoner to Spain, 257; refuses to accede to the terms of Charles V. of Germany, 258; set at liberty, enters into the Holy League, 259; and Henry VIII. of England renew their alliance, 260; challenges Charles V. to mortal combat, 260; makes peace with Charles V. at Cambria, 260; and Duprat, 260; and Henry VIII, meeting and treaty between, 1532, 260; and Soliman II., treaty between, 262; and Charles V., war renewed between, from 1542 to 1544, 262; forced to terms by Charles V. of Germany, 263; and the Renaissance, 264; and the *Collége Royal*, or *Collége de France*, 268; Robert Estienne, and Marot, 268; as a poet, 269; and the Reformation, 270; and the Reformers, 272; and the Protestants of Germany, 273; and the mas-

sacre of the Vaudians, 273, 274; and Calvin, 275; death of, 1547, 276; and the salt-tax at Rochelle, 277.
Francis I., Emperor of Germany, 476.
——— II. and Mary Stuart, marriage of, 280; ascends the throne, 285; and the Reformers, 286, 287; and the Guises, 286; and the King of Navarre, 288; death of, 290; death of, and the Guises, 291.
Franks, the, first mention of in history, 27.
"Freemen," or Franks, 27.
Fredegonde, Queen, death of, 35.
Frederick Barbarossa (Redbeard), joins in a new crusade, 85; drowned in the Solef on his way to the Holy Land, 85.
——— II., emperor of Germany, his struggle with Popes Gregory IX. and Innocent IV., 88.
——— III. of Naples, 225.
——— the Great, 469; commences the Silesian campaign, 1740, 469; signs a new treaty with France, 1744, 470; and the battle of Fontenoy, 475; and Louis XV., 476; and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 479; England, and the Franco-Austrian Alliance, 496; victorious at Prague, and defeated at Kolin, 497; reverses of, 498; gains the battle of Rosbach, 499; defeats the Austrians at Lissa, 499; gains the battle of Zorndorf, and loses that of Hochkirch, 500; reverses of, in 1760, 502; finds an ally in Peter III. of Russia, 504; and the end of the *Seven Years' War*, 505; and the partition of Poland, 510; invites Voltaire to Berlin, 518.
Fréjus, the Bishop of, created Cardinal Fleury. See *Fleury*.
French, the, rise out of and above the feudal system, 59; and English, commencement of hostilities between, in 1292, 122; rejoicing of the, at the peace of Tours, 193.
——— Communes, the, 134-136.
——— civilization, *The Third Estate*, the most active and determining element in the process of French civilization, 138.
——— nationality accomplished, 139.
——— language, the, and the Renaissance, 266.
——— Academy, early days of the, 363; its rules of Election, 364; and Montesquieu, 513; elects Buffon, 525.
——— Reformers, the, and Louis XIV., 410.
——— Court, demoralization of, under Louis XV., 461.
——— enterprise in America, 488.
——— pioneers, the earliest in North America, 488-490.
French Guiana, 510.
Freundsberg, George of, 259.
Frisons, the, 43.
Froissart, quoted, 147, 148, 154, 167; character and works of, 267.
Fronde, the, 369; of the Princes of France and of the people, 371; the army of, fighting between, and the Royal troops, 372; defeat of, 373.
Frondeurs, the, 369.
Furnes, battle of, 124.

G.

Gabel, or the salt-tax, 277.
Gaëta, siege of, 1504, 228.
Galatians, the, 5.
Galigaï, Leonora, 337.
Gallia Comata, 7, 17.
——— Togata, or Roman Gaul, 7, 17.
Gallican Confession, the, 283.
Gallo-Frankish Society, state of, in the eighth century, 39.
Garonne, the river, 2.
Gaston de Foix. See *Foix*.
Gaul, 1; conquered by Julius Cæsar, 12-16; under Roman dominion, 16; its Roman rulers, from 49 B.C.—A.D. 305, 16-26; divided into three provinces by Augustus, 17; under Augustus, 17; the sixty nations or peoplets of, recognized by Augustus, 17; under Caligula, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, 17-19; the Germans in, 27; the Visigoths and Burgundians definitely settle in, A.D. 412, 28.
Gauls, the, 3; send representatives to Rome, 6; emigration of, 3; invade Germany, 4; invade Italy, B.C. 587, 4; invade Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Greece, 4; defeated by King Antiochus of Syria, 5; pass into Asia Minor, 5; in Asia Minor become a people under the name of Galatians, defeated by Attalus, keep the Phrygians and Greeks of Asia Minor in subjection, 5; of Asia Minor encountered and defeated by the Romans in pursuit of Hannibal, B.C. 189, 7; commence their 400 years' war with Rome, B.C. 391, 6; defeat the Romans at Aretium, 283 B.C., 6; under Hannibal, 7.
Genoa, defence of, by the Duke of Boufflers, 478; cedes Corsica to France, 1768, 510.
Genoese cross-bowmen, the, at Crécy, 147.
George I. of England and Dubois, 456.
——— II. of England and the *Pragmatic Sanction*, 470; and the war with France, 1744, 472; death of, 1760, 502.
——— III. of England, 502, 513, 516, 548.
Geoffrin, Madame, 526.
Gepidians, the, allies of the Huns, 28.

Gerbert, secretary of Archbishop Adalboron, and afterwards Archbishop of Rheims and Pope, 265.
Germanicus, 18.
Germans, the Ancient, 9, 10; in Gaul, 10; first become a nation, 27.
Germany, joins in the Crusades, 80.
Gesta Dei per Francos (the Crusades), 80.
Ghent, alliance at, in 1340, between the Flemish Communes and Edward III. of England, 142; insurrection of the burghers of, under Philip Van Artevelde, 171; captured by Louis XIV., 391.
Gibraltar, 548.
Girardon, 435.
Glück, 533.
Gnostics, the, 104.
God's Peace, God's Truce, 64.
"God willeth it!" war-cry of the early crusaders, 75.
Godeau, Bishop of Grasse, 363.
Godeheu, M., supersedes Dupleix, 484.
Godfrey de Bouillon (see *Bouillon*), Duke of Lorraine, martial and noble character of, 77, accepts the office of King of Jerusalem, 78.
——— of Paris, quoted, 131.
Godwin, Earl, 67.
Golo, defeat of the Corsicans at, 231.
Gondebaud, 30.
Gondegisile, 30.
Gondi, Paul de, afterwards Archbishop of Retz, 369
Gontran of Orleans and Burgundy, 33.
Gonzalvo of Cordova, *the great Captain* of Ferdinand of Spain, 228.
Goodfellows, the, 156.
Gordes, the Count de, 303.
Goths, the, 27; under Alaric II., beaten by Clovis near Poitiers, A.D. 507, 31.
Graeco-Roman Paganism, 24.
Grailli, John de, called the Captal of Buch, 164, 166.
Grand Alliance, the, against France and Louis XIV., 381, 389.
Grand Company, the, and Bertrand Guesclin, 165.
Grand Monarque, 440.
Grange, John de la, minister of Charles V., 163.
Granson, Charles the Rash of Burgundy defeated at, by the Swiss, 209.
Grasse, Count de, captures Tobago, and aids the Americans, 546.
Great Britain and the American Declaration of Independence, 1776, 543.
——— Mogul, the, 483.
Greeks, the, 1.
Gregory of Tours, historian, 31.
——— VII., Pope, and the Crusades, 85.
——— IX., Pope, and Frederick II. of Germany, 88.
Gregory XIV., Pope, 319.
Grétry, musician, 533.
Greuze, painter, 532.
Grignan, Madame de, and Madame de Sévigné, 421, 425.
Grimaldi, Regnier de, a celebrated Italian admiral, employed by Philip IV. in his war with Flanders, 125.
Grisons, the, 156.
Guastalla, the battle of, 467.
Guasto, Marquis de, 262.
Guesclin, Bertrand du, 164; is set at liberty for a ransom, 166; is made Constable of France by Charles V, 169; death of, 169.
Guinegate, battle of, 236.
Guise, 286.
——, the Cardinal of, death of, 313.
——, Francis de Lorraine, Duke of, 279; and the siege of Metz, 279; recalled from Italy by Henry II. to repel the Spaniards, 281; captures Calais, 282; Condé, 283; and the Huguenots of Vassy, 292; at the battle of Dreux, 291; and Charles IX., 298; assassination of, 294.
——, Duke Henry de, 308; obtains his name of *The Scarred*, whilst putting down the Protestant revolt, 308; becomes master of Paris, 311; murdered by order of Henry III., 312.
Guises, the, 286; cruelties of, 287, 289; and the death of Francis II., 290; and the Catholic party declare war against Condé and the Protestants, 292; and Coligny, 300; and the murder of Coligny, 301; and Philip II. of Spain, 309.
Guiton, John, burgess of La Rochelle at the time of the siege by Louis XIII., 353.
Gustavus Adolphus and Richelieu, 356.
Guyenne, the conquest of, 194, 195.
Guyon, Madame, teachings and works of, 416, 417.

H.

Hadrian, 19.
Hainault, Isabel of, wife of Philip Augustus, 99.
Hanover, the Elector of, and the Seven Years' War, 498.
Hapsburg, Rudolph of, Emperor, 121.
Harlay, Francis de, and Innocent XI., 418, 423.
Haro, Don Louis de, Ambassador to France, of Philip IV. of Spain, 373.
Harold, son of Earl Godwin, and afterwards king of England, 67; visits William of Normandy, and is detained by him until he swears over the relics to aid the Duke to maintain the English crown, 68; anointed King of England

by Aldred, archbishop of York, 69; marches to subdue Tostig, 70; death of, at Hastings' fight, 72.
Haroun al-Raschid, 74.
Hastenc of Hastings, chieftain of the Northmen, ravages France, 52.
Hastings, the battle of, 70.
Hautefort, Marie d', and Louis XIII., 343.
Havenought, or, the moneyless, Walter, his crusade, 76.
Hawke, Admiral, 501.
Heinsius, grand pensionary, 388, 392.
Helvetians, the, burn their houses and abandon their territory, 58 B.C., but are thwarted in their project of settling in Gaul by Julius Cæsar, and defeated and driven back by him, 11, 12.
Hennebon Castle, gallant defence of, by Joan of Flanders, 144.
Hennuyer, John le, 303.
Henrietta of England, 378.
——— of France and Charles of England, 353, 356.
Henry I., grandson of Hugh Capet, 64, 65.
——— II. of England and Philip II. of France, 100.
——— II. of France, 1547—1559, 276; and the revolt against the *Gabel* or salt-tax, 277; and the treaty, prepares for war with Charles V. of Germany, 279; and Mary of England, war declared between, 281; and the Spanish invasion of France, 281; and the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 281; and the Reformation, 282; and Francis d'Andelot, 283; accidentally mortally wounded by the Count de Montgomery, death of, 286; and the Lutherans, 287.
——— III. of France and the Religious Wars, 1574—1589, 307; disappointment caused by his first acts as king, 307; and the League, 308; difficulties of his government, 309; and Henry of Navarre, 310; and Duke Henry de Guise, 310; escapes from Paris and the Duke de Guise, 311; at the *States-General* of Blois, 312; and the murder of Guise, 312; and Henry of Navarre, 314; stabbed by a Monk, 314; besieges Paris, 1589, death of, 1589, 315.
——— IV. of England and the war with France, 178.
——— IV. of France, 314; policy of, 316; Protestant king, 1589—1593, 323; and the Cardinal de Bourbon, 317; defeats the Duke of Mayenne at Arques, 318; foreign opinion of, 318; at the battle of Ivry, 319; besieges Paris, 320; and the Duke of Parma, 321; and the siege of Rouen, 328; decides to turn Catholic, 323; besieges Dreux, 324; turns Catholic, 325; Catholic king, 1593—1610, 326; anointed at Chârtres, 326; enters Paris, 1594, 327; attempted murder of, by John Chastel, 328; declares war with Philip II. of Spain, 328; gallant conduct at the encounter of Fontaine-Française, 328; makes peace with Spain at Vervins, issues the Edict of Nantes, 329; and the House of Austria, 330; foreign policy of, 331; his ministers, 331-333; and Marguerite of Valois, annulment of their marriage, 333; and Biron's conspiracy, 334; assassinated, 335; work of, completed, 374.
Henry V., Emperor of Germany, declines battle with Louis VI., 98.
——— V. of England, designs on the Crown of France, 177; lands with his army near Harfleur on the 14th August, 1415, 178; and the battle of Agincourt, 178; resumes his campaign in France, 179; death of, at Vincennes, 184.
——— VI. of England, 185; crowned at Paris, 1431, 191; marries Margaret of Anjou, 193.
——— VIII. of England and the League of the Holy Union, 1511, 234; sends a fleet to aid Ferdinand of Spain, 234; and the affair of the Spurs, 1513, 236; makes peace with Louis XII., 236; and European affairs in 1519, 247; meets Francis I. at *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, 248; agrees to aid Charles II. of Bourbon against Francis I., 250; and the Holy League, 259; and Charles V. of Germany, treaty between, 1543, 262; invades France, 263; and the Reformation, 270.
——— Plantagenet, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, marries Eleanor of Aquitaine, and on the death of Stephen, in 1154, he becomes King of England, 84.
Heraclea Cacabaria (Saint-Gilles), founding of, 2.
Heretics first burnt in France, 106.
Hermengarde, wife of Louis the Debonnair, death of, 55.
Hildebrand, the celebrated Monk, afterwards Pope Gregory, 85.
Hochkirch, the battle of, 500.
Hochstett, the battle of, 1704, 389.
Holland, liberty and prosperity of, secured by Heinsius, at the expense of her political position in Europe, 392; joins England against Louis XV., 472.
Holy City, the, 73.
—— League, 259.
—— Sepulchre, 74.
Honorius III., Pope, 107.
Hospital, Chancellor de l', 290, 291, 298, 303.
Hôtel des Invalides and Louvois, 404.
Houdon, sculptor, 533.

Howe, Lord, revictuals Gibraltar during the three years' siege, 518.
Huguenots, the, 270, 271; Montluc's persecution of, 291; and the Fall of La Rochelle, 353; and Richelieu, 354; and Louis XIV., 384; loyalty of, 411.
Human sacrifices, 23.
Hume, *History of England*, quoted, 115; and Rousseau, 325.
Hundred Years' War, the, 141; Charles V., and the, 162; Charles VII, Joan of Arc, 1422—1461, and the, 186; Joan of Arc's, the glory of bringing to an end the, 196.
Hungarians, the, or Magyars, invade France, 27.
Huns, the, 28; arrival of, in Gaul, under their King Attila, A.D. 451, 28; driven out of Gaul, 29.
Huss, John, 270.
Hyder Ali and the struggle against the English in India, 484, 547.

I.

Ibarra, Don Diego d', 327.
Iberians, the, 1, 2.
Ibn-al-Arabi, Saracen chief, 44.
Ile de France, colony of, 482.
Illyria, settlement of the Gauls in, B.C. 587, 4.
India Company, the French, 478.
——— Companies, the, rivalry between the French and English, 479-487.
———, the French in, 479.
——— lost to France, 504.
Ingoburga, Princess, of Denmark, wife of Philip Augustus, 108.
Innocent II., Pope, and Louis VII., 80.
——— III., Pope, summons France to extirpate the Albigensians, 105; and Simon de Montfort, 106; death of, 107; and the conjugal irregularity of Philip Augustus, 108.
——— XI., Pope, and the Augsburg League against Louis XIV., 384.
——— XIII., Pope, makes Dubois a Cardinal, 460.
Irenæus, St., second Bishop of Lyons, A.D. 177 to 202, 75.
Iron Mask, the, 437.
Iroquois, the, 491.
Isabel, daughter of Philip IV., espoused by Edward II. of England, 174.
——— of Bavaria, Queen, 173, 175.
Islamism, the tide of, rolled back by the wars of the Crusades, 38.
Isle-de-France, personal domain of the King of France, 62.
Italian League, the, and Charles VIII., 223
Italy, the wars of, and Charles VIII., 222; the wars in, and Louis XII., 226, 227.
Ivry, the battle of, 1590, 319.

J.

Jacobite rising, the Scottish, of 1745, 476.
Jacquery, the, 155.
Jacques, Bonhomme, origin of the term, 155.
——— Cœur. See *Cœur*.
James I. of England and the marriage of his son Prince Charles, 353, 356.
——— II. of England abdicates, and is splendidly received by Louis XIV. in France, 385; his expedition to take Ireland, and the battle of the Boyne, 385.
Jansenism in France, 414; Louis XIV.'s last blow at, 415; *Jansenism* and Mme. de Maintenon, 416; in Paris in 1735, 468.
Jansenists, the, set at liberty, 449.
Jansenius and his teaching, 414.
Jardin des Plantes, Le, and Richelieu, 366; and Buffon, 523.
Jarnac, the battle of, 1569, 298.
Jeannin, President, 303.
Jerome of Prague, 270.
Jerusalem, the cradle of Christianity, 73; besieged by the Mussulmans, 74; siege and capture of, by the Crusaders, 77; under Christian rule, 1100—1186, 79; the fall of the Christian kingdom of, causes great consternation throughout Christendom, 84.
Jesuits, the, 328, 490; the Portuguese, under Louis XV., 505, 506; the Order of, dissolved by Rome, 506; the Society of the, suppressed in France by the Edict of 1764, 506; expelled from Spain, 506.
Joan, wife of Louis XII., 217.
—— of Penthièvre, the cripple, wife of Charles of Blois, energy of, 143, 144.
—— *Hachette*, 206.
—— of Arc, 186-191.
Joans, history of the war of the Three, 143-145.
John Lackland, King of England, and Philip II. of France, 102; murders his nephew Arthur, 100.
—— I. of France, 133.
—— II., King of France, called *the Good*, 150; and Charles of Navarre, 151; with his army, comes up with the Prince of Wales and the English near Poictiers; defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Poictiers, 152; his captivity in England, 158; his ransom; set at liberty and escorted to France by the Prince of Wales, 159; takes pos-

session of the duchy of Burgundy, and bestows it on his son Philip, 161; voluntarily returns to captivity in England, and dies in London, 1364, 162.
Joinville, Sire de, "One of the most sprightly and charming writers of the nascent French language," 266, 267; quoted, 91, 92, 114, 115, 118.
Jornandès, the Gothic historian, 28.
Joyeuse, Anne, Duke of, 328.
Judith, the Empress, 55.
Julius II., Pope, 229; and the Venetians, 230; his joy at the death of Cardinal Amboise, 232; the soldier pope, energy of, 233; death of, 235.

K.

Karikal, 483; restored to the French, 549.
Karle, or Callet, William of, 155, 156.
Kaunitz, Count, 495.
Keith, Lord, and Voltaire, 519.
Keppel, Admiral, 544.
Kersaint, Admiral de, 546.
Khevenhuller, General, 471.
Kingship, the, in France, decline of, 446; decay of, 493, 505.
Kolin, battle of, 497.
Kymrians, the, 3.
Kymro-Belgians, 3.

L.

La Bourdonnais, 482.
La Bruyère, his account of Richelieu, 366; estimate of Richelieu, 213; character and works of, 427, 428.
Ladies' Peace, the, 260.
La Fayette, Louis de, and Louis XIII., 343.
———, Madame de, and Rochefoucauld, 426.
——— lands in America, 1777, 542; at the capture of Yorktown, 394; and Washington, 543.
La Fontaine, 431.
Lagrange, 553.
La Hire, 186.
Lally-Tolendal, Count; sails with a French fleet to avenge the French reverses in India, 486; accused of treason and beheaded, 487.
Languedoc, ravaged by the Black Plague, 149; the estates of, and the Chancellor Duprat, 246.
——— Canal, the, 402.
———, persecution of the Protestants of, under Louis XIV., 412, 413.
Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, 252, 257.
La Noue, 297; quoted, 294.
La Peyrouse, M. de la, 554.
Laplace, M. de, 553.
La Rochefoucauld, the Duke of, 369; and Madame de La Fayette, 426.
La Rochelle, and the English, 168; rebellion in 1542, 277; siege of, in 1572, 304, 305; obstinate resistance of the citizens of, to Louis XIII., 353; capitulation of, to Louis XIII., 1628, 353.
La Salle, one of the earliest of the American Pioneers, 490.
Latin Paganism, 24.
La Trémoille, 220, 224, 226, 228, 235, 251.
Lautrec, Marshal de, 249, 251; death of, 260.
Lauzun, M. de, 437.
La Valette, the Duke of, trial of, 347.
La Vallière, Mdlle. de, and Louis XIV., 436.
Lavoisier, 553.
Law, John, the Scottish adventurer, birth, character and schemes of, 450—452.
Lawfeldt, the battle of, 479.
League of the Holy Union, against Louis XII., 234.
League, the, of the Sixteenth Century, 308; and Henry III., 310; and Henry IV., 317.
———, the Spanish, 321.
———, the French, 321, 322, 326.
Leaguers, the, and the murder of Guise, 312; defeated by Henry IV. at Arques, 318.
Leake, Admiral, captures Sardinia, Minorca, and Port Mahon, 391.
Lebrun, Charles, 435.
Leclerc, John, first French martyr of the Reformation, 272.
Leckzinska, Mary, and Louis XV., 509.
Lecocq, Robert, Bishop of Laon, 158.
Lefèvre, Jacques, of Etaples, 270.
Lens, the victory of, 367, 369.
Leo III., Pope, 224, 296.
—— X., Pope, and Louis XII. of France, 235; and Francis I., 243; and the battle of Melegano, 244; and the *Concordat* with Francis I., 245.
Le Poussin and Louis XIV., 435.
Le Quesnoy, captured by Villars and the French, 397.
Lérida, captured 1707, 390.
Lesdiguières, 340.
Lespinasse, Mdlle., 526.
L'Estoile, quoted, 305, 306.
Lesueur, Eustache, and Poussin, 435.
Lettres Persanes, the, 512.
Leudes', the, 39.
Leyva, Antony de, governor of Pavia, defends it against Francis I., 270.
L'Hospital. See *Hospital*.
Liége, the siege of, by Louis XI. and Charles the Rash, 205.

Lille captured, 1707, by Eugene and Marlborough, 391.
Lincoln, General, 545.
Dionne, De, and Louis XIV., 375.
Lissa, the battle of, 499.
Literature, French, Geoffrey de Villehardouin's history of the conquest of the Greek Empire by the Latin Christians, one of the earliest and finest monuments, of French literature, 267; of the *Renaissance*, 269; *tempo* Richelieu, 361-364; in the reign of Louis XV., 245.
Livre, Le, des Métiers d'Etienne Boileau, 117.
Lombards, the, 42, 44.
London and William the Conqueror, 73.
Londonderry, the 105 days' siege of, by the French and the Irish Catholics, 385.
Longueville, the Duke de, 369, 370.
Longjumeau, the Peace of, 297.
Lorrain, Claude, 434.
Lorraine, 58, 382; the annexation of, 468.
———, Cardinal Louis of, 279.
———, Charles de, Duke of Mayenne. See *Mayenne*.
———, Prince Charles of, 474; and the battle of Raucoux, 477; defeated at Lissa by Frederick the Great, 499.
———, Francis de, Duke of Guise, 279, 282, 292.
Lorris, the treaty of, 114.
Lothaire, Emperor of the Franks, A.D. 817, 55, 56.
Louis the Debonnair, or, Louis the Pious, 55; divides his kingdom between his sons Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis, 55; death of, A.D. 840, 56.
—— the Germanic, 56.
——, Prince, son of Philip Augustus, his enterprise against England, 107, 108.
—— the Stutterer, 54.
—— the Ultramarine, 58, 61.
—— III. and the Northmen, 53.
—— V., the Sluggard, 61.
—— VI., the Fat, or, the *Wide Awake*, also called the Fat, energy and efficiency of, 97; his numerous and successful expeditions against his rebel subjects, 98.
—— VII., the Young, his unimportant but long reign, 99.
—— VIII. of France, a man of downright mediocrity, 110.
—— IX. or St. Louis. See *St. Louis*.
—— X., called the Quarreller, at his death leaving only a daughter, the Salic Law is called into effect for the first time, and the crown passes to Philip the Long, 132, 133.
—— XI., youth of, 200; called the *Universal Spider*, 1461—1483, 201; and the rebel barons, 202; and the Count of Charolais, 203; makes peace with his barons, 203; and Charles the Rash of Burgundy, 204; held in the Castle of Péronne by Charles the Rash, 205; accompanies Charles the Rash to the siege of Liége, 205; returns to Paris after passing the most trying three weeks of his life, 206; and Edward IV. of England, 206; Commynes' account of, 206, 216; and Edward IV., meeting of, at Amiens, 207; and the death of his brother Charles, 208, and the Swiss Cantons, 209; and the news of the death of Charles the Rash, 210; and Mary of Burgundy, 210; failure of the main policy of, 211; and the Count de Dampmartin, 213; his three great services to France, 213; character of, 214; death of, 1483, 216; the family of, 217.
Louis XII., crowned at Rheims, reign, his home and foreign policy, 226; and the Italian states, 226; and the Duchy of Milan; his army invades Milaness, enters Milan, 227; and Ferdinand of Spain, 229; prepares for the conquest of Naples, 226; and the French reverses in Italy, 221; declares war against the Venetians, 230; at the battle of Agnadello, 238; and the victory of Ravenna, 234; reopens the Italian campaign and concludes a treaty with Venice at Blois, 234; foreign policy and home government of, 236, 237; character of, private life of, 238; marries Princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII., 239; death of, 240.
—— XIII, youth of, 336; and the murder of D'Ancre, 237; and Anne of Austria, 337; and Richelieu, 338; and Luynes, 338; Mary de' Medici, civil war between, 342; and the death of Duke Luynes, 340; and Talleyrand, Count of Chalais, 341; severe ordinances of, against duels, 341; and the revolt of Duke Gaston of Orleans and the Duke of Montmorency, has Duke Henry of Montmorency beheaded, 342, 343; and Louise de La fayette and Marie d'Hautefort, 343; and his favourite Cinq-Mars, 343; and the trial of La Valotte, 347; Cardinal Richelieu and the Provinces, 348; Cardinal Richelieu, the Catholics, and the Protestants, 350 - 355; his rigorous policy against the Rochellese, 353; the capitulation of La Rochelle, Richelieu and Foreign Affairs, 355; and the Duke of Savoy, 356; declares war with Spain, 357; and the death of

Cardinal Richelieu, 358; illness and death of, 359; Richelieu and literature, 360-366.
Louis XIV., and the policy of Richelieu, 367; the Fronde and the government of Cardinal Mazarin, 1643—1661, 366; and the great Condé, 370; marriage of, with the Infanta of Spain, 373; commences to reign with a splendour and puissance without precedent, 375; the council of, 375; his wars and his conquests, 1661—1697, 377; and Fouquet, 376; waiting to recommence war, 377; and John Van Witt, 379; and Vauban at Lille, 377; places Condé in command of the new army to reduce the Netherlands, 378; and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1668, 378; determines to make war with the Netherlands, 378; prepares to subdue the Netherlands, the successful commencement of the war with Holland, 379; reduces Franche-Comté, 378; his account in his *Mémoires* of his eagerness to begin the campaign of 1678, 380; concludes the Peace of Nimeguen with Holland, 382; is intoxicated with his successes, 383; declares war against Holland and the Empire and captures the Palatinate, 385; effects of his revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 384; his magnificent reception of James II., late King of England, 385; the grand alliance against, 386; consents to recognize William III. as King of England, 386; his Wars and the partition of the King of Spain's dominions, 387; throws over the Treaty of Partition and confirms the will of Charles II. of Spain, which left that kingdom to the Duke of Anjou, 388; and the defeats of Villeroi by Marlborough, 389-391; proposes peace, 394; his courage under reverses, 394; and the battle of Malplaquet, 393; family losses of, 394; and Villars, 395; disastrous effects of his ambition on France, 397; and Louvois' work, 404; and home administration, 400; and Colbert's administration of the finances, 401; reckless expenditure of, 403; the three passions of, 402; and the death of Louvois, 405; his affection for Chamillard, 406; mistakes of, 407; and religion, 408; revokes the Edict of Nantes, 409; and the revolt of the Camisards, 413, and the Jansenists, 414; and Fénelon, 416; answerable for the religious persecutions of his reign, 418; and literature and art, 419-435; and his Court, 436; Mdlle. de la Vallière, and Madame de Montespan, 436; and the death of his queen, 438; his affection for the Duchess of Burgundy, 439; egotism of, 440; his will, 442, 443; death-bed of, 443; death of, September 1st, 1715, 444; and the Scottish adventurer Law, 451.
Louis XV., character of his reign, 447; the regency and Cardinal Dubois, 1715-1723, 448; and Peter the Great, 455; and the Regent Orleans, 452-461; demoralization of his court, 461; and the ministry of Cardinal Fleury, 1723—1748, 464; and the persecution of the Protestants, 462; his proposed marriage with the Infanta broken off, 465; and Fleury as his prime minister, 464; and the Parliament of Paris, 468; and the death of Fleury, 472; he declares war against England and Maria Theresa, 472; joins the army in person, 473; illness of, and the consternation of his subjects, 474; Marshal Saxe, and the battle of Fontenoy, 475; returns in triumph to Paris, 476; and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 479; France in the Colonies, 1745—1763, 481-494; at fifty years of age, and Madame de Pompadour, 494; declares war with England, 1755, 495; and the Franco-Austrian alliance, 1756, 496; attempted assassination of, 1757, 496; and the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, 497; and the *Family Pact* with Spain, 503; the Parliament, and the Jesuits, 505-508; Madame Dubarry; dismisses Choiseul, 507; suspected of private speculation and of keeping up the price of corn, 509; and the annexation of Corsica, 510; political annihilation of, in Europe completed by the dismissal of Choiseul, 507; his fluctuations between remorse and depravity, illness, death, and character of, 1774, 511; the philosophers of his time, 512; and Diderot, 521; and Buffon, 523.
—— XVI., and Marie Antoinette, 532; and the ministry of M. Turgot, 533, *et seq.*; recalls M. de Maurepas, 533; recalls the Parliament of Paris, 536; and the bread riots, 536; the coronation of, 537; dismisses Turgot, 539; France abroad, United States War of Independence, 1775—1783, 540; and the American War of Independence, 540; his aid to the Americans, 542; France at Home — Ministry of M. Necker 1776 — 1781, 550; and M. Necker's reforms, 551; M. de Calonne and the Assembly of Notables, 1781—1787, 553; and the disgrace of Cardinal Rohan, 555; and Captain Cook's voyage, 554; and the *Mariage de Figaro*, 554; and the Assembly of the

Notables, 555; and the Protestants, 554, 555; convocation of the States-general, 1787—1789, 555; and the protest of the French Parliaments, 556; recalls M. Necker, 558; and the Third Estate, 560; and the States-general of, 1789, 561.
Louisbourg, surrendered to France, 479.
Louise of Savoie, 242, 260, 272; death of, 1531, 276.
Louvois, Marquis de, admitted to Louis XIV.'s council, 376; and Turenne, 380; increasing power of, only resisted by Colbert, and the successes of Louis XIV., 332; harsh policy of, in the Palatinate, 385; and influence with Louis XIV, 386; by the death of the Colberts is left alone in his work, 404; death of, 409; and the conversion of the Reformers, 443.
Lowendahl, Count, 479.
Luçon (Richelieu, Bishop of). See *Richelieu.*
Ludovic the Moor, Duke of Milan, and Charles, 222.
Lugdunensian Province, the, of Roman Gaul, 17.
Lusignan, Hugh de, Count de la Marche, 113.
Lutetia, or *Mud Town,* the ancient name of Paris, 109.
Luther, Martin, 270.
Lutherans, the, and Henry II., 283.
Luxembourg, John of, captures Joan of Arc, 189.
———, Louis of, and Louis XI., 212.
———, Marshal, 379; placed by Louis XIV. in command of the French armies, 385; defeats William III. of England, 385; death and character of, 386.
Luynes, Albert de, 338; and Richelieu, 339; and Louis XIII. 339; the duke of, at the siege of Montauban, death of, 340.
Lynar, Count, 498.
Lyonness, conquered by the Burgundians, 28.
Lyons the chief centre of early Christianity in Gaul, 24.

M.

Machault, M. de, 494, 497.
Madras, captured by the French, 482; restored to the English, 484.
Madrid, Treaty of, between Francis I. and Charles V., 257.
Maestricht invested, 1748, 479.
Magna Charta, upheld by St. Louis, 115.
Mahé, 482.
Maillart, and Marcel, 157.
Maillebois, Marshal, 470.
Maine's, the Duke of, position as regent usurped by the Duke of Orleans, 448; and the Orleans regency, 453.
———, the Duchess of, her mortification and rage at the decree against her husband, 453; her plot against the regency; arrested and removed to Dijon, 456.
Maintenon, Madame de, and Louis XIV., 438; and the persecution of the Reformers, 384; and Racine, 430; and the death of Louis XIV., 443; death of, 444.
Maisonneuve, Paul de, 490.
Malagrida burnt as a heretic, 506.
Malebranche, 422.
Malesherbes, L. de, called to the Ministry by Turgot, 537; and Diderot, 522.
Malherbe, 362; his account of the assassination of Henry IV., 335.
Malleteers, the, 172.
Malouet, and the convocation of the States-General, 1789, 562, 564.
Malplaquet, the battle of, 1709, 393.
Man with the Iron Mask, the, 437.
Mandubians, the, 15.
Mansard, 435.
Manicheans, the, persecution of, 104.
Manny, Walter de, 148.
Mantes, the Conference of, 324.
Marcel, Stephen, Provost of the tradesmen of Paris, 154-157.
Marche, Count de la, and the Count of Poitiers; defeated by St. Louis, 113.
Marcus Aurelius, account of, 19.
Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI. of England, received by Louis XI., 207.
Marguerite of Austria betrothed to the Dauphin Charles, son of Louis XI., 216; removed from France by the Archduke Maximilian, 220; death of, 1530, 260.
——— of Provence, wife of St. Louis IX., 112.
——— de Valois and Francis I., beautiful character of, 242; the writings of, 269; death of, 276.
Maria Theresa, 470.
Mariage de Figaro, the, and its effects, 459.
Marie Antoinette, 532. See *Antoinette.*
Marigny, Enguerrand de, chief adviser of Philip IV., 131; hanged on the gibbet of Montfaucon, 132.
Marillac, Francis de, 346.
Marlborough, the Duke of, and Blenheim, 389; checked by Villars, 390; and the battle of Ramilies, 389; defeats Vendôme at Audenarde, 391; and the battle of Malplaquet, 393; dismissed by Queen Anne, 394.
Marot, Clement, 268.

Marseilles, the founding and rise of, 2; horrors of the plague of, and heroic devotion of the religious orders, 459.
Marsin, Marshal, at the battle of Blenheim, 389.
Martel, Charles, 37-39.
Martin V., Pope, and affairs in France, 179.
Martyrs, the, of Lyons, 25.
Mary of Anjou, wife of Charles VII., 192.
——, Queen, of England, and Philip II. of Spain, 280.
—— of Burgundy weds the Archduke Maximilian, 220.
—— Stuart. See *Stuart.*
Masselin, John, character of, 218, 219.
Massilia (Marseilles), founding of, 2.
Massillon, 422.
Maupeou, M. de, Chancellor, and the fall of the Parliament of Paris, 507, 508; dismissal and death of, 534.
Maurepas, M. de, recalled by Louis XVI., 532; and M. Necker, 550.
Maximilian, Archduke, weds Mary of Burgundy at Ghent, 220; of Austria, 221; and Anne of Brittany, 221.
—— I., Emperor, and Louis XII., 230; joins the Holy League, 234; and Henry VIII of England in France, 236; death of, 248.
Mayenne, the Duke of, 308, 310; defeated by Henry IV. at Arques, 318; at Paris, 322, 323; joins Henry IV., 328.
Maynier, John de, baron of Oppède, 273.
Mayors, the, of the palace, 36.
Mazarin, Julius, concludes a treaty of peace and commerce with Cromwell, 373.
——, Cardinal, 366; recommended to Louis XIII. by Richelieu, 366; denounced by the Parliament of Paris, 369; defeated and obliged to leave France, 371; his state-stroke, 372; becomes all-powerful, 372; concludes the Peace of the Pyrenees with Spain, 373; death of, 374.
Medici, Peter de', and Charles VIII., 222.
——, Queen Catherine de', 288; character of, 292; and the St. Bartholomew, 302, 303; and the death of Charles IX., 306; and the League, 308; and the duke de Guise, 311; death of, 313.
——, Ferdinand de', 333.
——, Queen Mary de', marries Henry IV., 333, 334; Regency of, 1610—1617, 336; and Richelieu, her flight from Blois, 338; and Louis XIII., civil war between, 339; flight of, 339.
——, the family of the, and Francis I., 245.
Mediterranean, pirates of the, in 1532, 262.
Melancthon, and Francis I., 273.
Melegnano, the battle of, 244.
Mello, Don Francisco de, invades France, 367.
Mellobaudes, a leader of the Franks, 27.
Ménageot, painter, 533.
Merania, Princess Agnes of, and Philip Augustus, 108.
Meroveus, 29.
Merovingian kings, the greedy, licentious, and cruel, 34.
Mesmer, 553.
Messina gives herself up to France, 381
Metz, the siege of, in 1552, 279; restored to France, 281.
Micheli, John, his account of Catherine de Medici, 292.
Mignard, 435.
Milan, the duchy of, and Charles VIII, 222; siege of, raised by Gaston de Foix, 233.
Milaness and Louis XII., 226.
Minden, the battle of, 1759, 501, 502.
Minorca captured by Admiral Leake, 391; captured from the English, 1782, 547.
Mirabeau, birth and character of, 560; and the Revolution, 561; and M. Necker, 564; and the title of the States-general, 565.
Missi dominici, Charlemagne's chief agents in his government, 47.
Missionaries, the first Christian, in Gaul, 23, 24.
Mississippi, the scheme of Law, 451.
Molay, James de, Grand Master of the Templars, arrested, accused, and burnt, 131.
Molé, President, 369.
Molière, 431; early dramatic works of, 432; his *Misanthrope*, &c., 432; *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, &c., 433.
Moncontour, battle of, 1569, 298.
Monge, M., 553.
Moncœcus (Monaco), founding of, 2.
Mons captured by Louis XIV., 385.
Monseigneur, Grand Dauphin, 394.
Monsieur's Peace, 1576, 309.
Monsigny, musician, 533.
Montaigne, Michael de, character and *essays* of, 359, 360.
Montauban, siege of, 1621, 340.
Montcalm, the Marquis of, death of, and the loss of Quebec, 492.
Montecuculli, General, and the death of Turenne, 381.
Montéreau, siege of, by Charles VII. in person, 192.
Montespan, Madame de, and Louis XIV., 436.
Montesquieu, his *Lettres Persanes*, 512 the works of, 512, 513.

Montfort, John of, his war with Charles of Blois, 143, 144.
———, Simon de. See *Simon.*
Montgolfier, MM. de, and the first balloon, 554.
Montgomery, Count de, by accident mortally wounds King Henry II, 284.
Montlhéry, engagement at, between Louis XI. and the rebel barons, 303.
Montluc, Blaise de, cruelties of, 294.
Montmorency, Marshal de, death of, 342, 343.
———, the Constable Anne de, 277, 278, 279; wounded and captured at St. Quentin, 281; taken prisoner at the battle of Dreux, 294.
———, Henry, Duke of, wounded at Castelnaudary, executed, 342, 343.
Montpensier, the Duchess of, 327.
———, Mdlle. de, called the *Great Mademoiselle*, and the Fronde, 371, 372.
Montreal, capitulation of, 1760, 493.
Monts, M. de, appointed viceroy of Acadia, 489.
Montsabert, M. de, arrest of, 557.
Moors, the, 38, 39.
Morat, defeat of Charles the Rash at, by the Swiss, 209.
Mornay, Du-Plessis, and the Protestants, 332.
Motte, Admiral de la, 546.
Mounier, M. 558; and the Third Estate, 565.
Mount of Olives, the, 74.
Mulhausen, fight of, 380.
Muretus, 268.
Mussulman Arabs, the, pass over into Europe, establish themselves in Spain, and invade France, 37, 38.

N.

Najara, the battle of, gained by the English in Spain over Henry of Transtamare and Guesclin, 166.
Nancy, defeat and death of Charles the Rash of Burgundy at, 210.
Nantes, the Edict of, 329; revoked by Louis XIV., 381; in 1685, 409, 410.
Naples and Louis XII., 234.
Narbonness, conquered by the Visigoths, 28.
Nassau, the Count de, 220.
National Assembly, adopted as the style of the States-General, 565.
Navarre, Anthony de Bourbon, King of, 293, 294; death of, 294.
———, Charles the Bad of, 151; his treason, 151; accepts the leadership of Marcel's party, 156; submits to the Dauphin, 158.
———, Henry of, and Marguerite de Valois, 299; and Henry III., 314; becomes heir to the French throne, 315; and the murder of Henry III., 316.
Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of, 297.
Navy, the, and Richelieu, 349; the French, under Louis XV., 492, 495, 510.
Necker, M., Director-General of Finance under Louis XVI., 558; financial administration of, 551; resigns, 551; recalled by Louis XVI., 558; in the States-General of 1789, 563.
Nérac, the Peace of, in 1579, 309.
Nero, hatred of, by the Gauls, 18.
Neustria, kingdom of, 33, 35.
Nevers, Duke de, 357.
Newfoundland, ceded to England by France at the Peace of Utrecht, 1712, 491.
New France, and Cardinal Richelieu, 489.
Newton, 516.
Nicæa (Nice), founding of, 2.
Nicholas V., Pope, and Jacques Cœur, 97.
Nicole, M., quoted, 197.
Nicopolis, battle of, between the Christians and the Turks, in which the former are destroyed, 175.
Nimeguen, the Peace of, between Louis XIV. and Holland, 382.
Noailles, Cardinal de, and the Orleans Regency, 449.
———, Marshal, and the campaign of 1734, 406; at Dettingen, 473.
———, the Duke of, made head of the Council of Finance during the Orleans Regency, 449; and Law's schemes, 450.
Nogaret, William de, 129.
Norman, the, Conquest of England, 69, 70.
Normandy, the Estates of, offer to undertake, at their own expense, to re-conquer England, which had just declared war with Phillip VI. of France, 142; completely won back to France by Charles VII., 1450, 193; the revolt of, against the taxation of Louis XIII., 347; emigration of persecuted reformers from, in the reign of Louis XIV., 412.
———, William of. See *William.*
Normans, the, and the discovery of America, 488.
North, Lord, 514.
Northmen, the, their incursions into France, 52, 53.
Notables, assembly of the, 555.
Notre-Dame de Paris, cathedral of, completed in the reign of Philip Augustus, 110.
Noue, La. See *La Noue.*
Novara, battle of, 1513, in which the French are defeated, 236.
Noyon, treaty of, between Francis I. and the Archduke Charles of Austria, 245.
Nu-pieds, revolt of the, 347.

O.

Olier, M., 490.
Oliver de Clisson, 173.
and Roland, 45.
Omar captures Jerusalem, 74.
Oppède, Baron d', 273.
Orange, William, the Prince of, and Louis XIV., the campaign against the Netherlands, 379; and the murder of the Witts, 380; opposition of, to the peace party, 383; and the battle of Mons, 382; and the deputies of the estates, and Mary, marriage of, and its consequences to France, 381.
Orders, the three, composing the States-General, 129.
Orleans, siege of, by Attila and the Huns, 28; the Maid of (see *Joan of Arc*); besieged by the English under the Duke of Bedford, 1428, 187; the siege of, raised through the Maid of Orleans, 188; tribute of, to the memory of Joan of Arc, 191; the siege of, in 1563, 294.
———, Louis, Duke of, 175; death of, 176.
———, the Duke Charles of, and Henry V. at the battle of Agincourt, 179.
——— Duke Gaston of, and Richelieu, 342, 343; and Mazarin, 366; submission, retirement, and death of, 372.
———, the regency of the Duke of, is confirmed by the Parliament, 448; regency, the, and the reduction of taxation, 450; and the policy of Alberoni, 457; declares war with Spain, 1719, 458; and the Dubois treaties with England and Holland, 1717, 457; and the plague, 459.
———, the Regent, and the Scotch adventurer Law, 450; outstrips Law in his wild financial schemes, 452; and the exclusion of the legitimatized princes' right of succession to the throne, 453; and the Duchess of Maine's plot, 453; and Dubois, 454; and Dubois as Archbishop of Cambria, 458; and Belzunce, 459; death and character of, 461.
———, the Duke of, and Louis XVI., 536; and the States-General of, 1789, 563.
Ornano, Alphonso Corso d', 341.
Orvilliers, Count d', 544.
Ossat, Arnauld d', 333.
Otho IV., Emperor of Germany, and John Lackland plan a grand attack upon Philip II. of France, 100; his proposed dismemberment of France, 101, 102.

P.

Paderborn, Saxons baptized at, by Charlemagne, 43.
Paganism, fall of, 24.
Painters of the reign of Louis XIV., 434-436.
Palace, the School of the, 50.
Palatinate, the, devastated by the French in 1689, 385.
Palisse, Chabannes, Lord of La, 254, 255.
Paoli, Pascal, the hero of Corsica, 510.
Paré, Ambrose, 305.
Paris, ancient name of, see *Lutetia*; chosen as the seat of Government of the Franks by Clovis, 32; death of Clovis at, 32; pillaged by the Northmen, 53; improvements of Philip Augustus in, 109; threatened by Edward III., 146; besieged by the English, 1360, 160; the university of, and Charles V., 170; given up to Richemont and the National Party in France, and evacuated by the English, 190; the Parliament of, and Duprat's sale of public appointments, 246; the Parliament of, and the *Concordat* between Francis I. and Leo X., 247; revolt of the populace of, 1588, under Duke Henry de Guise, 311; siege of, by Henry III., 1589, 314; the Parliament of, and the Bourbon Pretender, 317; besieged by Henry IV, 320; the Parliament of, and the Edict of Nantes, 329; and Louis XIII., 342; and Mazarin, 369; and the Fronde, 368, 369; the Parliament of, and its struggles with Fleury, 468; and Louis XV., 497, 507; the Peace of, 1762, 505; the Parliament of, and the Jesuits, 506.
Pâris-Duverney, 462.
Parker, Admiral Hyde, 546.
Parliament, the, of Paris (see also *Paris*). banished by Louis XV., 507; recalled by Louis XVI., 534; arrest of members of the, 1788, 556, 557.
Parliaments, the, of France and Cardinal Richelieu, 329; protests of the, 556.
Parma annexed by Francis I., 245.
———, Duke Alexander of, invades France, 320, 321.
———, the battle at, 467.
Pascal, Blaise, 419, 420.
Pasquier, Stephen, 266.
Patay, the battle of, in which the French, with Joan of Arc defeat the English, 188.
Patelin, the Farce of, 267.
Paul, St. Vincent de, 350.
Pavia, besieged by Charlemagne, 44; the battle of, between Francis I. of France and the Imperial troops under Bourbon and Pescara, 255.
Pécquigny, the Peace of, between Louis XI. and Edward IV., 207.
People's Battle, the, of Bouvines, 101.

Pepin of Landen, called *The Ancient*, 37.
——— of Héristal, glorious acts of, his death, 37.
——— the Short, 40; proclaimed King of the Franks at Soissons, A.D. 752, 41; his expeditions, 41, 42.
Perelle, Abbé, 460.
Péronne, Treaty of, 205.
Perrault, 495.
Pescara, the Marquis of, 252, 253, 256.
Peschiera, capture of, by Louis XII., 231.
Peter de la Brosse and Phillip III., 121.
—— the Great and Madame de Maintenon, 444; visits France, 455, 456.
——, the Hermit, 74, 75, 76.
---- the Venerable, Abbot of Cluni, 104.
—— III., Czar, and Frederick the Great, 504.
Petigliano, Count, at the battle of Agnadello, 231.
Philip I., 64, 65.
——— II., or Philip Augustus of France, 99; joins in a new Crusade, 85; and Richard Cœur de Lion at Messina, 86; leaves the Holy Land, 87; his relations with Henry II of England, Richard Cœur de Lion, and John Lackland, 100; in order to avert a joint attack from John Lackland, King of England, and Otho IV. of Germany, threatens to invade England, 100; at the battle of Bouvines, 101; and Agnes of Merania, 108; administrative acts of, 109; receives a present of fawns, hinds, does, and bucks from the King of England to stock his wood of Vincennes, 109; death of, 110.
——— III. of France, surnamed the Bold, his disastrous termination of his father's crusade, 120; government, character, acts, and death of, 121.
——— IV., called the Handsome, character of, 122; defeats Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, 123, 124; Flanders submits to, 124; defeated by the Flemings at Courtrai, prepares to renew the war, 124; defeats the Flemings at Mons-en-Puelle, and lays siege to Lille, 125, 126; and Pope Boniface VIII., 126, 127, 128, 129; death and character of, 131; the three sons of, 132.
——— V., called the Long, 132, 133.
——— VI., or Philip of Valois, 140; and Robert of Artois, 141; his preparations for war with England, 142; aids Count Louis de Nevers against the Flemings, 142; and Edward III., renewal of the war between, 143, 144; and the French before the battle of Crécy, 146; flight from Crécy fight, 147; fears to raise the siege of Calais, and returns to Amiens, 148; death of, 1350, 149; and James Van Artevelde, 142.
Philip II, of Spain, 240; captures St. Quentin, 281; and the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 281; and the Duke of Parma, 320; and Henry III., 309; and Henry IV., war between, formally declared, 328; character of, death of, September, 1598, 330.
——— IV., of Spain, and the Peace of the Pyrenees, 374.
——— V. of Spain, renounces all claim to the throne of France, 388; refuses to abdicate, 392; and his claims to the Frence throne, 453; death of, 478.
Philippa, Queen, intercedes for the six Burghers of Calais with Edward III., 146.
Philosophers, the, of the reign of Louis XV, 512—531.
Philosophy in France in the Middle ages, 103, 264, 265.
Phocean colony established in Gaul, 4.
Phœnicians, the, 2.
Piacenza annexed by Francis I., 245.
Piccini, 533.
Piedmont, and Charles VIII. of France, 222.
Pillar-house, the, of Marcel, 155.
Pisa, the Council of, 1511, 230.
Pitt, William, returns to office, 500; haughty prejudice of, against France, 503.
Pius Antoninus, 19.
Plague of Florence, the, or the Black Plague, 149; ravages of the, in 1363, 162.
———, the, in France in 1719, 459.
Plelo, Count, killed at Dantzic, 465, 466.
Plessis-lès-Tours, residence of Louis XI., 215.
Plessis Mornay, Philip du, 89. See *Du Plessis-Mornay*.
Poets, the, of France in the Middle Ages, 267, 268.
Poictiers, the battle of, September 19th, 152; see also *Poitiers*.
Poisson, Mdlle. See *Pompadour*.
Poitiers (see also *Poictiers*), battle near, between the Goths under Alaric II. and the Franks under Clovis, A.D. 507, 31; great battle at, between the united Franks under Charles Martel and the Arabs under Abdel-Rhaman, in which the latter are defeated, A.D. 732, 38.
Poitou, 100.
Poland, the crown of, offered to the Duke of Anjou, 306; events preceding the Partition of, 465; the Partition of, by the Treaty of Warsaw, 1772, 510, 511.
Policists, the, 298.
Polignac, Madame de, 552.

Poltrot, John, 294, 295.
Polycarp, St., 25.
Pompadour, Madame de, 494; death and character of, 507.
Pompignan, Lefranc de, 558.
Pondicherry and Governor Dupleix, 483, 484; captured by the English, 1778, 547; restored to the French, 547.
Ponts de Cé, engagement of, 339.
Poquelin, John Baptist. See *Molière.*
Porée, Gilbert de la, 265.
Port-Royal des Champs, 351, 352, 414-416.
Pothinus, St., first Bishop of Lyons, 25.
Pragmatic Sanction, the, 116; of Charles VII., 199; and Francis I. and Leo X, 246; its three principal objects, 247.
———, relating to Maria Theresa, guaranteed by France, 469, 470; recognized by France, 479.
Prague, the siege of, given up by Chevert, 471.
Praguery, the, 200.
Proston-Pans, the battle of, 476.
Prie, the Marchioness of, 462-464.
Probus, Roman emperor, 20.
Prose writers, the, of France in the Middle Ages, 266.
Protestants, the, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 304; and Henry IV., 323; and the issue of the Edict of Nantes, 329; persecutions of, under Louis XIV., 408—413; under the Orleans Regency, 449; and the terrible edict of 1724, 463; and Louis XVI., 527.
Protestantism in Louis XIV.'s reign, 408-413.
Provence, ravaged by the Black Plague, 149; the Parliament of, 560
Prussia and France, and the Partition of Poland, 1772, 510, 511.
Puget, 435.
Pyrenees, Peace of the, 1659, puts an end to the twenty-three years' war between France and Spain, 374.
Pytheas, the explorer, 2.

Q.

Quebec, Champlain made first governor of, 489; gallant defence of, by the French Canadians against Wolfe; capitulation of, 1759, 493.
Quesnel, Father, 416.
Quietism, 416; and Madame de Maintenon, 417.
Quincampoix, the street of the speculators, during John Law's reign, 452.

R.

Rabelais, François, 269.
Rabutin-Chantal, Marie de, Marchioness of Sévigné. See *Sévigné.*
Racine, 429, 430.
Ragnacaire, King of the Franks of Cambrai, 32.
Rambouillet, Hôtel, meetings of the Literati of the reign of Henry IV. at, 362.
Ramilies, the battle of, 1706, 389.
Ramus, Peter la Ramée, 268.
Ratisbonne, the Diet of, 1687, 384.
Raucoux, battle of, 477.
Ravaillac assassinates Henry IV., 235.
Ravenna, the battle of, 1512, 234.
Raymond VI, of Toulouse 105—107.
——— VII., of Toulouse, 107.
Reformation, the, and Francis I., 270; state of the, in France in 1561, 291; in the latter half of the 16th century, 304.
Reformers, the French, and Mary de' Medici, 337; rising of the, against Louis XIII., 353.
Religion in France in the Middle Ages, 102, 103; in the reign of Louis XV., 461.
Religious Wars in France, outbreak of the, 275.
——— War, outbreak of the Fourth, 1572, 306; outbreak of the Fifth in France, 310.
Renaissance, the age of the, 264.
Renart, the *Romances of*, 267.
Renaudie, Lord de la, death of, 289.
René, II., King of Lorraine, and Louis XI., 210.
Retz, Cardinal de, 369, 370.
Réveillon riot, the, 561.
Revolution, the, the eve of, 562.
Ribaut, John, heroic death of, 488.
Richard Cœur de Lion, in the Holy Land, 79, 85, 86.
Richelieu, Armand John du Plessis de, Bishop of Luçon (afterwards Cardinal), birth and early life of, 338; effects a treaty between Mary de' Medici and Louis XIII., 339; and Luynes, 339; his character of Luynes, 340; and the great lords, 341; and the ordinance against duels, 341; designs of Mary de' Medici against, 342; and the revolt of Montmorency, 343; and Cinq-Mars, 343; illness of, and conspiracy of Cinq-Mars against, 344, 345; and the Parliament, 346; and the French navy, 349; and St. Cyran, 351; and the Church and State, 352; and the revolt of La Rochelle, 353; and the expedition against Buckingham in the island of Rhé, 351; and the capitulation of La Rochelle, 1628, 353; and the Duke of Rohan, 353; and the capitulation of Montau-

ban, 355; foreign policy of, 355; and Gustavus Adolphus, 357; seventy-four treaties concluded by, 355; and the marriage of the Prince of Wales with Henrietta of France, 356; and the French settlements in Canada, 489; death of, 358; and Louis XIII. and literature, 359-366; La Bruyère's estimate of, 366; his monument, and Peter the Great, 456.
Richelieu, the Duke of, 477.
———, Marshal, defeats Admiral Byng and captures Minorca, 495.
Richemont, the Constable de, 193.
Ricimer, a Suevian leader, 27.
Rigaud, 435.
Rignomer, King of the Franks of Le Mans, 32.
Ripuarian Franks, the, 32.
Robais, Van, 401.
Robert of Artois and Philip VI., 141, 142.
———, Count of Paris, and the Emperor Alexis,
———, the Strong, 61.
———, son of Hugh Capet, 63.
Robertet, Florimond, Finance Minister of Louis XII.; and Francis I., 243.
Rochambeau, Count de, and the capture of Yorktown, 546.
Rochefoucauld, see *La Rochefoucauld.*
Rodney, Admiral, 546.
Rohan, Duke Henry of, 353; death of, 354.
———, the Duchess of, and the siege of La Rochelle, 353.
———, Cardinal, arrested and disgraced, 556.
Roland, the Song of, 45, 267.
———, death of 44.
———, the Camisard, 418.
Rolf (or Rollo), the Northman, invades France, 54.
Roman Armies, the, and the Barbarians, last grand struggle between, 28.
———, Empire, the decay of, 20; division of, 21; final dissolution of, 21.
——— customs and manners forced on the Gauls, 17.
——— Municipal regimen, the, 18.
——— States, the, settled on the Popes by Pepin the Short, 42.
——— Victories over the Gauls, B.C. 200 to 170, 9 *et seq.*
Romance of the Rose, 267.
Romances of Renart, 267.
Romans defeat the Gauls of Asia Minor, B.C. 189; the, in Gaul, 8.
Rome plants colonies among the Gauls, 8; aids Marseilles against the Gauls, 9; and the Papacy, and Charles VIII. 223; stormed and plundered by the Imperialist forces, 1527, 259.
Roncesvalles, death of Roland at, 44.
Ronsard, 361.
Rosbach, the battle of, 499.
Roscelin, 265.
Rosebecque, battle of, 172.
Rosny, Marquis of. See *Sully.*
Rouault, Marshal Joachim, 205.
Rouen, captured by the English, recaptured from the English by Dunois, 1449, 123; siege of, by Henry IV., 328.
Rousseau, birth, character, and works of, 527-529.
Rouvre, Philip de, Duke of Burgundy, 161.
Rovera, Julian della. See *Pope Julius II.*
Roze, Chevalier, and the plague in Marseilles, 459.
Russia and the Partition of Poland, 1772, 510.
Ruyter, Admiral, 381.
Ryswick, the Peace of, 1697, 386, 387.

S.

Saint André, Marshal de, killed at the battle of Dreux, 294.
Saint Bartholomew, The, and the Reformers, incidents of the Massacre of, 300-303.
Saint Bernard. See *Bernard.*
Saint Cyran, M. de, character and work of, 351, 352.
Saint Germain-en-Laye, the Peace of, 298.
Saint Germain, the Duke of, called to the Ministry by Louis XVI., his character, 538.
Saint Irenæus, 25, 26.
Saint John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, 516.
Saint Louis, or Louis IX., powerful king, valiant warrior, splendid knight, and true Christian 88; his Christian enthusiasm due to his mother; aids the Crusaders; his illness, 89; leaves for the Holy Land, 89; winters with his crusade in Cyprus, 90; lands in Egypt, repulsed by the Saracens, his popularity with his army, captured by the Saracens, 90, 91; arrives with the remnant of his army at St. Jean d'Acre, 22; hears the news of his mother's death, leaves St. Jean d'Acre and enters Paris again Sept. 7, 1254, 93; starts on his second crusade, 94; arrives at Tunis and dies Aug. 27, 1270, 95; "rarest and most original on the roll of glorious kings," 111; description of his person and tastes, his marriage with Marguerite, daughter of Raymond Béranger, Count of Provence, 112; struggles with the great vassals, 113; chosen arbiter between Henry III. and the English barons, 114; and Hume's *History of*

England, 115; his interest in the private affairs of his subjects, 115; acts of legislation and administration of his reign, 116; and literature, 119; mistaken zeal of, and religious liberty, 119, 120.
Saint Omer kept by France, 382.
Saint-Quentin, captured by Philip II. of Spain, 281.
Saint Pierre, Eustace de, 148.
———, Abbé, 514.
———'s, Bernardin de, *Paul and Virginia*, 554.
Saint Pol, death of, 212.
Saint Pothinus, 25.
Saladin, Sultan, puts an end to the Christian rule in Jerusalem, 117.
Sales, St. Francis de, and the *Introduction to a Devout Life*, 360.
Salian Franks, the, 28, 29.
Salic Law, the, 133.
Saracens, the, and Charlemagne, their invasion of Southern Gaul, 44.
Sardinia, captured by Admiral Leake, 391.
Saunders, English governor of Madras, and Dupleix, 484.
Savoy, Duke Charles of, and Charles VIII., 222.
———, Louise of. See *Louise of Savoy*.
———, the Duke of, and Louis XIII., 357.
Saxe, Marshal, character of, 475; at the battle of Fontenoy, 475.
Saxons, the, defeated by Charlemagne, 43.
Saxony, Augustus II. of, is secured the crown of Poland by Russia and Austria, 465.
———, conquered by Frederick the Great, 499.
Scaliger, J. C., 268.
Scarron, Madame. See *Madame de Maintenon*.
Schomberg, Count Gaspard de, 320.
———, Marshal, and the siege of Londonderry, 385.
School of the Palace, formed by Charlemagne, 50.
Scottish Cameronians, the, compared to the Camisards, 413.
Scudéry and the *Cid*, 365.
Seignelay, M de, character of, 406.
Semblançay, Baron de, 250.
Seneffe, the battle of, 1674, 380.
Senegal settlements, the, ceded to France, 549.
Senlac, the English position at the commencement of the battle of Hastings, 70.
Sepoys, the 483.
Septimania, 34.
Serfs, enfranchisement of the, by Louis the Quarreller, 133.
Servandoni, 533.
Seven Years' War, outbreak of the, 497; end of the, 505.
Sévigné, Madame de, letters and opinions of, 424, 425.
Sequanians, the, 11, 12.
Sforza, Ludovic, duke of Milan, 222.
———, Maximilian, 243.
Sicambrians, the, a tribe of the Franks, 27.
Sicilian Vespers, the massacre known by the name of the, 121.
Sièyes, Abbé, and the *Third Estate*, 560, 565.
Sigebert, king of the Ripuarian Franks, 32.
——— I. of Metz, 33.
Simon, Count of Montfort l'Amaury, or Simon de Montfort, and the Albigensian War, 106.
Sixteen, the Committee of, 313, 321.
Slavons, the, 43.
Sluggard Kings, the, 36.
Sluys. See *Ecluse*.
Soliman II., Sultan, 262.
Song of Roland, the, 45, 267.
Sorbon, Robert of, Founder of the Sorbonne, 119
Sorbonne, the, and the Reformation, 271; and Henry III., 314; and Buffon, 529.
Sorel, Agnes, "Queen of Beauty," and Charles VII., 192.
Soubise, the Duke of, captures the French fleet, 353.
———, Prince of, defeated by Frederick the Great at Rosbach, 419.
Soufflot, 533.
Spain and France, treaty between, of 1761, 503.
Spinola, celebrated Spanish General, 357.
Spurs, the affair of, 1513, 236.
Stahrenberg, Count von, 393.
Stainville, Count. See *Choiseul*.
Stafarde, battle of, 1690, 385.
Stanhope, Lord, and the fall of Alberoni, 457.
Stanislaus, King, 465; and the national party in Poland defeated, 468.
States-General (see also *Estates-General*), the first in French history, 129; convoked by John II., 150; assembled, 1358, 159; convoked at Tours, Jan. 5, 1484, 218; convoked at Tours by Louis XII., 1506, 230; meeting of the, at Paris, 1527, 258; of 1560, 290; convoked in 1576, 309; meeting of the, at Blois, 1588, 311; of the League, 319, 322; and Louis XIII., 338; of 1789, 559.
Stephanus, Robert Estienne, 268.
Stephen II., Pope, visits France to obtain the aid of Pepin the Short against the Lombards, 41.

Strasburg captured by Louis XIV., 383, 387.
Stuart, Mary, and Francis II., marriage of, 280.
———, Charles Edward, lands in the Highlands of Scotland, "1745," short account of his career, 476, 477.
Suevians, 10.
Suffren, Peter Andrew de, and French successes in the East Indies, 547, 549.
Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, the Solomon of his age, 83, 84.
Sully, character of, 331; and Mary de' Medici, 336.
Surat, 482.
Swiss Cantons, army of the, defeats Charles the Rash at Granson, 209.
Swiss, the, defeat Charles the Rash at Morat, 209; invade France and lay siege to Dijon, 1513, 235; defeated at Melegnano by the French under Francis I., 244.
Syagrius, Roman general, 27.

T.

Tabula Peutingeri, or Chart of the Roman Empire, 27.
Taillebourg, battle of, 113.
Talbot, Lord, retakes Bordeaux, 1452, 194; death of, at the siege of Castillon, 195.
Tallard, Count de, 388; defeated at Blenheim, 389.
Talleyrand, Henry de, 341.
Tavannes, Marshal de, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 303.
Taxation in France, *temp.* Louis XIV., 400; reforms of the Orleans Regency, 450.
Tectosagians, the, 5.
Téligny, 303.
Tellier, Le, and Louis XIV., 410.
Templars, persecutions of the, by Philip IV. and the Pope, 130, 131.
Tende, Count de, 303.
Ténouanne, the Franks of, 32.
Terrail, Peter du, the Chevalier Bayard. See *Bayard.*
Terray, Abbé, extravagant expedients of, to fill the Royal treasury, 508; dismissed by Louis XVI., 533.
Theobald IV., Count of Champagne and Blanche of Castille, 113.
Théodebert, King of Austrasia, 34.
Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, killed, 28.
——— or Thierry I. of Metz, 33.
Theodulph, scholar, 50.
Theresa, Maria (see also *Maria*), 469, 470, 475, 495.
Thierry III., 37.
——— IV., 40.
Third Estate, the, and the Communes, differences between, 131; and French civilization, 136, 137; and Louis XVI., 560.
Thirty Years' War, end of the, 368.
Thou, Nicholas de, arrested, condemned to death, and executed, 344, 345.
Tiberias, terrible battle at, between Saladin and the Crusaders, 84
Tiberius, the policy of, in Gaul, 18.
Tippoo Sahib, 547.
Tobago, ceded to France, 549.
Tolbiac, battle of, between Clovis and the Allemanians, 29.
Tostig, rebellion of, 70.
Tours, truce concluded at, between the English and French, 1444, 193.
Tourville, defeats the English and Dutch fleets off Beachy Head, 385.
Trajan, 19.
Transalpine Gaul, the first Roman settlement in, B.C. 123, 8.
Transtamare, Prince Henry of, and Guesclin, 165.
Trémoille, Louis de la, and Anne de Beaujeu, 220; in Italy with Charles VIII., 224; sent to command the troops of Louis XII. in Italy, 228; at the battle of Agnadello, 231; and the revolt of Charles II. of Bourbon, 251.
———, George de la, favourite of Charles VII., 187.
Trianon, the Manor-House of, residence of Marie Antoinette, 551.
Triple Alliance, the, signed at the Hague, 377.
Trivulzio, John James, at the battle of Fornovo, 224; and Louis XII., 227; at the battle of Agnadello, 231.
Troyes, treaty of, between the English and the Burgundians, 182.
Truce of God, the, 64.
Tuileries, the, and Louis XIV., 403.
Turckheim, fight of, 380.
Turenne, Viscount de, 369, 380, 381.
———, M. de, and Louvois, 404.
Turgot, M., the Ministry of, and Louis XVI., 532; acts of his Ministry, 535, 536; dismissed by Louis XVI., 539; solicitations of the American colonies for aid against England, 541.
Turin, the siege of, 1706, 390.
Turnebius, 268.
Turpin, Archbishop, 45.
Tuscany, the Grand Duke of, proclaimed Emperor as Francis I., 470.

U.

Ultramontanes, the, and Cardinal Richelieu, 352.
Unigenitus, the bull, 416.

Union, the, of the sixteenth century, 308.
United Provinces, the, and Richelieu, 355.
United States of America, and the war of Independence, 540—543.
University of Paris and Philip Augustus, 110; and Charlemagne, 49; and the *Concordat*, 247.
Unterwalden, the cow of, 209.
Urban II., Pope, and Peter the Hermit 74, 75.
——— IV., Pope, receives the county of Venaissin of Phillip III. of France, 122.
Uri, the bull of, 209
Ursins, the Princess des, 441.
Ursulines, 351.
Utrecht, the Treaty of, between England, the Allies, and France, 1712, 396, 397.

V.

Valenciennes, capture of, 381.
Valentine, Visconti, wife of the Duke of Orleans, 176
Valois, Joan of, 212.
———, Prince Henry of, son of Francis I., marries Catherine de' Medici, 1533, 260.
———, Marguerite de, 271.
Valteline, the war in the, and Richelieu, 356, 357.
Van Artevelde, 142.
Vassy, the massacre of, 292,
Vatable (Watebled), 268.
Vauban, the celebrated engineer, his work and Louis XIV., 404, 405.
Vaudians, persecution and massacre of the, 273.
Vaux, Marshal, 557.
Vendôme, the Duke of, 388, 390; defeated by Marlborough at Oudenarde, 391; sent to the aid of Philip V. of Spain, 393.
Venetians, the, and Louis XII., 228; defeat of, by Louis XII. at Agnadello, 231.
Venice, the Republic of, and Charles VIII., 222; and the Venetians in 1509, 251.
Ventadour, Madame de, 448.
Vercingetorix heads the Gauls in their rising against the Romans, 13, 14.
Verdun, the Treaty of, 57.
Vergennes, M. de, 540, 541, 542.
Vergne, Madelaine de la, Marchioness of La Fayette. See *La Fayette*.
Versailles, the Palace of, built by Louis XIV., 403
Vervins, Peace of, between France and Spain, 329.
Vesontio (Besançon), the town of, 3.
Vézelay, 81.
Vic, Henry de, constructs for Charles V. the first public clock ever seen in France, 171.
Villehardouin, Geoffry de, earliest and best of French
Villeneuve la Hardie, Edward land's temporary town r 148.
Vien, painter, 532.
Vienna, the Peace of, 1735, a ditions, 467.
Vienne, John de, governor of ing its siege by Edward II.
Villars, Andrew de Brancas, 326.
———, Marshal, 388, 390; a of Malplaquet, 393; and Denain, 395, 396; and the Camisards, 413.
Villeroi, Nicholas de Neufv character of, 332.
———, Marshal, 388, 389; Marlborough, 389.
Villon, Francis, 269.
Visconti, John Galéas, Duke
Visigoths, the, 18.
Viterbo, the Treaty of, betw and Pope Leo X., 245.
Vitry, 80.
——, Baron de, 337.
Vivonne, the Duke of, 381.
Voltaire, 515; and the execu Lally, 487; his campaign again Christian faith, 520; and F k the Great, 518; imprisoned in lle, 515; in England, 516; an me du Châtelet, 517; in Switzerla 19, a of humanity of, 520; retu Paris, and is enthusiastically w d, 521; and the Encyclopædists, 6
Vouët, Simon, 434.
Vouillé, battle of, between Alaric, 31.
Voysin, Chancellor, 406, 407

W.

Waldensians. See *Vaudian*
Wales, the Prince of, son of also called Edward the B at Crécy, 146; and John 151; defeats and captures Jo f Fr at Poictiers, 152; with J e, enters Spain with an ar 000 men, 165; creates discon ul- taine by his imposts, 1 war with Charles V., 167.
Walpole, Robert, and Fleur
Warsaw, the Treaty of, pro the partition of Poland, 511.
Washington, his mistrust h and to America, 542; and La tte, forces Lord Cornwallis to Yorktown, 545.
Watebled, Francis. See *Va*

Westphalia, the Peace of, and its consequences, 368; the Peace of, recognized by Spain, 374.
William of Normandy, the Conqueror, see also *Normandy*; 66-73.
William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 281.
——— III. of England, lands in Ireland and gains the battle of the Boyne, over James II. and the French, 385; and the naval defeat off Beachy Head, 385; and the Treaty of Ryswick, 387; death of, 388.
Witt, John and Cornelius van, assassinated, 379.
Wittikind, Saxon Chieftain, 43.
Wolfe, General, and the siege of Quebec, 492.
Woollen Trade, the, of Flanders, with England, 123.
World, end of the, expected by the Christians, A.D. 1000, 64.
Worms, general assembly convoked at, by Louis the Debonnair, A.D. 839, 56.

X.

Xaintrailles, 187.

Y.

Yorktown, capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at, 1781, 546.
Ypres, taken by Louis XIV., 382.

Z.

Zachary, Pope, 41.
Zwingle, 271.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND PRESS, THORNTON STREET, NEWCASTLE.